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BURNET, GILBERT

*TITLE:*

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*PLACE:*

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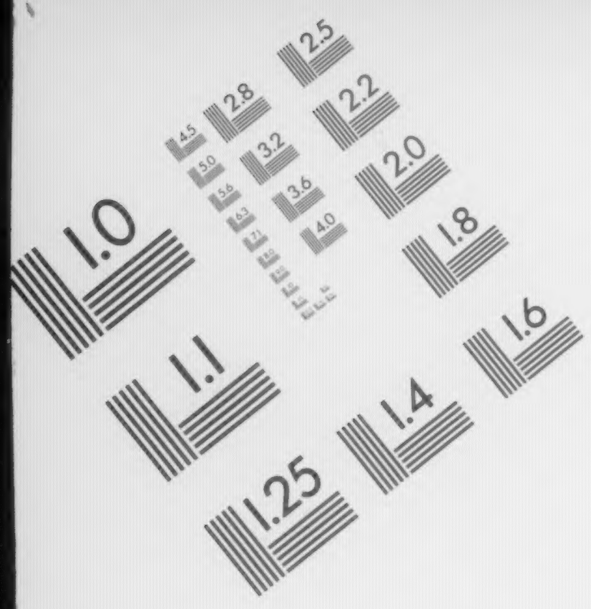
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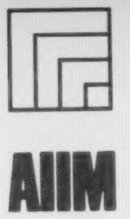
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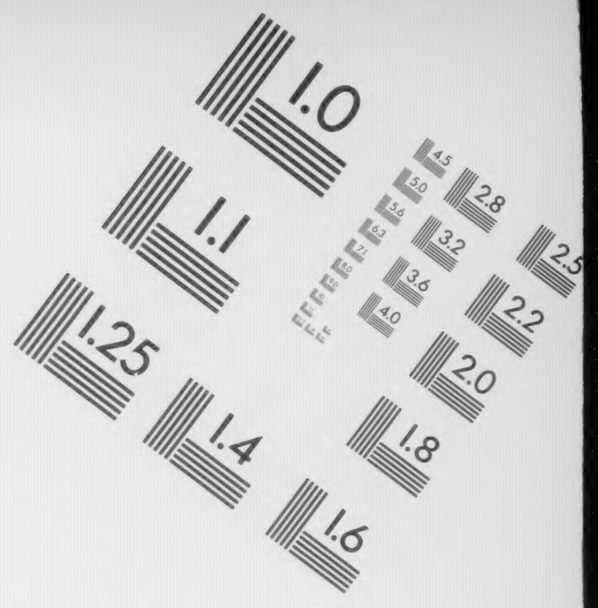


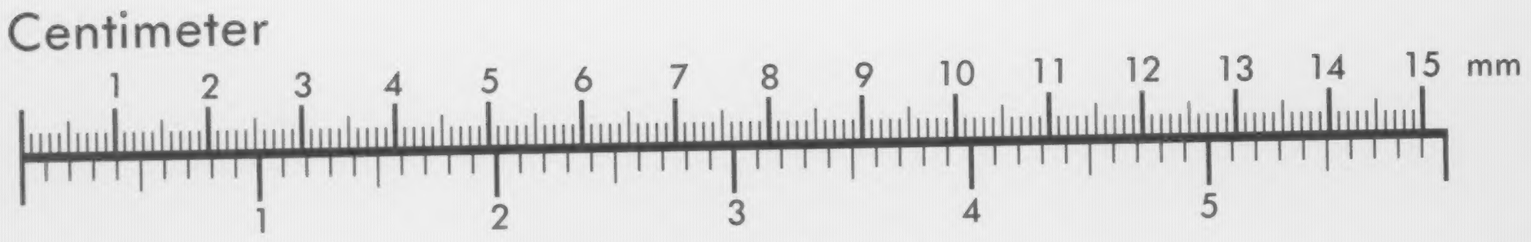
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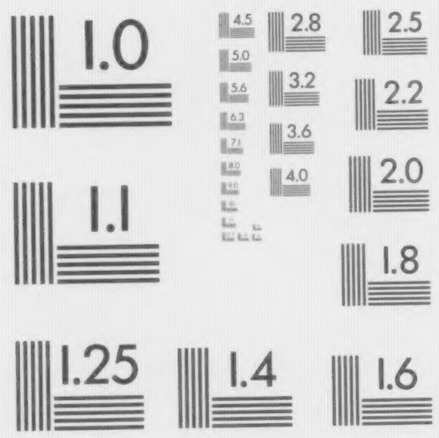
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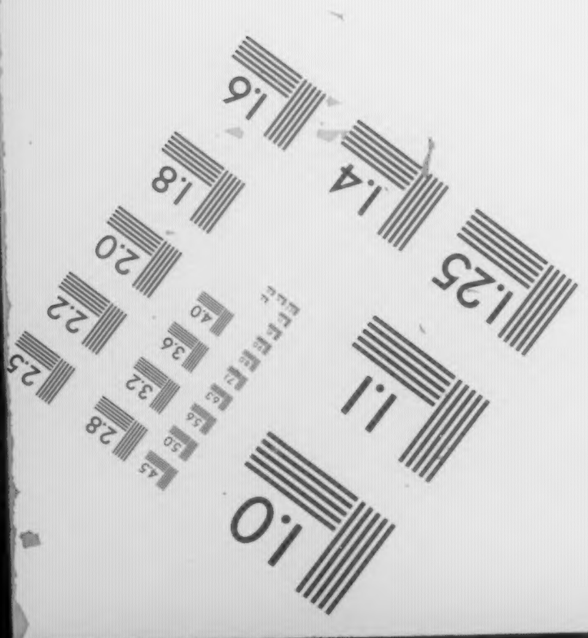
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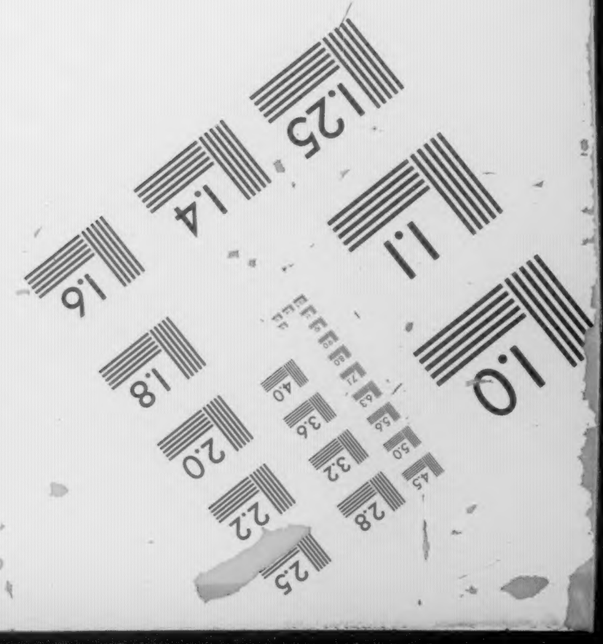
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THE

# HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.



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# GILBERT BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OB. 1714-15.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

# THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY

GILBERT BURNET, D.D.,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

A New Edition,

WITH

AND

EMBELLISHED WITH FORTY-SEVEN PORTRAITS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

WILLIAM SMITH, 113, FLEET STREET.

MDCCCXLI.

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LONDON:
BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

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# INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

## TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

THE established character of Burnet's History of the Reformation as a standard work, and most valuable historical authority, renders it unnecessary to apologise for its re-publication, or to enter into a defence of the author against those attacks which his well-known political opinions drew upon him from the wits of the time. The gibes and sarcasms of Swift and Parnell *, which after all were directed not against the work itself, but to those introductory portions which referred to the topics of the day, are now little more than literary curiosities; while the merits and fidelity of the historical portion have received ample confirmation in the continued approbation of successive generations.

It therefore only here remains for the editor to point out the means which have been taken to obviate, as far as possible, the inconveniences arising from the peculiar mode in which the original volumes were published, and to make a few remarks calculated to assist those who have hitherto been unacquainted with the work, in the most advantageous method of perusing it.

The History of the Reformation was first published in three folio volumes; the first appearing in the year 1679, the second in the year 1681. These two volumes complete the History; the third volume, which was not published until 1714, being merely supplementary to the former volumes, and consisting chiefly of additional facts relating to the transactions already noticed, and of corrections of inadvertent errors. Thus, it will be perceived that it is necessary to read the third volume (or Part, as it is otherwise designated) in connexion with its predecessors, and not as a continuation of the history contained in them.

In a work of such magnitude it was impossible to avoid errors, and it

* We allude to Swift's witty "Preface to the B——p of S——'s Introduction to the third volume of the History of the Reformation," and Parnell's lines on the bishop's narrowly escaping being burnt in his closet.

is therefore not surprising to find the bishop guilty of several inaccuracies; he is however deserving of great praise for the candour with which he acknowledged and corrected his mistakes when they were pointed out. The means he adopted for this purpose were, however, of a nature to cause much embarrassment to the reader, and it has been a main object with the editor to supply these defects. At the end of the first Part the bishop supplied several corrections in the form of "Addenda;" and as these could not with propriety be introduced into the text, care has been taken to make them accessible at the proper moment by references at the passages to which they relate. At the end of the second volume a long list of corrections of errors in the former part, sent to the bishop by Mr. Fulman, rector of Hamton Meysey, in Gloucestershire, was printed; and in the appendix to the third volume similar corrections furnished by Mr. Granger, Mr. Strype, and an anonymous contributor (Mr. Baker, author of the Reflections on Learning), were inserted,—an arrangement which rendered them almost useless to the reader. All these corrections, together with some drawn from other sources, and such as were made by the author himself in subsequent parts of his work on what he had written before, have been either silently introduced into the text, or given in notes at the foot of the page, and are thus rendered immediately available.

The want of such an arrangement, and especially of a reference to the author's numerous and important corrections of himself,—a want which has led even our best historians into error *,—is so obvious, that it is surprising to find that it was not until 1820, when the corrections furnished by Mr. Granger alone were incorporated in an edition of the work published in that year, that anything of the kind was attempted. In 1839, Dr. Nares set the example of incorporating the whole of the corrections, omitting however, for what reason we know not, the name of the commentator when he introduced his corrections as notes. In the present edition we have taken care to give our authority in every case where we have offered corrections, save in such cases as were so indisputable as to prevent all hesitation in transferring them at once and without comment to the text. We may then claim for the present edition the merit of being (if we except that by Dr. Nares) the only complete, and we may add, useable edition of Burnet's History of the Reformation.

* For a remarkable instance see note page 55.

# TO THE KING.

SIR,

The first step that was made in the reformation of this church was the restoring to your royal ancestors the rights of the crown, and an entire dominion over all their subjects, of which they had been disseised by the craft and violence of an unjust pretender; to whom the clergy, though your Majesty's progenitors had enriched them by a bounty no less profuse than ill managed, did not only adhere, but drew with them the laity, over whose consciences they had gained so absolute an authority that our kings were to expect no obedience from their people but what the popes were pleased to allow.

It is true, the nobler part of the nation did frequently in parliament assert the regal prerogatives against those papal invasions; yet these were but faint endeavours, for an ill-executed law is but an unequal match to a principle strongly infused into the consciences of the people.

But how different was this from the teaching of Christ and his apostles! They forbade men to use all those arts by which the papacy grew up and yet subsists: they exhorted them to obey magistrates, when they knew it would cost them their lives: they were for setting up a kingdom not of this world, nor to be attained but by a holy and peaceable religion. If this might everywhere take place, princes would find government both easy and secure; it would raise in their subjects the truest courage, and unite them with the firmest charity; it would draw from them obedience to the laws, and reverence to the persons of their kings. If the standards of justice and charity which the gospel gives, of doing as we would be done by, and loving our neighbours as ourselves, were made the measures of men's actions, how steadily would societies be governed, and how exactly would princes be obeyed!

The design of the Reformation was to restore Christianity to what it was at first, and to purge it of those corruptions with which it was overrun in the later and darker ages.

Great Sir, this work was carried on by a slow and unsteady progress under King Henry VIII.; it advanced in a fuller and freer course under the short but blessed reign of King Edward; was sealed with the blood of many martyrs under Queen Mary; was brought to a full settlement in the happy and glorious days of Queen Elizabeth; was defended by the learned pen of King James; but the established frame of it, under which it had so long flourished, was overthrown with your Majesty's blessed father, who fell with it, and honoured it by its unexampled suffering for it; and was again restored to its former beauty and order by your Majesty's happy return.

What remains to complete and perpetuate this blessing, the composing of our differences at home, the establishing a closer correspondence with the reformed churches abroad, the securing us from the restless and wicked practices of that party who hoped so lately to have been at the end of their designs, and that which can only entitle us to a blessing from God, the reforming of our manners

and lives, as our ancestors did our doctrine and worship,—all this is reserved for your Majesty, that it may appear that your royal title of Defender of the Faith is no empty sound, but the real strength and glory of your crown.

For attaining these ends, it will be of great use to trace the steps of our first reformers; for if the land-marks they set be observed, we can hardly go out of the way. This was my chief design in the following sheets, which I now most humbly offer to your Majesty, hoping that, as you were graciously pleased to command that I should have free access to all records for composing them, so you will not deny your royal patronage to the history of that work, which God grant your Majesty may live to raise to its perfection, and to complete in your reign the glory of all your titles. This is a part of the most earnest as well as the daily prayers of,

May it please your sacred Majesty,

Your Majesty's most loyal, most faithful, and most devoted subject and servant,

G. BURNET.

# THE PREFACE.

There is no part of history better received than the account of great changes and revolutions of states and governments, in which the variety of unlooked-for accidents and events both entertains the reader and improves him.

Of all changes, those in religion that have been sudden and signal are inquired into with the most searching curiosity; where the salvation of souls being concerned the better sort are much affected; and the credit, honour, and interest of churches and parties draw in these, who, though they do not much care for the religious part, yet make noise about it to serve other ends. The changes that were made in religion in the last century have produced such effects everywhere, that it is no wonder if all persons desire to see a clear account of the several steps in which they advanced—of the counsels that directed them—and the motives, both religious and political, that inclined men of all conditions to concur in them. Germany produced a Sleidan, France a Thuanus, and Italy a Friar Paul, who have given the world as full satisfaction in what was done beyond sea as they could desire. And though the two last lived and died in the communion of the church of Rome, yet they have delivered things to posterity with so much candour and evenness, that their authority is disputed by none but those of their own party.

But while foreign churches have such historians, ours at home have not had the like good fortune; for whether it was that the reformers at first presumed so far on their legal and calm proceedings—on the continued succession of their clergy—the authority of the law—and the protection of the prince—that they judged it needless to write a history, and therefore employed their best pens rather to justify what they did than to deliver how it was done; or whether by a mere neglect the thing was omitted,—we cannot determine. True it is, that it was not done to any degree of exactness when matters were so fresh in men's memories, that things might have been opened with greater advantages, and vouched by better authority, than it is to be expected at this distance.

They were soon after much provoked by Sanders's History, which he published to the world in Latin; yet, either despising a writer who did so impudently deliver falsehoods, that from his own book many of them may be disproved, or expecting a command from authority, they did not then set about it. The best account I can give of their silence is, that most of Sanders's calumnies being levelled at Queen Elizabeth, whose birth and parents he designed chiefly to disgrace, it was thought

too tender a point by her wise counsellors to be much inquired into: it gave too great credit to his lies to answer them; an answer would draw forth a reply, by which those calumnies would still be kept alive; and therefore it was not without good reason thought better to let them lie unanswered and despised. From whence it is come that in this age that author is in such credit, that now he is quoted with much assurance; most of all the writers in the church of Rome rely on his testimony as a good authority. The collectors of the general history of that age follow his thread closely, some of them transcribe his very words. One Pollini, a Dominican, published a history of the changes that were made in England, in Italian, at Rome, anno 1594, which he should more ingenuously have called "A Translation or Paraphrase of Sanders's History;" and of late, more candidly, but no less maliciously, one of the best pens of France has been employed to translate him into their language, which has created such prejudices in the minds of many there, that our Reformation—which generally was more modestly spoken of, even by those who wrote against it—is now looked on, by such as read Sanders's and believe him, as one of the foulest things that ever was.

Fox, for all his voluminous work, had but few things in his eye when he made his collection; and designed only to discover the corruptions and cruelties of the Roman clergy, and the sufferings and constancy of the reformers. But his work was written in haste, and there are so many defects in it, that it can by no means be called a complete history of these times; though I must add that, having compared his Acts and Monuments with the records, I have never been able to discover any errors or prevarications in them, but the utmost fidelity and exactness. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, designed only in his account of the "British Antiquities," to do justice and honour to his see, and so gives us barely the life of Cranmer, with some few and general hints of what he did. Hall was but a superficial writer, and was more careful to get full informations of the clothes that were worn at the interviews of princes, jousts, tournaments, and great solemnities, than about the councils or secret transactions of the time he lived in. Holingshed, Speed, and Stow give bare relations of things that were public, and commit many faults. Upon their scent most of our late writers have gone, and have only collected and repeated what they wrote.

The Lord Herbert judged it unworthy of him to trifle as others had done, and therefore made a more narrow search into records and original papers than all that had gone before him; and with great fidelity and industry has given us the "History of King Henry the Eighth." But in the transactions that concern religion, he dwells not so long as the matter required, leaving those to men of another profession, and judging it perhaps not so proper for one of his condition to pursue a full and accurate deduction of those matters.

Since he wrote, two have undertaken the ecclesiastical history—Fuller and Heylin. The former got into his hands some few papers that were not seen before he published them; but, being a man of fancy and affecting an odd way of writing, his



work gives no great satisfaction. But Doctor Heylin wrote smoothly and handsomely; his method and style are good, and his work was generally more read than anything that had appeared before him: but either he was very ill-informed or very much led by his passions; and he being wrought on by most violent prejudices against some that were concerned in that time, delivers many things in such a manner and so strangely, that one would think he had been secretly set on to it by those of the church of Rome, though I doubt not he was a sincere Protestant, but violently carried away by some particular conceits. In one thing he is not to be excused,—that he never vouched any authority for what he writ, which is not to be forgiven any who write of transactions beyond their own time, and deliver new things not known before. So that upon what grounds he wrote a great deal of his book we can only conjecture, and many in their guesses are not apt to be very favourable to him.

Things being delivered to us with so much alloy and uncertainty, those of the church of Rome do confidently disparage our Reformation; the short history of it, as it is put in their mouths, being,—that it was begun by the lusts and passions of King Henry the Eighth, carried on by the ravenousness of the Duke of Somerset under Edward the Sixth, and confirmed by the policy of Queen Elizabeth and her council to secure her title. These things being generally talked and spread abroad in foreign parts, especially in France, by the new translation of Sanders, and not being yet sufficiently cleared, many have desired to see a fuller and better account of those transactions than has yet been given; so, the thing being necessary, I was the more encouraged to set about it by some persons of great worth and eminence, who thought I had much leisure and other good opportunities to go through with it, and wished me to undertake it. The person that did engage me chiefly to this work was, on many accounts, much fitter to have undertaken it himself; being the most indefatigable in his industry, and the most judicious in his observations, of any I know, and is one of the greatest masters of style now living. But being engaged in the service of the church, in a station that affords him very little leisure, he set me on to it, and furnished me with a curious collection of his own observations. And in some sort this work may be accounted his, for he corrected it with a most critical exactness; so that the first materials, and the last finishing of it, are from him. But, after all this, I lie under such restraints from his modesty that I am not allowed to publish his name *.

I had two objections to it, besides the knowledge of my own unfitness for such a work. One was my unacquaintedness with the laws and customs of this nation, not being born in it; the other was the expense that such a search as was necessary required, which was not easy for me to bear. My acquaintance with the most ingenious Master William Petyt, counsellor of the Inner Temple, cleared one difficulty, he offering me his assistance and direction, without which I must have committed great faults. But I must acknowledge myself highly obliged by the

* Bishop Lloyd is here referred to. See preface to part II., page 274, *infra*.—Ed.

favour and bounty of the honourable Master of the Rolls, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, of whose worth and goodness to me I must make a large digression, if I would undertake to say all that the subject will bear: the whole nation expressed their value of him upon the most signal occasion, when they made him their mouth and speaker in that blessed assembly which called home their king, after which real evidence all little commendations may be well forborne. The obligations he has laid on me are such, that as the gratitude and service of my whole life is the only equal return I can make for them, so, as a small tribute, I judge myself obliged to make my acknowledgments in this manner for the leisure I enjoy under his protection, and the support I receive from him; and if this work does the world any service, the best part of the thanks is due to him, that furnished me with particular opportunities of carrying it on. Nor must I conceal the nobleness of that renowned promoter of learning, Master Boyle, who contributed liberally to the expense this work put me to.

Upon these encouragements I set about it, and began with the search of all public records and offices, the parliament and treaty rolls, with all the patent-rolls, and the registers of the sees of Canterbury and London, and of the Augmentation-office. Then I laid out for all the manuscripts I could hear of, and found things beyond my expectation in the famous Cotton Library, where there is such a collection of original papers relating to these times as perhaps the world can show nothing like it. I had also the favour of some manuscripts of great value both from the famous and eminently learned Doctor Stillingfleet, who gave me great assistance in this work, and from Mr. Petyt and others. When I had looked these over, I then used all the endeavours I could to gather together the books that were printed in those days, from which I not only got considerable hints of matters of fact, but (that which I chiefly looked for) the arguments upon which they managed the controversies then on foot, of which I thought it was the part of an ecclesiastical historian to give an account, as I could recover them, that it may appear upon what motives and grounds they proceeded.

The three chief periods of Henry the Eighth's reign, in which religion is concerned, are, first, from the beginning of his reign till the process of his divorce with Queen Katherine commenced; the second, is from that, till his total breaking off from Rome, and setting up his supremacy over all causes and persons; the third, is from that to his death.

When I first set about this work, I intended to have carried on the History of the Reformation to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in which it was finished and fully settled; but I was forced to change that resolution. The chief reason, among many others, was, that I have not yet been able to discover such full informations of what passed under the succeeding reigns as were necessary for a history; and though I have searched the public registers of that time, yet I am still in the dark myself in many particulars. This made me resolve on publishing this volume first, hoping that those in whose hands any manuscripts or papers of that time lie, will, from



what is now performed, be encouraged to communicate them; or if any have made a considerable progress in those collections, I shall be far from envying them the honour of such a work, in which it had been inexcusable vanity in me to have meddled, if the desires of others, who have great power over me, had not prevailed with me to set about it. And therefore, though I have made a good advance in the following part of the work, I shall most willingly resign it up to any who will undertake it, and they shall have the free use of all my papers. But if none will set about it who yet can furnish materials towards it, I hope their zeal for carrying on so desired a work will engage them to give all the help to it that is in their power.

There is only one passage belonging to the next volume which I shall take notice of here, since from it I must plead my excuse for several defects which may seem to be in this work. In the search I made of the Rolls and other offices, I wondered much to miss several commissions, patents, and other writings, which by clear evidence I knew were granted, and yet none of them appeared on record. This I could not impute to anything but the omission of the clerks, who failed in the enrolling those commissions; though it was not likely that matters of so high concernment should have been neglected, especially in such a critical time, and under so severe a king. But as I continued down my search to the fourth year of Queen Mary, I found in the twelfth roll of that year a commission which cleared all my former doubts, and by which I saw what was become of the things I had so anxiously searched after. We have heard of the expurgation of books practised in the church of Rome, but it might have been imagined that public registers and records would have been safe; yet lest these should have been afterwards confessors, it was resolved they should then be martyrs; for on the 29th of December, in the fourth year of her reign, a commission was issued out under the great seal to Bonner bishop of London, Cole dean of St. Paul's, and Martine a doctor of the civil law, which is of that importance that I shall here insert the material words of it:—"Whereas it is come to our knowledge, that in the time of the late schism diverse compts, books, scrolls, instruments, and other writings were practised, devised, and made concerning professions against the pope's holiness, and the see apostolic; and also sundry infamous scrutinies taken in abbeys and other religious houses, tending rather to subvert and overthrow all good religion and religious houses than for any truth contained therein: which being in the custody of divers registers, and we intending to have those writings brought to knowledge, whereby they may be considered and ordered according to our will and pleasure;" thereupon those three or any two of them are empowered "to cite any persons before them, and examine them upon the premises upon oath, and to bring all such writings before them, and certify their diligence about it to cardinal Pole, that further order might be given about them."

When I saw this, I soon knew which way so many writings had gone; and as I could not but wonder at their boldness who thus presumed to raze so many records, so their ingenuity in leaving this commission in the Rolls, by which any who had the

curiosity to search for it might be satisfied how the other commissions were destroyed, was much to be commended. Yet in the following work it will appear that some few papers escaped their hands.

I know it is needless to make great protestations of my sincerity in this work. These are of course and are little considered, but I shall take a more effectual way to be believed, for I shall vouch my warrants for what I say, and tell where they are to be found. And having copied out of records and manuscripts many papers of great importance, I shall not only insert the substance of them in the following work, but at the end of it shall give a collection of them at their full length, and in the language in which they were originally written; from which as the reader will receive full evidence of the truth of this history, so he will not be ill pleased to observe the genius and way of the great men in that time, of which he will be better able to judge by seeing their letters and other papers, than by any representation made of them at second-hand. They are digested into that order in which they are referred to in the History.

It will surprise some to see a book of this bigness written of the history of our Reformation under the reign of King Henry the Eighth; since the true beginnings of it are to be reckoned from the reign of King Edward the Sixth, in which the articles of our church, and the forms of our worship, were first compiled and set forth by authority. And indeed in King Henry's time the Reformation was rather conceived than brought forth; and two parties were in the last eighteen years of his reign struggling in the womb, having now and then advantages on either side, as the unconstant humour of that king changed, and as his interests, and often as his passions, swayed him.

Cardinal Wolsey had so dissolved his mind into pleasures, and puffed him up with flattery and servile compliances, that it was not an easy thing to serve him; for being boisterous and impatient naturally, which was much heightened by his most extravagant vanity and high conceit of his own learning and wisdom, he was one of the most uncounsellable persons in the world.

The book which he wrote had engaged him deep in these controversies; and by perpetual flatteries he was brought to fancy it was written with some degrees of inspiration. And Luther, in his answer, had treated him so unmannerly, that it was only the necessity of his affairs that forced him into any correspondence with that party in Germany.

And though Cranmer and Cromwell improved every advantage that either the king's temper or his affairs offered them as much as could be, yet they were to be pitied, having to do with a prince who upon the slightest pretences threw down those whom he had most advanced; which Cromwell felt severely, and Cranmer was sometimes near it.

The faults of this king being so conspicuous, and the severity of his proceedings so unjustifiable, particularly that heinous violation of the most sacred rules of justice and government, in condemning men without bringing them to make their answers;



most of our writers have separated the concerns of this church from his reign: and imagining that all he did was founded only on his revenge upon the court of Rome, for denying his divorce, have taken little care to examine how matters were transacted in his time.

But if we consider the great things that were done by him, we must acknowledge that there was a signal providence of God, in raising up a king of his temper, for clearing the way to that blessed work that followed: and that could hardly have been done but by a man of his humour; so that I may very fitly apply to him the witty simile of an ingenious writer, who compares Luther to a postilion in his waxed boots and oiled coat, lashing his horses through thick and thin, and bespattering all about him.

This character befits King Henry better (saving the reverence due to his crown), who, as the postilion of reformation, made way for it through a great deal of mire and filth. He abolished the pope's power, by which not only that tyranny was destroyed, which had been long a heavy burthen on this oppressed nation; but all the opinions, rites, and constitutions, for which there was no better authority than papal decrees, were to fall to the ground; the foundation that supported them being thus sapped. He suppressed all the monasteries; in which though there were some inexcusable faults committed, yet he wanted not reason to do what he did. For the foundation of those houses being laid on the superstitious conceit of redeeming souls out of purgatory, by saying masses for them; they whose office that was, had, by counterfeiting relics, by forging of miracles, and other like impostures, drawn together a vast wealth, to the enriching of their saints, of whom some perhaps were damned souls, and others were never in being. These arts being detected, and withal their great viciousness in some places, and in all their great abuse of the Christian religion, made it seem unfit they should be continued. But it was their dependence on the see of Rome which, as the state of things then was, made it necessary that they should be suppressed. New foundations might have done well; and the scantness of those, considering the number and wealth of those which were suppressed, is one of the great blemishes of that reign. But it was in vain to endeavour to amend the old ones. Their numbers were so great, their riches and interests in the nation so considerable, that a prince of ordinary metal would not have attempted such a design, much less have completed it in five years' time. With these fell the superstition of images, relics, and the redemption of souls out of purgatory. And those extravagant addresses to saints that are in the Roman offices were thrown out; only an "Ora pro nobis" was kept up: and even that was left to the liberty of priests, to leave it out of the litanies as they saw cause. These were great preparations for a reformation. But it went further, and two things were done, upon which a greater change was reasonably to be expected. The Scriptures were translated into the English tongue, and set up in all churches, and every one was admitted to read them, and they alone were declared the rule of faith. This could not but open the eyes of the nation, who finding a profound silence in these

writings about many things, and a direct opposition to other things that were still retained, must needs conclude, even without deep speculations or nice disputing, that many things that were still in the church had no ground in Scripture, and some of the rest were directly contrary to it. This Cranmer knew well would have such an operation, and therefore made it his chief business to set it forward, which in conclusion he happily effected.

Another thing was also established, which opened the way to all that followed: that every national church was a complete body within itself, so that the church of England, with the authority and concurrence of their head and king, might examine and reform all errors and corruptions, whether in doctrine or worship. All the provincial councils in the ancient church were so many precedents for this, who condemned heresies and reformed abuses as the occasion required. And yet these being all but parts of one empire, there was less reason for their doing it, without staying for a general council, which depended upon the pleasure of one man (the Roman emperor), than could be pretended when Europe was divided into so many kingdoms: by which a common concurrence of all these churches was a thing scarce to be expected; and therefore this church must be in a very ill condition, if there could be no endeavours for a reformation till all the rest were brought together.

The grounds of the new covenant between God and man in Christ were also truly stated, and the terms on which salvation was to be hoped for were faithfully opened according to the New Testament. And this being in the strict notion of the word, the gospel, and the glad tidings preached through our blessed Lord and Saviour, it must be confessed that there was a great progress made when the nation was well instructed about it, though there was still an alloy of other corruptions, embasing the purity of the faith. And indeed in the whole progress of these changes, the king's design seemed to have been to terrify the court of Rome, and cudgel the pope into a compliance with what he desired: for in his heart he continued addicted to some of the most extravagant opinions of that church, such as transubstantiation, and the other corruptions in the mass, so that he was to his life's end more papist than protestant.

There are two prejudices which men have generally drunk in against that time. The one is, from the king's great enormities, both in his personal deportment and government, which make many think no good could be done by so ill a man and so cruel a prince. I am not to defend him nor to lessen his faults. The vastness and irregularity of his expense procured many heavy exactions, and twice extorted a public discharge of his debts, embased the coin, with other irregularities. His proud and impatient spirit occasioned many cruel proceedings. The taking so many lives, only for denying his supremacy, particularly Fisher's and More's, the one being extreme old, and the other one of the glories of his nation for probity and learning; the taking advantage from some eruptions in the north, to break the indemnity he had before proclaimed to those in the rebellion, even though they could not be proved guilty of those second disorders; his extreme severity to all



Cardinal Pole's family; his cruel using, first Cromwell, and afterwards the Duke of Norfolk and his son, besides his unexampled proceedings against some of his wives; and that which was worst of all, the laying a precedent for the subversion of justice, and oppressing the clearest innocence, by attainting men without hearing them: these are such remarkable blemishes, that as no man of ingenuity can go about the whitening them; so the poor reformers drunk so deep of that bitter cup, that it very ill becomes any of their followers to endeavour to give fair colours to those red and bloody characters with which so much of his reign is stained.

Yet after all this sad enumeration, it was no new nor unusual thing in the methods of God's providence to employ princes who had great mixtures of very gross faults, to do signal things for his service. Not to mention David and Solomon, whose sins were expiated with a severe repentance; it was the bloody Cyrus that sent back the Jews to their land, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple. Constantine the Great is by some of his enemies charged with many blemishes both in his life and government. Clovis of France, under whom that nation received the Christian faith, was a monster of cruelty and perfidiousness, as even Gregory of Tours represents him, who lived near his time, and nevertheless makes a saint of him. Charles the Great, whom some also make a saint, both put away his wife for a very slight cause, and is said to have lived in most unnatural lusts with his own daughter. Irene, whom the church of Rome magnifies as the restorer of their religion in the East, did, both contrary to the impressions of nature and of her sex, put out her own son's eyes, of which he died soon after, with many other execrable things. And whatever reproaches those of the church of Rome cast on the Reformation, upon the account of this king's faults, may be easily turned back on their popes, who have never failed to court and extol princes that served their ends, how gross and scandalous soever their other faults have been; as Phocas, Brunichild, Irene, Mathildis, Edgar of England, and many more. But our church is not near so much concerned in the persons of those princes under whom the Reformation began, as theirs is in the persons of their popes, who are believed to have far higher characters of a divine power and spirit in them than other princes pretend to. And yet if the lives of those popes who have made the greatest advances in their jurisdiction be examined, particularly Gregory the Seventh, and Boniface the Eighth, vices more eminent than any can be charged on King Henry will be found in them. And if a lewd and wicked pope may yet have the Holy Ghost dwelling in him, and directing him infallibly, why may not an ill king do so good a work as set a reformation forward? And if it were proper to enter into a dissection of four of those popes that sat at Rome during this reign, Pope Julius will be found beyond him in a vast ambition, whose bloody reign did not only embroil Italy, but a great part of Christendom. Pope Leo the Tenth was as extravagant and prodigal in his expense, which put him on baser shifts than ever this king used to raise money; not by embasing the coin, or raising new and heavy taxes, but by embasing the Christian religion, and prostituting the pardon of sin in that foul trade of

indulgences. Clement the Seventh was false to the highest degree; a vice which cannot be charged on this king. And Paul the Third was a vile and lewd priest, who not only kept his whore, but gloried in it, and raised one of his bastards to a high dignity, making him prince of Parma and Piacenza; and himself is said to have lived in incest with others of them. And except the short reign of Hadrian the Sixth, there was no pope at Rome all this while whose example might make any other prince blush for his faults; so that Guicciardini, when he calls Pope Clement a good pope, adds: "I mean not goodness apostolical, for in those days he was esteemed a good pope that did not exceed the wickedness of the worst of men."

In sum, God's ways are a great deep, who has often showed his power and wisdom in raising up unlikely and unpromising instruments to do great services in the world; not always employing the best men in them, lest good instruments should share too deep in the praises of that which is only due to the Supreme Creator and Governor of the world. And therefore he will stain the pride of all glory, that such as glory may only glory in the Lord. Jehu did an acceptable service to God in destroying the idolatry of Baal, though neither the way of doing it be to be imitated, being grossly insincere; nor was the reformation complete, since the worshipping the two calves was still kept up; and it is very like his chief design in it was to destroy all the party that favoured Ahab's family; yet the thing was good, and was rewarded by God: so whatever this king's other faults were, and how defective soever the change he made was, and upon what ill motives soever it may seem to have proceeded, yet the things themselves being good, we ought not to think the worse of them because of the instrument or manner by which they were wrought, but are to adore and admire the paths of the Divine Wisdom, that brought about such a change in a church, which being subjected to the see of Rome, had been more than any other part of Europe most tame under its oppressions, and was most deeply drenched in superstition: and this by the means of a prince who was the most devoted to the interest of Rome of any in Christendom, and seemed to be so upon knowledge, being very learned; and continued to the last much leavened with superstition, and was the only king in the world whom that see declared Defender of the Faith. And that this should have been carried on so far, with so little opposition, some risings, though numerous and formidable, being scattered and quieted without blood; and that a mighty prince, who was victorious almost in all his undertakings, Charles the Fifth, and was both provoked in point of honour and interest, yet could never find one spare season to turn his arms upon England,— are great demonstrations of a particular influence of Heaven in these alterations, and of its watchful care of them.

But the other prejudice touches the Reformation in a more vital and tender part; and it is, that Cranmer, and the other bishops who promoted the Reformation in the succeeding reign, did in this comply too servilely with King Henry's humours, both in carrying on his frequent divorces, and in retaining those corruptions in the



worship, which by their throwing them off in the beginning of King Edward's reign, we may conclude were then condemned by them; so that they seem to have prevaricated against their consciences in that compliance.

It were too faint a way of answering so severe a charge, to turn it back on the church of Rome, and to show the base compliances of some, even of the best of their popes, as Gregory the Great, whose congratulations to the usurper Phocas are a strain of the meanest and undecentest flattery that ever was put in writing. And his compliments to Brunichild, who was one of the greatest monsters both for lust and cruelty that ever her sex produced, show that there was no person so wicked that he was ashamed to flatter: but the blemishing them will not (I confess) excuse our reformers; therefore other things are to be considered for their vindication. They did not at once attain the full knowledge of divine truth, so that in some particulars, as in that of the corporal presence in the sacrament, both Cranmer and Ridley were themselves then in the dark. Bertram's book first convinced Ridley, and he was the chief instrument in opening Cranmer's eyes: so if themselves were not then enlightened, they could not instruct others. As for other things, such as the giving the cup to the laity, the worshipping God in a known tongue, and several reformations about the mass, though they judged them necessary to be done as soon as was possible; yet they had not so full a persuasion of the necessity of these as to think it a sin not to do them. The prophet's words to Naaman the Syrian might give them some colour for that mistake, and the practice of the apostles, who continued not only to worship at the temple, but to circumcise and to offer sacrifices (which must have been done by St. Paul when he purified himself in the temple) even after the law was dead, by the appearing of the gospel, seemed to excuse their compliance. They had also observed, that as the apostles were all things to all men, that so they might gain some; so the primitive Christians had brought in many rites of heathenism into their worship: upon which inducements they were wrought on to comply in some uneasy things, in which, if these excuses do not wholly clear them, yet they very much lessen their guilt.

And after all this, it must be confessed they were men, and had mixtures of fear and human infirmities with their other excellent qualities. And indeed Cranmer was in all other points so extraordinary a person, that it was perhaps fit there should be some ingredients in his temper, to lessen the veneration which his great worth might have raised too high, if it had not been for these feeblenesses, which upon some occasions appeared in him. But if we examine the failings of some of the greatest of the primitive fathers, as Athanasius, Cyril, and others, who were the most zealous asserters of the faith, we must conclude them to have been nothing inferior to any that can be charged on Cranmer; whom if we consider narrowly, we shall find as eminent virtues and as few faults in him, as in any prelate that has been in the Christian church for many ages. And if he was prevailed on to deny his Master through fear, he did wash off that stain by a sincere repentance and a patient martyrdom, in which he expressed an eminent resentment

of his former frailty, with a pitch of constancy of mind above the rate of modern examples.

But their virtues as well as their faults are set before us for our instruction; and how frail soever the vessels were, they have conveyed to us a treasure of great value, —the pure gospel of our Lord and Saviour: which if we follow, and govern our lives and hearts by it, we may hope in easier and plainer paths to attain that blessedness which they could not reach but through scorching flames: and if we do not improve the advantages which this light affords, we may either look for some of those trials which were sent for the exercise of their faith and patience, and perhaps for the punishment of their former compliance; or if we escape these, we have cause to fear worse in the conclusion.

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# THE HISTORY

OF THE

# REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

## PART I.—BOOK I.

A SUMMARY VIEW OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH'S REIGN, TILL THE PROCESS OF HIS DIVORCE WAS BEGUN, IN WHICH THE STATE OF ENGLAND, CHIEFLY AS IT RELATED TO RELIGION, IS OPENED.

England had for a whole age felt the miseries of a long and cruel war between the two houses of York and Lancaster; during which time as the crown had lost great dominions beyond sea, so the nation was much impoverished, many noble families extinguished, much blood shed, great animosities everywhere raised, with all the other miseries of a lasting civil war: but they now saw all these happily composed, when the two families did unite in king Henry VIII. In his father's reign they were rather cemented and joined than united; whose great partiality to the house of Lancaster, from which he was descended, and severity to the branches of the house of York, in which even his own queen had a large share, together with the impostors that were set up to disturb his reign, kept these heats alive, which were now all buried in his grave: and this made the succession of his son so universally acceptable to the whole nation, who now hoped to revive their former pretensions in France, and to have again a large share in all the affairs of Europe, from which their domestic broils had so long excluded them.

King Henry's succession to the crown, Apr. 22, 1509.

There was another thing, which made his first coming to the crown no less acceptable, which was, that the same day that his father died*, he ordered Dudley and Empson to be committed to the Tower: his father, whether out of policy, or inclination, or both, was all his life much set on the gathering of treasure, so that those ministers were most acceptable who could fill his coffers best: and though this occasioned some tumults, and disposed the people to all those commotions which fell out in his reign; yet he being successful in them all, continued in his course of heaping up money.

He proceeds against Dudley and Empson.

Towards the end of his life, he found out those two instruments, who outdid all that went before them; and what by vexatious suits upon penal but obsolete laws, what by unjust imprisonments, and other violent and illegal proceedings, raised a general odium upon the government; and this grew upon him with his years, and was come to so great a height towards the end of his life, that he died in good time for his own quiet: for as he used all possible endeavours to get money, so what he got he as carefully kept, and distributed very little of it among those about him, so that he had many enemies, and but few friends. This

* Hall says the same day, L. Herbert says the day following.

being well considered by his son, he began his government with the disgrace of those two ministers, against whom he proceeded according to law; all the other inferior officers whom they had made use of were also imprisoned.

When they had thus fallen, many and great complaints came in from all parts against them; they also, apprehending the danger they were like to be in upon their master's death, had been practising with their partners to gather about them all the power they could bring together, whether to secure themselves from popular rage, or to make themselves seem considerable, or formidable to the new king. This and other crimes being brought in against them, they were found guilty of treason in a legal trial. But the king judged this was neither a sufficient reparation to his oppressed people nor satisfaction to justice: therefore he went further, and both ordered restitution to be made by his father's executors of great sums of money, which had been unjustly extorted from his subjects; and in his first parliament, which he summoned to the 21st of January following, he not only delivered up Empson and Dudley, with their accomplices, to the justice of the two houses, who attainted them by act of parliament, and a little after gave order for their execution, [August 18th]; but did also give his royal assent to those other laws by which the subject was secured from the like oppressions for the future: and that he might not at all be suspected of any such inclinations as his father had to amass treasure, he was the most magnificent in his expense of any prince in Christendom, and very bountiful to all about him; and as one extreme commonly produces another, so his father's covetousness led him to be prodigal, and the vast wealth which was left him, being reckoned no less than 1,800,000*l.*, was in three years dissipated, as if the son in his expense had vied industry with his father in all his thrift.

Hall.

He holds a Parliament, Jan. 21, 1510.

His great Expense.

Thomas earl of Surrey (afterwards duke of Norfolk) to show how compliant he was to the humours of the princes whom he served, as he had been lord-treasurer to the father the last seven years of his life; so being continued in the same office by this king, did as dexterously comply with his prodigality, as he done formerly with his father's sparingness.

But this in the beginning of the prince's reign did much endear him both to the court and nation; there being a freer circulation of money, by which trade was encouraged; and the courtiers tasted so liberally of the king's bounty that he was everywhere much magnified, though his expense proved afterwards heavier to the subject than ever his father's avarice had been.

Another thing that raised the credit of this king was, the great esteem he was in beyond sea, both for his wisdom and power; so that in all the treaties of peace and war he was always much considered; and he did so exactly pursue that great maxim of princes, of holding the balance, that still as it grew heavier, whether in the scale of France or Spain, he governed himself and them as a wise arbiter. His first action was against France, which by the accession of the duchy of Brittany, through his father's oversight, was made greater and more formidable to the neighbouring princes; therefore the French successes in Italy having united all the princes there against them, Spain and England willingly joined themselves in the quarrel. The kingdom of Spain being also then united, conquered Navarre, which set them at great ease, and weakened the king of France on that side; whose affairs also declining in Italy, this king finding him so much lessened, made peace with him, having first managed his share of the war with great honour at sea and land: for, going over in person, he did both defeat the French army, and take Terwin and Tournay; the former he demolished, the latter he kept: and in these exploits he had an unusual honour done him, which though it was a slight thing, yet was very pleasant to him,—Maximilian the emperor taking pay in his army, amounting to a hundred crowns a day, and upon all public solemnities giving the king the precedence.

His affairs beyond Sea.

A War with France.

Aug. 24, & Oct. 2, 1513.

The peace between England and France was made firmer by Louis the French king's marrying Mary the king's sister; but he dying soon after *, new counsels were to be taken. Francis, who succeeded, did in the beginning of his reign court this king with great offers to renew the peace with him, which was accordingly done. Afterward Francis falling in with all his force upon the duchy of Milan, all

Aug. 7, 1514. A Peace, and a Match with France. Oct. 9.

* Louis died Jan. 1, 1515.



endeavours were used to engage king Henry into the war, both by the pope and emperor, this last feeding him long with hopes of resigning the empire to him, which wrought much on him; insomuch that he did give them a great supply in money, but he could not be engaged to divert Francis by making war upon him: and Francis ending the war of Italy by a peace, was so far from resenting what the king had done, that he courted him into a straiter league, and a match was agreed between the dauphin and the lady Mary, the king's daughter, and Tournay was delivered up to the French again.

Lady Mary betrothed to the Dauphin, Oct. 8, 1518.

But now Charles, archduke of Austria by his father, and heir to the house of Burgundy by his grandmother, and to the crown of Spain by his mother, began to make a great figure in the world; and his grandfather Maximilian dying, Francis and he were co-rivals for the empire: but Charles being preferred in the competition, there followed, what through personal animosities, what through reason of state, and a desire of conquest, lasting wars between them; which though they were sometimes for a while closed up, yet were never clearly ended. And those two great monarchs, as they eclipsed most other princes about them, so they raised this king's glory higher, both courting him by turns, and that not only by earnest and warm addresses, but oft by unusual submissions; in which they, knowing how great an ingredient vanity was in his temper, were never deficient when their affairs required it: all which tended to make him appear greater in the eyes of his own people. In the year 1520, there was an interview agreed on between the French king and him; but the emperor, to prevent the effects he feared from it, resolved to outdo the French king in the compliment, and without any treaty or previous assurances came to Dover, and solicited the king's friendship against Francis; and to advance his design gained cardinal Wolsey, who then governed all the king's counsels, by the promise of making him pope; in which he judged he might, for a present advantage, promise a thing that seemed to be at so great a distance (pope Leo X. being then but a young man), and with rich presents, which he made both to the king, the cardinal, and all the court, wrought much on them. But that which prevailed most with the king was, that he saw, though Charles had great dominions, yet they lay at such a distance that France alone was a sufficient counterpoise to him; but if Francis could keep Milan, recover Naples, Burgundy, and Navarre, to all which he was then preparing, he would be an uneasy neighbour to himself; and if he kept the footing he then had in Italy, he would lie so heavy on the papacy that the popes could no longer carry equally in the affairs of Christendom, upon which much depended, according to the religion of that time. Therefore he resolved to take part with the emperor till at least Francis was driven out of Italy and reduced to juster terms; so that the following interview between Francis and him produced nothing but a vast expense and high compliments: and from a second interview between the king and the emperor, Francis was full of jealousy, in which what followed justified his apprehensions; for the war going on between the emperor and Francis, the king entered in a league with the former, and made war upon France.

Emperor dies, Jan. 12, 1519. Charles elected, June 28.

1520.

The Emperor comes to England, May 26.

June 7.

July 10. A second War with France.

But the pope dying sooner than it seems the emperor looked for, cardinal Wolsey claimed his promise for the papacy; but before the messenger came to him, Adrian, the emperor's tutor, was chosen pope; yet to feed the cardinal with fresh hopes, a new promise was made for the next vacancy, and in the meanwhile he was put in hope of the archbishopric of Toledo. But two years after, that pope dying, the emperor again broke his word with him; yet though he was thereby totally alienated from him, he concealed his indignation, till the public concerns should give him a good opportunity to prosecute it upon a better colour; and by his letters to Rome, dissembled his resentments so artificially, that in a congratulation he wrote to pope Clement, he "protested his election was matter of such joy both to the king and himself, that nothing had ever befallen them which pleased them better, and that he was the very person whom they had wished to see raised to that great-

Leo X. dies Dec. 1, 1521. Adrian chosen Pope Jan. 9, 1522. He died Sept. 14, 1523. Clement VII. chosen Nov. 19.

ness*." But while the war went on, the emperor did cajole the king with the highest compliments possible, which always wrought much on him, and came in person into England to be installed knight of the garter; where a new league was concluded, by which, beside mutual assistance, a match was agreed on between the emperor and the lady Mary, the king's only child by his queen, of whom he had no hopes of more issue. This was sworn to on both hands, and the emperor was obliged, when she was of age, to marry her, *per verba de presenti*, under pain of excommunication, and the forfeiture of 100,000*l*.

1522. Emperor landed at Dover, May 26.

The Emperor contracted to the King's Daughter, June 19.

The war went on with great success on the emperor's part, especially after the battle of Pavia, in which Francis's army was totally defeated, and himself taken prisoner and carried into Spain. After which the emperor, being much offended with the pope for joining with Francis, turned his arms against him, which were so successful that he besieged and took Rome†, and kept the pope prisoner six months.

May 6, 1527.

The cardinal finding the public interests concur so happily with his private distastes, engaged the king to take part with France, and afterwards with the pope against the emperor, his greatness now becoming the terror of Christendom; for the emperor, lifted up with his success, began to think of no less than an universal empire. And first, that he might unite all Spain together, he preferred a match with Portugal, to that which he had before contracted in England; and he thought it not enough to break off his sworn alliance with the king, but he did it with a heavy imputation on the lady Mary: for in his council it was said that she was illegitimate, as being born in an unlawful marriage, so that no advantage could be expected from her title to the succession, as will appear more particularly in the Second Book. And the pope having dispensed with the oath, he married the Infanta of Portugal. Besides, though the king of England had gone deep in the charge, he would give him no share in the advantages, of the war; much less give him that assistance which he had promised him, to recover his ancient inheritance in France. The king being irritated with this manifold ill usage, and led on by his own interests, and by the offended cardinal, joined himself to the interests of France. Upon which there followed not only a firm alliance, but a personal friendship, which appeared in all the most obliging expressions that could be devised. And upon the king's threatening to make war on the emperor, the French king was set at liberty, though on very hard terms, if anything can be hard that sets a king out of prison; but he still acknowledged he owed his liberty to king Henry.

March 18, 1526.

Then followed the famous Clementine league between the pope and Francis, the Venetians, the Florentines, and Francis Sforza duke of Milan, by which the pope absolved the French king from the oath he had sworn at Madrid, and they all united against the emperor, and declared the king of England protector of the league. This gave the emperor great distaste, who complained of the pope as an ungrateful and perfidious person. The first beginning of the storm fell heavy on the pope; for the French king, who had a great mind to have his children again into his own hands, that lay hostages in Spain, went on but slowly in performing his part. And the king of England would not openly break with the emperor, but seemed to reserve himself to be arbiter between the princes. So that the Colonnas being of the imperial faction, with 3000 men entered Rome, and sacked a part of it, forcing the pope to fly into the castle of St. Angelo, and to make peace with the emperor. But as soon as that fear was over, the pope, returning to his old arts, complained of the cardinal of Colonna, and resolved to deprive him of that dignity, and with an army entered the kingdom of Naples, taking divers places that belonged to that family. But the confederates coming slowly to his assistance, and he hearing of great forces that were coming from Spain against him, submitted

The Clementine league. May 22, 1526.

Sept. 20.

* Among the corrections printed at the end of the third part of the original edition is the following, given anonymously:—"I have seen a collection of this cardinal's letters, and amongst 'em the same letter, as I suppose, that is here quoted; wherein he presses the emperor's and his master's interest with great zeal, and solicits the new elected pope to join with them against the French; and that in such a manner as seems to leave no room for dissimulation. To the same purpose in the following letter. Collect. MS. p. 47, 23."

† This is the siege mentioned in the next page, laid by the Constable de Bourbon, who fell in the assault.—ED.



MARGARET OF LANCASTER,

MOTHER OF HENRY VII.

OB. 1509.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF

THE RT HON^BLE THE EARL OF DERBY

himself to the emperor, and made a cessation of arms; but being again encouraged with some hopes from his allies, and (by a creation of fourteen cardinals for money) having raised 300,000 ducats he disowned the treaty, and gave the kingdom of Naples to count Vaudemont, whom he sent with forces to subdue it. But the duke of Bourbon prevented him, and went to Rome, and giving the assault, in which himself received his mortal wound, the city was taken by storm, and plundered for several days, about 5000 being killed. The pope with seventeen cardinals fled to the castle St. Angelo, but was forced to render his person, and to pay 400,000 ducats to the army.

1527.

Rome taken and sacked May 6.

This gave great offence to all the princes of Christendom, except the Lutherans of Germany; but none resented it more loudly than this king, who sent over cardinal Wolsey to make up a new treaty with Francis, which was chiefly intended for setting the pope at liberty. Nor did the emperor know well how to justify an action which seemed so inconsistent with his devotion to the see of Rome; yet the pope was for some months detained a prisoner, till at length the emperor having brought him to his own terms, ordered him to be set at liberty: but he being weary of his guards escaped in a disguise, and owned his liberty to have flowed chiefly from the king's endeavours to procure it. And thus stood the king as to foreign affairs: he had infinitely obliged both the pope and the French king, and was firmly united to them, and engaged in a war against the emperor, when he began first to move about his divorce.

July 11.

December 9.

As for Scotland, the near alliance between him and James IV. king of Scotland, did not take away the standing animosities between the two nations, nor interrupt the alliance between France and Scotland. And therefore when he made the first war upon France in the fourth year of his reign, the king of Scotland came with a great army into the north of England, but was totally defeated by the earl of Surrey in Flodden field. The king himself was either killed in the battle, or soon after; so that the kingdom falling under factions, during the minority of the new king, the government was but feeble, and scarce able to secure its own quiet. And the duke of Albany, the chief instrument of the French faction, met with such opposition from the parties that were raised against him by king Henry's means, that he could give him no disturbance. And when there came to be a lasting peace between England and France, then, as the king needed fear no trouble from that warlike nation, so he got a great interest in the government there. And at this time money becoming a more effectual engine than any the war had ever produced, and the discovery of the Indies having brought great wealth into Europe, princes began to deal more in that trade than before: so that both France and England had their instruments in Scotland, and gave considerable yearly pensions to the chief heads of parties and families. In the search I have made, I have found several warrants for sums of money, to be sent into Scotland, and divided there among the favourers of the English interest; and it is not to be doubted but France traded in the same manner, which continued till a happier way was found out for extinguishing these quarrels, both the crowns being set on one head.

The king's success against Scotland; Sept. 9, 1513.

Having thus showed the state of this king's government as to foreign matters, I shall next give an account of the administration of affairs at home, both as to civil and spiritual matters. The king upon his first coming to the crown did choose a wise council, partly out of those whom his father had trusted, partly out of those that were recommended to him by his grandmother, the countess of Richmond and Derby*, in whom was the right of the house of Lancaster, though she willingly devolved her pretensions on her son, claiming nothing to herself, but the satisfaction of being mother to a king. She was a wise and religious woman, and died soon after her grandson came to the crown. There was a faction in the council between Fox, bishop of Winchester, and the lord treasurer, which could never be well made up, though they were often reconciled:

His Counsels at home.

1509.

* The "venerable Margaret," the foundress of Christchurch and St. John's colleges, Cambridge. She was descended from John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford, and marrying Edmund earl of Richmond, the son of queen Katherine, widow of Henry V. and Owen Tudor, placed the line of Tudor on the throne in the person of her son Henry VII.—Ed.

Fox always complaining of the lord treasurer, for squandering away so soon that vast mass of treasure, left by the king's father, in which the other justified himself, that what he did was by the king's warrants which he could not disobey: but Fox objected that he was too easy to answer, if not to procure these warrants, and that he ought to have given the king better advice. In the king's first parliament, things went as he desired upon his delivering up Empson and Dudley, in which his preventing the severity of the houses, and proceeding against them at the common law, as it secured his ministers from an unwelcome precedent, so the whole honour of it fell on the king's justice.

Jan. 21, 1510.

His next parliament was in the third year of his reign, and there was considered the brief from pope Julius II. to the king, complaining of the indignities and injuries done to the apostolic see and the pope by the French king, and entreating the king's assistance with such cajoling words as are always to be expected from popes on the like occasions. It was first read by the master of the rolls in the House of Lords, and then the lord chancellor (Warham archbishop of Canterbury) and the lord treasurer, with other lords, went down to the House of Commons and read it there. Upon this and other reasons they gave the king subsidies towards the war with France. At this time Fox, to strengthen his party against the lord treasurer, finding Thomas Wolsey to be a likely man to get into the king's favour, used all his endeavours to raise him, who was at that time neither unknown nor inconsiderable, being lord almoner; he was at first made a privy councillor, and frequently admitted to the king's presence, and waited on him over to France. The king liked him well, which he so managed that he quickly engrossed the king's favour to himself, and for fifteen years together was the most absolute favourite that had ever been seen in England; all foreign treaties and places of trust at home were at his ordering; he did what he pleased, and his ascendant over the king was such, that there never appeared any party against him all that while. The great artifice by which he insinuated himself so much on the king, is set down very plainly by one that knew him well, in these words: "In him the king conceived such a loving fancy, especially for that he was most earnest and readiest in all the counsel to advance the king's only will and pleasure, having no respect to the case; and whereas the ancient councillors would, according to the office of good councillors, divers times persuade the king to have some time a recourse unto the council, there to hear what was done in weighty matters, the king was nothing at all pleased therewith; for he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to do anything contrary to his pleasure, and that knew the almoner very well, having secret insinuations of the king's intentions; and so fast as the others counselled the king to leave his pleasures, and to attend to his affairs, so busily did the almoner persuade him to the contrary, which delighted him much, and caused him to have the greater affection and love to the almoner." Having got into such power, he observed the king's inclinations exactly, and followed his interests closely: for though he made other princes retain him with great presents and pensions, yet he never engaged the king into any alliance, but what was for his advantage. For affairs at home, after he was established in his greatness, he affected to govern without parliaments, there being from the seventh year of his reign, after which he got the great seal, but one parliament in the fourteenth and fifteenth year, and no more till the one-and-twentieth, when matters were turning about: but he raised great sums of money by loans and benevolences. And, indeed, if we look on him as a minister of state, he was a very extraordinary person; but as he was a churchman, he was the disgrace of his profession. He not only served the king in all his secret pleasures, but was lewd and vicious himself; so that his having the French pox (which in those days was a matter of no small infamy) was so public, that it was brought against him in parliament when he fell in disgrace: he was a man of most extravagant vanity, as appears by the great state he lived in; and to feed that, his ambition and covetousness were proportionable.

Cardinal Wolsey's rising.

Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, MSS. in Bibliothecâ. Nob. D. G. Pierpoint.

He was first made bishop of Tournay when that town was taken from the French; then he was made bishop of Lincoln*, which was the first bishopric that fell void in this kingdom; after that, upon cardinal Bembridge's death, he parted with Lincoln, and was made archbishop of York†; then Adrian, that was a cardinal and bishop

Oct. 1513.

* Rest. temp. 4 March, 5 Regni, 1 Part, Rot. Pat.

† Novemb. 6 Regni, 1 Part, R. P.



Engraved by T. H. Maguire

# CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

OB. 1545.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

of Bath and Wells, being deprived, that see was given to him*; then the Abbey of St. Albans† was given to him *in commendam;* he next parted with Bath and Wells, and got the bishopric of Durham‡, which he afterwards exchanged for the bishopric of Winchester §. But besides all that he had in his own hands, the king granted him a full power of disposing of all the ecclesiastical benefices in England (which brought him in as much money as all the places he held), for having so vast a power committed to him both from the king and the pope as to church-preferments, it may be easily gathered what advantages a man of his temper would draw from it. Warham was lord chancellor the first seven years of the king's reign, but retired to give place to this aspiring favourite, who had a mind to the great seal, that there might be no interfering between the legantine and chancery courts. And perhaps it wrought somewhat on his vanity, that even after he was cardinal, Warham as lord chancellor took place of him, as appears from the entries made in the journals of the house of peers in the parliament held the seventh year of the king's reign, and afterwards gave him place, as appears on many occasions, particularly in the letter written to the pope 1530, set down by the lord Herbert, which the cardinal subscribed before Warham. We have nothing on record to show what a speaker he was, for all the journals of parliament from the seventh to the twenty-fifth year of this king are lost, but it is like he spoke as his predecessor in that office Warham did, whose speeches, as they are entered in the journals, are sermons begun with a text of scripture, which he expounded and applied to the business they were to go upon, stuffing them with the most fulsome flattery of the king that was possible.

The next in favour and power was the lord-treasurer, restored to his father's honour of duke of Norfolk, to whom his son succeeded in that office as well as in his hereditary honours; and managed his interest with the king so dexterously that he stood in all the changes that followed, and continued lord-treasurer during the reign of this king, till near the end of it, when he fell through jealousy rather than guilt: this showed how dexterous a man he was, that could stand so long in that employment under such a king.

But the chief favourite in the king's pleasures was Charles Brandon, a gallant graceful person; one of the strongest men of the age, and so a fit match for the king at his jousts and tiltings, which was the manly diversion of that time; and the king taking much pleasure in it, being of a robust body, and singularly expert at it, he, who was so able to second him in these courses, grew mightily in his favour; so that he made him first viscount Lisle, and some months after, duke of Suffolk. Nor was he less in the ladies' favours than the king's; for his sister, the lady Mary, liked him; and being but so long married to king Louis of France, as to make her queen-dowager of France, she resolved to choose her second husband herself, and cast her eye on the duke of Suffolk, who was then sent over to the court of France. Her brother had designed the marriage between them, yet would not openly give his consent to it; but she, by a strange kind of wooing, prefixed him the term of four days to gain her consent, in which she told him, if he did not prevail, he should for ever lose all his hopes of having her; though, after such a declaration, he was like to meet with no great difficulty from her. So they were married; and the king was easily pacified, and received them into favour; neither did his favour die with her, for it continued all his life: but he never meddled much in business, and by all that appears was a better courtier than statesman. Little needs be said of any other person more than will afterwards occur.

May 15. 5to. Reg., 1 Part. Rot. Pat.

April 1515. Lady Mary died June 23, 1533.

The king loved to raise mean persons, and upon the least distaste to throw them down; and falling into disgrace, he spared not to sacrifice them to public discontents. His court was magnificent, and his expense vast; he indulged himself in his pleasures: and the hopes of children (besides the lady Mary) failing by the queen, he, who of all things desired issue most, kept one Elizabeth Blunt, by whom he had Henry Fitzroy, whom, in the 17th year of his reign, he created earl of Nottingham, and the same day made him duke of Richmond and Somerset, and intended afterwards to have put him in the succession of the crown after his other children; but his death prevented it.

June 17, 18 Reg., Rot. Pat. Duke Rich. died June 22, 1536.

* Aug. 28, 10 Regni, 1 Part, R. P.
† Decemb. 7, 13 Regni, 3 Part, R. P.
‡ April 30, 15 Regni, 2 Part, R. P.
§ May 4, 20 Regni, 1 Part, R. P.

As for his parliaments, he took great care to keep a good understanding with them, and chiefly with the House of Commons, by which means he seldom failed to carry matters as he pleased among them: only in the parliament held in the 14th and 15th of his reign, the demand of the subsidy towards the war with France being so high as 800,000*l.*, the fifth of men's goods and lands to be paid in four years, and the cardinal being much hated, there was great opposition made to it: for which the cardinal blamed sir Thomas More much, who was then speaker of the House of Commons; and finding that which was offered was not above the half of what was asked, went himself to the House of Commons, and desired to hear the reasons of those who opposed his demands, that he might answer them: but he was told the order of their house was to reason only among themselves, and so went away much dissatisfied. It was with great difficulty that they obtained a subsidy of three shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years. This disappointment, it seems, did so offend the cardinal, that as no parliament had been called for seven years before, so there was none summoned for seven years after. And thus stood the civil government of England in the 19th year of the king's reign, when the matter of the divorce was first moved. But I shall next open the state of affairs in reference to religious and spiritual concerns.

King Henry was bred with more care than had been usually bestowed on the education of princes for many ages, who had been only trained up to those exercises that prepared them to war; and if they could read and write, more was not expected of them. But learning began now to flourish; and as the house of Medici in Florence had great honour by the protection it gave to learned men, so other princes everywhere cherished the muses. King Henry VII., though illiterate himself, yet took care to have his children instructed in good letters. And it generally passes current, that he bred his second son a scholar, having designed him to be archbishop of Canterbury, but that has no foundation; for the writers of that time tell, that his elder brother, prince Arthur, was also bred a scholar. And all the instruction king Henry had in learning must have been after his brother was dead, when that design had vanished with his life. For he being born the 18th of June, 1491, and prince Arthur dying the 2nd of April, 1502, he was not full eleven years of age when he became prince of Wales; at which age princes have seldom made any great progress in learning. But king Henry VII., judging either that it would make his sons greater princes, and fitter for the management of their affairs, or, being jealous of their looking too early into business, or their pretending to the crown upon their mother's title, which might have been a dangerous competition to him, that was so little beloved by his subjects, took this method for amusing them with other things: thence it was that his son was the most learned prince that had been in the world for many ages, and deserved the title Beau-clerke on a better account than his predecessor, that long before had carried it. The learning then in credit was either that of the schools, about abstruse questions of divinity, which, from the days of Lombard *, were debated and descanted on with much subtlety and nicety, and exercised all speculative divines; or the study of the canon-law, which was the way to business and preferment. To the former of these the king was much addicted, and delighted to read often in Thomas Aquinas; and this made cardinal Wolsey more acceptable to him, who was chiefly conversant in that sort of learning. He loved the purity of the Latin tongue, which made him be so kind to Erasmus, that was the great restorer of it, and to Polydore Virgil; though neither of these made their court dexterously with the cardinal, which did much intercept the king's favour to them; so that the one left England, and the other was

He was bred a Scholar.

* Peter Lombard, known in the schools as "the master of the sentences," was born at Novara in Lombardy, whence he took his name. He was educated at Bologna and Rheims, under St. Bernard, and afterwards removed to the university of Paris, where he attained a high reputation, and was promoted to the canonry of Chartres, and ultimately to the bishopric of Paris, which, for his sake, was declined by his pupil, Philip, the younger son of king Louis le Gros, who had been designed for that dignity. Lombard died in 1164, four years after he was installed in the bishopric, and was buried in the church of Marcellus, in the suburb of that name. His work of the "Sentences," divided into four books, contains an illustration of the doctrines of the church, in a collection of sentences or passages taken from the fathers. It obtained so high a degree of celebrity, that in a short time it was the only work taught in the schools; and the author was, by way of eminence, called the "Master of the Sentences," and was accounted the chief of the scholastic divines. Greater veneration was paid to his book than even to the scriptures, a circumstance which called down the severe animadversions of the learned Bacon, in a letter he addressed to pope Clement IV.—ED.



but coarsely used in it, who has sufficiently revenged himself upon the cardinal's memory. The philosophy then in fashion was so intermixed with their divinity, that the king understood it too; and was also a good musician, as appears by two whole masses which he composed. He never wrote well, but scrawled so that his hand was scarce legible.

Being thus inclined to learning, he was much courted by all hungry scholars, who generally over Europe dedicated their books to him with such flattering epistles, that it very much lessens him to see how he delighted in such stuff. For if he had not taken pleasure in it, and rewarded them, it is not likely that others should have been every year writing after such ill copies. Of all things in the world, flattery wrought most on him; and no sort of flattery pleased him better than to have his great learning and wisdom commended. And in this his parliaments, his courtiers, his chaplains, foreigners and natives, all seemed to vie who should exceed most, and came to speak to him in a style which was scarce fit to be used to any creature. But he designed to entail these praises on his memory, cherishing churchmen more than any king in England had ever done; he also courted the pope with a constant submission, and upon all occasions made the pope's interests his own, and made war and peace as they desired him: so that had he died any time before the 19th year of his reign, he could scarce have escaped being canonized, notwithstanding all his faults; for he abounded in those virtues which had given saintship to kings for near one thousand years together, and had done more than they all did, by writing a book for the Roman faith.

England had, for above three hundred years, been the tamest part of Christendom to the papal authority, and had been accordingly dealt with. But though the parliaments and two or three high-spirited kings had given some interruption to the cruel exactions and other illegal proceedings of the court of Rome, yet that court always gained their designs in the end. But even in this king's days the crown was not quite stripped of all its authority over spiritual persons. The investitures of bishops and abbots, which had been originally given by the delivery of the pastoral ring and staff by the kings of England, were, after some opposition, wrung out of their hands; yet I find they retained another thing, which upon the matter was the same. When any see was vacant, a writ was issued out of the chancery for seizing on all the temporalities of the bishopric, and then the king recommended one to the pope, upon which his bulls were expeded at Rome, and so by a warrant from the pope he was consecrated, and invested in the spiritualities of the see; but was to appear before the king either in person or by proxy, and renounce every clause in his letters and bulls that were or might be prejudicial to the prerogative of the crown, or contrary to the laws of the land, and was to swear fealty and allegiance to the king. And after this a new writ was issued out of the chancery, bearing that this was done, and that thereupon the temporalities should be restored. Of this there are so many precedents in the records, that every one that has searched them must needs find them in every year; but when this began I leave to the more learned in the law to discover. And for proof of it the reader will find in the collection the fullest record which I met with concerning it in Henry VII.'s reign, of cardinal Adrian's being invested in the bishopric of Bath and Wells. So that upon the matter the kings then disposed of all bishoprics, keeping that still in their own hands which made them most desired in those ages; and so had the bishops much at their devotion.

The King's Prerogative in Ecclesiastical matters.

Custodia Temporalitatis.

Restitutio Temporalitatis.

Collect. Numb. 15.

But king Henry in a great degree parted with this, by the above-mentioned power granted to cardinal Wolsey, who being legate as well as lord chancellor, it was thought a great error in government to lodge such a trust with him which might have passed into a precedent for other legates pretending to the same power, since the papal greatness had thus risen, and oft upon weaker grounds, to the height it was then at. Yet the king had no mind to suffer the laws made against the suing out of bulls in the court of Rome without his leave to be neglected; for I find several licences granted to sue bulls in that court, bearing for their preamble the statute of the 16th of Richard II. against the pope's pretended power in England.

Licence to the Prior of Peterboro'. Nov. 3. 1 Part. 5to Reg. Rot. Pat.

But the immunity of ecclesiastical persons was a thing that occasioned great complaints.

And good cause there was for them. For it was ordinary for persons, after the greatest crimes, to get into orders; and then not only what was past must be forgiven them, but they were not to be questioned for any crime after holy orders given, till they were first degraded; and till that was done they were the bishops' prisoners. Whereupon there rose a great dispute in the beginning of this king's reign, of which none of our historians having taken any notice, I shall give a full account of it.

King Henry VII., in his fourth parliament, did a little lessen the privileges of the clergy, enacting that clerks convicted should be burnt in the hand. But this not proving a sufficient restraint, it was enacted in parliament in the fourth year of this king, that all murderers and robbers should be denied the benefit of their clergy. But though this seemed a very just law, yet to make it pass through the House of Lords, they added two provisoes to it, the one for excepting all such as were within the holy orders of bishop, priest, or deacon; the other that the act should only be in force till the next parliament. With these provisoes it was unanimously assented to by the lords on the 26th January, 1513; and being agreed to by the commons, the royal assent made it a law: pursuant to which many murderers and felons were denied their clergy, and the law passed on them to the great satisfaction of the whole nation. But this gave great offence to the clergy, who had no mind to suffer their immunities to be touched or lessened. And judging that if the laity made bold with inferior orders, they would proceed further, even against sacred orders; therefore, as their opposition was such that the act not being continued did determine at the next parliament (that was in the fifth year of the king), so they not satisfied with that, resolved to fix a censure on that act as contrary to the franchises of the holy church. And the abbot of Winchelcomb being more forward than the rest, during the session of parliament, in the seventh year of this king's reign, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, said openly "That that act was contrary to the law of God, and to the liberties of the holy church, and that all who assented to it, as well spiritual as temporal persons, had by so doing incurred the censures of the church." And for confirmation of his opinion, he published a book to prove, that all clerks, whether of the greater or lower orders, were sacred, and exempted from all temporal punishment by the secular judge, even in criminal cases. This made great noise, and all the temporal lords, with the concurrence of the House of Commons, desired the king to suppress the growing insolence of the clergy. So there was a hearing of the matter before the king, with all the judges, and the king's temporal council. Dr. Standish, guardian of the mendicant friars in London (afterwards bishop of St. Aspah), the chief of the king's spiritual council, argued, that by the law clerks had been still convened and judged in the king's court for civil crimes, and that there was nothing either in the laws of God or the church inconsistent with it; and that the public good of the society, which was chiefly driven at by all laws, and ought to be preferred to all other things, required that crimes should be punished. But the abbot of Winchelcomb, being counsel for the clergy, excepted to this, and said, "There was a decree made by the church expressly to the contrary, to which all ought to pay obedience, under the pain of mortal sin; and that therefore the trying of clerks in the civil courts was a sin in itself." Standish, upon this turned to the king, and said, "God forbid that all the decrees of the church should bind. It seems the bishops think not so; for though there is a decree that they should reside at their cathedrals all the festivals of the year, yet the greater part of them do it not;" adding, "that no decree could have any force in England till it was received there; and that this decree was never received in England, but that as well since the making of it as before, clerks had been tried for crimes in the civil courts." To this the abbot made no answer, but brought a place of Scripture to prove this exemption to have come from our Saviour's words, *Nolite tangere Christos meos*,—Touch not mine anointed; and therefore princes ordering clerks to be arrested, and brought before their courts, was contrary to Scripture, against which no custom can take place. Standish replied, these words were never said by our Saviour, but were put by David in his Psalter, a thousand years before Christ; and he said these words had no relation to the civil judicatories, but because the greatest part of the world was then wicked, and but a small number believed the law, they were a charge to the rest of the world, not to do them harm. But though the abbot had

A Contest about the Ecclesiastical Immunity. Keilway's Reports.



been very violent, and confident of his being able to confound all that held the contrary opinion, yet he made no answer to this. The laity that were present being confirmed in their former opinion by hearing the matter thus argued, moved the bishops to order the abbot to renounce his former opinion, and recant his sermon at Paul's Cross. But they flatly refused to do it, and said they were bound by the laws of the holy church to maintain the abbot's opinion in every point of it. Great heats followed upon this during the sitting of the parliament, of which there is a very partial entry made in the journal of the lords' house; and no wonder, the clerk of the parliament, Doctor Tylor, doctor of the canon-law, being at the same time speaker of the lower house of convocation*. The entry is in these words:—"In this parliament and convocation there were most dangerous contentions between the clergy and the secular power, about the ecclesiastical liberties, one Standish, a minor friar, being the instrument and promoter of all that mischief." But a passage fell out, that made this matter be more fully prosecuted in the Michaelmas-term. One Richard Hunne, a merchant-tailor in London, was questioned by a clerk in Middlesex for a mortuary, pretended to be due for a child of his that died five weeks old. The clerk claiming the biering sheet, and Hunne refusing to give it; upon that he was sued, but his counsel advised him to sue the clerk in a premunire, for bringing the king's subjects before a foreign court; the spiritual court sitting by authority from the legate. This touched the clergy so in the quick, that they used all the arts they could to fasten heresy on him; and understanding that he had Wickliff's Bible, upon that he was attached of heresy, and put in the Lollard's Tower at Paul's, and examined upon some articles objected to him by Fitzjames, then bishop of London. He denied them as they were charged against him, but acknowledged he had said some words sounding that way, for which he was sorry, and asked God's mercy, and submitted himself to the bishop's correction; upon which he ought to have been enjoined penance, and set at liberty, but he persisting still in his suit in the king's courts, they used him most cruelly. On the 4th of December he was found hanged in the chamber where he was kept prisoner. And Dr. Horsey, chancellor to the bishop of London, with the other officers who had the charge of the prison, gave it out that he had hanged himself. But the coroner of London coming to hold an inquest on the dead body, they found him hanging so loose, and in a silk girdle, that they clearly perceived he was killed; they also found his neck had been broken, as they judged, with an iron chain; for the skin was all fretted and cut; they saw some streams of blood about his body, besides several other evidences, which made it clear he had not murdered himself; whereupon they did acquit the dead body, and laid the murder on the officers that had the charge of that prison: and by other proofs they found the bishop's sumner and the bell-ringer guilty of it, and by the deposition of the sumner himself, it did appear that the chancellor and he, and the bell-ringer, did murder him, and then hang him up.

Hunne hanged in Prison;

But as the inquest proceeded in this trial, the bishop began a new process against the dead body of Richard Hunne, for other points of heresy; and several articles were gathered out of Wickliff's Preface to the Bible with which he was charged: and his having the book in his possession being taken for good evidence, he was judged an heretic, and his body delivered to the secular power. When judgment was given, the bishops of Durham and Lincoln, with many doctors both of divinity and the canon law, sat with the bishop of London; so that it was looked on as an act of the whole clergy, and done by common consent. On the 20th of December his body was burnt at Smithfield.

And his Body burnt, Dec. 20, 1514.

But this produced an effect very different from what was expected, for it was hoped that he being found an heretic nobody should appear for him any more; whereas, on the contrary, it occasioned a great outcry, the man having lived in very good reputation among his neighbours; so that after that day the city of London was never well affected to the popish clergy, but inclined to follow anybody who spoke against them, and every one looked on it

* Made Clerk Oct. 29. 1 Reg. Rot. Pat. Part 1. "Journal Procerum 7 Hen. VIII. Dissolutum et finitum fuit hoc Parliamentum, 22 Dec. 1515. Johanne Tylor Juris Pontificii Doct. Clerico Parliamentorum Domini Regis: et eodem tempore Prolocutore Convocationis Cleri quod raro accidit. In hoc Parliamento et Convocatione periculosissimæ seditiones exortæ sunt inter Clerum et Secularem potestatem super libertatibus Ecclesiasticis, quodam Fratre Minore, nomine Standish, omnium malorum ministro ac stimulatore."—Hall and Fox.

as a cause of common concern. All exclaimed against the cruelty of their clergy, that for a man's suing a clerk according to law, he should be long and hardly used in a severe imprisonment, and at last cruelly murdered; and all this laid on himself to defame him, and ruin his family. And then to burn that body which they had so handled, was thought such a complication of cruelties, as few barbarians had ever been guilty of. The bishop, finding that the inquest went on, and the whole matter was discovered, used all possible endeavours to stop their proceedings; and they were often brought before the king's council, where it was pretended that all proceeded from malice and heresy. The cardinal laboured to procure an order to forbid their going any further, but the thing was both so foul and so evident that it could not be done; and that opposition made it more generally believed. In the parliament there was a bill sent up to the lords by the commons for restoring Hunne's children, which was passed, and had the royal assent to it; but another bill being brought in about this murder, it occasioned great heats among them. The bishop of London said that Hunne had hanged himself, that the inquest were false perjured caitiffs, and if they proceeded further he could not keep his house for heretics;—so that the bill which was sent up by the commons was but once read in the House of Lords, for the power of the clergy was great there. But the trial went on, and both the bishops, chancellor, and the sumner were indicted as principals in the murder.

April 3.

The convocation that was then sitting, finding so great a stir made, and that all their liberties were now struck at, resolved to call doctor Standish to an account for what he had said and argued in that matter, so he being summoned before them, some articles were objected to him by word of mouth, concerning the judging of clerks in civil courts; and the day following they being put in writing, the bill was delivered to him, and a day assigned for him to make answer. The doctor perceiving their intention, and judging it would go hard with him if he were tried before them, went and claimed the king's protection from this trouble that he was now brought in, for discharging his duty as the king's spiritual counsel. But the clergy made their excuse to the king, that they were not to question him for any thing he had said as the king's counsel, but for some lectures he read at St. Paul's and elsewhere, contrary to the law of God and liberties of the holy church, which they were bound to maintain; and desired the king's assistance, according to his coronation oath, and as he would not incur the censures of the holy church. On the other hand the temporal lords and judges, with the concurrence of the House of Commons, addressed to the king, to maintain the temporal jurisdiction according to his coronation oath, and to protect Standish from the malice of his enemies.

This put the king in great perplexity, for he had no mind to lose any part of his temporal jurisdiction, and on the other hand was no less apprehensive of the dangerous effects that might follow on a breach with the clergy. So he called for doctor Veysey, then dean of his chapel, and afterwards bishop of Exeter, and charged him upon his allegiance to declare the truth to him in that matter; which after some study he did, and said, upon his faith, conscience, and allegiance, he did think that the convening of clerks before the secular judge, which had been always practised in England, might well consist with the law of God and the true liberties of the holy church. This gave the king great satisfaction; so he commanded all the judges, and his council both spiritual and temporal, and some of both houses, to meet at Blackfriars, and to hear the matter argued. The bill against doctor Standish was read, which consisted of six articles that were objected to him. First, That he had said that the lower orders were not sacred. Secondly, That the exemption of clerks was not founded on a divine right. Thirdly, That the laity might coerce clerks when the prelates did not their duty. Fourthly, That no positive ecclesiastical law binds any but those who receive it. Fifthly, That the study of the canon-law was needless. Sixthly, That of the whole volume of the Decretum, so much as a man could hold in his fist, and no more, did oblige Christians. To these doctor Standish answered, that for those things expressed in the third, the fifth, and the sixth articles, he had never taught them; as for his asserting them at any time in discourse, as he did not remember it, so he did not much care whether he had done it or not. To the first he said, lesser orders in one sense are sacred, and in another they are not sacred. For the second and fourth, he confessed he had taught



them, and was ready to justify them. It was objected by the clergy, that as by the law of God no man could judge his father, it being contrary to that commandment, Honour thy Father,—so, churchmen being spiritual fathers, they could not be judged by the laity, who were their children. To which he answered, that as that only concluded in favour of priests, those in inferior orders not being fathers, so it was a mistake to say a judge might not sit upon his natural father, for the judge was by another relation above his natural father; and though the commandment is conceived in general words, yet there are some exceptions to be admitted, as though it be said, Thou shalt not kill,—yet in some cases we may lawfully kill; so in the case of justice a judge may lawfully sit on his father.

But doctor Veysey's argument was that which took most with all that were present. He said, it was certain that the laws of the church did not bind any but those who received them. To prove this, he said, that in old times all secular priests were married, but in the days of St. Augustine, the apostle of England, there was a decree made to the contrary, which was received in England and in many other places, by virtue whereof the secular priests in England may not marry; but this law not being universally received, the Greek church never judged themselves bound by it, so that to this day the priests in that church have wives as well as other secular men. If then the churches of the East, not having received the law of the celibate of the clergy, have never been condemned by the church for not obeying it, then the convening clerks having been always practised in England, was no sin, notwithstanding the decree to the contrary, which was never received here. Nor is this to be compared to those privileges that concern only a private man's interest; for the commonwealth of the whole realm was chiefly to be looked at, and to be preferred to all other things.

When the matter was thus argued on both sides, all the judges delivered their opinions, in these words:—"That all those of the convocation who did award the citation against Standish, were in the case of a *premunire facias*;" and added somewhat about the constitution of the parliament, which being foreign to my business, and contrary to a received opinion, I need not mention, but refer the reader to Keilway* for his information, if he desires to know more of it: and thus the court broke up. But soon after, all the lords spiritual and temporal, with many of the House of Commons, and all the judges and the king's council, were called before the king to Baynard's Castle; and in all their presence the cardinal kneeled down before the king, and in the name of the clergy said, "That none of them intended to do anything that might derogate from his prerogative, and least of all himself, who owed his advancement only to the king's favour. But this matter of convening of clerks, did seem to them all to be contrary to the laws of God, and the liberties of the church, which they were bound by their oaths to maintain according to their power." Therefore in their name he humbly begged, "that the king, to avoid the censures of the church, would refer the matter to the decision of the pope and his council, at the court of Rome." To which the king answered, "It seems to us that doctor Standish, and others of our spiritual council, have answered you fully in all points." The bishop of Winchester replied, "Sir, I warrant you doctor Standish will not abide by his opinion at his peril." But the doctor said, "What should one poor friar do alone, against all the bishops and clergy of England?" After a short silence the archbishop of Canterbury said, "That in former times divers holy fathers of the church had opposed the execution of that law, and some of them suffered martyrdom in the quarrel." To whom Fineux, lord chief-justice, said "That many holy kings had maintained that law, and many holy fathers had given obedience to it, which it is not to be presumed they would have done, had they known it to be contrary to the law of God:" and he desired to know by what law bishops could judge clerks for felony, it being a thing only determined by the temporal law; so that either it was not at all to be tried, or it was only in the temporal court; so that either clerks must do as they please or be tried in the civil courts. To this no answer being made, the king said these words: "By the permission and ordinance of God we are king of England, and the kings of England in times past had never any superior but God only. Therefore know you well that we will maintain the right of our crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time. And, as for

* See some notice of Keilway in the Appendix, No. 3.

your decrees, we are well assured that you of the spirituality go expressly against the words of divers of them, as hath been shown you by some of our council; and you interpret your decrees at your pleasure, but we will not agree to them more than our progenitors have done in former times." But the archbishop of Canterbury made most humble instance, that the matter might be so long respited, till they could get a resolution from the court of Rome, which they should procure at their own charges; and if it did consist with the law of God, they should conform themselves to the law of the land. To this the king made no answer; but the warrants being out against doctor Horsey, the bishop of London's chancellor, he did abscond in the archbishop's house; though it was pretended he was a prisoner there, till afterwards a temper was found, that Horsey should render himself a prisoner in the King's Bench and be tried. But the bishop of London made earnest applications to the cardinal that he would move the king to command the attorney-general to confess the indictment was not true, that it might not be referred to a jury; since he said the citizens of London did so favour heresy, that, if he were as innocent as Abel, they would find any clerk guilty. The king, not willing to irritate the clergy too much, and judging he had maintained his prerogative by bringing Horsey to the bar, ordered the attorney to do so. And accordingly when Horsey was brought to the bar, and indicted of murder, he pleaded not guilty; which the attorney acknowledging, he was dismissed, and went and lived at Exeter, and never again came back to London, either out of fear or shame. And for doctor Standish, upon the king's command, he was also dismissed out of the court of convocation.

It does not appear that the pope thought fit to interpose in this matter. For though, upon less provocations, popes had proceeded to the highest censures against princes, yet this king was otherwise so necessary to the pope at this time, that he was not to be offended. The clergy suffered much in this business, besides the loss of their reputation with the people, who involved them all in the guilt of Hunne's murder; for now their exemption being well examined, was found to have no foundation at all but in their own decrees; and few were much convinced by that authority, since, upon the matter, it was but a judgment of their own, in their own favours: nor was the city of London at all satisfied with the proceedings in the King's Bench, since there was no justice done; and all thought the king seemed more careful to maintain his prerogative than to do justice.

This I have related the more fully, because it seems to have had great influence on people's minds, and to have disposed them much to the changes that followed afterwards. How these things were entered in the books of convocation, cannot be now known. For among the other sad losses sustained in the late burning of London, this was one, that almost all the registers of the spiritual courts were burned, some few of the archbishops of Canterbury and bishops of London's registers being only preserved. But having compared Fox's account of this and some other matters, and finding it exactly according to the registers that are preserved, I shall the more confidently build on what he published from those records that are now lost.

This was the only thing in the first eighteen years of the king's reign that seemed to lessen the greatness of the clergy, but in all other matters he was a most faithful son of the see of Rome. Pope Julius, soon after his coming to the crown, sent him a golden rose, with a letter to archbishop Warham to deliver it[a], and though such presents might seem fitter for young children than for men of discretion, yet the king was much delighted with it: and to show his gratitude, there was a treaty[b] concluded the year following between the king and Ferdinand of Arragon, for the defence of the papacy against the French king. And when in opposition to the council, that the French king and some other princes and cardinals had called, first to Pisa (which was afterwards translated to Milan, and then to Lyons, that summoned the pope to appear before them, and suspended his authority), pope Julius called another council to be held in the Lateran[c]; the king sent the bishop of Worcester, the prior of St. John's, and the abbot of Winchelcomb, to sit in that council, in which there was such a representative of the Catholic church as had been for several of the latter ages in the Western church: in which a few bishops, packed out of several kingdoms, and many Italian bishops, with a vast number of abbots, priors,

The King obliged the Popes highly, and was much courted by them.

[a] Collect. Numb. 2d.

[b] Treaty Rolls 3 Reg.

[c] 19 Ap. 1512.



and other inferior dignified clergymen, were brought to confirm together whatever the popes had a mind to enact; which passing easily among them, was sent over the world with a stamp of sacred authority, as the decrees and decisions of the "holy universal church assembled in a general council."

Nor was there a worse understanding between this king and pope Leo X. that succeeded Julius, who did also compliment him with those papal presents of roses, and at his desire made Wolsey a cardinal; and above all other things obliged him by conferring on him the title of defender of the faith, (upon the presenting to the pope his book against Luther,) in a pompous letter signed by the pope, and twenty-seven cardinals, in which the king took great pleasure; affecting it always beyond all his other titles, though several of the former kings of England had carried the same title, as Spelman informs us. So easy a thing it was for popes to oblige princes in those days, when a title or a rose was thought a sufficient recompense for the greatest services.

1521. October 11.

L. Herbert.

The cardinal governing all temporal affairs as he did, it is not to be doubted but his authority was absolute in ecclesiastical matters, which seemed naturally to lie within his province; yet Warham made some opposition to him, and complained to the king of his encroaching too much in his legantine courts upon his jurisdiction; and the things being clearly made out, the king chid the cardinal sharply for it, who ever after that hated Warham in his heart, yet he proceeded more warily for the future.

But the cardinal drew the hatred of the clergy upon himself, chiefly by a bull which he obtained from Rome, giving him authority to visit all monasteries, and all the clergy of England, and to dispense with all the laws of the church for one whole year after the date of the bull. The power that was lodged in him by this bull was not more invidious, than the words in which it was conceived were offensive; for the preamble of it was full of severe reflections against the manners and ignorance of the clergy, who are said in it to have been delivered over to a reprobate mind. This, as it was a public defaming them, so, how true soever it might be, all thought it did not become the cardinal, whose vices were notorious and scandalous, to tax others whose faults were neither so great nor so eminent as his were.

A Bull for Reforming the Clergy; 10th June, 1519. L. Herbert, and Article 29 of his Impeachment.

He did also affect a magnificence and greatness, not only in his habit (being the first clergyman in England that wore silks) but in his family, his train, and other pieces of state, equal to that of kings. And even in performing divine offices, and saying mass, he did it with the same ceremonies that the popes use; who judge themselves so nearly related to God, that those humble acts of adoration, which are devotions in other persons, would abase them too much. He had not only bishops and abbots to serve him, but even dukes and earls to give him the water and the towel. He had certainly a vast mind; and he saw the corruptions of the clergy gave so great scandal, and their ignorance was so profound, that unless some effectual ways were taken for correcting these, they must needs fall into great disesteem with the people: for though he took great liberties himself, and perhaps, according to the maxim of the canonists, he judged cardinals as princes of the church were not comprehended within ordinary ecclesiastical laws; yet he seemed to have designed the reformation of the inferior clergy by all the means he could think of, except the giving them a good example: therefore, he intended to visit all the monasteries of England, that so discovering their corruptions, he might the better justify the design he had to suppress most of them, and convert them into bishoprics, cathedrals, collegiate churches and colleges: for which end he procured the bull from Rome; but he was diverted from making any use of it, by some who advised him rather to suppress monasteries by the pope's authority, than proceed in a method which would raise great hatred against himself, cast foul aspersions on religious orders, and give the enemies of the church great advantages against it. Yet he had communicated his design to the king; and his secretary Cromwell understanding it, was thereby instructed how to proceed afterwards when they went about the total suppression of the monasteries.

The Cardinal's Pride. Polydore Virgil.

He designs a Reformation;

And a Suppression of Monasteries.

The summoning of convocations he assumed by virtue of his legantine power. Of these there were two sorts, the first were called by the king; for with the writs for a parliament there went out always a summons to the two archbishops for calling a convocation of their provinces, the style of which will be found in the collection. It differs in nothing from what is now in use, but that the king did not prefix the day, requiring them only to be summoned to meet with all convenient speed; and the archbishops, having the king's pleasure signified to them, did in their writs prefix the day. Other convocations were called by the archbishops in their several provinces upon great emergencies to meet and treat of things relating to the church, and were provincial councils. Of this I find but one, and that called by Warham in the first year of this king, for restoring the ecclesiastical immunities that had been very much impaired, as will appear by the writ of summons. But the cardinal did now, as legate, issue out writs for convocations. In the year 1522, I find by the register there was a writ issued from the king to Warham to call one, who upon that summoned it to meet at St. Paul's the 20th of April. But the cardinal prevailed so far with the king that on the 2nd of May after, he, by his legantine authority, dissolved that convocation; and issued out a writ to Tonstall, bishop of London, to bring the clergy of Canterbury to St. Peter's in Westminster, there to meet and reform abuses in the church, and consider of other important matters that should be proposed to them. What they did towards reformation I know not, the records being lost: but as to the king's supply, it was proposed, that they should give the king the half of the full value of their livings for one year, to be paid in five years. The cardinal laid out to them how much the king had merited from the church, both by suppressing the schism that was like to have been in the papacy in pope Julius's time, and by protecting the see of Rome from the French tyranny; but most of all, for that excellent book written by him in defence of the faith against the heretics: and that, therefore, since the French king was making war upon him, and had sent over the duke of Albany to Scotland to make war also on that side, it was fit that on so great an occasion, it should appear that his clergy were sensible of their happiness in having such a king; which they ought to express in granting somewhat, that was as much beyond all former precedents, as the king had merited more from them than all former kings had ever done.

The Calling of Convocations.

Collect. Numb. 3d.

Collect. Numb. 4th.

Regist. Tonst. Fol. 33, 34.

But the bishops of Winchester and Rochester opposed this: for they both hated the cardinal. The one thought him ungrateful to him who had raised him: the other, being a man of a strict life, hated him for his vices. Both these spake against it as an unheard-of tax, which would so oppress the clergy, that it would not be possible for them to live and pay it; and that this would become a precedent for after-times, which would make the condition of the clergy most miserable. But the cardinal, who intended that the convocation by a great subsidy should lead the way to the parliament, took much pains for carrying it through; and got some to be absent, and others were prevailed on to consent to it: and, for the fear of its being made a precedent, a clause was put in the act, that it should be no precedent for after-times. Others laughed at this, and said, it would be a precedent for all that, if it once passed. But in the end it was granted, with a most glorious preamble; and by it all the natives of England that had any ecclesiastical benefice were to pay the full half of the true value of their livings in five years; and all foreigners who were beneficed in England were to pay a whole year's rent in the same time: out of which number were excepted the bishops of Worcester and Llandaff, Polydore Virgil, Peter the Carmelite, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Silvester Darius, and Peter Vannes, who were to pay only as natives did. This increased the hatred that the clergy bore the cardinal. But he despised them, and in particular was a great enemy to the monks, and looked on them as idle mouths that did neither the church nor state any service, but were through their scandalous lives a reproach to the church, and a burden to the state. Therefore he resolved to suppress a great number of them, and to change them to another institution.

Collect. Numb. 5th.

From the days of king Edgar the state of monkery had been still growing in England.



For most of the secular clergy being then married, and refusing to put away their wives, were by Dunstan archbishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwald bishop of Winchester, and Oswald bishop of Worcester, who were all monks, turned out of their livings. There is in the rolls an *inspeximus* of king Edgar's, erecting the priory and convent of Worcester, which bears date *Anno* 964, *Edgari* 6^to^, on St. Innocent's-day, signed by the king, the queen, two archbishops, five bishops, six abbots, (but neither bishopric nor abbey are named), six dukes, and five knights, but there is no seal to it. It bears, that the king, with the counsel and consent of his princes and gentry, did confirm and establish that priory; and that he had erected forty-seven monasteries, which he intended to increase to fifty, the number of jubilee; and that the former incumbents should be for ever excluded from all pretensions to their benefices, because they had rather chosen, with the danger of their order, and the prejudice of the ecclesiastical benefice, to adhere to their wives, than to serve God chastely and canonically.

Of the State of the Monasteries.

Rot. Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. Part. 1.

The monks being thus settled in most cathedrals of England, gave themselves up to idleness and pleasure, which had been long complained of; but now that learning began to be restored, they being everywhere possessed of the best church-benefices, were looked upon by all learned men with an evil eye, as having in their hands the chief encouragements of learning, and yet doing nothing towards it; they, on the contrary, decrying and disparaging it all they could, saying, it would bring in heresy, and a great deal of mischief. And the restorers of learning, such as Erasmus, Vives, and others, did not spare them, but did expose their ignorance and ill-manners to the world.

Now the king naturally loved learning, and therefore the cardinal, either to do a thing which he knew would be acceptable to the king, or that it was also agreeable to his own inclinations, resolved to set up some colleges, in which there should be both great encouragements for eminent scholars to prosecute their studies, and good schools for teaching and training up of youth. This he knew would be a great honour to him, to be looked upon as a patron of learning; and therefore he set his heart much on it, to have two colleges, (the one at Oxford, the other at Ipswich *, the place of his birth,) well constituted, and nobly endowed. But towards this it was necessary to suppress some monasteries, which was thought every whit as justifiable and lawful, as it had been, many ages before, to change secular prebends into canons regular,—the endowed goods being still applied to a religious use. And it was thought hard to say, that if the pope had the absolute power of dispensing the spiritual treasure of the church, and to translate the merits of one man, and apply them to another; that he had not a much more absolute power over the temporal treasure of the church, to translate church-lands from one use, and apply them to another. And, indeed, the cardinal was then so much considered at Rome as a pope of another world, that whatever he desired he easily obtained. Therefore on the 3rd of April, 1524, pope Clement by a bull gave him authority to suppress the monastery of St. Frediswood in Oxford, and in the diocese of Lincoln, and to carry the monks elsewhere, with a very full *non obstante*. To this the king gave his assent the 19th of April following. After this there followed many other bulls for other religious houses and rectories that were impropriated. These houses being thus suppressed by the law, they belonged to the king †, who thereupon made them over to the cardinal by new and special grants, which are all enrolled. And so he went on with these great foundations, and brought them to perfection: that at Oxford in the eighteenth year, and that at Ipswich in the twentieth year of the king's reign, as appears by the dates of the king's patents for founding them.

The Cardinal's Colleges.

The Bull and Royal Assent, 14. Reg. 2. Part. Rot. Pat.

In the last place, I come to show the new opinions in religion, or those that were accounted new, then in England; and the state and progress of them till the nineteenth year of the king's reign.

From the days of Wickliffe, there were many that disliked most of the received doctrines

* Shortly after the cardinal's disgrace this noble building was razed to the ground, little more than three years after its foundation, and its site granted away by king Henry. No part now remains except the gate, which stands adjoining to the east side of St. Peter's churchyard.—ED.

† But see a doubt upon this point, book 3, Anno 1539. —ED.

in several parts of the nation. The clergy were at that time very hateful to the people; for as the pope did exact heavily on them, so they being oppressed took all means possible to make the people repay what the popes wrested from them. Wickliffe being much encouraged and supported by the duke of Lancaster and the lord Piercy, the bishops could not proceed against him till the duke of Lancaster was put from the king, and then he was condemned at Oxford. Many opinions are charged upon him; but whether he held them or not we know not but by the testimonies of his enemies, who write of him with so much passion, that it discredits all they say; yet he died in peace, though his body was afterwards burnt. He translated the Bible out of Latin into English, with a long preface before it, in which he reflected severely on the corruptions of the clergy, and condemned the worshipping of saints and images, and denied the corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and exhorted all people to the study of the Scriptures. His Bible with this preface was well received by a great many, who were led into these opinions rather by the impressions which common sense and plain reason made on them, than by any deep speculation or study. For the followers of this doctrine were illiterate and ignorant men: some few clerks joined to them, but they formed not themselves into any body or association; and were scattered over the kingdom, holding these opinions in private without making any public profession of them. Generally they were known by their disparaging the superstitious clergy, whose corruptions were then so notorious, and their cruelty so enraged, that no wonder the people were deeply prejudiced against them. Nor were the methods they used likely to prevail much upon them, being severe and cruel.

The First beginning of Reformation in England.

In the primitive church, though in their councils they were not backward to pass anathematisms on everything that they judged heresy, yet all capital proceedings against heretics were condemned; and when two bishops did prosecute Priscillian and his followers before the emperor Maximus, upon which they were put to death, they were generally so blamed for it, that many refused to hold communion with them. The Roman emperors made many laws against heretics, for the fining and banishing of them, and secluded them from the privileges of other subjects: such as making wills, or receiving legacies; only the Manichees (who were a strange mixture between heathenism and Christianity) were to suffer death for their errors. Yet the bishops in those days, particularly in Africa, doubted much whether, upon the insolences of heretics or schismatics, they might desire the emperor to execute those laws for fining, banishing, and other restraints. And St. Austin was not easily prevailed on to consent to it. But, at length, the Donatists were so intolerable, that after several consultations about it, they were forced to consent to those inferior penalties, but still condemned the taking away of their lives. And even in the execution of the imperial laws in those inferior punishments, they were always interposing, to moderate the severity of the prefects and governors. The first instance of severity on men's bodies that was not censured by the church, was in the fifth century under Justin I., who ordered the tongue of Severus (who had been patriarch of Antioch, but did daily anathematise the council of Chalcedon) to be cut out. In the eighth century Justinian II. (called Rhinotmetus from his cropped nose) burnt all the Manichees in Armenia: and in the end of the eleventh century the Bogomili were condemned to be burnt by the patriarch and council of Constantinople. But in the end of the twelfth and in the beginning of the thirteenth century, a company of simple and innocent persons in the southern parts of France*, being disgusted with the corruptions both of the popish clergy and of the public worship, separated from their assemblies; and then Dominic and his brethren-preachers, who came among them to convince them, finding their preaching did not prevail, betook themselves that way that was sure to silence them. They persuaded the civil magistrates to burn all such as were judged obstinate heretics. That they might do this by a law, the fourth council of Lateran did decree, that all heretics should be delivered to the secular power to be extirpated; (they thought not fit to speak out, but by the practice it was known that burning was that which they meant;) and if they did it not, they were to be excommunicated; and after that, if they still refused to do their duty, (which was

The Cruelties of the Church of Rome.

* The Albigenses and Vallenses.—ED.



upon the matter to be the inquisitors' hangmen,) they were to deny it at their utmost perils. For not only the ecclesiastical censures, but anathemas, were thought too feeble a punishment for this omission. Therefore a censure was found out, as severe upon the prince as burning was to the poor heretic. He was to be deposed by the pope, his subjects to be absolved from their oaths of allegiance, and his dominions to be given away to any other faithful son of the church, such as pleased the pope best, and all this by the authority of a synod that passed for a holy general council. This, as it was fatal to the counts of Tholouse, who were great princes in the south of France, and first fell under the censures, so it was terrible to all other princes, who thereupon, to save themselves, delivered up their subjects to the mercy of the ecclesiastical courts.

Burning was the death they made choice of, because witches, wizards, and sodomites, had been so executed. Therefore to make heresy appear a terrible thing, this was thought the most proper punishment of it. It had also a resemblance of everlasting burning, to which they adjudged their souls as well as their bodies were condemned to the fire; but with this signal difference, that they could find no such effectual way to oblige God to execute their sentence, as they contrived against the civil magistrate. But, however, they confidently gave it out, that by virtue of that promise of our Saviour's, "Whose sins ye bind on earth, they are bound in heaven," their decrees were ratified in heaven. And it not being easy to disprove what they said, people believed the one, as they saw the other sentence executed. So that whatever they condemned as heresy, was looked on as the worst thing in the world.

Fitz-Herbert, de Nat. Brevium.

There was no occasion for the execution of this law in England till the days of Wickliffe. And the favour he had from some great men stopped the proceedings against him. But in the fifth year of king Richard II., a bill passed in the house of lords, and was assented to by the king, and published for an act of parliament, though the bill was never sent to the house of commons. By this pretended law it appears, Wickliffe's followers were then very numerous, that they had a certain habit, and did preach in many places, both in churches, church-yards, and markets, without licence from the ordinary; and did preach several doctrines, both against the faith and the laws of the land, as had been proved before the archbishop of Canterbury, the other bishops, prelates, doctors of divinity, and of the civil and canon law, and others of the clergy: that they would not submit to the admonitions nor censures of the church; but by their subtle ingenious words did draw the people to follow them and defend them by strong hand, and in great routs. Therefore it was ordained, that upon the bishops certifying into the Chancery the names of such preachers and their abettors, the chancellor should issue forth commissions to the sheriffs and others the king's ministers, to hold them in arrest and strong prison till they should justify them according to the law and reason of holy church. From the gentleness of which law it may appear, that England was not then so tame as to bear the severity of those cruel laws which were settled and put in execution in other kingdoms.

The Laws of England against Heretics.

Under Rich. II.

The custom at that time was to engross copies of all the acts of parliament, and to send them with a writ under the great seal to the sheriffs, to make them be proclaimed within their jurisdictions. And Robert Braibrook bishop of London, then lord chancellor, sent this with the other acts of that parliament to be proclaimed. The writ bears date the 26th of May, 5$^{to}$ Reg. But in the next parliament that was held in the sixth year of that king's reign, the commons preferred a bill reciting the former act, and constantly affirmed that they had never assented to it, and therefore desired it might be declared to be void; for they protested it was never their intent to be justified, and to bind themselves and their successors to the prelates, more than their ancestors had done in times past. To which the king gave the royal assent as it is in the records of parliament. But in the proclamation of the acts of that parliament this act was suppressed; so that the former act was still looked on as a good law, and is printed in the book of statutes. Such pious frauds were always practised by the popish clergy, and were indeed necessary for the supporting the credit of that church. When Richard II. was deposed and the crown usurped by Henry

Cook's Institutes, 3 part, chap. 5, of Heresy.

6$^{to}$ Rich. II. 1 Part. Numb. 52. Rot. Parl.

IV., then he, in gratitude to the clergy that assisted him in his coming to the crown, granted them a law to their hearts' content in the second year of his reign. The preamble bears, "that some had a new faith about the sacraments of the church, and the authority of the same; and did preach without authority, gathered conventicles, taught schools, wrote books against the catholic faith, with many other heinous aggravations. Upon which the prelates and clergy, and the commons of the realm, prayed the king to provide a sufficient remedy to so great an evil. Therefore the king, by the assent of the states, and other discreet men of the realm being in the said parliament, did ordain, That none should preach without licence, except persons privileged; that none should preach any doctrine contrary to the catholic faith, or the determination of the holy church; and that none should favour and abet them, nor keep their books, but deliver them to the diocesan of the place within forty days after the proclamation of that statute. And that if any persons were defamed, or suspected of doing against that ordinance, then the ordinary might arrest them, and keep them in his prison, till they were canonically purged of the articles laid against them, or did abjure them according to the laws of the church. Provided always that the proceedings against them were publicly and judicially done and ended within three months after they had been so arrested; and if they were convict, the diocesan, or his commissaries, might keep them in prison as long as his discretion shall seem expedient, and might fine them as should seem competent to him, certifying the fine into the king's exchequer; and if any being convict did refuse to abjure, or after abjuration did fall into relapse, then he was to be left to the secular court according to the holy canons. And the mayors, sheriffs, or bailiffs, were to be personally present at the passing the sentence, when they should be required by the diocesan, or his commissaries, and after the sentence they were to receive them, and them before the people in a high place do to be brent." By this statute the sheriffs, or other officers, were immediately to proceed to the burning of heretics without any writ, or warrant from the king. But it seems the king's learned council advised him to issue out a writ *de hæretico comburendo*, upon what grounds of law I cannot tell *. For in the same year when William Sautre (who was the first that was put to death upon the account of heresy) was judged relapse by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, in a convocation of his province, and thereupon was degraded from priesthood, and left to secular power; a writ was issued out to burn him, which in the writ is called "the customary punishment" (relating it is like to the customs that were beyond sea). But this writ was not necessary by the law, and therefore it seems these writs were not enrolled. For in the whole reign of king Henry VIII. I have not been able to find any of these writs in the rolls. But by Warham's register I see the common course of the law was to certify into the chancery the conviction of an heretic, upon which the writ was issued out, if the king did not send a pardon. Thus it went on all the reign of Henry IV. But in the beginning of his son's reign, there was a conspiracy (as was pretended) by sir John Oldcastle, and some others against the king and the clergy; upon which many were put in prison, and twenty-nine were both attainted of treason, and condemned of heresy, so they were both hanged and burnt.

Another Law under King Henry IV.

Fitz-Herbert's Natura Brevium.

Hall.

But, as a writer that lived in the following age, says, "Certain affirmed that these were but feigned causes, surmised of the spiritualty more of displeasure than truth." That conspiracy, whether real or pretended, produced a severe act against those heretics who were then best known by the name of Lollards. By which act all officers of state, judges, justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs and bailiffs, were to be sworn when they took their employments, to use their whole power and diligence to destroy all heresies and errors, called Lollardies, and to assist the ordinaries and their commissaries in their proceedings against them; and that the Lollards should forfeit all the lands they held in fee-simple and their goods and chattels to the king.

The clergy, according to the genius of that religion, having their authority fortified with such severe laws, were now more cruel and insolent than ever. And if any man denied them any part of that respect or of those advantages to which they pretended, he was presently brought under the suspicion of heresy, and vexed with imprisonments, and articles were brought against him.

Upon which great complaints followed. And the judges to correct this granted *habeas corpus* upon their imprisonments, and examined the warrants, and either bailed or discharged the prisoners as they saw cause: for though the decrees of the church had made many things heresy, so that the clergy had much matter to work upon; yet when offenders against them in other things could not be charged with any formal heresy, then by consequences they studied to fasten it on them, but were sometimes overruled by the judges. Thus, when one Keyser (who was excommunicated by Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, at the suit of another) said openly, that "That sentence was not to be feared; for though the archbishop or his commissary had excommunicated him, yet he was not excommunicated before God;" he was upon this committed by the archbishop's warrant as one justly suspected of heresy: but the judges upon his moving for an *habeas corpus* granted it; and the prisoner being brought to the bar, with the warrant for his imprisonment, they found the matter contained in it was not within the statute, and first bailed him, and after that they discharged him. One Warner of London having said, that he was not bound to pay tithes to his curate, was also imprisoned by Edward Vaughan, at the command of the bishop of London; but he escaped out of prison, and brought his action of false imprisonment against Vaughan. Whereupon Vaughan pleaded the statute of Henry IV., and that his opinion was an heresy against the determination of the catholic faith; the court of the Common Pleas judged, "That the words were not within the statute, and that his opinion was an error, but no heresy." So that the judges, looking on themselves as the interpreters of the law, thought, that even in the case of heresy, they had authority to declare what was heresy by the law and what not: but what opposition the clergy made to this I do not know.

5th year of Edw. IV.

I hope the reader will easily excuse this digression, it being so material to the history that is to follow. I shall next set down what I find in the records about the proceedings against heretics in the beginning of this reign.

On the 2nd of May, in the year 1611, six men and four women, most of them being of Tenterden, appeared before archbishop Warham, in his manor of Knoll, and abjured the following errors. 1st, That in the sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ, but material bread. 2ndly, That the sacraments of baptism and confirmation are not necessary, nor profitable for men's souls. 3rdly, That confession of sins ought not to be made to a priest. 4thly, That there is no more power given by God to a priest than to a layman. 5thly, That the solemnization of matrimony is not profitable, nor necessary for the weal of man's soul. 6thly, That the sacrament of extreme unction is not profitable, nor necessary for man's soul. 7thly, That pilgrimages to holy and devout places be not profitable, neither meritorious for man's soul. 8thly, That images of saints be not to be worshipped. 9thly, That a man should pray to no saint, but only to God. 10thly, That holy water and holy bread be not the better after the benediction made by the priest than before. And as they abjured these opinions, so they were made to swear, that they should discover all whom they knew to hold these errors, or who were suspected of them, or that did keep any private conventicles, or were fautors *, or comforters of them that published such doctrines. Two other men of Tenterden did that day in the afternoon abjure most of these opinions. The court sat again the 5th of May, and the archbishop enjoined them penance, to wear the

Warham's Proceedings against Heretics. Regist. Warham, Fol. 164.

* Favourers, patrons, or protectors.—ED.

* Nor will I pretend to say. But from Fitzherbert it seems to appear that this writ issued before this act of parliament passed; (Fox places Sautre's death Anno 1400); and that the custom for the writ had been formerly so. De Nat. Brev. p. 269. ANONYMOUS CORRECTION.—[This supposition is supported by the form of the writ which terms burning for heresy the "customary punishment," referring, not as the bishop presumes, to the customs of foreign countries, which can in no way affect the laws of England, but to the customary or common law of the land. This tends to prove that heretics had theretofore been burnt upon the judgment of common law, although we are not aware of the precedents; but Fitzherbert, who wrote Anno 1534, may be relied on as an accurate authority. He quotes Breton, who lived many years before: "Heretikes sert auxi comburs et arces et appiert per ceo livre que ceo est le Comen Ley. Quod vide in Breton, c. 9." It is probable that the practice of issuing the writ was kept up after the passing of the act to prevent the sheriff, a *civil* officer, from being compelled to act as the *immediate* servant of the church, which might be thought a dangerous innovation.—ED.]

badge of a faggot in flames on their clothes during their lives, or till they were dispensed with for it; and that in the procession, both at the cathedral of Canterbury and at their own parish churches, they should carry a faggot on their shoulders: which was looked on as a public confession that they deserved burning.

That same day another of Tenterden abjured the same doctrines. On the 15th of May the court sat at Lambeth, where four men and one woman abjured. On the 19th, four men more abjured. On the 3rd of June a man and a woman abjured. Another woman the 26th of July; another man the 29th of July; two women on the 2nd of August; a man on the 3rd, and a woman on the 8th of August; three men on the 16th of August; and three men and a woman on the 3rd of September. In these abjurations some were put to abjure more, some fewer of the former doctrines; and in some of their abjurations two articles more were added:—1st, That the images of the crucifix, of our Lady, and other saints, ought not to be worshipped, because they were made with men's hands, and were but stocks and stones. 2ndly, That money and labour spent in pilgrimages was all in vain. All these persons (whether they were unjustly accused, or were overcome with fear, or had but crude conceptions of those opinions, and so were easily frightened out of them) abjured and performed the penance that was enjoined them. Others met with harder measure; for on the 29th of April, in the same year, 1511, one William Carder, of Tenterden, being indicted on the former articles, he denied them all but one,—that he had said it was enough to pray to Almighty God alone, and therefore we needed not to pray to saints for any mediation. Upon which witnesses were brought against him, who were all such as were then prisoners, but intended to abjure, and were now made use of to convict others. They swore that he had taught them these opinions. When their depositions were published, he said, he did repent if he had said anything against the faith and the sacraments; but he did not remember that he had ever said any such thing. Sentence was given upon him as an obstinate heretic, and he was delivered up to the secular power. On the same a day a woman, Agnes Grevill, was indicted upon the same articles: she pleaded not guilty; but, by a strange kind of proceeding, her husband and her two sons were brought in witnesses against her. Her husband deposed, that in the end of the reign of king Edward IV., one John Ive had persuaded her into these opinions, in which she had persisted ever since: her sons also deposed, that she had been still infusing these doctrines into them. One Robert Harrison was also indicted, and pleading not guilty, witnesses did prove the articles against him. And on the 2nd of May sentence was given against these two as obstinate heretics. And the same day the archbishop signed the writs for certifying these sentences into the Chancery, which conclude in these words:—"Our holy mother the church having nothing further that she can do in this matter, we leave the forementioned heretics, and every one of them, to your royal highness, and to your secular council." And on the 8th of May, John Brown and Edward Walker, being also indicted of heresy on the former points, they both pleaded not guilty. But the witnesses deposing against them, they were judged obstinate heretics, and the former a relapse, for he had abjured before cardinal Morton. And on the 19th of May sentence was given. When or how the sentences were executed I cannot find. Sure I am there are no pardons upon record for any of them, and it was the course of the law, either to send a pardon or to issue out the writ for burning them.

Fox mentions none of these proceedings, only he tells that John Brown was taken for some words said in discourse with a priest, about the saying of masses for redeeming souls out of purgatory. Upon which he was committed for suspicion of heresy: but Fox seems to have been misinformed about the time of his burning, which he says was Anno 1517, for they would not have kept a condemned heretic six years out of the fire. I never find them guilty of any such clemency. These severe sentences made the rest so apprehensive of their danger, that all the others who were indicted abjured. And in the year 1512, on the 5th of June, two men and two women abjured that article, That in the sacrament of the altar, there was only material bread, and not the body of Christ. And on the 4th and 13th of September, two other women abjured the former articles; and this is all that is in Warham's register about heretics.



In what remains of Fitz-James bishop of London's Register, there are but three abjurations.

Fitz-James Bishop of London, his proceedings against Heretics, Fol. 4.

In the year 1509, on Elizabeth Sampson, of Aldermanbury, was indicted for having spoken reproachfully of the images of our Lady, of Willsden, Crom, and Walsingham, condemning pilgrimages to them, and saying it was better to give alms at home to poor people than to go on pilgrimages; and that images were but stocks and stones, and denying the virtue of the sacrament of the altar when the priest was not in clean life, and saying it was but bread, and that Christ could not be both in heaven and earth; and for denying Christ's ascension to heaven, and saying, that more should not go to heaven than were already in it. But she, to be free of further trouble, confessed herself guilty, and abjured all those opinions. It is generally observed, that in the proceedings against Lollards, the clergy always mixed some capital errors, which all Christians rejected, with those for which they accused them; and some particulars being proved, they gave it out that they were guilty of them all, to represent them the more odious. And in this case the thing is plain, for this woman is charged for denying Christ's ascension; and yet another of the articles was, that she said Christ's body could not be in the sacrament, because it could not be both in heaven and on earth. Which two opinions are inconsistent. In the year 1511, William Poitier was indicted for saying, there were three Gods, and that he knew not for what Christ's passion or baptism availed, and did abjure. Whether he only spoke these things impiously, or whether he held them in opinion, is not clear. But certainly he was no Lollard. One Joan Baker was also made to abjure some words she had said, that images were but idols, and not to be worshipped; and that they were set up by the priest out of covetousness, that they might grow rich by them; and that pilgrimages were not to be made. More is not in that register. But Fox gives an account of six others, who were burnt in Fitz-James's time. On this I have been the longer, that it may appear what were the opinions of the Lollards at that time before Luther had published anything against the indulgences. For these opinions did very much dispose people to receive the writings which came afterwards out of Germany.

The Progress of Luther's doctrine.

The first beginnings and progress of Luther's doctrine are so well known, that I need not tell how upon the publishing of indulgences in Germany, in so gross a manner, that for a little money any man might both preserve himself and deliver his friends out of purgatory, many were offended at this merchandise, against which Luther wrote. But it concerning the see of Rome in so main a point of their prerogative, which would also have cut off a great branch of their revenue, he was proceeded against with extreme severity. So small a spark as that collision made could never have raised so great a fire, if the world had not been strongly disposed to it by the just prejudices they had conceived against the popish clergy, whose ignorance and lewd lives had laid them so open to contempt and hatred, that any one that would set himself against them could not but be kindly looked on by the people. They had engrossed the greatest part both of the riches and power of Christendom, and lived at their ease and in much wealth; and the corruptions of their worship and doctrine were such, that a very small proportion of common sense, with but an overly looking on the New Testament, discovered them. Nor had they any other varnish to colour them by but the authority and traditions of the church. But when some studious men began to read the ancient fathers and councils (though there was then a great mixture of sophisticated stuff that went under the ancient names, and was joined to their true works, which critics have since discovered to be spurious), they found a vast difference between the first five ages of the Christian church, in which piety and learning prevailed, and the last ten ages, in which ignorance had buried all their former learning, only a little misguided devotion was retained for six of these ages, and in the last four, the restless ambition and usurpation of the popes was supported by the seeming holiness of the begging friars, and the false counterfeits of learning, which were among the canonists, schoolmen, and casuists: so that it was incredible to see how men, notwithstanding all the opposition the princes everywhere made to the progress of these reputed new opinions, and the great advantages by which the church of Rome both held and drew many into their interests, were generally inclined to these doctrines. Those of the clergy who at first preached them were of the begging orders of friars, who having fewer engagements on them from their interests,

were freer to discover and follow the truth. And the austere discipline they had been trained under did prepare them to encounter those difficulties that lay in their way; and the laity that had long looked on their pastors with an evil eye, did receive these opinions very easily,—which did both discover the impostures with which the world had been abused, and showed a plain and simple way to the kingdom of heaven, by putting the Scriptures into their hands, and such other instructions about religion as were sincere and genuine. The clergy, who at first despised these new preachers, were at length much alarmed when they saw all people running after them and receiving their doctrines.

As these things did spread much in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, so their books came over into England, where there was much matter already prepared to be wrought on, not only by the prejudices they had conceived against the corrupt clergy, but by the opinions of the Lollards which had been now in England since the days of Wickliffe, for about one hundred and fifty years. Between which opinions and the doctrines of the reformers there was great affinity; and therefore, to give the better vent to the books that came out of Germany, many of them were translated into the English tongue, and were very much read and applauded. This quickened the proceedings against the Lollards; and the inquiry became so severe, that great numbers were brought into the toils of the bishops and their commissaries. If a man had spoken but a light word against any of the constitutions of the church, he was seized on by the bishops' officers; and if any taught their children the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed in the vulgar tongue, that was crime enough to bring them to the stake; as it did six men and a woman at Coventry, in the passion-week, 1519, being the 4th of April. Longland, bishop of Lincoln, was very cruel to all that were suspected of heresy in his diocese; several of them abjured, and some were burnt. Fox.

But all that did not produce what they designed by it. The clergy did not correct their own faults, and their cruelty was looked on as an evidence of guilt, and of a weak cause; so that the method they took wrought only on people's fears, and made them more cautious and reserved, but did not at all remove the cause, nor work either on their reasons or affections.

Upon all this, the king, to get himself a name, and to have a lasting interest with the clergy, thought it not enough to assist them with his authority, but would needs turn their champion, and write against Luther * in defence of the seven sacraments. This book was magnified by the clergy, as the most learned work that ever the sun saw; and he was compared to king Solomon, and to all the Christian emperors that had ever been: and it was the chief subject of flattery for many years, besides the glorious title of "Defender of the Faith," which the pope bestowed on him for it. And it must be acknowledged, that considering the age, and that it was the work of a king, it did deserve some commendation. But Luther was not at all daunted at it, but rather valued himself upon it, that so great a king had entered the lists with him, and answered his book. And he replied, not without a large mixture of acrimony, for which he was generally blamed, as forgetting that great respect that is due to the persons of sovereign princes.

The King writes against Luther. 1522.

But all would not do. These opinions still gained more footing; and William Tindal made a translation of the New Testament in English, to which he added some short glosses. This was printed in Antwerp, and sent over into England in the year 1526. Against which there was a prohibition published by every bishop in his diocese, bearing that some of Luther's followers had erroneously translated the New Testament, and had corrupted the Word of God, both by a false translation and by heretical glosses; therefore they required all incumbents to charge all within

October 23. Reg. Tonstall, Fol. 45. with which that in Fox agrees exactly.

* No doubt this book was wrote by the king, as other books were under his name; that is, by his bishops and other learned men. Sir Thomas More (who must have known the authors) gives this account of it, in his MS. life by Roper: "That after it was finished by his grace's appointment, and consent of the makers of the same, I was only a sorter out and placer of the principal matters therein contained." So it seems others were makers, and sir Thomas More only a sorter. By the style it was guessed by some to be wrote by Erasmus; and he (in mirth I suppose) owns the king might have hit upon his style, several letters having passed between them.—ANONYMOUS CORRECTION.



their parishes, that had any of these, to bring them in to the vicar-general within thirty days after that premonition, under the pains of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresy. There were also many other books prohibited at that time, most of them written by Tindal. And sir Thomas More, who was a man celebrated for virtue and learning, undertook the answering of some of those; but before he went about it, he would needs have the bishops' licence for keeping and reading them. He wrote according to the way of the age, with much bitterness; and though he had been no friend to the monks, and a great declaimer against the ignorance of the clergy, and had been ill-used by the cardinal, yet he was one of the bitterest enemies of the new preachers, not without great cruelty when he came into power, though he was otherwise a very good-natured man. So violently did the Roman clergy hurry all their friends into those excesses of fire and sword.

Collect. Numb. 6th.

When the party became so considerable that it was known there were societies of them, not only in London but in both the universities, then the cardinal was constrained to act. His contempt of the clergy was looked on as that which gave encouragement to the heretics. When reports were brought to court of a company that were in Cambridge—Bilney, Latimer, and others—that read and propagated Luther's book and opinions, some bishops moved, in the year 1523, that there might be a visitation appointed to go to Cambridge, for trying who were the fautors of heresy there. But he, as legate, did inhibit it (upon what grounds I cannot imagine); which was brought against him afterwards in Parliament (art. 43 of his impeachment). Yet when these doctrines were spread everywhere, he called a meeting of all the bishops and divines and canonists about London; where Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur were brought before them, and articles were brought in against them. The whole process is set down at length by Fox, in all points according to "Tonstall's Register," except one fault in the translation. When the cardinal asked Bilney whether he had not taken an oath before not to preach, or defend any of Luther's doctrines, he confessed he had done it, but not judicially (*judicialiter* in the Register). This Fox translates "not lawfully." In all the other particulars there is an exact agreement between the Register and his acts. The sum of the proceedings of the court was, that after examination of witnesses, and several other steps in the process, which the cardinal left to the bishop of London and the other bishops to manage, Bilney stood out long, and seemed resolved to suffer for a good conscience. In the end, what through human infirmity, what through the great importunity of the bishop of London, who set all his friends on him, he did abjure on the 7th of December, as Arthur had done on the 2nd of that month. And though Bilney was relapsed, and so was to expect no mercy by the law, yet the bishop of London enjoined him penance, and let him go. For Tonstall being a man both of good learning and an unblemished life, these virtues produced one of their ordinary effects in him, great moderation, that was so eminent in him, that at no time did he dip his hands in blood. Geoffrey Loni and Thomas Gerard also abjured for having had Luther's books, and defending his opinions.

These were the proceedings against heretics in the first half of this reign. And thus far I have opened the state of affairs, both as to religious and civil concerns, for the first eighteen years of this king's time, with what observations I could gather of the disposition and tempers of the nation at that time, which prepared them for the changes that followed afterwards.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

# PART I.—BOOK II.

## OF THE PROCESS OF DIVORCE BETWEEN KING HENRY AND QUEEN KATHARINE, AND OF WHAT PASSED FROM THE NINETEENTH TO THE TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR OF HIS REIGN, IN WHICH HE WAS DECLARED SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

KING Henry hitherto lived at ease, and enjoyed his pleasures; he made war with much honour, and that always produced a just and advantageous peace. He had no trouble upon him in all his affairs except about the getting of money, and even in that the cardinal eased him. But now a domestic trouble arose, which perplexed all the rest of his government, and drew after it consequences of a high nature.

The beginning of the suit of Divorce.

Henry VII., upon wise and good considerations, resolved to link himself in a close confederacy with Ferdinand and Isabella, kings of Castile and Arragon, and with the house of Burgundy against France, which was looked on as the lasting and dangerous enemy of England. And therefore a match was agreed on between his son, prince Arthur, and Katharine the infanta of Spain, whose eldest sister Joan was married to Philip, that was then duke of Burgundy, and earl of Flanders; out of which arose a triple alliance between England, Spain, and Burgundy, against the king of France, who was then become formidable to all about him. There was given with her 200,000 ducats, the greatest portion that had been given for many ages with any princess, which made it not the less acceptable to king Henry VII.

The Marriage of Prince Arthur to the Infanta of Spain.

The infanta was brought into England, and on the 14th of November was married at St. Paul's to the prince of Wales*. They lived together as man and wife till the 2nd of April following; and not only had their bed solemnly blest when they were put in it on the night of their marriage, but also were seen publicly in bed for several days after, and went down to live at Ludlow castle in Wales, where they still bedded together. But prince Arthur, though a strong and healthful youth when he married her, yet died soon after, which some thought was hastened by his too early marriage. The Spanish ambassador had by his master's order taken proofs of the consummation of the marriage, and sent them into Spain, the young prince also himself had by many expressions given his servants cause to believe that his marriage was consummated the first night, which, in a youth of sixteen years of age that was vigorous and healthful, was not at all judged strange. It was so constantly believed, that when he died his younger brother Henry duke of York was not called prince of Wales for some considerable time. Some say for one month, some for six months. And he was not created prince of Wales till ten months were elapsed, viz. in the February following, when it was apparent that his brother's wife was not with child by him. These things were afterwards looked on as a full demonstration (being as much as the thing was capable of) that the princess was not a virgin after prince Arthur's death.

See the Depositions of Witnesses in L. Herbert.

Prince Arthur's Death, Apr. 2, 1502.

Bacon's Henry VII.

But the reason of state still standing for keeping up the alliance against France, and king Henry VII. having no mind to let so great a revenue as she had in jointure be carried out of the kingdom, it was proposed that she should be married to the younger brother Henry, now prince of Wales. The two prelates that were then in greatest esteem with king Henry VII. were Warham archbishop of Canterbury, and Fox bishop of Winchester. The former delivered his opinion

Consultations about a second Marriage of the Infanta to his Brother.

* The queen, under her picture, is said to be "nata 1486." The book de Visibili Ro. Monarchiâ, an authentic piece, says thus: "Hæc decimum octavum, ille decimum quintum ætatis annum, cum hæ nuptiæ celebrarentur, expleverat." P. 135. Sandford, p. 445.—ANONYMOUS CORRECTIONS.



against it, and told the king that he thought it was neither honourable nor well-pleasing to God. The bishop of Winchester persuaded it, and for the objections that were against it, and the murmuring of the people who did not like a marriage that was disputable, lest out of it new wars should afterwards arise about the right of the crown, the pope's dispensation was thought sufficient to answer all; and his authority was then so undisputed that it did it effectually. So a bull was obtained on the 26th of December 1503, to this effect, "that the pope, according to the greatness of his authority, having received a petition from prince Henry and the princess Katharine, bearing, that whereas the princess was lawfully married to prince Arthur (which which was perhaps consummated by the *carnalis copula*), who was dead without any issue; but they being desirous to marry for preserving the peace between the crowns of England and Spain, did petition his holiness for his dispensation; therefore the pope, out of his care to maintain peace among all catholic kings, did absolve them from all censures under which they might be, and dispensed with the impediment of their affinity, notwithstanding any apostolical constitutions or ordinances to the contrary, and gave them leave to marry, or if they were already married, he confirming it, required their confessor to enjoin them some healthful penance for their having married before the dispensation was obtained."

Warham's Deposition in L. Herbert.

It is allowed by the Pope. Collect. Numb. 1.

It was not much to be wondered at, that the pope did readily grant this, for though very many both cardinals and divines did then oppose it, yet the interest of the papacy, which was preferred to all other considerations, required it. For as that pope, being a great enemy to Louis XII. the French king, would have done anything to make an alliance against him firmer; so he was a warlike pope who considered religion very little, and therefore might be easily persuaded to confirm a thing that must needs oblige the succeeding kings of England to maintain the papal authority, since from it they derived their title to the crown; little thinking that by a secret direction of an overruling Providence, that deed of his would occasion the extirpation of the papal power in England. So strangely doth God make the devices of men become of no effect, and turn them to a contrary end to that which is intended.

Upon political reasons. L. Herbert.

Upon this bull they were married, the prince of Wales being yet under age. But Warham had so possessed the king with an aversion to this marriage, that on the same day that the prince was of age, he by his father's command, laid on him in the presence of many of the nobility and others, made a protestation in the hands of Fox, bishop of Winchester, before a public notary, and read it himself, by which he declared, "That whereas he being under age was married to the princess Katharine, yet now coming to be of age, he did not confirm that marriage, but retracted and annulled it, and would not proceed in it, but intended in full form of law to void it and break it off, which he declared he did freely and of his own accord."

Henry Protests against it. Jun. 27, 1505.

Collect. Numb. 2. Morison.

His Father also dissuaded it.

Thus it stood during his father's life, who continued to the last to be against it; and when he was just dying, he charged his son to break it off, though it is possible that no consideration of religion might work so much on him as the apprehension he had of the troubles that might follow on a controverted title to the crown; of which the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster had given a fresh and sad demonstration. The king being dead, one of the first things that came under consultation was, that the young king must either break his marriage totally, or conclude it. Arguments were brought on both hands, but those for it prevailed most with the king: so six weeks after he came to the crown he was married again publicly, and soon after they were both crowned. On the first day of the year she made him a very acceptable new-year's gift of a son, but he died in the February thereafter: she miscarried often, and another son died soon after he was born; only the lady Mary lived to a perfect age.

April 22, 1509, King Henry VII. dies.

Henry being come to the Crown Marries her, June 3.

They are Crowned, June 24.

Son born Jan. 1, 1511, dies Feb. 22; another born, and dies Nov. 1514.

Lady Mary born, Feb. 19, 1516.

In this state was the king's family when the queen left bearing more children, and contracted some diseases that made her person unacceptable to him; but was as to her other qualities a virtuous and grave princess, much esteemed and beloved both of the king and the whole nation. The king being out of

hopes of more children, declared his daughter princess of Wales, and sent her to Ludlow to hold her court there, and projected divers matches for her. The first was with the dauphin, which was agreed to between the king of France and him the 9th of November 1518, as appears by the treaty yet extant. But this was broken afterwards upon the king's confederating with the emperor against France, and a new match agreed and sworn to between the emperor and the king at Windsor the 22nd of June 1522, the emperor being present in person. This being afterwards neglected and broken by the emperor, by the advice of his courts and states, as was formerly related, there followed some overtures of a marriage with Scotland. But those also vanished, and there was a second treaty begun with France, the king offering his daughter to Francis himself, which he gladly accepting, a match was treated; and on the last of April it was agreed that the lady Mary should be given in marriage either to Francis himself, or to his second son the duke of Orleans; and that alternative was to be determined by the two kings, at an interview that was to be between them soon after at Calais, with forfeitures on both sides if the match went not on.

1518. Treaty Rolls 10 Reg.

His Daughter Mary contracted to the Dauphin, October 11.

Afterwards to the Emperor, June 22, 1522.

Offered to Scotland, Sept. 1524.

Again to France, Apr. 30, 1527.

For King Francis himself, or for his Son the Duke of Orleans.

But while this was in agitation the bishop of Tarbe, the French ambassador, made a great demur about the princess Mary's being illegitimate, as begotten in a marriage that was contracted against a divine precept, with which no human authority could dispense. How far this was secretly concerted between the French court and ours, or between the cardinal and the ambassador, is not known. It is surmised that the king or the cardinal set on the French to make this exception publicly, that so the king might have a better colour to justify his suit of divorce, since other princes were already questioning it. For if upon a marriage proposed of such infinite advantage to France, as that would be with the heir of the crown of England, they nevertheless made exceptions and proceeded but coldly in it, it was very reasonable to expect that after the king's death, other pretenders would have disputed her title in another manner.

The King's Marriage questioned by Foreigners.

To some it seemed strange that the king did offer his daughter to such great princes as the emperor and the king of France, to whom if England had fallen in her right it must have been a province: for though in the last treaty with France she was offered either to the king or his second son; by which either the children which the king might have by her, or the children of the duke of Orleans, should have been heirs to the crown of England, and thereby it would still have continued divided from France; yet this was full of hazard: for if the duke of Orleans by his brother's death should become king of France, as it afterwards fell out, or if the king of France had been once possessed of England, then according to the maxim of the French government, that whatever their king acquires he holds it in the right of his crown, England was still to be a province to France, unless they freed themselves by arms. Others judged that the king intended to marry her to France, the more effectually to seclude her from the succession, considering the aversion his subjects had to a French government, that so he might more easily settle his bastard son the duke of Richmond in the succession of the crown.

While this treaty went on, the king's scruples about his marriage began to take vent. It is said that the cardinal did first infuse them into him, and made Longland bishop of Lincoln, that was the king's confessor, possess the king's mind with them in confession *. If it was so, the king had, according to the religion of that time, very just cause of scruple, when his confessor judged his marriage sinful, and the pope's legate was of the same mind. It is also said that the cardinal being alienated from the emperor, that he might irreparably embroil the king and him, and

The King himself scruples it.

Sanderus de Schism. Angl.

* In a MS. life of Sir Thomas More, wrote not many years after Longland's death, this account is given. "I have heard Dr. Draycot, that was his (Longland's) chaplain and chancellor, say, That he once told the bishop what rumour ran, and desired to know of him the very truth, who answered, that in very deed he did not break the matter after that sort as is said; but the king brake the matter to him first, and never left urging him, until he had won him to give his consent—of which his doings he did sore forethink himself, and repented afterward," &c. MS. Coll. Eman. Cant.—ANONYMOUS CORRECTIONS.



unite the king to the French interests, designed this out of spite; and that he was also dissatisfied toward the queen, who hated him for his lewd and dissolute life, and had oft admonished and checked him for it: and that he therefore, designing to engage the king to marry the French king's sister the duchess of Alençon, did (to make way for that) set this matter on foot; but as I see no good authority for all this except the queen's suspicions, who did afterwards charge the cardinal as the cause of all her trouble; so I am inclined to think the king's scruples were much ancienter,—for the king declared to Simon Grineus four years after this, that for seven years he had abstained from the queen upon these scruples, so that by that it seems they had been received into the king's mind three years before this time.

In his Letter to Bucer, Sept. 10, 1531, in MSS. R. Smith.

What were the king's secret motives and the true grounds of his aversion to the queen, is only known to God, and till the discovery of all secrets at the day of judgment must lie hid. But the reasons which he always owned, of which all human judicatories must only take notice, shall be now fully opened. He found by the law of Moses, if a man took his brother's wife they should die childless: this made him reflect on the death of his children, which he now looked on as a curse from God for that unlawful marriage. Upon this he set himself to study the case, and called for the judgments of the best divines and canonists. For his own inquiry, Thomas Aquinas being the writer in whose works he took most pleasure, and to whose judgment he submitted most, did decide it clearly against him. For he both concluded, that the laws in Leviticus about the forbidden decrees of marriage were moral and eternal, such as obliged all Christians; and that the pope could only dispense with the laws of the church, but could not dispense with the laws of God; upon this reason, that no law can be dispensed with by any authority but that which is equal to the authority that enacted it. Therefore he infers that the pope can indeed dispense with all the laws of the church, but notwith the laws of God, to whose authority he could not pretend to be equal. But as the king found this from his own private study, so having commanded the archbishop of Canterbury to require the opinions of the bishops of England, they all in a writing under their hands and seals declared they judged it an unlawful marriage. Only the bishop of Rochester refused to set his hand to it, and though the archbishop pressed him most earnestly to it, yet he persisted in his refusal, saying, that it was against his conscience. Upon which the archbishop made another write down his name, and set his seal to the resolution of the rest of the bishops. But this being afterwards questioned, the bishop of Rochester denied it was his hand, and the archbishop pretended that he had leave given him by the bishop to put his hand to it, which the other denied. Nor was it likely that Fisher, who scrupled in conscience to subscribe it himself, would have consented to such a weak artifice. But all the other bishops did declare against the marriage, and as the king himself said afterwards in the Legantine court, neither the cardinal nor the bishop of Lincoln did first suggest these scruples, but the king being possessed with them, did in confession propose them to that bishop: and added that the cardinal was so far from cherishing them, that he did all he could to stifle them.

The grounds of his scruples.

All his Bishops except Fisher declare it unlawful.

Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

The king was now convinced that his marriage was unlawful, both by his own study and the resolution of his divines. And as the point of conscience wrought on him, so the interest of the kingdom required, that there should be no doubting about the succession to the crown: lest as the long civil war between the houses of York and Lancaster had been buried with his father, so a new one should rise up at his death. The king of Scotland was the next heir to the crown after his daughter. And if he married his daughter to any out of France, then he had reason to judge, that the French upon their ancient alliance with Scotland, and that they might divide and distract England, would be ready to assist the king of Scotland in his pretensions: or if he married her in France, then all those in England to whom the French government was hateful, and the emperor and other princes to whom the French power grew formidable, would have been as ready to support the pretensions of Scotland. Or if he should either set up his bastard son, or the children which his sister bore to Charles Brandon, there was still cause to fear a bloody decision of a title that was so doubtful. And though this may seem a consideration too politic and foreign to a matter of that nature, yet the obligation that lies on a prince to provide for

The dangers that were like to follow from it.

the happiness and quiet of his subjects was so weighty a thing, that it might well come in among other motives to incline the king much to have this matter determined. At this time the cardinal went over into France, under colour to conclude a league between the two crowns, and to treat about the means of setting the pope at liberty, who was then the emperor's prisoner at Rome, and also for a project of peace between Francis and the emperor. But his chief business was to require Francis to declare his resolutions concerning that alternative about the lady Mary. To which it was answered, that the duke of Orleans, as a fitter match in years, was the French king's choice; but this matter fell to the ground upon the process that followed soon after.

Wolsey went into France 1527, Jul. 11.

The king did much apprehend the opposition the emperor was like to make to his designs; either out of a principle of nature and honour to protect his aunt, or out of a maxim of state, to raise his enemy all the trouble he could at home. But, on the other hand, he had some cause to hope well, even in that particular; for the question of the unlawfulness of the match had been first debated in the Cortes, or assembly of the states at Madrid, and the emperor had then showed himself so favourable to it that he broke the match (to which he had bound himself) with the princess; therefore the king had reason to think, that this at least would mitigate his opposition. The emperor had also used the pope so hardly, that it could not be doubted that the pope hated him. And it was believed that he would find the protection of the king of England most necessary to secure him, either from the greatness of France or Spain, who were fighting for the best part of Italy, which must needs fall into one of their hands; therefore the king did not doubt but the pope would be compliant to his desires. And in this he was much confirmed by the hopes, or rather assurance, which the cardinal gave him of the pope's favour; who, either calculating what was to be expected from that court on the account of their own interest, or upon some promises made him, had undertaken to the king to bring that matter about to his heart's content. It is certain that the cardinal had carried over with him out of the king's treasure 240,000*l.* to be employed about the pope's liberty. But whether he had made a bargain for the divorce, or had fancied that nothing could be denied him at Rome, it does not appear. It is clear by many of his letters, that he had undertaken to the king that the business should be done; and it is not like that a man of his wisdom would have adventured to do that without some good warrant.

The King's fears & hopes about it.

L. Herbert.

But now that the suit was to be moved in the court of Rome, they were to devise such arguments as were like to be well heard there. It would have been unacceptable to have insisted on the nullity of the bull on this account, because the matter of it was unlawful, and fell not within the pope's power. For popes, like other princes, do not love to hear the extent of their prerogative disputed or defined; and to condemn the bull of a former pope as unlawful, was a dangerous precedent, at a time when the pope's authority was rejected by so many in Germany. Therefore the canonists, as well as divines, were consulted, to find such nullities in the bull of dispensation as, according to the canon law and the proceedings of the Rota, might serve to invalidate it without any diminution of the papal power; which being once done, the marriage that followed upon it must needs be annulled. When the canonists examined the bull, they found much matter to proceed upon. It is a maxim in law, that if the pope be surprised in anything, and bulls be procured upon false suggestions and untrue premises, they may be annulled afterwards; upon which foundation most of all the processes against popes' bulls were grounded. Now, they found by the preamble of this bull, that it was said, the king had desired that he might be dispensed with to marry the princess. This was false, for the king had made no such desire, being of an age that was below such considerations—but twelve years old. Then it appeared by the preamble, that this bull was desired by the king to preserve the peace between the king of England and Ferdinand and Isabella (called Elizabetha in the bull), the kings of Spain. To which they excepted, that it was plain this was false, since the king, being then but twelve years old, could not be supposed to have such deep speculations, and so large a prospect, as to desire a match upon a politic account. Then it being also in the bull, that the pope's dispensation was granted to keep peace between the crowns; if there was no hazard of any breach or war between them, this was a false suggestion, by which the pope

The arguments against the Bull.



had been made believe, that this match was necessary for averting some great mischief; and it was known that there was no danger at all of that, and so this bull was obtained by a surprise. Besides, both king Henry of England and Isabella of Spain were dead before the king married his queen; so the marriage could not be valid by virtue of a bull that was granted to maintain amity between princes that were dead before the marriage was consummated: and they also judged, that the protestation which the king made when he came of age, did retract any such pretended desire that might have been preferred to the pope in his name; and that, from that time forward, the bull could have no further operation, since the ground upon which it was granted, which was the king's desire, did then cease, any pretended desire before he was of age being clearly annulled and determined by that protestation after he was of age, so that a subsequent marriage founded upon the bull must needs be void.

These were the grounds upon which the canonists advised the process at Rome to be carried on. But first to amuse or overreach the Spaniard, the king sent word to his ambassador in Spain to silence the noise that was made about it in that court. Whether the king had then resolved on the person that should succeed the queen, when he had obtained what he desired, or not, is much questioned. Some suggest, hat from the beginning he was taken with the charms of Anne Boleyn, and that all this process was moved by the unseen spring of that secret affection. Others will have this amour to have been later in the king's thoughts. How early it came there, at this distance, it is not easy to determine. But before I say more of it, she being so considerable a person in the following relation, I shall give some account of her.

Wolsey's advice to the King, 1527, Aug. 1.

Sanders his story about Anne Boleyn examined.

"Sanders has assured the world that the king had a liking to her mother, who was daughter to the duke of Norfolk, and to the end that he might enjoy her with the less disturbance, he sent her husband, sir Thomas Boleyn, to be ambassador in France; and that after two years' absence, his wife being with child, he came over, and sued a divorce against her in the archbishop of Canterbury's court; but the king sent the marquis of Dorchester to let him know that she was with child by him, and that therefore the king desired he would pass the matter over, and be reconciled to his wife: to which he consented. And so Anne Boleyn, though she went under the name of his daughter, yet was of the king's begetting. As he describes her, she was ill-shaped and ugly, had six fingers, a gag-tooth, and a tumour under her chin, with many other unseemly things in her person. At the fifteenth year of her age, he says both her father's butler and chaplain lay with her: afterwards she was sent to France, where she was at first kept privately in the house of a person of quality, then she went to the French court, where she led such a dissolute life that she was called the English hackney. That the French king liked her, and from the freedoms he took with her she was called the king's mule. But returning to England, she was admitted to the court, where she quickly perceived how weary the king was of the queen, and what the cardinal was designing; and having gained the king's affection, she governed it so, that by all innocent freedoms she drew him into her toils, and by the appearances of a severe virtue, with which she disguised herself, so increased his affection and esteem, that he resolved to put her in his queen's place as soon as the divorce was granted." The same author adds, "that the king had likewise enjoyed her sister," with a great deal more, to the disgrace of this lady and her family.

For this he cites Rastal's life of Sir Tho. Moor, a Book that was never seen by any body else.

I know it is not the work of an historian to refute the lies of others, but rather to deliver such a plain account as will be a more effectual confutation than anything can be that is said by way of argument which belongs to other writers. And at the end of this king's reign, I intend to set down a collection of the most notorious falsehoods of that writer, together with the evidences of their being so. But all this of Anne Boleyn is so palpable a lie, or rather a complicated heap of lies, and so much depends on it, that I presume it will not offend the reader to be detained a few minutes in the refutation of it. For if it were true, very much might be drawn from it, both to disparage king Henry, who pretended conscience to annul his marriage for the nearness of affinity, and yet would after that marry his own daughter. It leaves also a foul and lasting stain, both on the memory

of Anne Boleyn, and of her incomparable daughter, queen Elizabeth. It also derogates so much from the first reformers, who had some kind of dependence on queen Anne Boleyn, that it seems to be of great importance for directing the reader in the judgment he is to make of persons and things, to lay open the falsehood of this account. It were sufficient for blasting it that there is no proof pretended to be brought for any part of it, but a book of one Rastall, a judge, that was never seen by any other person than that writer. The title of the book is "The Life of Sir Thomas More." There is great reason to think that Rastall never writ any such book, for it is most common for the lives of great authors to be prefixed to their works. Now this Rastall published all More's works in queen Mary's reign, to which if he had written his life it is likely he would have prefixed it. No evidence therefore being given for his relation, either from record, letters, or the testimony of any person who was privy to the matter, the whole is to be looked upon as a black forgery, devised on purpose to defame queen Elizabeth; for upon her mother's death, who can doubt but that some, either to flatter the king or to defame her, would have published these things, which, if they had been true, could be no secrets? For a lady of her mother's condition to bear a child two years after her husband was sent out of England on such a public employment, and a process thereupon to be entered in the archbishop's courts, are things that are not so soon to be forgotten. And that she herself was under so ill a reputation, both in her father's family and in France, for common lewdness, and for being the king's concubine, are things that could not lie hid. And yet, when the books of the archbishop's courts (which are now burnt) were extant, it was published to the world, and satisfaction offered to every one that would take the pains to inform themselves, that there was no such thing on record. Nor did any of the writers of that time, either of the imperial or papal side, once mention these things, notwithstanding their great occasion to do it. But eighty years after, this fable was invented, or at least it was then first published, when it was safer to lie, because none who had lived in the time could disprove it.

Anti-Sanderus.

But it has not only no foundation, but Sanders, through the vulgar errors of liars, has strained his wit to make so ill a story of the lady, that some things in his own relation make it plainly appear to be impossible. For to pass by those many improbable things that he relates, as namely, that both the king of England and the French king could be so taken with so ugly and monstrous a woman, of so notorious and lewd manners; and that this king, for the space of seven years, that is, during the suit of the divorce, should continue enamoured of her, and never discover this, or having discovered it should yet resolve at all hazards to make her his wife; which are things that would require no common testimony to make them seem credible: there is beside in that story a heap of things so inconsistent with one another, that none but such a one as Sanders could have had either blindness or brow enough to have made or published it. For first, if the king, that he might the more freely enjoy sir Thomas Boleyn's lady, sent him over into France, as Sanders says, I shall allow it as soon as may be, that it was in the very beginning of his reign 1509. Then the time when Anne Boleyn was born, being according to Sanders's account two years after, that must be Anno 1511, and being, as he says, deflowered when she was fifteen, that must be Anno 1526. Then some time must be allowed for her going to France, for her living privately there for some time, and afterwards for her coming to court, and meriting those characters that he says went upon her; and after all that, for her return into England, and insinuating herself into the king's favour: yet by Sanders's own relation, these things must have happened in the same year 1526, for in that year he makes the king think of putting away his wife in order to marry Anne Boleyn, when, according to his account, she could be but fifteen years old, though this king had sent sir Thomas Boleyn into France the first day of his coming to the crown. But that he was not sent so early appears by several grants, that I have seen in the rolls, which were made to him in the first four years of the king's reign: they sufficiently show that he was all that while about the king's person, and mention no services beyond sea, but about the king's person, as the ground upon which they were made. Besides, I find in the treaty-rolls no mention of his being ambassador the first eight years of the king's reign. In the first year the bishops of Winchester and Durham,



ANNE BULLEN.

OF 1536.

THE RIGHT HON.ble THE EARL OF WARWICK.

and the earl of Surry, are named in the treaty between the two crowns, as the king's ambassadors in France. After this, none could be ambassadors there for two years together, for before two years elapsed there was a war proclaimed against France, and when overtures were made for a peace, it appears by the treaty-rolls that the earl of Worcester was sent over ambassador. And when the king's sister was sent over to Lewis the French king, though sir Thomas Boleyn went over with her, he was not then so much considered as to be made an ambassador. For in the commission that was given to many persons of quality, to deliver her to her husband king Lewis XII., sir Thomas Boleyn is not named. The persons in the commission are, the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Dorchester, the bishop of Durham, the earls of Surry and Worcester, the prior of St. John's, and doctor West dean of Windsor. A year after that, sir Thomas Boleyn was made ambassador; but then it was too late for Anne Boleyn to be yet unborn, much less could it be, as Sanders says, that she was born two years after it.

Mar.10,1509. Feb.12,1511. 1514. Sept. 23, 6to Regn. 1515.

But the learned Camden, whose study and profession led him to a more particular knowledge of these things, gives us another account of her birth. He says that she was born in the year 1507, which was two years before the king came to the crown. And if it be suggested, that then the prince, to enjoy her mother, prevailed with his father to send her husband beyond sea, that must be done when the prince himself was not fourteen years of age; so they must make him to have corrupted other men's wives at that age, when yet they will not allow his brother (no not when he was two years older) to have known his own wife.

Cambd. In apparatu ad Hist. Elizab. Reg.

But now I leave this foul fiction, and go to deliver certain truths. Anne Boleyn's mother was daughter to the duke of Norfolk, and sister to the duke that was at the time of the divorce lord treasurer. Her father's mother was one of the daughters and heirs to the earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, and her great-grandfather sir Geoffrey Boleyn, who had been lord mayor of London, married one of the daughters and heirs of the lord Hastings; and their family, as they had mixed with so much great blood, so had married their daughters to very noble families. She being but seven years old was carried over to France with the king's sister, which shows she could have none of those deformities in her person, since such are not brought into the courts and families of queens. And though upon the French king's death the queen dowager came soon back to England, yet she was so liked in the French court, that the next king Francis's queen kept her about herself for some years: and after her death the king's sister, the duchess of Alençon, kept her in her court all the while she was in France; which as it shows there was somewhat extraordinary in her person, so those princesses being much celebrated for their virtues, it is not to be imagined that any person so notoriously defamed as Sanders would represent her was entertained in their courts.

Her Birth, 1514. and Breeding.

When she came into England is not so clear: it is said that in the year 1522, when war was made on France, her father who was then ambassador was recalled, and brought her over with him, which is not improbable; but if she came then, she did not stay long in England, for Camden says that she served queen Claudia of France till her death (which was in July 1524), and after that she was taken into service by king Francis's sister. How long she continued in that service I do not find, but it is probable that she returned out of France with her father from his embassy in the year 1527, when, as Stow says, he brought with him the picture of her mistress, who was offered in marriage to this king. If she came out of France before, as those authors before-mentioned say, it appears that the king had no design upon her then, because he suffered her to return, and when one mistress died to take another in France; but if she stayed there all this while, then it is probable he had not seen her till now at last, when she came out of the princess of Alençon's service: but whensoever it was that she came to the court of England, it is certain that she was much considered in it. And though the queen, who had taken her to be one of her maids of honour, had afterwards just cause to be displeased with her as her rival; yet she carried herself so, that in the whole progress of the suit, I never find the queen herself, or any of her agents, fix the

Her coming to England. L. Herbert. Title and Duplex. Cavendish says she was very young. Camden.

least ill character on her, which would most certainly have been done had there been any just cause or good colour for it.

And so far was this lady at least for some time from any thoughts of marrying the king, that she had consented to marry the lord Piercy the earl of Northumberland's eldest son, whom his father, by a strange compliance with the cardinal's vanity, had placed in his court and made him one of his servants. The thing is considerable, and clears many things that belong to this history; and the relator of it was an ear-witness of the discourse upon it, as himself informs us. The cardinal hearing that the lord Piercy was making addresses to Anne Boleyn, one day as he came from the court called for him before his servants (before us all, says the relator, including himself) and "chid him for it, pretending at first that it was unworthy of him to match so meanly; but he justified his choice, and reckoned up her birth and quality, which he said was not inferior to his own. And the cardinal insisting fiercely, to make him lay down his pretensions, he told him he would willingly submit to the king and him; but that he had gone so far before many witnesses that he could not forsake it, and knew not how to discharge his conscience; and therefore he entreated the cardinal would procure him the king's favour in it. Upon that the cardinal in great rage said, Why? thinkest thou that the king and I know not what we have to do in so weighty a matter? yes I warrant you, but I can see in thee no submission at all to the purpose: and said, You have matched yourself with such a one as neither the king nor yet your father will agree to it; and therefore I will send for thy father, who at his coming shall either make thee break this unadvised bargain, or disinherit thee for ever. To which the lord Piercy replied, that he would submit himself to him, if his conscience were discharged of the weighty burden that lay upon it, and soon after his father come into court, he was diverted another way."

She is contracted to the Lord Piercy.

Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

Had that writer told us in what year this was done, it had given a great light to direct us; but by this relation we see that she was so far from thinking of the king at that time, that she had engaged herself another way; but how far this went on her side, or whether it was afterwards made use of when she was divorced from the king, shall be considered in its proper place. It also appears that there was a design about her then formed between the king and the cardinal; yet how far that went, whether to make her queen or only to corrupt her, is not evident. It is said, that upon this she ever after hated the cardinal, and that he never designed the divorce after he saw on whom the king had fixed his thoughts: but all that is a mistake, as will afterwards appear.

L. Herbert.

And now, having made way through these things that were previous to the first motion of the divorce, my narration leads me next to the motion itself. The king, resolving to put the matter home to the pope, sent doctor Knight, secretary of state, to Rome, with some instructions to prepare the pope for it, and to observe what might be the best method, and who the fittest tools to work by. At that time the family of the Cassali, being three brothers, were entertained by the king as his agents in Italy, both in Rome, Venice, and other places. Sir Gregory Cassali was then his ordinary ambassador at Rome: to him was the first full despatch about this business directed by the cardinal, the original whereof is yet extant, dated the 5th of December 1527, which the reader will find in the Collection: but here I shall give the heads of it.

1527. The King moved for his Divorce at Rome.

"After great and high compliments and assurances of rewards, to engage him to follow the business very vigorously and with great diligence, he writes, that he had before opened the king's case to him, and that, partly by his own study, partly by the opinion of many divines, and other learned men of all sorts, he found that he could no longer, with a good conscience, continue in that marriage with the queen: having God and the quiet and salvation of his soul chiefly before his eyes. And that he had consulted both the most learned divines and canonists, as well in his own dominions as elsewhere, to know whether the pope's dispensation could make it good, and that many of them thought the pope could not dispense, in this case, of the first degree of affinity, which they esteemed forbidden by a divine, moral, and natural law; and all the rest concluded, that the pope could not do it but upon very weighty reasons, and they found not any such in the bull. Then he lays out the reasons for annulling the bull, which were touched before, upon

The first despatch about it. Collect. Numb. 3d.



which they all concluded the dispensation to be of no force; that the king looked on the death of his sons as a curse from God; and, to avoid further judgments, he now desired help of the apostolic see, to consider his case, to reflect on what he had merited by these services he had done the papacy, and to find a way that he, being divorced from his queen, may marry another wife, of whom, by the blessing of God, he might hope for issue male. Therefore the ambassador was to use all means possible to be admitted to speak to the pope in private, and then to deliver him these letters of credence, in which there was a most earnest clause added with the king's own hand. He was also to make a condoleance of the miseries the pope and cardinals were in, both in the king's name and the cardinal's, and to assure the pope they would use all the most effectual means that were possible for setting them at liberty, in which the cardinal would employ as much industry as if there were no other way to come to the kingdom of heaven but by doing it. Then he was to open the king's business to the pope,—the scruples of his conscience, the great danger of cruel wars upon so disputable a succession, the entreaties of all the nobility and the whole kingdom, with many other urgent reasons, to obtain what was desired. He was also to lay before the pope the present condition of Christendom and of Italy, that he might consider of what importance it was to his own affairs, and to the apostolic see, to engage the king so firmly to his interests as this would certainly do. And to move that the pope, without communicating the matter to any person, would freely grant it, and sign the commission which was therewith sent engrossed in due form, and ready to be signed, by which the cardinal was authorized, with the assistance of such as he should choose, to proceed in the matter, according to some instructions which were also sent fairly written out for the pope to sign. A dispensation was also sent in due form; and, if these were expeded, he might assure the pope, that as the king had sent over a vast sum to the French king, for paying his army in Italy, so he would spare no travel nor treasure, but make war upon the emperor in Flanders, with his whole strength, till he forced him to set the pope at liberty, and restore the state of the church to its former power and dignity. And if the pope were already at liberty, and had made an agreement with the emperor, he was to represent to him how little cause he had to trust much to the emperor, who had so oft broke his faith, and designed to do all he could towards the depressing the ecclesiastical state. And the pope was to be remembered, that he had dispensed with the emperor's oath for marrying the king's daughter without communicating the matter to the king. And if he had done so much for one that had been his enemy, how much more might the king expect the like favour, who had always paid him a most filial duty? Or if the pope would not grant the commission to the cardinal to try the matter, as a person that being the king's chief minister was not indifferent enough to judge in any of the king's concerns, he was by all means to overcome that, and assure the pope that he would proceed in it as a judge ought to do. But if the pope stood upon it, and would by no means be persuaded to sign the commission for the cardinal, then he was to propose Staphileus, dean of the Rota, who was then in England; and was to except against all other foreigners, if the pope chanced to propose any other. He was also to represent to the pope, that the king would look upon a delay as a denial, and if the pope inclined to consult with any of the cardinals about it, he was to divert him from it all that was possible: but if the pope would needs do it, then he was to address himself to them, and partly by informing them of the reasons of the king's cause, partly by rewarding the good offices they should do, he was to engage them for the king. And with this despatch letters were sent to cardinal Pucci, Sanctorum Quatuor, and the other cardinals, to be made use of as there should be occasion for it. And because money was like to be the most powerful argument, especially to men impoverished by a captivity, ten thousand ducats were remitted to Venice, to be distributed as the king's affairs required; and he was empowered to make further promises as he saw cause for it, which the king would faithfully make good; and in particular, they were to be wanting in nothing that might absolutely engage the cardinal Datary to favour the king's business.

The same things had been committed to the secretary's care, and they were both to proceed by concert, each of them doing all that was possible to promote the business. But before this reached Rome, secretary Knight was come

The Pope grants it when he was in Prison.

thither, and finding it impossible to be admitted to the pope's presence, he had by corrupting some of his guards sent him the sum of the king's demands. Upon which the pope sent him word that the dispensation should be sent fully expeded. So gracious was a pope in captivity. But at that time the general of the Observants in Spain being at Rome, required a promise of the pope not to grant anything that might prejudice the queen's cause, till it were first communicated to the imperialists there. But when the pope made his escape, the secretary and the ambassador went to him to Orvieto about the end of December, and first did in the king's and cardinal's name congratulate his freedom. Then the secretary discoursed the business. The pope owned that he had received the message which he had sent to him at Rome, but in respect of his promise, and that yet in a manner he was in captivity, he begged the king would have a little patience, and he should before long have not only that dispensation, but anything else that lay in his power. But the secretary not being satisfied with that excuse, the pope in the end said he should have it; but with this condition, that he would beseech the king not to proceed upon it till the pope were fully at liberty, and the Germans and Spaniards were driven out of Italy. And upon the king's promising this, the dispensation was to be put in his hands. So the secretary, who had a great mind once to have the bull in his possession, made no scruple to engage his promise for that. The pope also told them he was not expert in those things, but he easily apprehended the danger that might arise from any dispute about the succession to the crown, and that therefore he would communicate the business to the cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor; upon which they resolved to prevent that cardinal's being with the pope, and went and delivered the letters they had for him, and promised him a good reward if he were favourable to their requests in the king's behalf. Then they showed him the commissions that were sent from England; but he upon the perusal of them said, they could not pass without a perpetual dishonour on the pope and the king too, and excepted to several clauses that were in them. So they desired him to draw one that might both be sufficient for the king's purpose, and such as the pope might with honour grant. Which being done, the pope told them, that though he apprehended great danger to himself if the emperor should know what he had done, yet he would rather expose himself to utter ruin than give the king or the cardinal cause to think him ingrate; but with many sighs and tears he begged that the king would not precipitate things, or expose him to be undone, by beginning any process upon the bull. And so he delivered the commission and dispensation signed to Knight. But the means that the pope proposed for his publishing and owning what he now granted, was, that Lautrec with the French army should march, and coming where the pope was, should require him to grant the commission, so that the pope should excuse himself to the emperor, that he had refused to grant it upon the desire of the English ambassador, but that he could not deny the general of the French army to do an act of public justice, and by this means he would save his honour, and not seem guilty of breach of promise; and then he would despatch the commission about the time of Lautrec's being near him; and therefore he entreated the king to accept of what was then granted for the present. The commission and dispensation was given to the secretary, and they promised to send the bull after him, of the same form that was desired from England, and the pope engaged to reform it as should be found needful. And it seems by these letters, that a dispensation and commission had been signed by the pope, when he was a prisoner; but they thought not fit to make any use of them, lest they should be thought null, as being granted when the pope was in captivity.

Collect. Numb. 4th.

Pope escaped, Dec. 9.

And being at liberty, gives a Bull for it.

The Pope's craft and policy.

Thus the pope expressed all the readiness that could be expected from him, in the circumstances he was then in; being overawed by the imperialists, who were harassing the country, and taking castles very near the place where he was. Lautrec, with the French army, lay still fast about Bononia; and as the season of the year was not favourable, so he did not express any inclinations to enter into action. The cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor got four thousand crowns as the reward of his pains, and in earnest of what he was to expect when the matter should be brought to a final conclusion. In this whole matter the pope carried himself as a wise and politic prince, that considered

And the measures that governed them.



his interest, and provided against dangers with great foresight. But as for apostolical wisdom, and the simplicity of the gospel, that was not to be expected from him. For now, though the high-sounding names of Christ's vicar, and St. Peter's successor, were still retained to keep up the pope's dignity and authority, yet they had for many ages governed themselves as secular princes; so that the maxims of that court were no more to keep a good conscience, and to proceed according to the rules of the gospel, and the practice of the primitive church, committing the event to God, and submitting to his will in all things; but the keeping a balance, the maintaining their interest in the courts of princes, the securing their dominions, and the raising their families, being that which they chiefly looked at, it is not to be wondered at that the pope governed himself by these measures, though religion was to be made use of to help him out of straits. All this I set down the more particularly, both because I take my information from original letters, and that it may chiefly appear how matters went at that time in the court of Rome.

Secretary Knight being infirm could not travel with that haste that was required in this business, and therefore he sent the protonotary Gambara with the commission and dispensation to England, and followed in easy journeys. The cardinals that had been consulted with did all express great readiness in granting the king's desire. The cardinal Datary had forsaken the court, and betaken himself to serve God and his cure; and other cardinals were hostages, so that now there were but five about the pope, Monte, Sanctorum Quatuor, Ridolphi, Ravennate, and Perusino. But a motion being made of sending over a legate, the pope would by no means hearken to it, for that would draw new troubles on him from the emperor. That had been desired from England by a despatch of the 27th of December, which pressed a speedy conclusion of the business; upon which the pope on the 12th of January did communicate the matter under the seal of confession to the cardinals Sanctorum Quatuor and Simoneta (who was then come to the court), and upon conference with them, he proposed to sir Gregory Cassali, that he thought the safer way was, "that either by virtue of the commission that the secretary had obtained, or by the legantine power that was lodged with the cardinal of York, he should proceed in the business. And if the king found the matter clear in his own conscience (in which the pope said, no doctor in the whole world could resolve the matter better than the king himself), he should without more noise make judgment be given, and presently marry another wife, and then send for a legate to confirm the matter. And it would be easier to ratify all when it was once done, than to go on in a process from Rome. For the queen would protest that both the place and the judges were suspected, and not free; upon which, in the course of law, the pope must grant an inhibition for the king's not marrying another while the suit depended, and must avocate the business to be heard in the court of Rome, which, with other prejudices, were unavoidable in a public process by bulls from Rome. But if the thing went on in England, and the king had once married another wife, the pope then would find very good reasons to justify the confirming a thing that was gone so far, and promised to send any cardinal whom they should name. This the pope desired the ambassador would signify to the king as the advice of the two cardinals, and take no notice of him in it. But the despatch shows he was a more faithful minister than to do so.

Collect. Numb. 5th.

The method proposed by the Pope. Collect. Numb. 6th.

The ambassador found all the earnestness in the pope that was possible to comply with the king; and that he was jealous both of the emperor and Francis, and depended wholly on the king; so that he found, if the terror of the imperial forces were over, the court of England would dispose of the apostolical see as they pleased. And indeed this advice, how little soever it had of the simplicity of the gospel, was certainly prudent and subtile, and that which of all things the Spaniards apprehended most. And therefore the general of the Observants moved cardinal Campegio, then at Rome, for an inhibition, lest the process should be carried on and determined in England. But that being signified to the pope, he said it could not be granted, since there was no suit depending, in which case only an inhibition can be granted.

But now I must look over again to England, to open the counsels there. At that time Staphileus was there; and he, either to make his court the better, or

Staphileus sent from England.

that he was so persuaded in opinion, seemed fully satisfied about the justice of the king's cause. So they sent him to Rome with instructions both public and secret. The public instructions related to the pope's affairs, in which all possible assistance was promised by the king. But one proposition in them flowed from the cardinal's ambition:—

His Instructions. Cotton. Lib. Vitel. B. 10. Jan. 8. Duplicates corrected by the Cardinal's Hand.

"That the kings of England and France thought it would advance the pope's interests, if he should command the cardinals that were under no restraint to meet in some secure place to consider of the affairs of the church, that they might suffer no prejudice by the pope's captivity; and for that end, and to conserve the dignity of the apostolic see, that they should choose such a vicar or president, as partly by his prudence and courage, partly by the assistance of the two kings upon whom depended all their hopes, might do such services to the apostolic see as were most necessary in that distracted time, by which the pope's liberty would be hastened.

It cannot be imagined but the pope would be offended with this proposition, and apprehend that the cardinal of York was not satisfied to be intriguing for the popedom after his death, but was aspiring to it while he was alive. For as it was plain he was the person that must be chosen for that trust, so if the pope were used hardly by the emperor, and forced to ill conditions, the vicar so chosen and his cardinals would disown those conditions, which might end in a schism or his deposition. But Staphileus' secret instructions related wholly to the king's business, which were these: "That the king had opened to him the error of his marriage, and that the said bishop out of his great learning did now clearly perceive how invalid and insufficient it was: therefore the king recommended it to his care, that he would convince the pope and the cardinals with the arguments that had been laid before him, and of which a breviate was given him." He was also to represent the great mischiefs that might follow, if princes got not justice and ease from the apostolic see. Therefore if the pope were yet in captivity he was to propose a meeting of the cardinals, for choosing the cardinal of York to be their head during the pope's imprisonment, or that a full commission might be sent to him for the king's matter. And in particular he was to take care that the business might be tried in England. And for his pains in promoting the king's concerns, the king promised to procure a bishopric for him in France; and to help him to a cardinal's hat. By him the king wrote to the pope. The rude draught of it remains under the cardinal's hand, earnestly desiring a speedy and favourable despatch of his business with a credence to the bearer.

The cardinal also wrote to the pope by him; and after a long congratulating his liberty with many sharp reflections on the emperor, he pressed a despatch of the king's business, in which he would not use many words: "This only I will add," says he, "that that which is desired is holy and just, and very much for the safety and quiet of this kingdom, which is most devoted to the apostolical see." He also wrote by the same hand to the ambassador, "that the king would have things so carried, that all occasion of discontent or cavilling, whether at home or abroad, might be removed; and therefore desired that another cardinal might be sent legate to England, and joined in commission with himself for judging the matter. He named either Campegio, Tranus, or Farnese: or if that could not be obtained, that a fuller commission might be sent to himself, with all possible haste, since delays might produce great inconveniences. If a legate were named, then care must be taken that he should be one who was learned, indifferent, and tractable; and if Campegio could be the man, he was the fittest person. And when one was named, he should make him a decent present, and assure him that the king would most liberally recompense all his labour and expense. He also required him to press his speedy despatch, and that the commission should be full to try and determine, without any reservation of the sentence to be given by the pope." This despatch is interlined, and amended with the cardinal's own hand.

The Cardinal's Letters by him.

But upon the arrival of the messenger whom the secretary had sent, with the commission and dispensation, and the other packets before-mentioned; it was debated in the king's council, whether he should go on in his process, or continue to solicit new bulls from Rome. On the one hand, they saw how tedious, dangerous, and

A Larger Bull desired by the King.



expensive a process at Rome was like to prove: and therefore it seemed the easiest and most expedite way to proceed before the cardinal in his legantine court, who should *ex officio*, and in the summary way of their court, bring it to a speedy conclusion. But on the other hand, if the cardinal gave sentence, and the king should marry, then they were not sure but before that time the pope might either change his mind, or his interest might turn him another way. And the pope's power was so absolute by the canon law, that no general clauses in commissions to legates could bind him to confirm their sentences: and if upon the king's marrying another wife the pope should refuse to confirm it, then the king would be in a worse case than he was now in, and his marriage and issue by it should be still disputable: therefore they thought this was by no means to be adventured on, but they should make new addresses to the court of Rome. In the debate, some sharp words fell either from the king, or some of his secular counsellors; intimating that if the pope continued under such fears, the king must find some other way to set him at ease. So it was resolved that Stephen Gardiner, commonly called doctor Stephens, the cardinal's chief secretary, and Edward Fox the king's almoner, should be sent to Rome; the one being esteemed the ablest canonist in England, the other one of the best divines, they were despatched the 10th of February. "By them the king wrote to the pope thanking him that he had expressed such forward and earnest willingness to give him ease, and had so kindly promised to gratify his desires, of which he expected now to see the effects." He wrote also to the cardinals his thanks for the cheerfulness with which they had in consistory promised to promote his suit; for which he assured them they should never have cause to repent. But the cardinal wrote in a strain that shows he was in some fear that, if he could not bring about the king's desires, he was like to lose his favour. "He besought the pope as lying at his feet, that if he thought him a Christian, a good cardinal, and not unworthy of that dignity, an useful member of the apostolic see, a promoter of justice and equity, or thought him his faithful creature, or that he desired his own eternal salvation, that he would now so far consider his intercession, as to grant kindly and speedily that which the king earnestly desired; which if he did not know to be holy, right, and just, he would undergo any hazard or punishment whatsoever, rather than promote it; but he did apprehend if the king found that the pope was so overawed by the emperor as not to grant that which all Christendom judged was grounded both on the divine and human laws, both he and other Christian princes would from thence take occasion to provide themselves of other remedies, and lessen and despise the authority of the apostolic see." In his letters to Cassali he expressed a great sense of the services which the cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor had done the king; and bid him inquire what were the things in which he delighted most, whether furniture, gold plate, or horses, that they might make him acceptable presents; and assure him that the king would contribute largely towards the carrying on the building of St. Peter's in the Vatican.

Gardiner and Fox sent to Rome, with Letters from the King, Collect. Numb. 7th. and the Cardinal. Collect. Numb. 8th. Collect. Numb. 9th.

The most important thing about which they were employed, was to procure the expediting of a bull which was formed in England, with all the strongest clauses that could be imagined. In the preamble of which all the reasons against the validity of the bull of pope Julius II. were recited: and it was also hinted "that it was against the law of God; but to lessen that, it was added, 'at least where there was not a sufficient dispensation obtained:' therefore the pope, to reward the great services by which the king had obliged the apostolic see, and having regard to the distractions that might follow on a disputable title; upon a full consultation with the cardinals, having also heard the opinions of divines and canonists, deputed ——— for his legate, to concur with the cardinal of York, either together or (the one being hindered or unwilling) severally. And if they found those things that were suggested against the bull of pope Julius, or any of them, well or sufficiently proved, then to declare it void and null, as surreptitiously procured upon false grounds; and thereupon to annul the marriage that had followed upon it: and to give both parties full leave to marry again, notwithstanding any appellation or protestation, the pope making them his vicars, with full and absolute power and authority: empowering them also to declare the issue begotten in the former

The substance of the Bull desired by them. Collect. Numb. 10th.

marriage good and legitimate, if they saw cause for it. The pope binding himself to confirm whatever they should do in that process, and never to revoke or repeal what they should pronounce. Declaring also that this bull should remain in force till the process were ended, and that by no revocation or inhibition it should be recalled; and if any such were obtained, these are all declared void and null, and the legates were to proceed notwithstanding:" and all ended with a full *non obstante*.

This was judged the uttermost force that could be in a bull; though the civilians would scarce allow any validity at all in these extravagant clauses: but the most material thing in this bull is, that it seems the king was not fully resolved to declare his daughter illegitimate. Whether he pretended this to mitigate the queen's or the emperor's opposition, or did really intend it, is not clear. But what he did afterwards in parliament shows he had this deep in his thoughts, though the queen's carriage did soon after provoke him to pursue his resentments against her daughter. The French king did also join a most earnest letter of his to the pope, which they were also to deliver. They had likewise a secret instruction by all means to endeavour that cardinal Campegio should be the legate; he had the reputation of a learned canonist, and they knew he was a tractable man: and besides that he was bishop of Salisbury, the king had obliged him by the grant of a palace which the king was building in Burgo at Rome for his ambassadors, which, before it was finished, he had by a patent given to him and his heirs: so they had better hopes of him than of any other.

Rot. Pat. 2da Pars. Reg. 10.

By these ambassadors the cardinal wrote a long and most earnest letter to John Cassali the protonotary, that was the ambassador's brother; in which all the arguments that a most anxious mind could invent or dictate are laid together to persuade the pope to grant the king's desires. Among other things he tells him, "how he had engaged to the king that the pope would not deny it; that the king, both out of scruple of conscience and because of some diseases in the queen that were incurable, had resolved never to come near her more; and that if the pope continued, out of his partial respects to the emperor to be inexorable, the king would proceed another way." He offers to take all the blame of it upon his own soul if it were amiss; with many other particulars, in which he is so pressing, that I cannot imagine what moved the lord Herbert, who saw those letters, to think that the cardinal did not really intend the divorce*. He (it seems) saw another paper of their instructions, by which they were ordered to say to the pope, that the cardinal was not the author of the counsel. But all that was intended by that was only to excuse him so far, that he might not be thought too partial, and an incompetent judge. For as he was far from disowning the justice of the king's suit, so he would not have trusted a secret of that importance to paper, which when it should be known to the king would have lost him his favour. But undoubtedly it was concerted between the king and him to remove an exception, which otherwise the cardinals of the imperial faction would have made, to his being the judge in that matter.

The Cardinal's earnestness in this matter. Collect. Numb. 11th.

With those letters and instructions were Gardiner and Fox sent to Rome, where both the Cassalis† and Staphileus were promoting the king's business all they could. And being strengthened with the accession of those other two, they made a greater progress; so that in April the pope did in consistory declare cardinal Campegio legate to go to England, that he with the cardinal of York might try the validity of the king's marriage: but that cardinal made great excuses; he was then legate at Rome, in which he had such advantages, that he had no mind to enter in a

Collect. Numb. 12.

Campegio declared Legate. Collect. Numb. 10.

* Granger, in his corrections sent to Burnet, has the following note on this passage:—

"Possibly besides the paper of instructions here mentioned, the testimony of king Henry, [p. 55,] that the cardinal had always opposed it; and the information given the king, [p. 59,] of his having juggled in this business." The cardinal, as a courtier, desired the divorce; but as a churchman, and an expectant pope, he would willingly have avoided a step which he must have considered a bad precedent. But when he found the king inflexible in his purpose, he appears to have exerted himself very strenuously, upon the principle of choosing the lesser evil; being willing rather to shake the infallibility of a papal bull, than endanger the church by the secession of so powerful a member as the king of England.—ED.

† S. Greg. Cassali was not then at Rome, but at Orvieto, where the pope was at that time. Staphileus was not yet come: and when he came he did not promote but hindered the king's business all he could. See Gardiner's letters. —STRYPE'S CORRECTIONS.



business which must for ever engage either the emperor or the king against him. He also pretended an inability to travel so great a journey, being much subject to the gout. But when this was known in England, the cardinal wrote him a most earnest letter to hasten over and bring with him all such things as were necessary for making their sentence firm and irreversible, so that it might never again be questioned.

Wolsey writes to him to haste over. May 7.

But here I shall add a remark, which though it is of no great importance yet will be diverting to the reader. The draught of the letter is in Wolsey's secretary's hand, amended in some places by his own; and concluded thus, "I hope all things shall be done according to the will of God, the desire of the king, the quiet of the kingdom, and to our honour with a good conscience." But the cardinal dashed out this last word "with a good conscience;" perhaps judging that was a thing fit for meaner persons, but that it was below the dignity of two cardinals to consider it much. He wrote also to Cassali high compliments for his diligence in the step that was made, but desired him with all possible means to get the bull granted and trusted to his keeping, with the deepest protestations that no use should be made of it, but that the king only should see it; by which his mind would be at ease, and he being put in good hopes, would employ his power in the service of the pope and apostolic see: but the pope was not a man to be cozened so easily.

When the cardinal heard by the next despatch what excuses and delays Campegio made, he wrote to him again, and pressed his coming over in haste. "For his being legate of Rome he desired him to name a vice-legate. For his want of money and horses, Gardiner would furnish him as he desired, and he should find an equipage ready for him in France; and he might certainly expect great rewards from the king. But if he did not make more haste, the king would incline to believe an advertisement that was sent him, of his turning over to the emperor's party. Therefore if he either valued the king's kindness, or were grateful for the favours he had received from him; if he valued the cardinal's friendship or safety, or if he would hinder the diminution of the authority of the Roman church, all excuses set aside, he must make what haste in his journey was possible. Yet the legate made no great haste, for till October following he came not into England. The bull that was desired could not be obtained, but another was granted, which perhaps was of more force because it had not those extraordinary clauses in it. There is the copy of a bull to this purpose in the Cottonian library, which has been printed more than once by some that have taken it for a copy of the same bull that was sent by Campegio: but I take it to be rather a copy of that bull which the pope signed at Rome while he was there a prisoner, and probably afterward at Orvieto he might give it the date that it bears, 1527, Decemb. 17*. But that there was a decretal bull sent by Campegio, will appear evidently in the sequel of this relation. About this time I meet with the first evidence of the progress of the king's love to Anne Boleyn, in two original letters of hers to the cardinal, from which it appears not only that the king had then resolved to marry her, but that the cardinal was privy to it. They bear no date, but the matter of them shows they were written after the end of May, when the sweating-sickness began†, and about the time that the legate was expected. They give such a light to the history, that I shall not cast them over to the collection at the end, but set them down here.

May 23.

The Pope grants a Decretal Bull. Anti-Sanderus. L. Herbert.

"My Lord, in my most humblest wise that my heart can think, I desire you to pardon me that I am so bold to trouble you with my simple and rude writing, esteeming it to proceed from her that is much desirous to know that your Grace does well, as I perceive by this Bearer that you do. The which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray; for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me both day and night is never like to be recompenced on

Two Letters of Anne Boleyn's to Wolsey.

* This was the third commission sent from the pope. The first was sent from Rome by Gambera, and the second from Orvieto, brought over by Fox, but both were disliked, so this was now obtained.—STRYPE'S CORRECTIONS.

† This dreadful disease, which repeatedly made fearful ravages in the 16th and 17th centuries, and was known to occur though with less virulence as late as the middle of the 18th century, first made its appearance in the year 1485, and raged to such an extent as to occasion the postponement of Henry VII.'s coronation.—ED.

my part, but alonly in loving you next, unto the King's Grace, above all creatures living. And I do not doubt but the daily proofs of my deeds shall manifestly declare and affirm my writing to be true, and I do trust you to think the same. My Lord, I do assure you I do long to hear from you news of the Legate: for I do hope and they come from you they shall be very good, and I am sure you desire it as much as I, and more, and it were possible, as I know it is not: and thus remaining in a stedfast hope, I make an end of my letter written with the hand of her that is most bound to be.

"The writer of this letter would not cease till she had caused me likewise to set to my hand; desiring you, though it be short, to take it in good part. I ensure you there is neither of us but that greatly desireth to see you, and much more joyous to hear that you have scaped this Plague so well, trusting the fury thereof to be passed, specially with them that keepeth good diet, as I trust you do. The not hearing of the Legate's Arrival in France causeth us somewhat to muse; notwithstanding we trust by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God) shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at this time; but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity as the Writer would.

A Postscript of the King's to him.

"By Your Loving Soveraign and Friend, HENRY K.

"Your Humble Servant, ANNE BOLEYN."

"My Lord, In my most humblest wise that my poor heart can think, I do thank your Grace for your kind Letter, and for your rich and goodly Present, the which I shall never be able to deserve without your help: of the which I have hitherto had so great plenty, that all the days of my life I am most bound of all creatures, next the king's grace, to love and serve your Grace: of the which I beseech you never to doubt that ever I shall vary from this thought as long as any breath is in my body. And as touching your Grace's trouble with the sweat, I thank our Lord that them that I desired and prayed for are scaped, and that is the king and you; not doubting but that God has preserved you both for great causes known alonly of his high wisdom. And as for the coming of the Legate, I desire that much; and if it be God's pleasure, I pray him to send this matter shortly to a good end, and then I trust, My Lord, to recompence part of your great pains. In the which I must require you in the mean time to accept my good-will in the stead of the power, the which must proceed partly from you, as our Lord knoweth; to whom I beseech to send you long life, with continuance in honour. Written with the hand of her that is most bound to be,

"Your Humble and Obedient Servant, ANNE BOLEYN."

The cardinal hearing that Campegio had the decretal bull committed to his trust, to be showed only to the king and himself, wrote to the ambassador that it was necessary it should be also showed to some of the king's council; not to make any use of it, but that thereby they might understand how to manage the process better by it. This he begged might be trusted to his care and fidelity, and he undertook to manage it so that no kind of danger could arise out of it.

Collect. Numb. 14th.

At this time the cardinal having finished his foundations at Oxford and Ipswich, and finding they were very acceptable both to the king and to the clergy, resolved to go on, and suppress more monasteries, and erect new bishopries, turning some abbeys to cathedrals. This was proposed in the consistory, and granted, as appears by a despatch of Cassali's. He also spoke to the pope about a general visitation of all monasteries. And on the 4th of November, the bull for suppressing some was expected, a copy whereof is yet extant, but written in such a hand that I could not read three words together in any place of it; and though I tried others that were good at reading all hands, yet they could not do it. But I find by the despatch that the pope did it with some aversion; and when Gardiner told him plainly it was necessary and it must be done, he paused a little, and seemed unwilling to give any further offence to religious orders. But since he found it so uneasy to gratify the king in so great a point as the matter of his divorce, he judged it the more necessary

The Cardinal's Colleges finished.

October 30.

More Monasteries were to be suppressed.



to mollify him by a compliance in all other things. So there was a power given to the two legates to examine the state of the monasteries, and to suppress such as they thought fit, and convert them into bishopries and cathedrals.

While matters went thus between Rome and England, the queen was as active as she could be to engage her two nephews, the emperor and his brother, to appear for her. She complained to them much of the king, but more of the cardinal. She also gave them notice of all the exceptions that were made to the bull, and desired both their advice and assistance. They having a mind to perplex the king's affairs, advised her by no means to yield, nor to be induced to enter into a religious life; and gave her assurance, that by their interest at Rome, they would support her, and maintain her daughter's title, if it went to extremities. And as they employed all their agents at Rome to serve her concerns, so they consulted with the canonists about the force of the exceptions to the bull, the issue of which was, that a breve was found out, or forged, that supplied some of the most material defects in the bull. For whereas in the bull the preamble bore that the king and queen had desired the pope's dispensation to marry, that the peace might continue between the two crowns, without any other cause given; in the preamble of this breve mention is made of their desire to marry, "because otherwise it was not likely that the peace would be continued between the two crowns. And for that and divers other reasons they asked the dispensation," which in the body of the breve is granted, bearing date the 26th of December 1503. Upon this they pretended that the dispensation was granted upon good reasons, since by this petition it appeared that there were fears of a breach between the crowns; and that there were also other reasons made use of, though they were not named. But there was one fatal thing in it. In the bull it is only said, that the queen's petition bore, "that perhaps she had consummated her marriage with prince Arthur by the *carnalis copula*." But in this "perhaps" is left out, and it is plainly said "that they had consummated their marriage." This the king's council, who suspected that the breve was forged, made great use of when the question was argued whether prince Arthur knew her or not —though at this time it was said the Spaniards did put it in on design, knowing it was like to be proved that the former marriage was consummated; which they intended to throw out of the debate, since by this it appeared that the pope did certainly know that, and yet granted the breve, and that therefore there was to be no more inquiry to be made into that, which was already confessed, so that all that was now to be debated was the pope's power of granting such a dispensation, in which they had good reason to expect a favourable decision at Rome.

The Emperor opposes the King's suit.

A Breve found out in Spain. Collect. Numb. 15th.

But there appeared great grounds to reject this breve as a forged writing. It was neither in the records of England nor Spain, but said to be found among the papers of D. de Puebla, that had been the Spanish ambassador in England at the time of concluding the match. So that if he only had it, it must have been cassated, otherwise the parties concerned would have got it into their hands; or else it was forged since. Many of the names were written false, which was a presumption that it was lately made by some Spaniards, who knew not how to write the names true. For Sigismund, who was secretary when it was pretended to have been signed, was an exact man, and no such errors were found in breves at that time. But that which showed it a manifest forgery was, that it bore date the 26th of December, Anno 1503, on the same day that the bull was granted. It was not to be imagined that in the same day a bull and a breve should have been expedited in the same business, with such material differences in them. And the style of the court of Rome had this singularity in it, that in all their breves they reckon the beginning of the year from Christmas day, which being the nativity of our Lord, they count the year to begin then. But in their bulls they reckon the year to begin at the feast of the Annunciation. So that a breve dated the 26th of December 1503, was in the vulgar account in the year 1502, therefore it must be false; for neither was Julius II. who granted it then pope, nor was the treaty of the marriage so far advanced at that time as to admit of a breve so soon. But allowing the breve to be true, they had many of the same exceptions to it that they had to the bull, since it bore that the king desired the marriage, to avoid a breach

Presumptions of its being forged.

between the crowns, which was false. It likewise bore that the marriage had been consummated between the queen and prince Arthur, which the queen denied was ever done; so that the suggestion in her name being, as she said, false, it could have no force, though it were granted to be a true breve. And they said it was plain the imperialists were convinced the bull was of no force, since they betook themselves to such arts to fortify their cause.

When cardinal Campegio came to England, he was received with the public solemnities ordinary in such a case, and in his speech at his first audience, he called the king the deliverer of the pope and of the city of Rome, with the highest compliments that the occasion did require. But when he was admitted to a private conference with the king and the cardinal, he used many arguments to dissuade the king from prosecuting the matter any further. This the king took very ill, as if his errand had been rather to confirm than annul his marriage; and complained that the pope had broken his word to him. But the legate studied to qualify him, and showed the decretal bull, by which he might see that though the pope wished rather that the business might come to a more friendly conclusion; yet if the king could not be brought to that, he was empowered to grant him all that he desired. But he could not be brought to part with the decretal bull out of his hands, or to leave it for a minute, either with the king or the cardinal, saying that it was demanded on these terms, that no other person should see it; and that Gardiner and the ambassador had only moved to have it expedited, and sent by the legate to let the king see how well the pope was affected to him. With all this the king was much dissatisfied; but to encourage him again, the legate told him he was to speak to the queen in the pope's name, to induce her to enter into a religious life, and to make the vows. But when he proposed that to her, she answered him modestly, that she could not dispose of herself but by the advice of her nephews.

Campegio comes into England,

and shows the King the Bull,

but refuses to let it be shown to the Council.

Of all this the cardinal of York advertised the Cassalis, and * ordered them to use all possible endeavours that the bull might be shown to some of the king's council. Upon that (sir Gregory being then out of Rome) the protonotary went to the pope, and complained that Campegio had dissuaded the divorce. The pope justified him in it, and said he did as he had ordered him. He next complained that the legate would not proceed to execute the legantine commission. The pope denied that he had any order from him to delay his proceedings, but that by virtue of his commission they might go on and pass sentence. Then the protonotary pressed him for leave to show the bull to some of the king's council, complaining of Campegio's stiffness in refusing it, and that he would not trust it to the cardinal of York, who was his equal in the commission. To this the pope answered in passion, that he could show the cardinal's letter, in which he assures him that the bull should only be showed to the king himself, and that if it were not granted he was ruined, therefore to preserve him he had sent it, but had ordered it to be burnt when it was once showed. He wished he had never sent it, saying he would gladly lose a finger to recover it again, and expressed great grief for granting it, and said they had got him to send it, and now would have it showed, to which he would never consent, for then he was undone for ever. Upon this the protonotary laid before him the danger of losing the king and the kingdom of England; of ruining the cardinal of York, and of the undoing of their family, whose hopes depended on the cardinal; and that by these means heresy would prevail in England, which, if it once had great footing there, would not be so easily rooted out: that all persons judged the king's cause right; but though it were not so, some things that were not good must be borne with to avoid greater evils. And at last he fell down at his feet, and in most passionate expressions begged him to be more compliant to the king's desires, and at least not to deny that small favour of showing the decretal to some few counsellors upon the assurance of absolute secrecy: but the pope interrupted him, and with great signs of an unusual grief told him these sad effects could not be charged on him, he had kept his word, and done what he had promised, but upon no consideration would he do anything that might wound his conscience or blemish his integrity. Therefore let

Wolsey's endeavour at Rome that it might be showed; * Collect. Numb. 16th.

Collect. Numb. 17th.

but all in vain.



them proceed as they would in England, he should be free of all blame, but should confirm their sentence. And he protested he had given Campegio no commands to make any delays, but only to give him notice of their proceedings. If the king, who had maintained the apostolic see, had written for the faith, and was the defender of it, would overturn it, it would end in his own disgrace. But at last the secret came out, for the pope confessed there was a league in treaty between the emperor and himself; but denied that he had bound himself up by it, as to the king's business.

The pope consulted with the cardinals Sanctorum Quatuor and Simoneta (not mentioning the decretal to them, which he had granted without communicating it to anybody, or entering it in any register), and they were of opinion that the process should be carried on in England, without demanding anything further from Rome. But the imperial cardinals spake against it, and were moving presently for an inhibition, and an avocation of the cause, to be tried at the court of Rome. The pope also took notice, that the intercession of England and France had not prevailed with the Venetians to restore Servia and Ravenna, which they had taken from him; and that he could not think that republic durst do so if these kings were in earnest. It had been promised that they should be restored as soon as his legate was sent to England, but it was not yet done. The protonotary told him it should most certainly be done. Thus ended that conversation. But the more earnest the cardinal was to have the bull seen by some of the privy council, the pope was the more confirmed in his resolutions never to consent to it. For he could not imagine the desire of seeing it was a bare curiosity, or only to direct the king's counsellors; since the king and the cardinal could inform them of all the material clauses that were in it. Therefore he judged the desire of seeing it was only that they might have so many witnesses to prove that it was once granted, whereby they had the pope in their power; and this he judged too dangerous for him to submit to.

But the pope, finding the king and the cardinal so ill satisfied with him, resolved to send Francisco Campana, one of his bed-chamber, to England, to remove all mistakes, and to feed the king with fresh hopes. In England, Campegio found still means by new delays to put off the business, and amused the king with new and subtle motions for ending the matter more dexterously. Upon which, in the beginning of December, sir Frances Brian and Peter Vannes, the king's secretary for the Latin tongue, were sent to Rome. They had it in commission to search all the records there for the breve that was now so much talked of in Spain. They were to propose several overtures. "Whether if the queen vowed religion, the pope would not dispense with the king's second marriage? or if the queen would not vow religion, unless the king also did it, whether in that case would the pope dispense with his vow? Or whether if the queen would hear of no such proposition, would not the pope dispense with the king's having two wives? For which there were divers precedents vouched from the Old Testament." They were to represent to the pope that the king had laid out much of his best treasure in his service, and therefore he expected the highest favours out of the deepest treasure of the church. And Peter Vannes was commanded to tell the pope as of himself, that if he did for partial respects and fears refuse the king's desires, he perceived it would not only alienate the king from him, but that many other princes his confederates, with their realms, would withdraw their devotion and obedience from the apostolic see.

The Pope sends Campana to England. Collect. Numb. 18th.

New Ambassadors sent to Rome,

with other overtures.

Collect. Numb. 19th.

By a despatch that followed them the cardinal tried a new project, which was an offer of 2000 men for a guard to the pope, to be maintained at the cost of the king and his confederates; and also proposed an interview of the pope, the emperor, the French king, and the ambassadors of other princes, to be either at Nice, Avignon, or in Savoy, and that himself would come thither from the king of England. But the pope resolved steadfastly to keep his ground, and not to engage himself too much to any prince; therefore the motion of a guard did not at all work upon him. To have guards about him upon another prince's pay, was to be their prisoner; and he was so weary of his late imprisonment that he would not put himself in hazard of it a second time. Besides, such a guard would give the emperor just cause of jealousy, and yet not secure him

A Guard of 2000 men offered to the Pope.

against his power. He had been also so unsuccessful in his contests with the emperor, that he had no mind to give him any new provocation: and though the kings of England and France gave him good words, yet they did nothing, nor did the king make war upon the emperor, so that his armies lying in Italy he was still under his power. Therefore the pope resolved to unite himself firmly to the emperor; and all the use he made of the king's earnestness in his divorce was only to bring the emperor to better terms. The Lutherans in Germany were like to make great use of any decision he might make against any of his predecessor's bulls. The cardinal elector of Mentz had written to him to consider well what he did in the king's divorce, for if it went on, nothing had ever fallen out since the beginning of Luther's sect that would so much strengthen it as that sentence. He was also threatened on the other side from Rome, that the emperor would have a general council called, and whatsoever he did in this process should be examined there, and he proceeded against accordingly. Nor did they forget to put him in mind of his birth, that he was a bastard, and so by the canon incapable of that dignity, and that thereupon they would depose him. He having all these things in his prospect, and being naturally of a fearful temper, which was at this time more prevalent in him by reason of his late captivity, resolved not to run these hazards, which seemed unavoidable, if he proceeded further in the king's business. But his constant maxim being to promise and swear deepest when he intended least, he sent Campana to England with a letter of credence to the cardinal, the effects of which message will appear afterwards. And thus ended this year, in which it was believed that if the king had employed that money which was spent in a fruitless negotiation at Rome on a war in Flanders, it had so distracted the emperor's forces, and encouraged the pope, that he had sooner granted that which in a more fruitless way was sought of him.

The Pope resolved to unite himself to the Emperor.

Being frightened with the threats of the Imperialists.

In the beginning of the next year Cassali wrote to the cardinal that the pope was much inclined to unite himself with the emperor, and proposed to go in person to Spain to solicit a general peace; but intended to go privately, and desired the cardinal would go with him thither as his friend and counsellor, and that they two should go as legates. But Cassali, by Salviati's means, who was in great favour with the pope, understood that the pope was never in greater fear of the emperor than at time; for his ambassador had threatened the pope severely, if he would not recal the commission that he had sent to England; so that the pope spoke oft to Salviati of the great repentance that he had inwardly in his heart for granting the decretal, and said he was undone for ever if it came to the emperor's knowledge. He also resolved, that though the legates gave sentence in England, it should never take effect, for he would not confirm it: of which, Gregory Cassali gave advertisement by an express messenger, who as he passed through Paris met secretary Knight and doctor Bennet, whom the king had despatched to Rome, to assist his other ambassadors there, and gave them an account of his message: and that it was the advice of the king's friends at Rome, that he and his confederates should follow the war more vigorously, and press the emperor harder, without which all their applications to the pope would signify nothing. Of this they gave the cardinal an account, and went on but faintly in their journey, judging that upon these advertisements they would be recalled, and other counsels taken.

1529. Jan. 3.

Repents his granting the Decretal.

King's Letters to the Cardinal, Jan. 8th.

At the same time the pope was with his usual arts cajoling the king's agents in Italy: for when Sir Francis Brian and Peter Vannes came to Bononia, the protonotary Cassali was surprised to hear that the business was not already ended in England: since (he said) he knew there were sufficient powers sent about it, and that the pope assured him he would confirm their sentence; but that he made a great difference between the confirming their judgment, by which he had the legates between him and the envy or odium of it, and the granting a bull, by which the judgment should arise immediately from himself. This his best friends dissuaded, and he seemed apprehensive that in case he should do it a council would be called, and he should be deposed for it. And any such distraction in the papacy, considering the footing which heresy had already gotten, would ruin the ecclesiastical state, and the church: so dexterously did the pope govern himself between such contrary

Jan. 9.



tides. But all this dissimulation was short of what he acted by Campana in England, whose true errand thither was to order Campegio to destroy the bull; but he did so persuade the king and the cardinal of the pope's sincerity, that by a despatch to sir Francis Brian, and Peter Vannes, and sir Gregory Cassali, he chid the two former for not making more haste to Rome; for he believed it might have been a great advantage to the king's affairs if they had got thither before the general of the Observants (then cardinal Angelo). He ordered them to settle the business of the guard about the pope presently, and tells them that the secretary was recalled, and Dr. Stephens again sent to Rome: and in a letter to secretary Knight, who went no further than Lyons, he writ to him, "That Campana had assured the king and him, in the pope's name, that the pope was ready to do, not only all that of law, equity, or justice, could be desired of him, but whatever of the fulness of his power he could do or devise, for giving the king content: and that although there were three things which the pope had great reason to take care of—the calling a general council, the emperor's descent into Italy, and the restitution of his towns, which were offered to be put in his hands by the emperor's means; yet neither these nor any other consideration should divert him from doing all that lay within his authority, or power, for the king: and that he had so deep a sense of the king's merits, and the obligations that he had laid on him, that if his resignation of the popedom might do him any service, he would readily consent to it: and therefore in the pope's name he encouraged the legates to proceed and end the business."

Jan. 15.

But feeds the King with high promises.

Upon these assurances the cardinal ordered the secretary to haste forward to Rome, and to thank the pope for that kind message to settle the guard about him, and to tell him, that for a council, none could be called but by himself, with the consent of the kings of England and France. And for any pretended council or meeting of bishops, which the emperor by the cardinals of his party might call, he needed not fear that. For his towns, they should be most certainly restored. Nor was the emperor's offering to put them in his hand to be much regarded; for though he restored them, if the pope had not a better guarantee for them it would be easy for him to take them from him when he pleased. He was also to propose a firmer league between the pope, England, and France, in order to which he was to move the pope most earnestly to go to Nice; and if the pope proposed the king's taking a second wife, with a legitimation of the issue which she might have, so the queen might be induced to enter into a state of religion, to which the pope inclined most, he was not to accept of that; both because the thing would take up much time, and they found the queen resolved to do nothing but as she was advised by her nephews. Yet if the pope offered a decretal about it, he might take it to be made use of as the occasion might require. But by a postscript he is recalled, and it is signified to him, that Gardiner was sent to Rome to negotiate these affairs, who had returned to England with the legate, and his being so successful in his former message, made them think him the fittest minister they could employ in that court; and to send him with the greater advantage, he was made a privy counsellor.

But an unlooked-for accident put a stop to all proceedings in the court of Rome. For on Epiphany-day the pope was taken extreme ill at mass, and a great sickness followed, of which it was generally believed he could not recover; and though his distemper did soon abate so much that it was thought to be over, yet it returned again upon him, insomuch that the physicians did suspect he was poisoned. Then followed all the secret caballings and intrigues which are ordinary in that court upon such an occasion. The Colonnas and the other imperialists were very busy, but the cardinal of Mantua opposed them; and Farnese, who was then at his house in the country, came to Rome and joined with Mantua; and these of that faction resolved that, if the Spanish army marched from Naples toward them, they would dispense with that bull which provides that the succeeding pope should be chosen in the same place where the former died, and would retire to some safe place. Some of the cardinals spoke highly in favour of cardinal Wolsey, whom (if the ambassadors did not flatter and lie grossly in their letters, from which I draw these informations) they reverenced as a deity. And the cardinal of Mantua, it seems, proposing him as a pattern, would needs have a particular account of his whole course of life, and expressed great esteem for him. When Gardiner was come as

The Pope sickens.

Jan. 27.

far as Lyons he wrote the cardinal word, that there went a prophecy that an angel should be the next pope, but should die soon after*. He also gave advice that if the pope died, the commission for the legates must needs expire with him, unless they made some step in their business by a citation of parties, which would keep it alive; but whether this was done or not I cannot find. The cardinal's ambition was now fermenting strongly, and he resolved to lay his project for the popedom better than he had done before. His letter about it to Gardiner, and the king's instructions to his ambassadors, are printed by Fox, and the originals from which they are taken are yet extant. He wrote also another letter to the ambassadors, which the reader will find in the collection. But because the instructions show what were the methods in choosing popes in those days, by which it may be easily gathered how such an election must needs recommend a man to infallibility, supremacy, and all the other appendages of Christ's vicar on earth, I shall give a short summary of them.

Cardinal Wolsey's intrigues for the Papacy. Feb. 6.

Collect. Numb. 20.

"By his letter to his confidant Gardiner, he commits the thing chiefly to his care, and orders him to employ all his parts to bring it to the desired issue; sparing neither presents nor promises; and that as he saw men's inclinations or affections led them, whether to public or private concerns, so he should govern himself towards them accordingly. The instructions bear, that the king thought the cardinal the fittest person to succeed to the papacy (they being advertised that the pope was dead); that the French king did also of his own motion offer his assistance to him in it, and that, both for public and private ends, the cardinal was the fittest. Therefore the ambassadors are required, with all possible earnestness and vigour, to promote his election. A schedule of the cardinals' names is sent them with marks to every one, whether he was like to be present or absent, favourable, indifferent, or opposite to them. It was reckoned there could be but thirty-nine present, of which twenty-six were necessary to choose the pope. Of these the two kings thought themselves sure of twenty. So six was all the number that the ambassadors were to gain, and to that number they were first to offer them good reasons, to convince them of the cardinal's fitness for the papacy. But because human frailty was such that reason did not always take place, they were to promise promotions and sums of money, with other good rewards, which the king gave them commission to offer, and would certainly make them good: besides, all the great preferments which the cardinal had, that should be shared among those who did procure his election. The cardinals of their party were first to enter into a firm bond to exclude all others. They were also to have some creatures of theirs to go into the conclave to manage the business. Sir Gregory Cassali was thought fittest for that service. And if they saw the adverse party too strong in the conclave, so that they could carry nothing, then Gardiner was to draw a protestation, which should be made in name of the two crowns; and, that being made, all the cardinals of their faction were to leave the conclave. And, if the fear of the emperor's forces overawed them, the ambassadors were to offer a guard of two or three thousand men to secure the cardinals: and the French king ordered his armies to move, if the Spanish troops did move either from Naples or Milan. They were also to assure them, that the cardinal would presently upon his election come and live at Rome, and were to use all endeavours to gain the cardinal de Medici to their faction; but, at the same time, to assure the Florentines that Wolsey would assist them to exclude the Medici out of the government of their town and state. They were also to have a strict eye upon the motions of the French faction, lest, if the cardinal were excluded, they should consent to any other, and refuse to make the protestation as it was desired. But to oblige Campegio the more, it was added, that if they found all hopes of raising the cardinal of York to vanish, then they should try if Campegio could be elected; and in that case the cardinals of their faction were to make no protestation.

The King's Instructions for the Election.

Numb. of Electors.

These were the apostolical methods then used for choosing a successor to St. Peter; for though a successor had been chosen to Judas by lot, yet more caution was to be used in

* This appears to be in allusion to the old pun of pope Gregory, when he beheld the handsome young Saxons (Angli) exposed in the slave-market, and declared that they were not "Angli sed Angeli."—ED.



choosing one for the prince of the apostles. But when the cardinal heard that the pope was not dead, and that there was hope of his recovery, he wrote another long letter to the ambassadors (the original of which is yet extant) "to keep all their instructions about a new pope very secret, to be gaining as many cardinals as they could, and to take care that the cardinals should not go into the conclave, unless they were free, and safe from any fears of the imperial forces. But if the pope recovered, they were to press him to give such orders about the king's business, that it might be speedily ended: and then the cardinal would come and wait on the pope over to Spain as he had proposed. And for the apprehensions the pope had of the emperor being highly offended with him if he granted the king's desire, or of his coming into Italy, he needed not fear him. They knew whatever the emperor pretended about his obligation to protect his aunt, it was only for reason of state: but if he were satisfied in other things, that would be soon passed over. They knew also that his design of going into Italy was laid aside for that year; because he apprehended that France and England would make war on him in other places. There were also many precedents found of dispensations granted by popes in like cases: and lately there had been one granted by pope Alexander VI. to the king of Hungary, against the opinion of his cardinals, which had never been questioned; and yet he could not pretend to such merits as the king had." And all that had ever been said in the king's cause was summed up in a short breviate by Cassali, and offered to the pope; a copy whereof taken from an original under his own hand, the reader will find in the collection.

Feb. 20. New Propositions about the Divorce.

Collect. Numb. 21.

The king ordered his ambassadors to make as many cardinals sure for his cause as they could, who might bring the pope to consent to it, if he were still averse. But the pope was at this time possessed with a new jealousy, of which the French king was not free, as if the king had been tampering with the emperor, and had made him great offers, so he would consent to the divorce; about which Francis wrote an anxious letter to Rome, the original of which I have seen. The pope was also surprised at it, and questioned the ambassadors about it; but they denied it, and said the union between England and France was inseparable, and that these were only the practices of the emperor's agents to create distrust. The pope seemed satisfied with what they said, and added, "that in the present conjuncture a firm union between them was necessary." Of all this sir Francis Brian wrote a long account in cipher.

But the pope's relapse put a new stop to business, of which the cardinal being informed, as he ordered the king's agents to continue their care about his promotion, so he charged them to see if it were "possible to get access to the pope, and though he were in the very agony of death, to propose two things to him: the one, that he would presently command all the princes of Christendom to agree to a cessation of arms, under pain of the censures of the church, as pope Leo and other popes had done; and if he should die, he could not do a thing that would be more meritorious, and for the good of his soul, than to make that the last act of his life. The other thing was concerning the king's business, which he presseth as a thing necessary to be done, for the clearing and ease of the pope's conscience towards God: and withal he orders them to gain as many about the pope, and as many cardinals and officers in the rota as they could, to promote the king's desires, whether in the pope's sickness or health. The bishop of Verona had a great interest with the pope, so by that, and another despatch of the same date (sent another way), they were ordered to gain him, promising him great rewards, pressing him to remain still about the pope's person, to balance the ill offices which cardinal Angelo and the archbishop of Capua did, who never stirred from the pope: and to assure that bishop, that the king laid this matter more to heart than anything that ever befel him; and that it would trouble him as much to be overcome in this matter by these two friars, as to loose both his crowns: and for my part," writes the cardinal, "I would expose anything to my life, yea life itself, rather than see the inconveniences that may ensue upon disappointing of the king's desire." For promoting the business, the French king sent the bishop of Bayonne to assist the English ambassadors in his name, who was first sent over to England to be well instructed there. They were either to procure a decretal for the king's divorce,

The pope's relapse. April 6.

Another despatch to Rome.

Collect. Numb. 22.

or a new commission to the two legates, with ampler clauses in it than the former had; "to judge as if the pope were in person, and to emit compulsory letters against any, whether emperor, king, or of what degree soever, to produce all manner of evidences or records which might tend towards the clearing the matter, and to bring them before them." This was sought because the emperor would not send over the pretended original breve to England, and gave only an attested copy of it to the king's ambassadors; lest, therefore, from that breve, a new suit might be afterwards raised for annulling any sentence which the legates should give, they thought it needful to have the original brought before them. In the penning of that new commission, Dr. Gardiner was ordered to have special care that it should be done by the best advice he could get in Rome. It appears also from this despatch, that the pope's pollicitation, to confirm the sentence which the legates should give, was then in Gardiner's hands; for he was ordered to take care that there might be no disagreement between the date of it and of the new commission. And when that was obtained, sir Francis Brian was commanded to bring them with him to England. Or if neither a decretal, nor a new commission could be obtained, then, if any other expedient were proposed, that upon good advice should be found sufficient and effectual, they were to accept of it, and send it away with all possible diligence. And the cardinal conjured them, "by the reverence of Almighty God, to bring them out of their perplexity, that this virtuous prince may have this thing sped, which would be the most joyous thing that could befal his heart upon earth. But if all things should be denied, then they were to make their protestations, not only to the pope, but to the cardinals, of the injustice that was done the king; and in the cardinal's name to let them know that not only the king and his realm would be lost, but also the French king and his realm, with their other confederates, would also withdraw their obedience from the see of Rome, which was more to be regarded than either the emperor's displeasure or the recovery of two cities. They were also to try what might be done in law by the cardinals in a vacancy, and they were to take good counsel upon some chapters of the canon law which related to that: and govern themselves accordingly, either to hinder an avocation or inhibition, or, if it could be done, to obtain such things as they could grant towards the conclusion of the king's business. At this time also the cardinal's bulls for the bishopric of Winchester were expedited: they were rated high at 15,000 ducats; for though the cardinal pleaded his great merits, to bring the composition lower, yet the cardinals at Rome said the apostolic chamber was very poor, and other bulls were then coming from France, to which the favour they should show the cardinal would be a precedent. But the cardinal sent word that he would not give past 5000 or 6000 ducats, because he was exchanging Winchester for Durham, and by the other they were to get a great composition. And if they held his bulls so high, he would not have them; for he needed them not, since he enjoyed already by the king's grant the temporalities of Winchester; which it is very likely was all that he considered in a bishopric. They were at last expedited, at what rates I cannot tell; but this I set down to show how severe the exactions of the court of Rome were.

The Cardinal's Bulls for the Bishopric of Winchester.

As the pope recovered his health, so he inclined more to join himself to the emperor than ever, and was more alienated than formerly from the king and the cardinal; which perhaps was increased by the distaste he took at the cardinal's aspiring to the popedom. The first thing that the emperor did in the king's cause was to protest, in the queen of England's name, that she refused to submit to the legates. The one was the king's chief minister, and her mortal enemy: the other was also justly suspected, since he had a bishopric in England. The king's ambassador pressed the pope much not to admit the protestation; but it was pretended that it could not be denied, either in law or justice. But that this might not offend the king, Salviati, that was the pope's favourite, wrote to Campegio that the protestation could not be hindered, but that the pope did still most earnestly desire to satisfy the king, and that the ambassadors were much mistaken, who were so distrustful of the pope's good mind to the king's cause. But now good words could deceive the king no longer, who clearly discovered the pope's mind, and being out of all hopes of anything more from Rome, resolved to proceed in England before the legates: and therefore Gardiner was recalled, who was

The Pope inclines to join with the Emperor.

Who protests against the Legates' Commission. May 15.



thought the fittest person to manage the process in England, being esteemed the greatest canonist they had; and was so valued by the king, that he would not begin the process till he came. Sir Francis Brian was also recalled; and when they took leave of the pope, they were ordered to expostulate in the king's name—"Upon the partiality he expressed for the emperor, notwithstanding the many assurances that both the legates had given the king, that the pope would do all he could toward his satisfaction; which was now so ill performed, that he expected no more justice from him. They were also to say as much as they could devise, in the cardinal's name, to the same purpose; upon which they were to try, if it were possible, to obtain any enlargement of the commission with fuller power to the legates;" for they saw it was in vain to move for any new bulls or orders from the pope about it. And though Gardiner had obtained a pollicitation from the pope, by which he both bound himself not to recal the cause from the legates, and also to confirm their sentence, and had sent it over, they found it was so conceived that the pope could go back from it when he pleased. So there was a new draught of a pollicitation formed with more binding clauses in it, which Gardiner was to try if he could obtain by the following pretence. "He was to tell the pope, that the courier to whom he trusted it, had been so little careful of it, that it was all wet and defaced, and of no more use; so that he durst not deliver it. And this might turn much to Gardiner's prejudice, that a matter of such concern was, through his neglect, spoiled: upon which he was to see if the pope would renew it. If that could be obtained, he was to use all his industry to get as many pregnant and material words added, as might make it more binding. He was also to assure the pope, that though the emperor was gone to Barcelona, to give reputation to his affairs in Italy; yet he had neither army, nor fleet ready, so that they needed not fear him. And he was to inform the pope of the arts he was using both in the English and French court to make a separated treaty: but that all was to no purpose, the two kings being so firmly linked together." But the pope was so great a master in all the arts of dissimulation and policy, that he was not to be overreached easily; and when he understood that his pollicitation was defaced, he was in his heart glad at it, and could not be prevailed with to renew it. So they returned to England, and Dr. Bennet came in their place. He carried with him one of the fullest and most important despatches that I find in this whole matter, from the two legates to the pope, and the consistory, who wrote to them, "that they had in vain endeavoured to persuade either party to yield to the other; that the breve being showed to them by the queen, they found great and evident presumptions of its being a mere forgery; and that they thought it was too much for them to sit and try the validity, or authenticalness of the pope's bulls or breves, or to hear his power of dispensing in such cases disputed: therefore it was more expedient to avocate the cause, to which the king would consent if the pope obliged himself under his hand to pass sentence speedily in his favour; but they rather advised the granting a decretal bull which would put an end to the whole matter, in order to which the bearer was instructed to show very good precedents. But in the meanwhile, they advised the pope to press the queen most effectually to enter into a religious life, as that which would compose all these differences in the softest and easiest way. It pitied them to see the rack and torments of conscience under which the king had smarted so many years: and that the disputes of divines, and the decrees of fathers, had so disquieted him, that for clearing a matter thus perplexed there was not only need of learning, but of a more singular piety and illumination. To this were to be added the desire of issue, the settlement of the kingdom, with many other pressing reasons: that as the matter did admit of no further delays, so there was not anything in the opposite scale to balance these considerations. There were false suggestions surmised abroad, as if the hatred of the queen, or the desire of another wife (who was not perhaps yet known, much less designed), were the true causes of this suit. But though the queen was of a rough temper, and an unpleasant conversation, and was passed all hopes of children; yet who could imagine that the king who had spent his most youthful days with her so kindly, would now in the decline of his age be at all this trouble to be rid of her, if he had no other motives? But they, by searching his sore, found there was rooted in his heart both an awe of God and a respect to law and order; so that

The Pope promised not to recal, but to confirm it.

The Legates write to the Pope. Collect. Numb. 24.

though all his people pressed him to drive the matter to an issue, yet he would still wait for the decision of the apostolic see. Therefore they most pressingly desire the pope to grant the cure which his distemper required, and to consider that it was not fit to insist too much on the rigour of the law; but since the soul and life of all the laws of the church was in the pope's breast; in doubtful cases, where there was great hazard, he ought to mollify the severity of the laws, which if it were not done, other remedies would be found out to the vast prejudice of the ecclesiastical authority, to which many about the king advised him: there was reason to fear they should not only lose a king of England, but a defender of the faith. The nobility and gentry were already enraged at the delay of a matter, in which all their lives and interests were so nearly concerned: and said many things against the pope's proceedings, which they could not relate without horror. And they plainly complained, that whereas popes had made no scruple to make and change divine laws at their pleasure; yet one pope sticks so much at the repealing what his predecessor did, as if that were more sacred, and not to be meddled with. The king betook himself to no ill arts, neither to the charms of magicians nor the forgeries of impostors, therefore they expected such an answer as should put an end to the whole matter."

But all these things were to no purpose: the pope had taken his measures, and was not to be moved by all the reasons or remonstrances the ambassador could lay before him. The king had absolutely gained Campegio to do all he could for him without losing the pope's favour. He led at this time a very dissolute life in England, hunting and gaming all the day long, and following whores all the night: and brought a bastard* of his own over to England with him, whom the king knighted, so that if the king sought his pleasure, it was no strange thing: since he had such a copy set him by two legates, who representing his holiness so lively in their manners, it was no unusual thing if a king had a slight sense of such disorders. The king wrote to his ambassadors that he was satisfied of Campegio's love and affection to him, and if ever he was gained by the emperor's agents, he had said something to him which did totally change that inclination.

Campegio's ill-life.

Pelerin Inglese.

April 6.

The imperialists being alarmed at the recalling of some of the English ambassadors, and being informed by the queen's means that they were forming the process in England, put in a memorial for an avocation of the cause to Rome. The ambassadors answered, that there was no colour for asking it, since there was nothing yet done by the legates. For they had strict orders to deny that there was any process forming in England, even to the pope himself in private, unless he had a mind it should go on; but were to use all their endeavours to hinder an avocation; and plainly in the king's name to tell the pope, that if he granted that, the king would look on it as a formal decision against him. And it would also be a high affront to the two cardinals: and they were thereupon to protest, that the king would not obey, nor consider the pope any more, if he did an act of such high injustice; as after he had granted a commission, upon no complaint of any illegality, or injust proceedings of the legates, but only upon surmises and suspicions, to take it out of their hands. But the pope had not yet brought the emperor to his terms in other things, therefore to draw him on the faster, he continued to give the English ambassador good words; and in discourse with Peter Vannes did insinuate as if he had found a means to bring the whole matter to a good conclusion, and spoke it with an artificial smile, adding, In the name of the Father, &c. But would not speak it out, and seemed to keep it up as a secret, not yet ripe. But all this did afterwards appear to be the deepest dissimulation that ever was practised. And in the whole process, though the cardinal studied to make tricks pass upon him, yet he was always too hard for them all at it: and seemed as infallible in his arts of juggling, as he pretended to be in his decisions. He wrote a cajoling letter to the cardinal, but words went for nothing.

The Emperor presses for an Avocation, which the King's Ambassadors oppose much.

The Pope's deep dissimulation.

Collect. Numb. 25.

Collect. Numb. 26.

* Campegio's son is by Hall, none of his flatterers, said to have been born in wedlock, i. e. before he took orders. This is also confirmed by Gauricus Genitur, 24, who says he had by his wife three sons and two daughters.—FULLMAN's CORRECTIONS.



Soon after this, the pope complained much to sir Gregory Cassali of the ill usage he received from the French ambassador, and that their confederates, the Florentines, and the duke of Ferrara used him so ill that they would force him to throw himself into the emperor's hands; and he seemed inclined to grant an avocation of the cause, and complained that there was a treaty of peace going on at Cambray, in which he had no share. But the ambassador undertook that nothing should be done to give him just offence: yet the Florentines continued to put great affronts on him and his family: and the abbot of Farfa, their general, made excursions to the gates of Rome, so that the pope with great signs of fear said, "That the Florentines would some day seize on him and carry him with his hands bound behind his back in procession to Florence: and that all this while the kings of England and France did only entertain him with good words, and did not so much as restrain the insolences of their confederates. And whereas they used to say, that if he joined himself to the emperor he would treat him as his chaplain; he said with great commotion that he would not only choose rather to be his chaplain, but his horse-groom, than suffer such injuries from his own rebellious vassals and subjects." This was perhaps set on by the cardinal's arts to let the pope feel the weight of offending the king, and to oblige him to use him better: but it wrought a contrary effect, for the treaty between the emperor and him was the more advanced by it. And the pope reckoned that the emperor, being (as he was informed) ashamed and grieved for the taking and sacking of Rome, would study to repair that by better usage for the future.

The Pope complains of the Florentines.

June 5.

June 13.

The motion for the avocation was still driven on, and pressed the more earnestly, because they heard the legates were proceeding in the cause. But the ambassadors were instructed by a despatch from the king to obviate that carefully; for as it would reflect on the legates and defeat the commission, and be a gross violation of the pope's promise, which they had in writing; so it was more for the pope's interest to leave it in the legates' hands than to bring it before himself; for then, whatever sentence passed, the ill effects of it would lie on the pope without any interposition. And as the king had very just exceptions to Rome, where the emperor's forces lay so near that no safety could be expected there; so they were to tell the pope that by the laws of England the prerogative of the crown-royal was such that the pope could do nothing that was prejudicial to it: to which the citing the king to Rome, to have his cause decided there, was contrary in a high degree. And if the pope went on, notwithstanding all the diligence they could use to the contrary, they were by another despatch which Gardiner sent ordered to protest and appeal from the pope, as not the true vicar of Christ, to a true vicar. But the king upon second thoughts judged it not fit to proceed to this extremity so soon. They were also ordered to advertise the pope, that all the nobility had assured the king they would adhere to him in case he were so ill used by the pope, that he were constrained to withdraw his obedience from the apostolic see; and that the cardinal's ruin was unavoidable, if the pope granted the avocation. The emperor's agents had pretended they could not send the original breve into England, and said their master would send it to Rome, upon which the ambassadors had solicited for letters compulsory to require him to send it to England; yet lest that might now be made an argument by the imperialists for an avocation, they were ordered to speak no more of it, for the legates would proceed to sentence upon the attested copy that was sent from Spain.

Great contests about the Avocation.

June 23.

Collect. Numb. 27.

The ambassadors had also orders to take the best counsel in Rome about the legal ways of hindering an avocation. But they found it was not fit to rely much on the lawyers in that matter. For as on the one hand there was no secrecy to be expected from any of them, they having such expectations of preferments from the pope (which were beyond all the fees that could be given them), that they discovered all secrets to him. So none of them would be earnest to hinder an avocation, it being their interest to bring all matters to Rome, by which they might hope for much greater fees. And Salviati, whom the ambassadors had gained, told them that Campana brought word out of England that the process was then in a good forwardness. They with many oaths denied there was any such thing, and Silvester Darius, who was sent express to Rome for opposing the

June 28.

avocation, confirmed all that they swore. But nothing was believed, for by a secret conveyance, Campana had letters to the contrary. And when they objected to Salviati what was promised by Campana in the pope's name, that "he would do everything for the king that he could do out of the fulness of his power;" he answered, "that Campana swore he had never said any such thing." So hard is the case of ministers in such ticklish negotiations, that they must say and unsay, swear and forswear, as they are instructed, which goes of course as a part of their business.

The Legates sit in England.

But now the legates were proceeding in England: of the steps in which they went, though a great deal be already published, yet considerable things are passed over. On the 31st of May, the king by a warrant under the great seal gave the legates leave to execute their commission, upon which they sate that same day. The commission was presented by Longland, bishop of Lincoln, which was given to the prothonotary of the court, and he read it publicly; then the legates took it in their hands, and said they were resolved to execute it: and first gave the usual oaths to the clerks of the court, and ordered a peremptory citation of the king and queen to appear on the 18th of June, between nine and ten o'clock; and so the court adjourned. The next session was on the 18th of June, where the citations being returned duly executed; Richard Simpson, dean of the chapel, and Mr. John Bell, appeared as the king's proxies. But the queen appeared in person, and did protest against the legates as incompetent judges, alleging that the cause was already avocated by the pope, and desired a competent time in which she might prove it. The legates assigned her the 21st, and so adjourned the court till then.

Orig. Journ. Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 12.

About this time there was a severe complaint exhibited against the queen in council, of which there is an account given in a paper that has somewhat written at the conclusion of it with the cardinal's own hand. The substance of it is, "that they were informed some designed to kill the king, or the cardinal, in which, if she had any hand, she must not expect to be spared. That she had not showed such love to the king, neither in bed or out of bed, as she ought. And now that the king was very pensive, and in much grief, she showed great signs of joy, setting on all people to dancings, and other diversions. This it seemed she did out of spite to the king, since it was contrary to her temper and ordinary behaviour. And whereas she ought rather to pray to God to bring this matter to a good conclusion, she seemed not at all serious; and that she might corrupt the people's affections to the king, she showed herself much abroad, and by civilities and gracious bowing her head, which had not been her custom formerly, did study to work upon the people. And that having the pretended breve in their hands, she would not show it sooner. From all which the king concluded that she hated him, therefore his council did not think it advisable for him to be any more conversant with her, either in bed or at board. They also in their consciences thought his life was in such danger that he ought to withdraw himself from her company, and not suffer the princess to be with her." These things were to be told her to induce her to enter into a religious order, and to persuade her to submit to the king. To which paper the cardinal added in Latin, "that she played the fool if she contended with the king, that her children had not been blessed, and somewhat of the evident suspicions that were of the forgery of the breve *." But she had a constant mind, and was not to be threatened to anything. On the 21st of June the court sat,

A severe charge against the Queen.

The King and Queen appear in Court.

the king and queen were present in person. Campegio made a long speech of the errand they were come about †: "That it was a new, unheard-of, vile, and intolerable thing for the king and queen to live in adultery, or rather incest, which they must now try, and proceed as they saw just cause. And both the legates made deep protestations of the sincerity of their minds, and that they would proceed justly and fairly, without any favour or partiality.

As for the formal speeches which the king and queen made, Hall, who never failed in trifles, sets them down, which I incline to believe they really spoke; for with the journals of the court, I find those speeches written down, though not as a part of the journal.

* Quod stulte facit si contendit cum Rege, quod male illi successit in fœtibus: de Brevi ac suspicione falsitatis.

† Fidelis servi infideli subdito Responsio.



But here the lord Herbert's usual diligence fails him; for he fancies the queen never appeared after the 18th, upon which, because the journal of the next sessions are lost, he infers against all the histories of that time, that the king and the queen were not in court together. And he seems to conclude, that the 25th of June was the next session after the 18th, but in that he was mistaken; for by an original letter of the king's to his ambassadors,

Collect. Numb. 28.

it is plain that both the king and queen came in person into the court; where they both sate, with their council standing about them; the bishops of Rochester and St. Asaph, and Doctor Ridley, being the queen's counsel. When the king and queen were called on, the king answered, "Here;" but the queen left her seat and went and kneeled down before him, and made a speech that had all the insinuations in it to raise pity and compassion in the court. She said, "she was a poor woman, and a stranger in his dominions, where she could neither expect good counsel nor indifferent judges; she had been long his wife, and desired to know wherein she had offended him; she had been his wife twenty years and more, and had borne him several children, and had ever studied to please him; and protested he had found her a true maid, about which she appealed to his own conscience. If she had done anything amiss, she was willing to be put away with shame. Their parents were esteemed very wise princes, and no doubt had good counsellors and learned men about them when the match was agreed; therefore she would not submit to the court, nor durst her lawyers, who were his subjects, and assigned by him, speak freely for her. So she desired to be excused till she heard from Spain." That said, she rose up and made the king a low reverence, and went out of the court; and though they called after her, she made no answer, but went away, and would never again appear in court *.

The Queen's speech.

She being gone, the king did publicly declare what a true and obedient wife she had always been, and commended her much for her excellent qualities. Then the cardinal of York desired the king would witness, whether he had been the first or chief mover of that matter to him, since he was suspected to have done it. In which the king did vindicate him, and said, that he had always rather opposed it, and protested it arose merely out of a scruple in his conscience, which was occasioned by the discourse of the French ambassador,—who, during the treaty of a match between his daughter and the duke of Orleans, did except to her being legitimate, as begotten in an unlawful marriage; upon which he resolved to try the lawfulness of it, both for the quiet of his conscience and for clearing the succession of the crown; and if it were found lawful, he was very well satisfied to live still with the queen. But upon that he had first moved it in confession to the bishop of Lincoln; then he had desired the archbishop of Canterbury to gather the opinions of the bishops, who did all under their hands and seals declare against the marriage. This the archbishop confirmed, but the bishop of Rochester denied his hand was at it: and the archbishop pretended he had his consent to make another write his name to the judgment of the rest, which he positively denied.

The King gives the account of his scruples.

The court adjourned to the 25th, ordering letters monitory to be issued out for citing the queen to appear under pain of contumacy. But on the 25th was brought in her appeal to the pope, the original of which is extant, every page being both subscribed, and superscribed by her. She excepted both to the place, to the judges, and to her counsel, in whom she could not confide; and therefore appealed and desired her cause might be heard by the pope, with many things out of the canon-law, on

The Queen's Appeal.

* The bishop in the third part of his History, on the authority of the original record of the proceedings before the legates, which did not come into his hands until after the publication of the first part, denies credit to the speeches related by Hall and other writers, since it appears by that document that Henry never came into court, and the queen but once, viz. on the 18th of June. But afterwards calling to mind Henry's] own letter quoted above, he in the preface to the third part, evidently written after the work was finished, endeavours to reconcile the two apparently conflicting statements by the supposition that the scene between Henry and Catherine, on the 21st of June, took place before the court was formally opened, and that both retiring before that ceremony was performed, the appearance of neither could be entered on the record. There is one passage in Henry's letter which seems to favour the bishop's interpretation of the apparent discrepancy. "They," the judges, "minding to proceed further in the cause, the queen would no longer make her abode," &c. which seems to intimate that she, at least, departed before proceedings were formally recommenced. These conflicting statements, occurring as they do in three different parts of the same work, have been the cause of considerable embarrassment to subsequent historians.—ED.

which she grounded it. This being read, and she not appearing was declared contumax. Then the legates being to proceed, *ex officio*, drew up twelve articles, upon which they were to examine witnesses. The substance of them was, "That prince Arthur and the king were brothers; that prince Arther did marry the queen, and consummated the marriage; that upon his death the king, by virtue of a dispensation, had married her; that this marrying his brother's wife was forbidden both by human and divine law; and that upon the complaints which the pope had received, he had sent them now to try and judge in it." The king's counsel insisted most on prince Arthur's having consummated the marriage, and that led them to say many things that seemed indecent; of which the bishop of Rochester complained, and said they were things detestable to be heard: but cardinal Wolsey checked him, and there passed some sharp words between them.

Articles drawn by the Legates.

The legates proceeded to the examination of witnesses, of which I shall say little, the substance of their depositions being fully set down, with all their names, by the lord Herbert. The sum of what was most material in them was, that many violent presumptions appeared by their testimonies that prince Arther did carnally know the queen: and it cannot be imagined how greater proofs could be made twenty-seven years after their marriage. Thus the court went on several days examining witnesses; but as the matter was going on to a conclusion, there came an avocation from Rome,—of which I shall now give an account.

Upon which witnesses are examined.

The queen wrote most earnestly to her nephews to procure an avocation; protesting she would suffer anything, and even death itself, rather than depart from her marriage; that she expected no justice from the legates, and therefore looked for their assistance, that, her appeal being admitted by the pope, the cause might be taken out of the legates' hands. Campegio did also give the pope an account of their progress, and by all means advised an avocation; for by this he thought to excuse himself to the king, to oblige the emperor much, and to have the reputation of a man of conscience.

The proceedings at Rome about an Avocation.

All this is drawn from the original Letters, June 28 and 30. July 8 and 9.

The emperor and his brother Ferdinand sent their ambassadors at Rome orders to give the pope no rest till it were procured; and the emperor said he would look on a sentence against his aunt as a dishonour to his family, and would lose all his kingdoms sooner than endure it. And they plied the pope so warmly, that between them and the English ambassadors he had for some days very little rest. To the one he was kind, and to the other he resolved to be civil. The English ambassadors met oft with Salviati, and studied to persuade him that the process went not on in England; but he told them their intelligence was so good, that whatever they said on that head would not be believed. They next suggested, that it was visible Campegio's advising an avocation was only done to preserve himself from the envy of the sentence, and to throw it wholly on the pope; for were the matter once called to Rome, the pope must give sentence one way or another, and so bear the whole burden of it. There were also secret surmises of deposing the pope if he went so far; for, seeing that the emperor prevailed so much by the terrors of that, the cardinal resolved to try what operation such threatenings in the king's name might have: but they had no armies near the pope, so that big words did only provoke and alienate him the more.

The matter was such, that by the canon-law it could not be denied. For to grant an avocation of a cause upon good reason, from the delegate to the supreme court, was a thing which by the course of law was very usual: and it was no less apparent that the reasons of the queen's appeal were just and good. But the secret and most convincing motives that wrought more on the pope than all other things were, that the treaty between him and the emperor was now concerted: therefore this being to be published very speedily, the pope thought it necessary to avocate the matter to Rome before the publication for the peace, lest if he did it after it should be thought that it had been one of the secret articles of the treaty, which would have cast a foul blot upon him. Yet on the other hand he was not a little perplexed with the fears he had of losing the king of England; he knew he was a man of a high spirit, and would resent what he did severely. "And the cardinal now again ordered Dr. Bennet in name, and as with tears in his eyes, lying at the pope's feet, to assure him that the king and kingdom of

The Pope agrees with the Emperor.

Collect. Numb. 29.



England were certainly lost, if the cause were avocated: therefore he besought him to leave it still in their hands; and assured him, that for himself, he should rather be torn in pieces joint by joint, than do anything in that matter contrary to his conscience or to justice."

Yet is in great perplexities.

These things had been oft said, and the pope did apprehend that ill effects would follow; for if the king fell from his obedience to the apostolic see, no doubt all the Lutheran princes, who were already bandying against the emperor, would join themselves with him; and the interests of France would most certainly engage that king also into the union, which would distract the church, give encouragement to heresy, and end in the utter ruin of the popedom. But in all this the crafty pope comforted himself, that many times threatenings are not intended to be made good, but are used to terrify; and that the king who had written for the faith against Luther, and had been so ill used by him, would never do a thing that would sound so ill, as because he could not obtain what he had a mind to, therefore to turn heretic: he also resolved to caress the French king much, and was in hopes of making peace between the emperor and him.

But that which went nearest the pope's heart of all other things, was the setting up of his family at Florence: and the emperor having given him assurance of that, it weighed down all other considerations. Therefore he resolved he would please the emperor, but do all he could not to lose the king: so on the 9th of July he sent for the king's ambassadors, and told them the process was now so far set on in England, and the avocation so earnestly pressed, that he could deny it no longer; for all the lawyers in Rome had told him the thing could not be denied in the common course of justice. Upon this the ambassadors told him what they had in commission to say against it, both from the king and the cardinal, and pressed it with great vehemence: so that the pope by many sighs and tears showed how deep an impression that which they said made upon him; he wished himself dead, that he might be delivered out of that martyrdom: and added these words, which because of their favouring so much of an apostolical spirit, I set down: "Woe is me! nobody apprehends all those evils better than I do. But I am so between the hammer and the forge, that when I would comply with the king's desires, the whole storm then must fall on my head; and which is worse, on the church of Christ." They did object the many promises he had made them, both by word of mouth, and under his hand. He answered, "He desired to do more for the king than he had promised; but it was impossible to refuse what the emperor now demanded, whose forces did so surround him, that he could not only force him to grant him justice, but could dispose of him and all his concerns at his pleasure."

The ambassadors seeing the pope was resolved to grant the avocation, pressed against it no further, but studied to put it off for some time. And therefore proposed that the pope would himself write about it to the king, and not grant it till he received his answer. Of all this they gave advertisement to the king, and wrote to him, that he must either drive the matter to a sentence in great haste, or to prevent the affront of an avocation, suspend the process for some time. They also advised the searching all the packets that went or came by the way of Flanders; and to keep up all Campegio's letters, and to take care that no bull might come to England; for they did much apprehend that the avocation would be granted within a very few days. Their next despatch bore, that the pope had sent for them to let them know that he had signed the avocation the day before. But they understood another way, that the treaty between the emperor and him was finished, and the peace was to be proclaimed on the 18th of July; and that the pope did not only fear the emperor more than all other princes, but that he also trusted him more now. On the 19th of July, the pope sent a messenger with the avocation to England, with a letter to the cardinal. To the king he wrote afterwards.

July 26.

The Avocation is granted.

Collect. Numb. 30.

All this while Campegio, as he had orders from the pope to draw out the matter by delays, so did it very dexterously: and in this he pretended a fair excuse, that it would not be for the king's honour to precipitate the matter too much, lest great advantages might be taken from that by the queen's party. That therefore it was fit to proceed slowly, that the world might see with what moderation as well as justice the matter was handled. From the 25th of June the court adjourned to the 28th, ordering

The proceedings of the Legates.

a second citation for the queen under the pains of contumacy, and of their proceeding to examine witnesses. And on the 28th they declared the queen contumacious the second time; and examined several witnesses upon the articles, and adjourned to the 5th of July. On that day the bull and breve were read in court, and the king's counsel argued long against the validity of the one, and the truth of the other; upon the grounds that have been already mentioned, in which Campegio was much disgusted to hear them argue against the pope's power of granting such a dispensation in a matter that was against a divine precept, alleging that his power did not extend so far. This the legates overruled, and said, that that was too high a point for them to judge in, or so much as to hear argued; and that the pope himself was the only proper judge in that: "And it was odds but he would judge favourably for himself." The court adjourned to the 12th, and from that to the 14th. On these days the depositions of the rest of the witnesses were taken, and some that were ancient persons were examined by a commission from the legates; and all the depositions were published on the 17th; other instruments relating to the process were also read and verified in court. On the 21st the court sate to conclude the matter as was expected, and the instrument that the king had signed when he came of age, protesting that he would not stand to the contract made when he was under age, was then read and verified. Upon which, the king's counsel (of whom Gardiner was the chief) closed their evidence, and summed up all that had been brought: and in the king's name, desired sentence might be given. But Campegio,

All things are ready for a Sentence.

pretending that it was fit some interval should be between that and the sentence, put it off till the 23rd, being Friday; and in the whole process he presided, both being the ancienter cardinal*, and chiefly to show great equity; since exceptions might have been taken, if the other had appeared much in it; so that he only sate by him for form: but all the orders of the court were still directed by Campegio. On Friday there

Campegio adjourned the Court.

was a great appearance, and a general expectation; but by a strange surprise, Campegio adjourned the court to the 1st of October, for which he pretended that they sate there as a part of the consistory of Rome, and therefore must follow the rules of that court, which from that time till October was in a vacation, and heard no causes: and this he averred to be true on the word of a true prelate.

The king was in a chamber very near where he heard what passed, and was inexpressibly surprised at it. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were in court, and complained much of this delay; and pressed the legates to give sentence. Campegio answered, that, what they might then pronounce would be of no force, as being in vacation-time; but gave great hopes of a favourable sentence in the beginning of October. Upon which the lords

Which gives great offence.

spake very high. And the duke of Suffolk, with great commotion, swore by the mass, "that he saw it was true which had been commonly said, that never cardinal yet did good in England;" and so all the temporal lords went away in a fury, leaving the legates (Wolsey especially) in no small perplexity. Wolsey knew it would be suspected that he understood this beforehand, and that it would be to no purpose for him either to say he did not know or could not help it, all apologies being ill heard by an enraged prince. Campegio had not much to lose in England but his bishopric of Salisbury and the reward he expected from the king, which he knew the emperor and the pope would plentifully make up to him. But his colleague was in a worse condition, he had much to fear, because he had much to lose: for, as the king had severely chid him for the delays of the business, so he was now to expect a heavy storm from him; and after so long an administration of affairs by so insolent a favourite, it was not to be doubted, but as

Wolsey's danger.

many of his enemies were joining against him, so matter must needs be found to work his ruin with a prince that was alienated from him. Therefore he was under all the disorders which a fear that was heightened by ambition and covetousness could produce.

But the king governed himself upon this occasion with more temper than could have been

* Campegio might take upon him to direct the process, as being sent express from Rome, or to avoid the imputation that might have been cast on the proceedings if Wolsey had done it. But he was not the ancienter cardinal, for Wolsey was made alone Sept. 7, 1515, and Campegio with many more was advanced July 1, 1517.—Fulman's Corrections.



expected from a man of his humour: therefore as he made no great show of disturbance, so, to divert his uneasy thoughts, he went his progress. Soon after, he received his agents' letter from Rome, and made Gardiner (who was then secretary of state) write to the cardinal, to put Campegio to his oath, whether he had revealed the king's secrets to the pope or not? And, if he swore he had not done it, to make him swear he should never do it. A little after that, the messenger came from Rome with a breve to the legates, requiring them to

Aug. 4.

proceed no further, and with an avocation of the cause to Rome; together with letters citatory to the king and queen to appear there in person, or by their proxies. Of which when the king was advertised, Gardiner wrote to the cardinal by his order,—that the king would not have the letters citatory executed, or the commission discharged by virtue of them; but that upon the pope's breve to them, they should declare their commission void: for he would not suffer a thing so much to the prejudice of his crown as a citation be made to appear in another court, nor would he let his subjects imagine that he was to be cited out of his kingdom. This was the first step that he made for the lessening of the pope's power: upon which the two cardinals (for they were legates no longer) went to the king at Grafton. It was generally expected that Wolsey should have been disgraced then, for not only the king was offended with him, but he received new informations of his having juggled in the business, and that he secretly advised the pope to do what was done. This was set about by some of the queen's agents, as if there was certain knowledge had of it at Rome; and it was said, that some letters of his to the pope were by a trick found and brought over to England. The emperor looked on the cardinal as his inveterate enemy, and designed to ruin him if it was possible; nor was it hard to persuade the queen to concur with him to pull him down. But all this seems an artifice of theirs only to destroy him. For the earnestness the cardinal expressed in this matter was such, that either he was sincere in it or he was the best at dissembling that ever was. But these suggestions were easily infused in the king's angry mind, so strangely are men turned by their affections, that sometimes they will believe nothing, and, at other times, they believe everything. Yet when the cardinal, with his colleague, came to court, they were received by the king with very hearty expressions of kindness; and Wolsey was often in private with him, sometimes in presence of the council, and sometimes alone: once he was many hours with the king alone, and when they took leave he sent them away very

Sept. 23, in a Letter from the Cardinal to Secretary Cromwell.

obligingly. But that which gave cardinal Wolsey the most assurance, was that all those who were admitted to the king's privacies did carry themselves towards him as they were wont to do; both the duke of Suffolk, sir Thomas Boleyn, then made viscount of Rochford, sir Brian Tuke, and Gardiner: concluding that from the motions of such weathercocks the air of the prince's affections was best gathered.

Anne Boleyn was now brought to the court again, out of which she had been dismissed

Anne Boleyn returns to Court.

for some time, for silencing the noise that her being at court during the process would have occasioned. It is said that she took her dismission so ill, that she resolved never again to return; and that she was very hardly brought to it afterwards, not without threatenings from her father. But of that nothing appears to me; only this I find, that all her former kindness to the cardinal was now turned to enmity, so that she was not wanting in her endeavours to pull him down.

But the king being reconciled to her, and, as it is ordinary after some intermission and disorder between lovers, his affection increasing, he was casting about for overtures how to compass what he so earnestly desired. Sometimes he thought of procuring a new commission; but that was not advisable, for after a long dependence it might end as the former had done. Then he thought of breaking off with the pope; but there was great danger in that, for besides that in his own persuasion he adhered to all the most important parts of the Roman religion, his subjects were so addicted to it, that any such a change could not but seem full of hazard. Sometime he inclined to confederate himself with the pope and emperor, for now there was no dividing of them, till he should thereby bring the emperor to yield to his desires. But that was against the interests of his kingdom, and the emperor had already proceeded so far in his opposition, that he could not be easily brought about.

While his thoughts were thus divided, a new proposition was made to him that seemed the most reasonable and feasible of them all. There was one Dr. Cranmer, who had been a fellow of Jesus' college in Cambridge; but, having married, forfeited his fellowship, yet continued his studies, and was a reader of divinity in Buckingham college. His wife dying, he was again chosen fellow of Jesus' college; and was much esteemed in the university for his learning, which appeared very eminently on all public occasions. But he was a man that neither courted preferment, nor did willingly accept of it when offered. And, therefore, though he was invited to be a reader of divinity in the Cardinals' college at Oxford, he declined it. He was at this time forced to fly out of Cambridge from a plague that was there; and, having the sons of one Mr. Cressy of Waltham-cross committed to his charge, he went with his pupils to their father's house at Waltham. There he was when the king returned from his progress, who took Waltham in his way, and lay a night there. The harbingers having appointed Gardiner and Fox, the king's secretary and almoner, to lie at Mr. Cressy's house, it so happened that Cranmer was with them at supper. The whole discourse of England being then about the divorce, these two courtiers, knowing Cranmer's learning and solid judgment, entertained him with it, and desired to hear his opinion concerning it. He modestly declined it; but told them, that he judged it would be a shorter and safer way once to clear it well, if the marriage was unlawful in itself by virtue of any divine precept: for, if that were proved, then it was certain that the pope's dispensation could be of no force to make that lawful which God had declared to be unlawful. Therefore, he thought that instead of a long fruitless negotiation at Rome it were better to consult all the learned men, and the universities of Christendom; for, if they once declared it in the king's favour, then the pope must needs give judgment, or, otherwise, the bull being of itself null and void, the marriage would be found sinful, notwithstanding the pope's dispensation. This seemed a very good motion, which they resolved to offer to the king; so, next night when he came to Greenwich, they proposed it to him; but with this difference, that Gardiner had a mind to make it pass for their own contrivance, but Fox, who was of a more ingenuous nature, told the king from whom they had it. He was much affected with it so soon as he heard it, and said, had he known it sooner, it would have saved him a vast expense and much trouble; and would needs have Cranmer sent for to court, saying, in his coarse way of speaking, "That he had the sow by the right ear." So he was sent for to court; and, being brought before the king, he carried himself so that the king conceived a high opinion of his judgment and candour, which he preserved to his death, and still paid a respect to him beyond all the other churchmen that were about him: and though he made more use of Gardiner in his business, whom he found a man of great dexterity and cunning, yet he never had any respect for him. But for Cranmer, though the king knew that in many things he differed from him, yet for all his being so impatient of contradiction, he always reverenced him.

Cranmer's proposition about the King's Divorce.

Approved by the King.

He was soon looked on as a rising churchman, and the rather because the cardinal was now declining; for in the following Michaelmas-term the king sent for the great seal, which the cardinal at first was not willing to part with. But the next day the king wrote to him, and he presently delivered it to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. It was offered back again to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; but he being very old, and foreseeing great difficulties in the keeping of it, excused himself. So it was given to sir Thomas More, who was not only eminent in his own profession but in all other learning: and was much esteemed for the strictness of his life, and his contempt of money. He was also the more fit to be made use of, having been in ill terms with the cardinal. Soon after, Hales, the attorney-general, put in an information against the cardinal in the King's Bench; bearing, "that notwithstanding the statute of Richard II., against the procuring bulls from Rome, under the pains of premunire, yet he had procured bulls for his legantine power, which he had for many years executed; and some particulars, for form, were named out of a great many more." To this he put in his answer by his attorney, and confessed the indictment, but pleaded his ignorance of the statute, and submitted himself to the king's mercy. Upon this it was declared, that he

And he much esteemed by him.

The Cardinal's fall.



was out of the king's protection, and that he had forfeited his goods and chattels to the king, and that his person might be seized on. Then was his rich palace of York-house (now Whitehall), with all that vast wealth and royal furniture that he had heaped together, (which was beyond anything that had ever been seen in England before,) seized on for the king*. But it seems the king had not a mind to destroy him outright, but only to bring him lower, and to try if the terror of that would have any influence on the pope. Therefore on the 21st of November the king granted him first his protection, and then his pardon, and restored him to the archbishopric of York and the bishopric of Winchester, and gave him back in money, goods, and plate, that which amounted to 6,374*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.*, and many kind messages were sent him both by the king and Anne Boleyn.

Rol. Pat. 2da pars vices. prin. Regni. Feb. 12.

But as he had carried his greatness with most extravagant pride, so he was no less basely cast down with his misfortune; and having no ballast within himself, but being wholly guided by things without him, he was lifted up or cast down as the scales of fortune turned: yet his enemies had gone too far ever to suffer a man of his parts or temper to return to favour. And therefore they so ordered it, that a high charge of many articles was brought against him into the House of Lords, in the parliament that sate in November following; and it passed there, where he had but few friends, and many and great enemies. But when the charge was sent down to the House of Commons, it was so managed by the industry of Cromwell, who had been his servant, that it came to nothing. The heads of it have been oft printed, therefore I shall not repeat them; they related chiefly to his legantine power, contrary to law, to his insolence and ambition, his lewd life, and other things that were brought to defame, as well as destroy him.

The meanness of his Temper.

All these things did so sink his proud mind, that a deep melancholy overcame his spirits. The king sent him frequent assurances of his favour, which he received with extravagant transports of joy, falling down on his knees in the dirt before the messenger that brought one of them, and holding up his hands for joy, which showed how mean a soul he had, and that as himself afterwards acknowledged, he preferred the king's favour to God Almighty's. But the king found they took little notice of him at Rome; the emperor hated him, and the pope did not love him, looking on him as one that was almost equal to himself in power: and though they did not love the precedent to have a cardinal so used, yet they were not much troubled at Rome to see it fall on him. So in Easter-week he was ordered to go north, though he had a great mind to have staid at Richmond, which the king had given him in exchange for Hampton-court†, that he had also built. But that was too near the court, and his enemies had a mind to send him further from it. Accordingly he went to Cawood in Yorkshire, in which journey it appears that the ruins of his state were considerable, for he travelled thither with a hundred and sixty horse in his train, and seventy-two carts following him with his household stuff.

The King still favoured him.

To conclude his story all at once, he was in November the next year seized on by the earl of Northumberland, who attached him for high treason, and committed him to the keeping of the lieutenant of the tower, who was ordered to bring him up to London. And even then he had gracious messages from the king; but these did not work much on him; for whether it was that he knew himself guilty of some secret practices with the pope or with the emperor, which yet he denied to the last, or whether he could no longer stand under the king's displeasure and that change of condition, he was so cast down that on his way to London he sickened at Sheffield Park, in the earl of Shrewsbury's house, from whence by slow journeys he went as far as Leicester, where, after some days languishing, he died, and at the last made great protestations "of his having served the king faithfully, and that he had little regarded the service of God to do him pleasure; but if he had served God as he had done him, he would not have given him over so, as he did in his grey hairs. And he desired the king to reflect on all his past services,

He is afterwards attached for Treason.

* The house of his see could not be forfeited or seized. It was conveyed over by him to the king, (the conveyance confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of York). See his life by Cavendish, chap. 18.—Anonymous Corrections.

† Lord Herbert says the king gave him only the use of Richmond, which is most probable.—Fulman's Corrections.

and in particular in his weighty matter" (for by that phrase they usually spoke of the king's divorce), "and then he would find in his conscience whether he had offended him or not." He died the 29th of November, 1530, and was the greatest instance that several ages had shown of the variety and inconstancy of human things, both in his rise and fall; and by his temper in both, it appears he was unworthy of his greatness, and deserved what he suffered. But to conclude all that is to be said of him, I shall add what the writer of his life ends it with:—"Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogance; for I assure you in his time he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings alive, having more respect to the honour of his person than he had to his spiritual profession, wherein should be showed all meekness and charity."

And dies.

His Character.

But now, with the change of this great minister there followed a change of counsels, and therefore the king resolved to hold a parliament, that he might meet his people, and establish such a good understanding between himself and them, that he might have all secure at home; and then he resolved to proceed more confidently abroad. There had been no parliament for seven years, but the blame of that, and of every other miscarriage, falling naturally on the disgraced minister, he did not doubt that he should be able to give his people full satisfaction in that, and in everything else. So a parliament was summoned to meet the 3rd of November. And there, among several other laws that were made for the public good of the kingdom, there were bills sent up by the House of Commons against some of the most exorbitant abuses of the clergy: one was against the exactions for the probates of wills; another was for the regulating of mortuaries; a third was about the plurality of benefices and non-residence, and churchmen being farmers of lands. In the passing of these bills there were severe reflections made on the vices and corruptions of the clergy of that time, which were believed to flow from men that favoured Luther's doctrine in their hearts.

A Parliament called.

When these bills were brought up to the House of Lords, the bishop of Rochester speaking to them, did reflect on the House of Commons, saying that they were resolved to bring down the church, and he desired they would consider the miserable state of the kingdom of Bohemia, to which it was reduced by heresy, and ended that all this was for lack of faith. But this being afterwards known to the House of Commons, they sent their speaker, sir Thomas Audley, with thirty of their members, to complain to the king of the bishop of Rochester for saying that their acts flowed from the want of faith, which was a high imputation on the whole nation, when the representative of the Commons was so charged, as if they had been infidels and heathens. This was set on by the court to mortify that bishop, who was unacceptable to them, for his adhering so firmly to the queen's cause. The king sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops, and before them told the complaint of the Commons. But the bishop of Rochester excused himself, and said he only meant of the kingdom of Bohemia, when he said, all flowed from the want of faith, and did not at all intend the House of Commons. This explanation the king sent by the treasurer of his household, sir William Fitzwilliams. But though the matter was passed over, yet they were not at all satisfied with it, so that they went on, laying open the abuses of the clergy.

Hall.

The House of Commons complains of the Bishop of Rochester.

In the House of Peers great opposition was made to the bills, and the clergy both within and without doors did defame them, and said these were the ordinary beginnings of heresy to complain of abuses and pretend reformation, on purpose to disgrace the clergy, from which heresy took its chief strength. And the spiritual lords did generally oppose them, the temporal lords being no less earnest to have them passed. The cardinal was admitted to sit in the House, where he showed himself as submissive in his fawning as he had formerly done in his scorn and contempt of all who durst oppose him. But the king set the bills forward, and in the end they were agreed to by the lords, and had the royal assent.

Some Bills passed reforming the abuses of the clergy.

The king intended by this to let the pope see what he could do if he went on to offend him, and how willingly his parliament would concur with him, if it went to extremities. He did also endear himself much to the people, by relieving them from the oppressions of the clergy. But the clergy lost much by this means, for these acts did not only lessen their



CARDINAL WOLSEY.

OB. 1530

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

present profits, but did open the way for other things that were more to their detriment afterward. Their opposing of this and all other motions for reformation did very much increase the prejudices that were conceived against them: whereas if such motions had either risen from themselves, or had at least been cherished by them, their adversaries had not perhaps been so favourably heard; so fatally did they mistake their true interest, when they thought they were concerned, to link with it all abuses and corruptions.

One Act discharging the King of his Debts. Collect. Numb. 31.

But there passed another bill in this parliament, which because of its singular nature, and that it was not printed with the other statutes, shall be found in the collection of instruments at the end*. The bill bore in a preamble the highest flattery that could be put in paper, of the great things the king had done for the church and nation, in which he had been at vast charges; and that divers of the subjects had lent great sums of money, which had been all well employed in the public service: and whereas they had security for their payment, the parliament did offer all these sums so lent to the king; and discharged him of all the obligations or assignations made for their payment, and of all suits that might arise thereupon.

This was brought into the house by the king's servants, who enlarged much on the wealth and peace of the nation, notwithstanding the wars, the king always making his enemies' country the scene of them; and showed, that for fourteen years the king had but one subsidy from his people; that now he asked nothing for any other purpose, but only to be discharged of a debt contracted for the public, the accounts whereof were shown, by which they might see to what uses the money so raised had been applied. But there were several ends in passing this bill: those of the court did not only intend to deliver the king from a charge by it, but also to ruin all the cardinal's friends and creatures, whom he had caused everywhere to advance great sums, for an example to others. Others in the house that were convinced that the act was unjust in itself, yet did easily give way to it, that they might effectually for the future discredit that way of raising money by loans, as judging it to be the public interest of the kingdom that no sums of money should be raised but by parliament. So this act passed, and occasioned great murmuring among all them that suffered by it. But to qualify the general discontent, the king gave a free pardon to his subjects for all offences, some capital ones only excepted, as is usual in such cases; and to keep the clergy under the lash, all transgressions against the statutes of provisors and premunire were excepted, in which they were all involved, as will afterwards appear. There are two other exceptions in this pardon not fit to be omitted, the one is of the pulling or digging down crosses on the highways, which shows what a spirit was then stirring among the people; the other is of the forfeitures that accrued to the king, by the prosecution against cardinal Wolsey, that is, the cardinal's college in Oxford, with the lands belonging to it, which are excepted, upon which the dean and canons resigned their lands to the king, the original of which is yet extant: but the king founded the college anew soon after. All this was done both to keep the clergy quiet, and to engage them to use what interest they had in the court of Rome, to dispose the pope to use the king better in his great suit. After those acts were passed, on the 17th of December, the parliament was prorogued till April following; yet it did not sit till January after that, being continued by several prorogations.

There had been great industry used in carrying elections for the parliament, and they were so successful, that the king was resolved to continue it for some time. This great business being happily over, the king's thoughts turned next to affairs beyond sea. The whole world was now at peace. The pope and the emperor (as was said before) had made an alliance on terms of such advantage to the pope, that as the emperor did fully repair all past injuries, so he laid new and great obligations on him: for he engaged that he would assist him in the recovery of his towns, and that he would restore his family to the government of Florence, and invest his nephew in it, with the title of duke, to whose son he would marry his own natural daughter;

The Pope and the Emperor firmly united. June 20.

* The author of the Anonymous Corrections observes that this bill was not of a singular nature, since a similar one is printed in the book of statutes, An. 1544, (35 H. VIII. c. 12,) for the remission of the loan in that year. But the present appears to be the first instance of the kind, and may therefore with propriety be termed singular.—Ed.

and that he would hold the kingdom of Naples of the papacy. These were the motives that directed the pope's conscience so infallibly in the king's business. Not long after that, in August, another peace was made in Cambray, between the emperor and the French king, and lady Margaret the emperor's aunt, and regent of Flanders, where the king first found the hollowness of the French friendship and alliance; for he was not so much considered in it as he expected, and he clearly perceived that Francis would not embroil his own affairs to carry on his divorce.

The Women's Peace. Aug. 5.

The emperor went over into Italy, and met the pope at Bononia, where he was crowned with great magnificence. The pope and he lodged together in the same palace, and there appeared such signs of a familiar friendship between them, that the king's ambassadors did now clearly perceive that they were firmly united. The emperor did also, by a rare mixture of generosity and prudence, restore the duchy of Milan to Francis Sforza. By this he settled the peace of Italy, nothing holding out but Florence, which he knew would be soon reduced, when there was no hope of succour from France; and accordingly, after eleven months' siege, it was taken, and within a year after Alexander de Medici was made duke of it. About the time that the emperor came to Bononia, news was brought that the Turk was forced to raise the siege of Vienna; so that all things concurred to raise his glory very high. At Bononia he would needs receive the two crowns of the Roman empire, that of Milan and that of Rome, which was done with all the magnificence possible, the pope himself saying mass both in Latin and Greek. There is one ceremony of the coronation fit to be taken notice of in this work, that the emperor was first put in the habit of a canon of Sancta Maria de la Torre in Rome, and after that in the habit of a deacon, to make him be looked on as an ecclesiastical person. This had risen out of an extravagant vanity of the court of Rome, who devised such rites to raise their reputation so high, that on the greatest solemnity the emperor should appear in the habit of the lowest of the sacred orders, by which he must know that priests and bishops are above him. When the pope and he first met, the ceremony of kissing the pope's foot was much looked for, and the emperor very gently kneeled to pay that submission; but the pope (whether it was that he thought it was no more seasonable to expect such compliments, or more signally to oblige the emperor,) did humble himself so far as to draw in his foot, and kiss his cheek.

1530.

The Emperor's Coronation at Bononia.

Florence taken. Aug. 9.

Pope's Nephew made Duke of it. July 17, 1531.

Siege of Vienna raised, Oct. 13, 1529.

Emperor crowned King of Lombardy. Feb. 22, 1530.

Rom. Emp. Feb. 24.

But now the divorce was to be managed in another method; and therefore Cranmer, after he had discoursed with the king about that proposition which was formerly mentioned, was commanded by him to write a book for his opinion, and confirm it with as much authority as he could; and was recommended to the care of the earl of Wiltshire and Ormond (to which honour the king had advanced sir Thomas Boleyn in the right of his mother), and in the beginning of the next year he published his book about it *. Richard Crook (who was tutor to the duke of Richmond) was sent into Italy, and others were sent to France and Germany, to consult the divines, canonists, and other learned men in the universities, about the king's business. How the rest managed the matter, I have not yet been able to discover; but from a great number of original letters of doctor Crook's, I shall give a full account of his negotiation. It was thought best to begin at home, and therefore the king wrote to the two universities in England to send him their conclusions about it. The matters went at Oxford thus:—The bishop of Lincoln being sent thither with the king's letters for their resolution, it was by the major vote of the convocation of all the doctors and masters, as well regents as non-regents, committed to thirty-three doctors and bachelors of divinity (who were named by their own faculty), or to the greater number of them, to determine the questions that were sent with the king's letters, and to set the common seal of the university to their conclusions: and by virtue of that warrant, they did on the eighth

The King consults his Universities about his Divorce.

Lord Herbert out of the Record. April 4, 1530.

* This book is in the end of it said to be printed 1530, in April; but it seems an error for 1531: for the censures of the universities, which are printed in and mentioned in several places of it, do all bear date after that April, except those made by those of Oxford and Orleans.—FULLMAN'S CORRECTIONS.



of April put the common seal of the university to an instrument, declaring the marriage of the brother's wife to be both contrary to the laws of God and nature. The collector of the Antiquities of Oxford * informs us of the uneasiness that was in the university in this matter, and of the several messages the king sent, before that instrument could be procured; so that from the 12th of February to the 8th of April, the matter was in agitation, the masters of arts generally opposing it, though the doctors and heads were (for the greater part) for it. But after he has set down the instrument, he gives some reasons (upon what design I cannot easily imagine) to show that this was extorted by force; and being done without the consent of the masters of arts, was of itself void, and of no force: and as if it had been an ill thing, he takes pains to purge the university of it, and lays it upon the fears and corruptions of some aspiring men of the university; and without any proof, gives credit to a lying story set down by Sanders, of an assembly called in the night, in which the seal of the university was set to the determination. But it appears that he had never seen or considered the other instrument, to which the university set their seal, that was agreed on in a convocation of all the doctors and masters, as well regents as non-regents; giving power to these doctors and bachelors of divinity to determine the matter, and to set the seal of the university to their conclusion. The original whereof the lord Herbert saw, upon which the persons so deputed had full authority to set the university seal to that conclusion without a new convocation. Perhaps that instrument was not so carefully preserved among their records, or was in queen Mary's days taken away, which might occasion these mistakes in their historian.

v. Wood, p. 8. 257.

Lib. 1. p. 225.

There seems to be also another mistake in the relation he gives: for he says, those of Paris had determined in this matter before it was agreed to at Oxford. The printed decision of the Sorbonne contradicts this; for it bears date the 2nd of July, 1530, whereas this was done the 8th of April 1530. But what passed at Cambridge I shall set down more fully from an original letter written by Gardiner and Fox to the king in February (but the day is not marked). When they came to Cambridge, they spake to the vice-chancellor, whom they found very ready to serve the king; so was also doctor Edmonds †, and several others; but there was a contrary party that met together, and resolved to oppose them. A meeting of the doctors, bachelors of divinity, and masters of arts, in all about two hundred, was held. There the king's letters were read; and the vice-chancellor calling upon several of them to deliver their opinions about it, they answered as their affections led them, and were in some disorder. But it being proposed, that the answering the king's letter, and the questions in it, should be referred to some indifferent men; great exceptions were made to doctor Salcot, doctor Reps, and Crome, and all others who had approved doctor Cranmer's book, as having already declared themselves partial. But to that it was answered, that after a thing was so much discoursed of, as the king's matter had been, it could not be imagined that any number of men could be found who had not declared their judgment about it one way or another. Much time was spent in the debate, but when it grew late, the vice-chancellor commanded every man to take his place, and to give his voice, whether they would agree to the motion of referring it to a select body of men: but that night they would not agree to it.

Collect. Numb. 32.

And at Cambridge. Feb.

* Wood's justification of his history, with a running commentary by the bishop, will be found in the Appendix at the end of the work, No. 3. With reference to the means used to procure the required instrument from the university, Burnet contends that no "frightening threatenings" were employed, and that "none appeared in the king's letters." To these, which will be found in the Collection of Records, part 3, book 2, No. 17, we refer our readers. The first contains a plain intimation that if the university gave not a decision pleasing to their "liege lord," "it should not be to their quietness and ease thereafter;" and in the second he warns the "youth of the university," meaning probably the masters of arts, who had interfered in the affair, that "*non bonum est irritare crabrones*,"—it is not safe to put your hand in a wasp's nest. These are not very pacific demonstrations on the part of the sovereign, and seem to justify Wood when he says, "It was an ill thing for a prince by his letters to frighten people out of their conscience, and by menaces force them to say what must please him." See also Herbert's Life, Collier, and Hallam's Constitutional History of England.—ED.

† Dr. John Edmonds, Master of Peterhouse, and, says Granger, "of great note in the university," as we may guess from the frequency of his being vice-chancellor, viz. in the years 1521, 1526, 1527, and 1540. Burnet mistook him for Bonner, who, it seems, was sometimes called Dr. Edmonds, from his christian name, a sort of incognito made use of also by Gardiner, who, as we have seen before, visited Rome as Dr. Stephens. Collier mentions Dr. Edmonds as vice-chancellor in this year (1530), but that is a mistake; Dr. Buckmaster then filled that office.—ED.

The congregation being adjourned till next day, the vice-chancellor offered a grace (or order) to refer the matter to twenty-nine persons (himself, ten doctors, and sixteen bachelors, and the two proctors), that (the questions being publicly disputed) what two parts of three agreed to should be read in a congregation, and without any further debate the common seal of the university should be set to it. Yet it was at first denied; then being put to the vote, it was carried equally on both sides. But being a third time proposed, it was carried for the divorce. Of which an account was presently sent to the king, with a schedule of their names to whom it was committed, and what was to be expected from them, so that it was at length determined, though not without opposition, that the king's marriage was against the law of God.

It is thought strange that the king, who was otherwise so absolute in England, should have met with more difficulty in this matter at home than he did abroad. But the most reasonable account I can give of it is, that at this time there were many in the universities (particularly at Cambridge) who were addicted to Luther's doctrine. And of those Cranmer was looked on as the most learned: so that Crome, Shaxton, Latimer, and others of that society, favoured the king's cause; besides that, Anne Boleyn had in the duchess of Alençon's court (who inclined to the reformation) received such impressions as made them fear, that her greatness and Cranmer's preferment would encourage heresy; to which the universities were furiously averse, and therefore they did resist all conclusions that might promote the divorce.

Though with great difficulty.

But as for Crooke in Italy, he being very learned in the Greek tongue, was first sent to Venice to search the Greek manuscripts that lay in the library of St. Mark, and to examine the decrees of the ancient councils: he went incognito without any character from the king, only he had a letter recommending him to the care of John Cassali, then ambassador at Venice, to procure him an admittance into the libraries there. But in all his letters he complained mightily of his poverty, that he had scarce whereby to live and pay the copiers whom he employed to transcribe passages out of MSS. He stayed some time at Venice, from whence he went to Padua, Bononia, and other towns, where he only talked with divines and canonists about these questions: Whether the precepts in Leviticus, of the degrees of marriage, do still oblige Christians? And whether the pope's dispensation could have any force against the law of God? These he proposed in discourse, without mentioning the king of England, or giving the least intimation that he was sent by him, till he once discovered their opinions. But finding them generally inclining to the king's cause, he took more courage and went to Rome; where he sought to be made a penitentiary priest, that he might have the freer access into libraries, and be looked on as one of the pope's servants. But at this time the earl of Wiltshire and Stokesley (who was made bishop of London, Tonstall being translated to Durham) were sent by the king into Italy, ambassadors both to the pope and emperor. Cranmer went with them, to justify his book in both these courts. Stokesley brought full instructions to Crooke to search the writings of most of the fathers on a great many passages of the Scripture; and in particular to try, what they wrote on that law in Deuteronomy, which provided, that when one died without children, his brother should marry his wife to raise up children to him. This was most pressed against the king by all that were for the queen, as either an abrogation of the other law in Leviticus, or at least a dispensation with it in that particular case. He was also to consult the Jews about it; and was to copy out everything that he found in any manuscript of the Greek or Latin fathers, relating to the degrees of marriage. Of this labour he complained heavily, and said, that though he had a great task laid on him, yet his allowance was so small, that he was often in great straits. This I take notice of, because it is said by others, that all the subscriptions that he procured were bought. At this time there were great animosities between the ministers whom the king employed in Italy; the two families of the Cassali and the Ghinucci hating one another. Of the former family were the ambassadors at Rome, and at Venice. Of the other Hierome was bishop of Worcester, and had been in several embassies into Spain. His brother Peter was also employed in some of the little courts of Italy as the king's agent. Whether the king out of policy kept this hatred up to make

Crooke employed in Venice.

Crooke's Negotiation, taken from many of his Original Letters. Cott. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.



them spies one on another, I know not. To the Ghinucci was Crooke gained, so that in all his letters he complained of the Cassalis as men that betrayed the king's affairs; and said that John, then ambassador at Venice, not only gave him no assistance, but used him ill; and publicly discovered that he was employed by the king; which made many who had formerly spoken their minds freely be more reserved to him. But as he wrote this to the king, he begged of him that it might not be known, otherwise he expected either to be killed or poisoned by them: yet they had their correspondents about the king, by whose means they understood what Crooke had informed against them. But they wrote to the king, that he was so morose and ill-natured that nothing could please him; and to lessen his credit, they did all they could to stop his bills. All this is more fully set down than perhaps was necessary, if it were not to show that he was not in a condition to corrupt so many divines, and whole universities, as some have given out. He got into the acquaintance of a friar at Venice, Franciscus Georgius, who had lived forty-nine years in a religious order, and was esteemed the most learned man in the republic, not only in the vulgar learning but in the Greek and Hebrew, and was so much accounted of by the pope that he called him the hammer of heretics. He was also of the senatorian quality, and his brother was governor of Padua, and paid all the readers there. This friar had a great opinion of the king; and having studied the case, wrote for the king's cause, and endeavoured to satisfy all the other divines of the republic, among whom he had much credit. Thomas Omnibonus a Dominican, Philippus de Cremis a doctor of the law, Valerius of Bergamo, and some others, wrote for the king's cause. Many of the Jewish rabbins did give it under their hands in Hebrew, that the laws of Leviticus and Deuteronomy were thus to be reconciled. That law of marrying the brother's wife when he died without children did only bind in the land of Judea, to preserve families and maintain their successions in the land as it had been divided by lot. But that in all other places of the world, the law of Leviticus of not marrying the brother's wife was obligatory. He also searched all the Greek MSS. of councils, and Nazianzen's and Chrysostom's works. After that he ran over Macarius, Acacius, Apollinaris, Origen, Gregory Nyssen, Cyril, Severian, and Gennadius, and copied out of them all that which was pertinent to his purpose. He procured several hands to the Conclusions before it was known that it was the king's business in which he was employed. But the government of Venice was so strict, that when it was known whose agent he was, he found it not easy to procure subscriptions: therefore he advised the king to order his minister to procure a licence from the senate, for their divines to declare their opinions in that matter: which being proposed to the senate, all the answer he could obtain was, that they would be neutrals; and when the ambassador pressed, as an evidence of neutrality, that the senate would leave it free to their divines to declare of either side as their consciences led them, he could procure no other answer, the former being again repeated. Yet the senate making no prohibition, many of their divines put their hands to the Conclusions. And Crooke had that success, that he wrote to the king he had never met with a divine that did not favour his cause: but the Conclusions touching the pope's power his agents did everywhere discourage, and threaten those who subscribed them. And the emperor's ambassador at Venice did threaten Omnibonus for writing in prejudice of the Pope's authority, and asserting conclusions which would make most of the princes of Europe bastards. He answered, he did not consider things as a statesman, but as a divine. Yet to take off this fear, Crooke suggested to the king to order his minister at the court of Rome to procure a breve, "that divines or canonists might without fear or hazard deliver their opinions according to their consciences; requiring them, under the pain of excommunication, that they should write nothing for gain or partial affections, but say the pure and simple truth, without any artifice, as they would answer to God in the great day of judgment." This seemed so fair, that it might have been expected the successor of St. Peter would not deny it; yet it was not easily obtained, though the king wrote a very earnest letter to the bishop of Verona, to assist his minister in procuring it. And I find by another despatch, that the breve was at length gained, not without much opposition made to it by the emperor's ambassadors: for at Rome, though they knew not well how to

Many in Italy write for the King's cause.

Feb. 18.

Though the Pope and Emperor discouraged them.

July 4.

Aug. 7.

Sept. 16.

oppose this method, because it seemed so very reasonable, yet they had great apprehensions of it, because they thought it was designed to force the pope to determine as the king pleased: and they abhorred the precedent, that a company of poor friars should dictate to them in matters of this nature. Crooke reports out of a letter of

July 28. Cranmer's to him from Rome these words: "As for our successes here, they be very little, nor dare we attempt to know any man's mind, because of the pope, nor is he content with what you have done; and he says, no friars shall discuss his power: and as for any favour in this court, I look for none, but to have the pope with all his cardinals declare against us." But Crooke, as he went up and down procuring hands, told those he came to, "he desired they would write their Conclusions, according to learning and

Aug. 5. conscience, without any respect or favour, as they would answer it at the last day; and protested he never gave nor promised any divine anything till he had

No Money nor Bribes given for subscriptions. first freely written his mind, and that what he then gave was rather an honourable present than a reward." And in another letter to the king he writes:

Sept. 7. "Upon pain of my head if the contrary be proved, I never gave any man one halfpenny, before I had his conclusion to your highness, without former prayer or promise of reward for the same." From whence it appears, that he not only had no orders from the king to corrupt divines, but that his orders were express to the contrary.

As for the money he gave, the reader will be best able to judge by the following account, whether it was such as could work much on any man. There is an original bill

Feb. 8. of his accounts yet extant, audited and signed by Peter a Ghinuciis, out of which

Only some small acknowledgments. I have extracted these particulars: "Item, to a Servite friar when he subscribed, one crown: to a Jew, one crown: to the doctors of the Servites, two crowns: to the Observant friars, two crowns: to the prior of St. John and St. Paul's, who wrote for the king's cause, fifteen crowns: to that convent, four crowns. Item, given to John Maria for his expense of going to Milan from Venice, and for rewarding the doctors there, thirty crowns. Item, to John Marino, minister of the Franciscans, who wrote a book for the king's cause, twenty crowns." This shows that they must have had very prostituted

Feb. 22. consciences, if they could be hired so cheap. It is true Crooke in many of his letters says, "that if he had money enough, he did not doubt but he should get the hands of all the divines in Italy, for he found the greatest part of them all mercenary."

Feb. 9. But the bishop of Worcester, in his letters to him, ordered him only to promise rewards to those who expected them and lived by them, that is, to the canonists, who did not use to give their opinion without a fee.

But at the same time, the emperor did reward and fee divines at another rate; for Crook

Sept. 16. informed the king, that one friar Felix having written for the validity of the marriage against the king, there was a benefice of 500 ducats a year given him

But great rewards given by the Emperor. in reward. And the emperor's ambassador offered a thousand ducats to the provincial of the Grey-friars in Venice, if he would inhibit all within his province to write or subscribe for the king's cause. But the provincial refused it, and

Sept. 29. said, he neither could nor yet would do it. And another that wrote for the queen had a benefice of 600 crowns. So that it was openly said at Ferrara, that they who wrote for the king had but a few crowns a-piece, but they who wrote on the other side had good benefices. They also tried what could be done at Padua, both by threatenings, entreaties, and rewards, to induce them to reverse the determination they had made in the

Feb. 18. matter; but with no success. And though Francis Georgius, the Venitian friar, did greatly promote the king's cause, both by his writings and authority, yet Crooke wrote "that he could not prevail to make either him or his nephew accept one farthing of him." By such fair means it was that Crooke procured so many subscriptions.

First, of particular divines, many Franciscans, Dominicans, and Servites, set their hands to the Conclusions; though even in that there was opposition made by the pope's agents.

March 29. Campegio was now engaged in the emperor's faction, and did everywhere misrepresent the king's cause. Being at Venice, he so wrought on the minister of the Franciscans, that though he had declared for the king, and engaged to bring the hands of



twenty-four doctors and learned men of his order for it, and had received a small present of ten crowns, yet after he had kept the money three weeks, he sent it back, and said, he

May 26. would not meddle more in it: but they procured most of these hands without his help. At Milan, a suffragan bishop and sixteen divines subscribed. Nine

June 27. doctors subscribed at Vicenza, but the pope's nuncio took the writing out of his hands that had it, and suppressed it. At Padua all the Franciscans, both Observants and Conventuals, subscribed, and so did the Dominicans, and all the canonists; and though the pope's and emperor's emissaries did threaten all that subscribed, yet there were got eighty hands at Padua. Next the universities determined.

At Bononia, though it was the pope's town, many subscribed. The governor of the town

They determined for the king at Bononia. did at first oppose the granting of any determination; but the pope's breve being brought thither, he, not without great difficulty, gave way to it. So on the 10th of June, the matter being publicly debated, and all Cajetan's arguments being examined, who was of opinion, "that the laws of marriage in Leviticus

June 10th. did not bind the Christian church;" they determined, "that these laws are still in force, and that they bind all both Christians and Infidels, being parts of the law of nature, as well as of the law of God; and that therefore they judged marriages in these degrees unlawful, and that the pope had no authority to dispense with them."

The university of Padua, after some days' public dispute, on the 1st of July, determined

At Padua. July 1st. to the same purpose; about which Crooke's letter will be found among the instruments at the end of this book.

Collect. Numb. 33. At Ferrara, the divines did also confirm the same conclusion, and set their

And Ferrara, Sept. 29th; seal to it, but it was taken away violently by some of the other faction; yet the duke made it be restored. The profession of the canon law was then in great credit there, and in a congregation of seventy-two of that profession it was determined for the king; but they asked one hundred and fifty crowns for setting the seal to it, and Crooke would not give more than a hundred; the next day he came and offered the money, but then it was told him they would not meddle in it, and he could not afterwards obtain it.

In all, Crooke sent over by Stokesley a hundred several books, papers, and subscriptions, and there were many hands subscribed to many of those papers. But I hope the reader will forgive my insisting so much on this negotiation; for it seemed necessary to give full and convincing evidences of the sincerity of the king's proceedings in it, since it is so confidently given out that these were but mercenary subscriptions.

What difficulties or opposition those who were employed in France found, does not yet

and in Orleans, appear to me; but the seals of the chief universities there were procured. The

April 7. university of Orleans determined it on the 7th of April. The faculty of the

At Paris of the Canonists, canon law at Paris did also conclude that the pope had no power to dispense

May 25th. in that case, on the 25th of May. But the great and celebrated faculty of the Sorbonne (whose conclusions had been looked on for some ages as little inferior to the decrees of councils) made their decision with all possible solemnity and decency. They first met at the church of St. Mathurin, where there was a mass of the Holy Ghost, and every one took an oath to study the question, and resolve it according to his conscience, and from the 8th of June to the 2nd of July they continued searching the matter with all possible

Of the Sorbonne, July 2d. diligence, both out of the Scriptures, the fathers, and the councils; and had many disputes about it. After which, the greater part of the faculty did

At Angiers, May 7th; determine, "that the king of England's marriage was unlawful, and that the pope had no power to dispense in it;" and they set their common seal to it, at

at Bourges, June 10th; St. Mathurin's, the 2nd of July 1530. To the same purpose did both the faculties

and Toulouse, Oct. 1st. of law civil and canon at Angiers determine the 7th of May. On the 10th of June, the faculty of divinity at Bourges made the same determination. And on

Collect. Numb. 34. the 1st of October the whole university of Toulouse did all with one consent give their judgment, agreeing with the former conclusions. More of the decisions of universities were not printed, though many more were obtained to the same effect. In Germany, Spain, and Flanders, the emperor's authority was so great, that much could not be expected except from the Lutherans, with whom Cranmer conversed, and

chiefly with Osiander, whose niece he then married. Osiander* upon that wrote a book about incestuous marriages, which was published; but was called in by a prohibition printed at Augsburg, because it determined in the king's cause, and on his side.

Jan. 28th, his Orig. Let. Cott. Libr. Otho, C. 10.

But now I find the king did likewise deal among those in Switzerland that had set up the Reformation. The duke of Suffolk did most set him on to this, so one who was employed in that time writes, for he often asked him, "how he could so humble himself as to submit his cause to such a vile, vicious, stranger priest, as Campegio was?" To which the king answered, "he could give no other reason but that it seemed to him spiritual men should judge spiritual things; yet, he said, he would search the matter further, but he had no great mind to seem more curious than other princes." But the duke desired him to discuss the matter secretly amongst learned men, to which he consented; and wrote to some foreign writers that were then in great estimation. Erasmus was much in his favour, but he would not appear in it. He had no mind to provoke the emperor, and live uneasily in his own country. But Simon Grineus was sent for, whom the king esteemed much for his learning. The king informed him about his process, and sent him back to Basil, to try what his friends in Germany and Switzerland thought of it. He wrote about it to Bucer, Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, and Paulus Phrygion.

Pelerine Inglese.

Grineus employed amongst the reformed in Switzerland.

Whose Letters are in a MS. in R. Smith's Libr.

Œcolampadius, as it appears by three letters, one dated the 10th of August 1531, another the last of the same month, another to Bucer the 10th of September, was positively of opinion, "that the law in Leviticus bid bind all mankind," and says, "That law of a brother's marrying his sister-in-law was a dispensation given by God to his own law, which belonged only to the Jews; and therefore he thought that the king might without any scruple put away the queen." But Bucer was of another mind, and thought the law in Leviticus did not bind, and could not be moral, because God had dispensed with it in one case, of raising up seed to his brother: therefore, he thought these laws belonged only to that dispensation, and did no more bind Christians than the other ceremonial or judiciary precepts; and that to marry in some of these degrees was no more a sin than it was a sin in the disciples to pluck ears of corn on the Sabbath-day. There are none of Bucer's letters remaining on this head, but by the answers that Grineus wrote to him, one on the 29th of August, another of the 10th of September, I gather his opinion, and the reasons for it. But they all agreed that the pope's dispensation was of no force to alter the nature of the thing. Paulus Phrygion was of opinion, that the laws in Leviticus did bind all nations, because it is said in the text, that the Canaanites were punished for doing contrary to them, which did not consist with the justice of God, if those prohibitions had not been parts of the law of nature. Dated Basil, the 10th of September. In Grineus's letter to Bucer, he tells him, that the king had said to him, that now for seven years he had perpetual trouble upon him about this marriage. Zuinglius' letter is very full. First, he largely proves that neither the pope nor any other power could dispense with the law of God: then, that the apostles had made no new laws about marriage, but had left it as they found it: that the marrying within near degrees was hated by the Greeks and other heathen nations. But whereas Grineus seemed to be of opinion, that though the marriage was ill made, yet it ought not to be dissolved, and inclined rather to advise that the king should take another wife, keeping the queen still; Zuinglius confutes that, and says, If the marriage be against the law of God, it ought to be dissolved: but concludes the queen should be put away honourably, and still used as a queen; and the marriage should only be dissolved for the future, without illegitimating the issue begotten in it, since it had gone on in a public way,

The Opinions of Œcolampadius.

Bucer.

Phrygion.

Zuinglius.

* Andrew Osiander was a divine of considerable eminence among the leaders of the Reformation. He was a native of Bavaria, and was born in 1498. He studied at Wittemberg and Nuremberg, and in 1522 began to preach at the latter place, where Cranmer became acquainted with him. He was opposed to the Lutheran divines on some points of belief, and displayed great want of moderation in maintaining his opinions, particularly in a controversy with the excellent Melancthon, who bore his insolence with a truly Christian spirit. He was a studious and acute divine, but disposed to adopt novel and mystical opinions, and much disliked on account of his pride and arrogance. He died suddenly in 1552 at Konigsberg, where he was minister and professor.—ED.



upon a received error. But advises, that the king should proceed in a judiciary way, and not establish so ill a precedent as to put away his queen and take another without due form of law. Dated Basil, 17th of Aug. There is a second letter of his to the same purpose from Zurich, the 1st of September. There is also with these letters a long paper of Osiander's, in the form of a direction how the process should be managed.

There is also an epistle of Calvin's, published among the rest of his. Neither the date nor the person to whom it was directed are named. Yet I fancy it was written to Grineus upon this occasion: Calvin was clear in his judgment that the marriage was null, and that the king ought to put away the queen, upon the law of Leviticus. And whereas it was objected, that the law is only meant of marrying the brother's wife while he is yet alive; he shows that could not be admitted, for all the prohibited degrees being forbidden in the same style, they were all to be understood in one sense: therefore since it is confessed that it is unlawful to marry in the other degrees, after the death of the father, son, uncle, or nephew, so it must be also a sin to marry the brother's wife after his death. And for the law in Deuteronomy of marrying the brother's wife to raise up seed to him; he thought that by brother there, is to be understood a near kinsman, according to the usual phrase of the Hebrew tongue: and by that he reconciles the two laws which otherwise seem to differ, illustrating his exposition by the history of Ruth and Boaz. It is given out that Melancthon advised the king's taking another wife, justifying polygamy from the Old Testament; but I cannot believe it. It is true the lawfulness of polygamy was much controverted at this time. And, as in all controversies newly started, many crude things are said; so some of the Helvetian and German divines seem not so fierce against it; though none of them went so far as the pope did, who did plainly offer to grant the king licence to have two wives: and it was a motion the imperialists consented to, and promoted, though upon what reason the ambassador Cassali, who wrote the account of it to the king, could not learn. The pope forbade him to write about it to the king, perhaps as whisperers enjoin silence as the most effectual way to make a thing public. But for Melancthon's being of that mind, great evidences appear to the contrary; for there is a letter of Osiander's to him, giving him many reasons to persuade him to approve of the king's putting away the queen and marrying another: the letter also shows he was then of opinion, that the law in Leviticus was dispensable.

And Calvin. Epist. 384.

Lord Herb. from an Orig. Let. Sept. 13, 1530.

And after the thing was done, when the king desired the Lutheran divines to approve his second marriage, they begged his excuse in a writing which they sent over to him; so that Melancthon not allowing the thing when it was done, cannot be imagined to have advised polygamy beforehand. And to open at once all that may clear the sense of the protestants in the question, when, some years after this, Fox being made bishop of Hereford, and much inclined to their doctrine, was sent over to get the divines of Germany to approve of the divorce, and the subsequent marriage of Anne Boleyn; he found that Melancthon and others had no mind to enter much into the dispute about it, both for fear of the emperor and because they judged the king was led in it by dishonest affections: they also thought the laws in Leviticus were not moral, and did not oblige Christians, and since there were no rules made about the degrees of marriage in the gospel, they thought princes and states might make what laws they pleased about it: yet after much disputing they were induced to change their minds, but could not be brought to think that a marriage once made might be annulled, and therefore demurred upon that, as will appear by the conclusion they passed upon it, to be found at the end of this volume. All this I have set together here, to give a right representation of the judgments of the several parties of Christendom about this matter.

The opinion of the Lutheran Divines.

Instructions sent by Dr. Barns to Cromwell, Cott. Lib. Vitel. B. 13.

They condemn the King's first marriage, but are against a second. Collect. Numb. 35.

It cannot be denied that the protestants did express great sincerity in this matter; such as became men of conscience who were acted by true principles, and not by maxims of policy. For if these had governed them, they had struck in more compliantly with so great a prince, who was then alienated from the pope and in very ill terms with the emperor: so that to have gained him by a full compliance to have protected them, was the wisest thing they

could do; and their being so cold in the matter of his marriage, in which he had engaged so deeply, was a thing which would very much provoke him against them. But such measures as these, though they very well became the apostolic see, yet they were unworthy of men who designed to restore an apostolic religion.

The earl of Wiltshire, with the other ambassadors, when they had their audience of the pope at Bononia, refused to pay him the submission of kissing his foot, though he graciously stretched it out to them, but went to their business, and expostulated in the king's name, and in high words: and in conclusion told the pope that the prerogative of the crown of England was such that their master would not suffer any citation to be made of him to any foreign court; and that therefore the king would not have his cause tried at Rome. The pope answered, that though the queen's solicitor had pressed him to proceed in the citation, both that her marriage, being further examined, might receive a new confirmation for silencing the disputes about it, and because the king had withdrawn himself from her; yet if the king did not go further, and did not innovate in religion, the pope was willing to let the matter rest. They went next to the emperor, to justify the king's proceedings in the suit of the divorce. But he told them he was bound in honour and justice to support his aunt, and that he would not abandon her.

Fox.

The King refuses to appear at Rome.

Cranmer offered to maintain what he had written in his book, but whether they went so far as to make their divines enter into any discourse with him about it I do not know. This appears, that the pope, to put a compliment on the king, declared Cranmer his penitentiary in England. He having staid some months at Rome after the ambassadors were gone, went into Germany, where he became acquainted with Cornelius Agrippa*, a man very famous for great and curious learning, and so satisfied him in the king's cause that he gave it out that the thing was clear and indisputable; for which he was afterwards hardly used by the emperor, and died in prison.

Cranmer offers to maintain the king's cause.

But when the king received the determinations and conclusions of the universities, and other learned men beyond sea, he resolved to do two things.—First, to make a new attempt upon the pope, and then to publish those conclusions to the world, with the arguments upon which they were grounded. But to make his address to the pope carry more terror with it, he got a letter to be signed by a great many members of parliament, to the pope. The lord Herbert saith it was done by his parliament, but in that he had not applied his ordinary diligence: the letter bears date the 13th of July. Now, by the records of parliament, it appears there could be no session at that time, for there was a prorogation from the 21st of June till the 1st of October that year: but the letter was sent about to the chief members for their hands; and Cavendish tells how it was brought to the cardinal, and with what

The Nobility, Clergy, and Commons of England write to the Pope.

In the Life of Wolsey.

* Henry Cornelius Agrippa was born at Cologne, on the 14th of September, 1486, of the noble family of Nettesheim. He very early entered into the service of the emperor Maximilian, and acted at first as his secretary; but afterwards embracing the profession of arms, he served some years with the army in Italy, where he distinguished himself in several engagements and was knighted for his gallantry. Turning from arms to letters, he took the degrees of doctor of laws and physic. He was a man of extensive genius, well skilled in many parts of knowledge, and master of a variety of languages; but his insatiable curiosity, the freedom of his pen, and the inconstancy of his temper, involved him in so many vicissitudes, that his life became a series of adventures. After a changeful career, acting sometimes as a public lecturer in universities, sometimes as the trusted servant of princes, and sometimes being in want of bread; he ended his days at Grenoble, in 1535, but not in prison as Burnet supposed. He was a bitter enemy of the monks, whom he satirized without mercy; and by them he was accused of Lutheranism, though apparently without reason.

His fame chiefly rests upon the magical skill imputed to him; he in fact prided himself upon his knowledge of the occult sciences, on which he wrote a treatise, and he promoted the establishment of secret societies for its study, one of which he founded in London, where he was sent in 1510, on some commission probably relative to the treaty between Henry VIII. and the French king.

Bayle disproves Burnet's assertion that he was an advocate for the divorce of Henry VIII. He says that the ambassador of the emperor at London wrote to Agrippa, desiring him to support the interests of the queen: Agrippa replied, that he would readily engage if the emperor would give him orders for that purpose; and declares that he dotested the base compliance of those divines who approved of the divorce: and with regard to the Sorbonne, "I am not ignorant," says he, "by what arts this affair was carried on in the Sorbonne at Paris, who, by their rashness, have given sanction to an example of such wickedness. When I consider it, I can scarce contain myself from exclaiming, in imitation of Persius, 'Say, ye Sorbonnists, what has gold to do with divinity?' What piety and faith shall we imagine to be in their breasts, whose consciences are more venal than sincere, and who have sold their judgments and decisions, which ought to be revered by all the Christian world, and have now sullied the reputation they had established for faith and sincerity, by infamous avarice."—ED.



cheerfulness he set his hand to it. It was subscribed by the cardinal and the archbishop of Canterbury, four bishops, two dukes, two marquesses, thirteen earls, two viscounts, twenty-three barons, twenty-two abbots, and eleven commoners, most of these being the king's servants.

The contents of the letters were, "that their near relation to the king made them address thus to the pope. The king's cause was now, in the opinion of the learned men and universities, both in England, France, and Italy, found just, which ought to prevail so far with the pope, that though none moved in it, and notwithstanding any contradiction, he ought to confirm their judgment; especially it touching a king and kingdom, to whom he was so much obliged. But since neither the justice of the cause, nor the king's most earnest desires, had prevailed with him, they were all forced to complain of that strange usage of their king; who both by his authority and with his pen had supported the apostolic see and the catholic faith, and yet was now denied justice. From which they apprehended great mischief and civil wars, which could only be prevented by the king's marrying another wife, of whom he might have issue. This could not be done till his present marriage were annulled. And if the pope would still refuse to do this, they must conclude that they were abandoned by him, and so seek for other remedies. This they most earnestly prayed him to prevent, since they did not desire to go to extremities till there was no more to be hoped for at his hands."

This Letter and the Answer are printed by the Lord Herbert.

To this the pope made answer, the twenty-seventh of September.—"He took notice of the vehemency of their letter, which he forgave them, imputing it to their great affection to their king. They had charged him with ingratitude and injustice, two grievous imputations. He acknowledged all they wrote of the obligations he owed to their king, which were far greater than they called them, both on the apostolic see, and himself in particular. But in the king's cause he had been so far from denying justice, that he was oft charged as having been too partial to him. He had granted a commission to two legates to hear it, rather out of favour than in rigour of law; upon which the queen had appealed: he had delayed the admitting of it as long as was possible; but when he saw it could not be any longer denied to be heard, it was brought before the consistory, where all the cardinals, with one consent, found that the appeal, and an avocation of the cause, must be granted. That since that time the king had never desired to put it to a trial, but on the contrary, by his ambassadors at Bononia, moved for a delay: and in that posture it was still, nor could he give sentence in a thing of such consequence, when it was not so much as sought for. For the conclusions of universities and learned men, he had seen none of them from any of the king's ambassadors. It was true, some of them had been brought to him another way; but in them there were no reasons given, but only bare conclusions, and he had also seen very important things for the other side; and therefore he must not precipitate a sentence in a cause of such high importance till all things were fully heard and considered. He wished their king might have male issue, but he was not in God's stead to give it. And for their threatenings of seeking other remedies, they were neither agreeable to their wisdom nor to their religion. Therefore he admonished them to abstain from such counsels; but minded them that it is not the physician's fault if the patient will do himself hurt. He knew the king would never like such courses; and though he had a just value for their intercession, yet he considered the king much more, to whom as he had never denied anything that he could grant with his honour, so he was very desirous to examine this matter, and to put it to a speedy issue, and would do everything that he could without offending God."

The Pope's Answer.

But the king either seeing the pope resolved to grant nothing, or apprehending that some bull might be brought into England in behalf of the queen or the disgraced cardinal, did, on the nineteenth of September, put forth a proclamation against any "who purchased anything from Rome or elsewhere, contrary to his royal prerogative and authority, or should publish or divulge any such thing; requiring them not to do it, under the pains of incurring his indignation, imprisonment, and other punishments on their persons." This was founded on the statutes of Provisors and Premunires. But that being done, he resolved next to publish to the world, and to his subjects, the justice of his cause: therefore some learned men were appointed to compare

A Proclamation against Bulls from Rome. Lord Herbert.

all that had been written on it, and out of all the transcripts of the manuscripts, of fathers and councils, to gather together whatsoever did strengthen it. Several of these manuscripts I have seen; one is in Mr. Smith's library, where are the quotations of the fathers, councils, schoolmen, and canonists, written out at length. There are three other such MSS. in the Cotton Library, of which one contains a large vindication of these authorities, from some exceptions made to them; another is an answer to the bishop of Rochester's book for the queen's cause. A third digests the matter into twelve articles, which the reader will find in my Appendix; and these are there enlarged on and proved. But all these, and many more, were summed up in a short book, and printed first in Latin, then in English, with the determinations of the universities before it. These are of such weight and importance, and give so great a light to the whole matter, that I hope the reader will not be ill pleased to have a short abstract of them laid before him.

Books written for the King's cause.
Otho, C. 10.
ibidem.
Vesp. B. 5.
Collect.
Numb. 36.

*An Abstract of those things which were written for the Divorce.*

"The law of marriage was originally given by God to Adam in the state of innocence, with this declaration,—that man and wife were one flesh; but being afterwards corrupted by the incestuous commixtures of those which were of kin in the nearest degrees, the primitive law was again revived by Moses. And he gives many rules and prohibitions about the degrees of kindred and affinity, which are not to be looked on as new laws and judiciary precepts, but as a restoring of the law of nature originally given by God, but then much corrupted. For as the preface, which is so oft repeated before these laws, 'I am the Lord,' insinuates that they were conform to the divine nature; so the consequences of them show they were moral and natural. For the breaches of them are called 'wickedness' and 'abomination,' and are said 'to defile the land;' and the violation of them is charged on the Canaanites, by which the land was polluted, and for which it did vomit out the inhabitants. From whence it must be concluded, that these were not positive precepts which did only bind the Jews, but were parts of the law of mankind and nature; otherwise those nations could contract no guilt by their violating them. Among the forbidden degrees, one is, 'Thou shalt not discover the nakedness of thy brother's wife, it is thy brother's nakedness.' And it is again repeated, 'If a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing, he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness, they shall be childless.' These are clear and express laws of God, which therefore must needs oblige all persons of what rank soever, without exception.

The grounds of it in the old Testament.
Lev. 18. 20.
Lev. 18. 2. 4. 5. 6. 21.
v. 17. 24. 26.
v. 24. 25.
Lev. 18. v. 16.
Lev. 20. 21.

"In the New Testament, St. John Baptist said to Herod, 'It is not lawful for thee to take thy brother's wife,' which shows that these laws of Moses were still obligatory. St. Paul also, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, condemns the incestuous person for having his father's wife, which is one of the degrees forbidden by the law of Moses, and calls it 'a fornication not so much as named among the Gentiles.' From whence it is inferred, that these forbidden degrees are excluded by the law of nature, since the Gentiles did not admit them. St. Paul also, calling it by the common name of fornication, within which, according to that place, all undue commixtures of men and women are included; therefore those places in the New Testament that condemn fornication, do also condemn marriages in forbidden degrees: our Saviour did also assert the foundation of affinity, by saying, 'that man and wife are one flesh.'

And in the New.
Mat. 14. 4.
1 Cor. 5. 1.

"But in all controverted things the sense of the Scriptures must be taken from the tradition of the church, which no good catholic can deny: and that is to be found in the decrees of popes and councils, and in the writings of the fathers and doctors of the church: against which, if any argue from their private understanding of the Scriptures, it is the way of heresy, and savours of Lutheranism. The first of the fathers, who had occasion to write of this matter, was Tertullian, who lived within an age after the apostles. He in express words says, that the law of not marrying the brother's wife did still oblige Christians.

Lib. 4to cont. Marcionem.



"The first pope, whose decision was sought in this matter, was Gregory the Great, to whom Austin, the apostle of England, wrote for his resolution of some things in which he desired direction; and one of these is, 'Whether a man may marry his brother's wife?' (who in the language of that time was called his kinswoman). The pope answered negatively, and proved it by the law of Moses; and therefore defined, 'that if any of the English nation, who had married within that degree, were converted to the faith, he must be admonished to abstain from his wife, and to look on such a marriage as a most grievous sin.' From which it appears, that that good pope did judge it a thing which by no means could be dispensed with, otherwise he had not pressed it so much under such circumstances; since, in the first conversion of a nation to the Christian faith, the insisting too much upon it might have kept back many from receiving the Christian religion, who were otherwise well inclined to it. Calixtus *, Zacarius †, and Innocent III. ‡, have plainly asserted the obligation of these precepts in the law of Moses, the last particularly, who treats about it with great vehemency: so that the apostolic see has already judged the matter.

The Authorities of Popes,

"Several provincial councils have also declared the obligation of the precepts about the degrees of marriage in Leviticus, by the council at Neocæsaria: 'If a woman had been married to two brothers, she was to be cast out of the communion of the church till her death, and the man that married his brother's wife was to be anathematised §,' which was also confirmed in a council held by pope Gregory II. ‖. In the council of Agde, where the degrees that make a marriage incestuous are reckoned, this of marrying the brother's wife is one of them: and there it was decreed, 'that all marriages within these degrees were null, and the parties so contracting were to be cast out of the communion of the church, and put among the catechumens till they separated themselves from one another ¶.' And, in the second council of Toledo **, the authority of the Mosaical prohibitions about the degrees of marriage is acknowledged. It was one of Wickliff's errors, that the prohibition of marriage within such degrees was without any foundation in the law of God; for which, and other points, he was condemned first in a convocation at London, then at Oxford, and, last of all, at the general council of Constance these condemnations were confirmed. So formally had the church in many provincial councils, and in one that was general, decided this matter.

and Councils.

"Next to these the opinions of the fathers were to be considered. In the Greek church Origen †† first had occasion to treat about it, writing on Leviticus; and Chrysostom ‡‡ after him; but most fully St. Basil the Great §§, who do expressly assert the obligations of these precepts. The last particularly, refuting at great length the opinion of some who thought the marrying two sisters was not unlawful, lays it down as a foundation, that the laws in Leviticus about marriage were still in force. Hesychius ‖‖ also, writing upon Leviticus, proves that these prohibitions were universally obligatory, because both the Egyptians and Canaanites are taxed for marrying within these degrees; from whence, he infers, they are of moral and eternal obligation.

And the Greek

"From the Greek they went to the Latin Fathers, and alleged, as was already observed, that Tertullian held the same opinion, and with him agreed the three great doctors of the Latin church, Ambrose ¶¶, Jerome ***, and St. Austin †††, who do plainly deliver the tradition of the church about the obligation of those laws, and answer the objections that were made either from Abraham's marrying his sister or from Jacob's marrying two sisters, or the law in Deuteronomy for the brother's marrying his brother's wife, if he died without children.

and the Latin Fathers

"They observed that the same doctrine was also taught by the fathers and doctors in the latter ages. Anselm ‡‡‡ held it, and pleads much for marrying in remote degrees, and answers the objection from the decision in the case of the

And of the Modern Writers.

* Ad omnes Galliæ Episcopos.
† 30. Quest. 3. cap. Pitanum.
‡ De Pres. cap. cum in Juventutem.
§ Can. 2. ‖ Chap. 5. ¶ Can. 61. ** Chap. 5.
†† In 20. Levit. ‡‡ Homil. 71. on 22 Mat.
§§ Epist. ad Diodor. ‖‖ On Levit. 18. and 20.
¶¶ Lib. 8. Ep. 66. *** Cont. Helvidium.
††† Cont. Faust. chap. 8, 9, 10, et Quæst. 64. in Lev. Ad Bonifac. lib. 3. chap. 4. Lib. 15. de Civ. Dei, chap. 16. ‡‡‡ In Epist. ad Pium Fratrem.

daughters of Zelophehad. Hugo Cardinalis *, Radulphus Flaviacensis, and Rupertus Tuitiensis, do agree that these precepts are moral, and of perpetual obligation; as also Hugo † de Sto. Victore. Hildebert ‡, bishop of Mans, being consulted in a case of the same nature with what is now controverted, plainly determines, 'that a man may not marry his brother's wife;' and by many authorities shows, that by no means it can be allowed. And Ivo Carnotensis § being desired to give his opinion in a case of the same circumstances,—of a king's marrying his brother's wife,—says, 'Such a marriage is null, as inconsistent with the law of God, and that the king was not to be admitted to the communion of the church till he put away his wife, since there was no dispensing with the law of God, and no sacrifice could be offered for those that continued willingly in sin.' Passages also to the same purpose are in other places of his epistles.

"From these doctors and fathers the inquiry descended to the schoolmen, who had with more niceness and subtlety examined things. They do all agree in asserting the obligation of these Levitical prohibitions. Thomas Aquinas does it in many places, and confirms it with many arguments. Altisiodorensis says, they are moral laws, and part of the law of nature. Petrus de Palude is of the same mind, and says, that a man's marrying his brother's wife was a dispensation granted by God, but could not be now allowed, because it was contrary to the law of nature. St. Antonine of Florence, Joannes de Turre Cremata, Joannes de Tabia, Jacobus de Lausania, and Astexanus, were also cited for the same opinion. And those who wrote against Wickliff, namely, Wydeford ¶, Cotton **, and Waldensis ††, charged him with heresy, for denying that those prohibitions did oblige Christians. And asserted that they were moral laws which obliged all mankind. And the books of Waldensis were approved by pope Martin I. There were also many quotations brought out of Petrus de Tarantasia, Durandus, Stephanus Brulifer, Richardus de Media Villa, Guido Briancon, Gerson, Paulus Ritius, and many others, to confirm the same opinion, who did all unanimously assert, that those laws in Leviticus are parts of the law of nature, which oblige all mankind, and that marriages contracted in these degrees are null and void. All the canonists were also of the same mind, Joannes Andreas, Joannes de Imola, Abbas Panormitanus, Mattheus Neru, Vincentius, Innocentius, and Ostiensis, all concluded that these laws were still in force, and could not be dispensed with.

The Schoolmen.

2da. 2dæ. Quæst. 154. art. 9. In Tertiam Quæst. 54. art. 3. In 4tum. dist. 40. Q. 3. and 4.

And Canonists.

There was also a great deal alleged to prove that "a marriage is completed by the marriage contract, though it be never consummated. Many authorities were brought to prove that Adonijah could not marry Abishag, because she was his father's wife, though never known by him. And by the law of Moses a woman espoused to a man, if she admitted another to her bed, was to be stoned as an adultress; from whence it appears, that the validity of marriage is from the mutual covenant. And though Joseph never knew the blessed virgin, yet he was so much her husband by the espousals, that he could not put her away, but by a bill of divorce: and was afterwards called her husband, and Christ's father. Affinity had been also defined by all writers, 'a relation arising out of marriage,' and since marriage was a sacrament of the church, its essence could only consist in the contract; and therefore as a man in orders has the character, though he never consecrated any sacrament: so marriage is complete, though its effect never follow. And it was showed that the canonists had only brought in the consummation of marriage as essential to it by ecclesiastical law. But that as Adam and Eve were perfectly married before they knew one another, so marriage was complete upon the contract; and what followed was only an effect done in the right of the marriage. And there was a great deal of filthy stuff brought together, of the different opinions of the canonists concerning consummation, to what degree it must go, to show that it could not be essential to the marriage contract, which in modesty were suppressed. Both Hildebert of Mans, Ivo

Marriage completed by consent.

* On 18 Lev.
† Lib. 2 de Sacram. p. 2, chap. 4, art. 2.
‡ Epist. ad Arch. Rotomag. et Epis. Sag.
§ Epist. 240.
¶ Cont. Wickl. art. 8.
** De licitis et illicitis Conjugiis.
†† Lib. de Sacram. tom. 2. C. 134.



Carnotensis, and Hugo de Sto. Victoire, had delivered this opinion, and proved it out of St. Chrysostom, Ambrose, Austin, and Isidore. Pope Nicolas, and the council of Tribur, defined, that marriage was completed by the consent and the benediction. From all which they concluded, that although it could not be proved that Prince Arthur knew the queen, yet that she being once lawfully married to him the king could not afterwards marry her.

It was also said, "that violent presumptions were sufficient, in the opinion of the canonists, to prove consummation. Formal proofs could not be expected; and for persons that were of age, and in good health, to be in bed together, was in all trials about consummation all that the canonists sought for. And yet this was not all in this case, for it appeared that, upon her husband's death, she was kept with great care by some ladies 'who did think her with child; and she never said anything against it. And in the petition offered to the pope in her name, (repeated in the bull that was procured for the second marriage,) it is said, she was perhaps known by prince Arthur; and in the breve, it is plainly said, she was known by prince Arthur, and though the queen offered to purge herself by oath that prince Arthur never knew her, it was proved by many authorities out of the canon law, that a party's oath ought not to be taken when there were violent presumptions to the contrary.

Violent presumptions of the consummation of Prince Arthur's Marriage.

"As for the validity of the pope's dispensation, it was said, that though the schoolmen and canonists did generally raise the pope's power very high, and stretch it as far as it was possible; yet they all agreed that it could not reach the king's case: upon this received maxim, 'that only the laws of the church are subject to the pope, and may be dispensed with by him; but that laws of God are above him, and that he cannot dispense with them in any case.' This Aquinas delivers in many places of his works. Petrus de Palude says, the pope cannot dispense with marriage in these degrees, because it is against nature. But Joannes de Turre Cremata reports a singular case, which fell out when he was a cardinal. A king of France desired a dispensation to marry his wife's sister. The matter was long considered of, and debated in the Rota, himself being there, and bearing a share in the debate; but it was concluded, that if any pope either out of ignorance, or being corrupted, had ever granted such a dispensation, that could be no precedent or warrant for doing the like any more, since the church ought to be governed by laws, and not by such examples. Antonin, and Joannes de Tabia, held the same. And one Bacon an Englishman, who had taught the contrary, was censured for it even at Rome, and he did retract his opinion, and acknowledged, that the pope could not dispense with the degrees of marriage forbidden by the law of God.

The Pope's Dispensation of no force.

In Quodlib. Lib. 4. Art. 13. et in 4tum. dist. 15. Q. 3. art. 2.

Sup. Cap. Conjunctionis 35. Q. 2. et 3.

"The canonists agree also to this; both Joannes Andreas, Joannes de Imola, and Abbas Panormitanus assert it, saying, that the precepts in Leviticus oblige for ever, and therefore cannot be dispensed with. And Panormitan says, 'these things are to be observed in practice, because great princes do often desire dispensations from popes.' Pope Alexander III. would not suffer a citizen of Pavia to marry his younger son to the widow of his eldest son, though he had sworn to do it. For the pope said, it was against the law of God, therefore it might not be done, and he was to repent of his unlawful oath.

Sup. Cap. Literas de Rest. Spons. Cap. ad Audien. Spousal.

"And for the power of dispensing even with the laws of the church by popes, it was brought in in the latter ages. All the fathers with one consent believed, that the laws of God could not be dispensed with by the church, for which many places were cited out of St. Cyprian, Basil, Ambrose, Isidore, Bernard, and Urban, Fabian, Marcellus, and Innocent, that were popes; besides an infinite number of later writers. And also the popes Zosimus, Damasus, Leo, and Hilarius did freely acknowledge they could not change the decrees of the church, nor go against the opinions or practices of the fathers. And since the apostles confessed, 'they could do nothing against the truth, but for the truth;' the pope being Christ's vicar, cannot be supposed to have so great a power as to abrogate the law of God: and though it is acknowledged, that he is vested with a fulness of power, yet the phrase must be restrained to the matter of it, which is the pastoral care of souls. And though there

was no court superior to the pope's, yet as St. Paul had withstood St. Peter to his face; so in all ages upon several occasions, holy bishops have refused to comply with, or submit to orders sent from Rome, when they thought the matter of them unlawful.

Several Bishops refuse to submit to the Pope's Decrees. Gul. Malmesbur. lib. 1.

"Laurence that succeeded Austin the monk in the see of Canterbury, having excommunicated king Edbald * for an incestuous marriage, would not absolve him till he put away his wife; though the pope plied him earnestly both by entreaties and threatenings to let it alone, and absolve him. Dunstan did the like to count Edwin for another incestuous marriage; nor did all the pope's interposition make him give over. They found many other such instances which occurred in the ecclesiastical history, of bishops proceeding by censures and other methods to stop the course of sin, notwithstanding any encouragement the parties had from popes.

"And it is certain, that every man when he finds himself engaged in any course, which is clearly sinful, ought presently to forsake it, according to the opinion of all divines. And therefore the king upon these evidences of the unlawfulness of his marriage ought to abstain from the queen; and the archbishop of Canterbury, with the other bishops, ought to require him to do it, otherwise they must proceed to church censures. Many things were also brought from reason (or at least the maxims of the school philosophy, which passed for true reason in those days,) to prove marriage in the degrees forbidden by Moses to be contrary to the law of nature; and much was alleged out of profane authors, to show what an abhorrence some heathen nations had of incestuous marriages.

The Authority of Tradition.

"And whereas the chief strength of the arguments for the contrary opinion rested in this, that these laws of Moses were not confirmed by Christ or his apostles in the New Testament. To that they answered, that if the laws about marriage were moral, as had been proved, then there was no need of a particular confirmation, since those words of our Saviour, 'I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it,' do confirm the whole moral law. Christ had also expressly asserted the relation of affinity, saying, 'that man and wife are one flesh.' St. Paul also condemned a match as incestuous for affinity. But though it were not expressly set down in the gospel, yet the traditions of the church are received with equal authority to written verities. This the court of Rome, and all the learned writers for the catholic faith, lay down as a fundamental truth. And without it, how could the seven sacraments (some of which are not mentioned in the New Testament), with many other articles of catholic belief, be maintained against the heretics? The tradition of the church being so full and formal in this particular, must take place: and if any corruptions have been brought in by some popes within an age or two, which have never had any other authority from the decrees of the church, or the opinions of learned men, they are not to be maintained in opposition to the evidence that is brought on the other side."

This I have summed up in as short and comprehensive words as I could, being the substance of what I gathered out of the printed books and manuscripts for the king's cause. But the fidelity of an historian leads me next to open the arguments that were brought against it by those who wrote on the other side for the queen's cause, to prove the validity of the marriage, and the pope's power of dispensing with a marriage in that degree of affinity.

I could never, by all the search I have made, see either MSS. or printed books that defended their cause, except Cajetan's and Victoria's, books that are printed in their works†. But from an answer that was written to the bishop of Rochester's book, and from some other writings on the other side, I gather the substance of their arguments to have been what follows:—

"Cardinal Cajetan had by many arguments endeavoured to prove that the prohibitions

* Laurence did not excommunicate Edbald, nor could he; Edbald being yet a heathen; and upon his conversion he put away his wife. Bed. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 5. 6. Malms. lib. 1.—Anon. Correct.

† There was a book printed at Lunenburgh, anno 1532, dedicated to the emperor's ambassador in England, Eustathius Chapnysius, &c. It is against the divorce, and charges very indirect practices on the other side by moneys and bribes, &c. Cochleus likewise wrote against the divorce *ad Paulum Tertium*; but whether his book was printed before the year 1535, I do not know. It was then printed in 4to.—Anon. Correct.



in Leviticus were not parts of the moral law. They were not observed before the law, no not by the holy seed. Adam's children married one another:—Abraham married his sister, Jacob married two sisters, Judah gave his two sons to Tamar, and promised to give her the third for her husband. By the law of Moses a dispensation was granted in one case for marrying the brother's wife, which shows the law was not moral, otherwise it could not be dispensed with; and if Moses dispensed with it, why might not the pope as well do it? nor was there any force in the places cited from the New Testament. As for that of Herod, both Josephus and Eusebius witness that his brother Philip was alive when he took his wife, and so his sin was adultery, and not incest. We must also think that the incestuous person in Corinth took his father's wife when he was yet living, otherwise, if he had been dead, St. Paul could not say it was 'a fornication not named among the Gentiles,' for we not only find both among the Persians and other nations the marriage of step-mothers allowed, but even among the Jews, Adonijah desired Abisha in marriage, who had been his father's concubine."

The Arguments for the Marriage.

From all which they concluded, "that the laws about the degrees of marriage were only judiciary precepts, and so there was no other obligation on Christians to obey them than what flowed from the laws of the church, with which the pope might dispense. They also said that the law in Leviticus, of not taking the brother's wife, must be understood of not taking her while he was alive; for after he was dead, by another law, a man might marry his brother's wife.

"They also pleaded that the pope's power of dispensing did reach further than the laws of the church, even to the law of God, for he daily dispensed with the breaking of oaths and vows, though that was expressly contrary to the second commandment; and though the fifth command, 'Thou shalt do no murder,' be against killing, yet the pope dispensed with the putting thieves to death, and in some cases, where the reason of the commandment does not at all times hold, he is the only judge, according to *Summa Angelica*. They concluded the pope's power of dispensing was as necessary as his power of expounding the Scriptures; and since there was a question made concerning the obligation of these Levitical prohibitions, whether they were moral, and did oblige Christians or not, the pope must be the only judge. There were also some late precedents found, one of pope Martin, who in the case of a man's having married his own sister *, who had lived long with her, upon a consultation with divines and lawyers, confirmed it, to prevent the scandal which the dissolving of it would have given. Upon which St. Antonin of Florence says, that since the thing was dispensed with, it was to be referred to the judgment of God, and not to be condemned.

"The pope had granted his dispensation upon a very weighty consideration, to keep peace between two great crowns; it had now stood above twenty years: it would therefore raise a high scandal to bring it under debate, besides that it would do much hurt, and bring the titles to most crowns into controversy.

"But they concluded that whatever informalities or nullities were pretended to be in the bulls or breves, the pope was the only competent judge of it, and that it was too high a presumption for inferior prelates to take upon them to examine or discuss it."

The Answers made to these.

But to these arguments it was answered by the writers for the king's cause, "that it was strange to see men who pretended to be such enemies to all heretical novelties, yet be guilty of that which Catholic doctors hold to be the foundation of all heresy; which was the setting up of private senses of Scripture, and reasonings from them, against the doctrine and tradition of the church. It was fully made out that the fathers and doctors of the church did universally agree in this, that the Levitical prohibitions of the degrees of marriage are moral, and do oblige all Christians. Against this authority Cajetan was the first that presumed to write, opposing his private conceits to the tradition of the church, which is the same thing for which Luther and his followers are so severely condemned. May it not then be justly said of such men, that they plead much for tradition when it makes for them, but reject it when it is against them? Therefore all these exceptions are overthrown with this one maxim of Catholic doctrine, 'That they are novelties against

* Not his own sister, but his wife's own sister; or the sister of one whom he had carnally known.—Antonin. Flor. par. 3. tit. 1. cap. 11.—Anon. Correct.

the constant tradition of the Christian church, in all ages.' But if the force of them be also examined, they will be found as weak as they are new. That before the law these degrees were not observed, proves only that they are not evidently contrary to the common sense of all men; but as there are some moral precepts which have that natural evidence in them, that all men must discern it, so there are others that are drawn from public inconvenience and dishonesty, which are also parts of the law of nature. These prohibitions are not of the first, but of the second sort, since the immorality of them appears in this, that the familiarities and freedoms among near relations are such, that if a horror were not struck in men at conjunctures in these degrees, families would be much defiled. This is the foundation of the prohibitions of marriages in these degrees, therefore it is not strange if men did not apprehend it, before God made a law concerning it. Therefore all examples before the law show only the thing is not so evident as to be easily collected by the light of nature. And for the story of Judah and Tamar, there is so much wickedness in all the parts of it, that it will be very hard to make a precedent out of any part of it. As for the provision about marrying the brother's wife, that only proves the ground of the law is not of its own nature immutable, but may be dispensed with by God in some cases. And all these moral laws, that are founded on public conveniency and honesty, are dispensable by God in some cases; but because Moses did it by divine revelation, it does not follow that the pope can do it by his ordinary authority.

"For that about Herod, it is not clear from Josephus that Philip was alive when Herod married his wife. For all that Josephus says is, that she separated from her husband, when he was yet alive, and divorced herself from him. But he does not say, that he lived still after she married his brother. And by the law of divorce marriage was at an end, and broken by it as much as if the party had been dead; so that, in that case, she might have married any other: therefore Herod's sin in taking her was from the relation of having been his brother's wife. And for the incestuous person in Corinth, it is as certain, that though some few instances of a king of Syria and some others may be brought of sons marrying their stepmothers, yet these things were generally ill looked on, even where they were practised by some princes, who made their pleasure their law. Nor could the laws of Leviticus be understood, of not marrying the brother's wife when he was alive; for it was not lawful to take any man's wife from him living. Therefore that cannot be the meaning. And all those prohibitions of marriage in other degrees, excluding those marriages simply, whether during the life, or after the death of the father, son, uncle, and other such relations, there is no ground to disjoint this so much from the rest, as to make it only extend to a marriage before the husband's death. And for any precedents that were brought, they were all in the latter ages, and were never confirmed by any public authority. Nor must the practices of later popes be laid in the balance against the decisions of former popes, and the doctrine of the whole church; and as to the power that was ascribed to the pope, that began now to be inquired into with great freedom, as shall appear afterwards."

These reasons on both sides being thus opened, the censures of them, it is like, will be as different now as they were then: for they prevailed very little on the queen, who still persisted to justify her marriage, and to stand to her appeal. And though the king carried it very kindly to her in all outward appearance, and employed everybody that had credit with her to bring her to submit to him, and to pass from her appeal, remitting the decision of the matter to any four prelates, and four secular men in England, she was still unmovable, and would hearken to no proposition. In the judgments that people passed, the sexes were divided; the men generally approved the king's cause, and the women favoured the queen. But now the session of parliament came on the 16th of January, and there the king first brought in to the House of Lords the determination of the universities, and the books that were written for his cause by foreigners. After they were read and considered there, the lord chancellor did on the 20th of March, with twelve lords both of the spirituality and temporalty, go down to the House of Commons, and showed them what the universities and learned men beyond sea had written for the divorce, and produced twelve original papers, with the seals of the universities to them, which sir Brian Tuke took out of his hand, and

The Queen still intractable.

Hall.

A session of Parliament.

More.



read openly in the house, translating the Latin into English. Then about a hundred books written by foreign divines, for the divorce, were also showed them; none of which were read, but put off to another time, it being late. When that was done, the lord chancellor desired they would report in their countries, "what they had heard and seen, and then all men should clearly perceive that the king hath not attempted this matter of will and pleasure, as strangers say, but only for the discharge of his conscience, and the security of the succession to the crown." Having said that, he left the house. The matter was also brought before the convocation; and they having weighed all that was said on both sides, seemed satisfied that the marriage was unlawful, and that the bull was of no force, more not being required at that time.

Convocation.

But it is not strange that this matter went so easily in the convocation, when another of far greater consequence passed there, which will require a full and distinct account. Cardinal Wolsey by exercising his legantine authority had fallen into a premunire, as hath been already shown; and now those who had appeared in his courts, and had suits there, were found to be likewise in the same guilt by the law; and this matter, being excepted out of the pardon that was granted in the former parliament, was at this time set on foot: therefore an indictment was brought into the King's Bench, against all the clergy of England, for breaking the statutes against provisions or provisors. But to open this more clearly,

The whole Clergy sued in a Premunire.

It is to be considered, that the kings of England having claimed in all ages a power in ecclesiastical matters equal to what the Roman emperors had in that empire, they exercised this authority both over the clergy and laity, and did at first erect bishoprics, grant investitures in them, call synods, make laws about sacred as well as civil concerns, and, in a word, they governed their whole kingdom. Yet when the bishops of Rome did stretch their power beyond either the limits of it in the primitive church, or what was afterward granted them by the Roman emperors, and came to assume an authority in all the churches of Europe, as they found some resistance everywhere, so they met with a great deal in this kingdom; and it was with much difficulty that they gained the power of giving investitures, receiving appeals to Rome, and of sending legates to England, with several other things, which were long contested, but were delivered up at length, either by feeble princes, or when kings were so engaged at home or abroad, that it was not safe for them to offend the clergy. For in the first contest between the kings and the popes, the clergy were generally on the pope's side, because of the immunity and protection they enjoyed from that see; but when popes became ambitious and warlike princes, then new projects and taxes were everywhere set on foot, to raise a great treasure.

The Prerogative of the Kings of England in Ecclesiastical Affairs.

The pall, with many bulls and high compositions for them, annates, or first-fruits, and tenths, were the standing taxes of the clergy, besides many new ones upon emergent occasions. So that they finding themselves thus oppressed by the popes, fled again back to the crown for protection, which their predecessors had abandoned.

The Encroachment of the Papacy.

From the days of Edward the First, many statutes were made to restrain the exactions of Rome. For then the popes, not satisfied with their other oppressions, (which a monk of that time lays open fully, and from a deep sense of them), did by provisions, bulls, and other arts of that see, dispose of bishoprics, abbeys, and lesser benefices to foreigners, cardinals, and others that did not live in England. Upon which the commonalty of the realm did represent to the king in parliament, "that the bishoprics, abbeys, and other benefices were founded by the kings and people of England to inform the people of the law of God, and to make hospitality, alms, and other works of charity, for which end they were endowed by the king and people of England; and that the king, and his other subjects who endowed them, had, upon voidances, the presentment and collations of them, which now the pope had usurped and given to aliens, by which the crown would be disinherited, and the ends of their endowments destroyed, with other great inconveniences:" therefore it was ordained, "that these oppressions should not be suffered in any manner." But notwithstanding this, the abuse went on, and there was no effectual way laid down in the act to punish these transgressions. The court of Rome was not so easily driven out of anything

Mat. Paris.

The Laws made against them.

25 Edw. 1st, repeated in the Stat. of Provisors, 25 Edw. 3d.

that either increased their power or their profits; therefore by another act in his grandchild Edward III.'s time, the Commons complained, "that these abuses did abound, and that the

25 Edward 3d, Statute of Provisors. pope did daily reserve to his collation, church-preferments in England, and raised the first-fruits, with other great profits, by which the treasure of the realm was carried out of it, and many clerks advanced in the realm were put out of their benefices by those provisors; therefore the king, being bound by oath to see the laws kept, did with the assent of all the great men and the commonalty of the realm, ordain that the free elections, presentments, and collations of benefices should stand in the right of the crown, or of any of his subjects as they had formerly enjoyed them, notwithstanding any provisions from Rome. And if any did disturb the incumbents by virtue of such provisions, those provisors, or others employed by them, were to be put in prison till they made fine and ransom to the king at his will; or if they could not be apprehended, writs were to be issued out to seize them, and all benefices possessed by them were to fall into the king's hands, except they were abbeys or priories, that fell to the canons or colleges." By another act, "the provisors were put out of the king's protection; and if any man offended against them, in person or goods, he was excused, and was never to be impeached for it." And two years

27 Edward 3d, cap. 1. after that, upon another complaint of their suing the king's subjects in other courts, or beyond sea, it was ordained, "that any who sued either beyond sea, or in any other court, for things that had been sued, and about which judgment had been given in former times in the king's courts, were to be cited to answer for it in the king's courts within two months; and if they came not, they were to be put out of the king's protection, and to forfeit their lands, goods, and chattels to the king, and to be imprisoned and

38 Edward 3d, cap. 1. ransomed at the king's will." Both these statutes received a new confirmation eleven years after that. But those statutes proved ineffectual, and in the beginning of the reign of Richard II., the former acts were confirmed by another statute, and

2. Richard 2d, cap. 3d. appointed to be executed; and not only the provisors themselves, but all such as took procuratories, letters of attorney, or farms from them, were involved in the same guilt. And in the seventh year of that king, provision was made against aliens having benefices without the king's licence, and the king promised to abstain from granting them licences: for this was another artifice of the Roman court, to get the king of their side, by accepting his licence, which by this act was restrained. This failing, they betook themselves to another course, which was to prevail with the incumbents that were presented in England according to law, to take provisions for their benefices from Rome to confirm their titles.

12 Richard 2d, cap. 15. This was also forbidden under the former pains. As for the rights of presentations, by the law they were tried and judged in the king's courts; and the bishops were to give institution according to the title declared in these judgments: this the popes had a mind to draw to themselves, and to have all titles to advowsons tried in their courts, and bishops were excommunicated who proceeded in this matter according to the law. Of which great complaint was made in the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard II.

16 Richard 2d, cap. 5. And it was added to that, that the pope intended to make many translations of bishops, some to be within, and some out of the realm, which, among other inconveniences reckoned in the statute, would produce this effect: "that the crown of England, which had been so free at all times, should be subjected to the bishop of Rome, and the laws and statutes of the realm by him defeated and destroyed at his will. They also found those things to be against the king's crown and regality, used and approved in the time of his progenitors: therefore all the Commons resolved to live and die with him and his crown, and they required him by way of justice to examine all the lords, spiritual and temporal, what they thought of those things, and whether they would be with the crown to uphold the regality of it? To which all the temporal lords answered, they would be with the crown. But the spiritual lords being asked, said, they would neither deny nor affirm that the bishop of Rome might or might not excommunicate bishops, or make translations of prelates: but upon that protestation, they said, that if such things were done, they thought it was against the crown, and said they would be with the king, as they were bound by their leageance;" whereupon it was ordained, "that if any did purchase translations, sentences of excommunication, bulls or other instruments from the court of Rome,



against the king or his crown, or whosoever brought them to England, or did receive or execute them, they were out of the king's protection, and that they should forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, and their persons should be imprisoned." And because the proceedings were to be upon a writ called, from the most material words of it, *premunire facies*, this was called the statute of Premunire.

When Henry IV. had treasonably usurped the crown, all the bishops (Carlisle only excepted) did assist him in it, and he did very gratefully oblige them again in other things; yet he kept up the force of the former statutes. For the Cistercian order having procured bulls, discharging them of paying tithes, and forbidding them to let their farms to any, but to possess them themselves, this was complained of in parliament in the 2d year of his reign,

2 Hen. 4, cap. 1. and those bulls were declared to be of no force; and if any did put them in execution, or procured other such bulls, they were to be proceeded against, upon the statutes made in the 13th year of the former king's reign, against provisors. But all this while, though they made laws for the future, yet they had not the courage to put them in execution. And this feebleness in the government made them so much despised, and so oft broken; whereas the severe execution of one law in one instance would more effectually have prevented the mischief, than all these laws did without execution. In the

6 Henry 4, cap. 1. 6th year of his reign, complaints being made of the excessive rates of compositions for archbishoprics and bishoprics in the pope's chamber, which were raised to the treble of what had been formerly paid, it was enacted, "that they should pay no more than had been formerly wont to be paid." In the 7th year of his reign, the

7 Hen. 4, cap. 6. 8. statute made in the 2d year was confirmed; and by another act, the licences which the king had granted for the executing any of the pope's bulls are declared of no force to prejudice any incumbent in his right. Yet the abuses and encroachments of the court of Rome still increasing, all former statutes against provisors were confirmed again,

17 Hen. 4. cap. 8. and all elections declared free, and not to be interrupted either by the pope or the king. But at the same time, the king pardoned all the former transgressions against these statutes. By those pardons the court of Rome was more encouraged than terrified by the laws; therefore there was a necessity of making another law in the reign of Henry V. against provisors, "that the incumbents lawfully invested in their livings should

4 Hen. 5, cap. 4. not be molested by them, though they had the king's pardon; and both bulls and licences were declared void and of no value, and those who did upon such grounds molest them should incur the pains of the statutes against provisors."

Our kings took the best opportunity that ever could have been found to depress the papal power; for, from the beginning of Richard II.'s reign till the fourth year of Henry V., the popedom was broken by a long and great schism, and the kingdoms of Europe were divided in their obedience, some holding for those that sate at Rome, and others for the popes of Avignon: England, in opposition to France, that chiefly supported the Avignon popes, did adhere to the Roman popes. The papacy being thus divided, the popes were as much at the mercy of kings for their protection, as kings had formerly been at theirs; so that they durst not thunder as they were wont to do, otherwise this kingdom had certainly been put under excommunications and interdicts for these statutes, as had been done formerly upon less provocations.

But now that the schism was healed, pope Martin the Fifth began to reassume the spirit of his predecessors, and sent over threatening messages to England in the beginning of Henry VI.'s reign. None of our books have taken any notice of this piece of our history:

Ex MSS. D. Petyt. the manuscript out of which I draw it had been written near that time, and contains many of the letters that passed between Rome and England upon this occasion.

The first letter is to Henry Chichely, then archbishop of Canterbury, who had been pro-

Reg. Chichel. Fol. 39. moted to that see by the pope, but had made no opposition to the statute against provisions in the fourth year of Henry V.; and afterwards in the eighth year of his reign, when the pope had granted a provision of the archbishop of York to the bishop of Lincoln, the chapter of York rejected it, and, pursuant to the former statute, made a canonical election. Henry V. being then the greatest king in Chris-

tendom, the pope durst not offend him: so the law took place without any further contradiction, till the sixth year of his son's reign, that England was both under an infant king, and had fallen from its former greatness: therefore the pope, who waited for a good conjuncture, laid hold on this, and first expostulated severely with the archbishop for his remissness, that he had not stood up more for the right of St. Peter and the see of Rome, that had bestowed on him the primacy of England; and then says many things against the statute of premunire, and exhorts him to imitate the example of his predecessor St. Thomas of Canterbury the martyr, in asserting the rights of the church; requiring him, under the pain of excommunication, to declare at the next parliament to both houses the unlawfulness of that statute, and that all were under excommunication who obeyed it. But to make sure work among the people, he also commands him to give orders, under the same pains, that all the clergy of England should preach the same doctrine to the people. This bears date the 5th day of December, 1426, and will be found in the Collection of Papers.

Collect. Numb. 37.

But it seems the pope was not satisfied with his answer, for the next letter in that MS. is yet more severe, and in it his legantine power is suspended. It has no date added to it; but the paper that follows, bearing date the 6th of April, 1427, leads us pretty near the date of it. It contains an appeal of the archbishop's from the pope's sentence, to the next general council; or, if none met, to the tribunal of God and Jesus Christ*.

There is also another letter, dated the 6th of May, directed to the archbishop, and makes mention of letters written to the whole clergy to the same purpose, requiring him to use all his endeavours for repealing the statute; and chides him severely because he had said, "that the pope's zeal in this matter was only that he might raise much money out of England," which he resents as a high injury, and protests that he designed only to maintain these rights that Christ himself had granted to his see, which the holy fathers, the councils, and the catholic church has always acknowledged. If this does not look like teaching *ex cathedra*, it is left to the reader's judgment.

But the next letter is of a higher strain. It is directed to the two archbishops only, and it seems, in despite to Chichely, the archbishop of York is named before Canterbury. By it the pope annuls the statutes made by Edward III. and Richard II., and commands them to do no act in pursuance of them; and declares, if they or any other gave obedience to them, they were *ipso facto* excommunicated, and not to be relaxed, unless at the point of death, by any but the pope. He charges them also to intimate that, his monitory letter, to the whole nation, and cause it to be affixed in the several places where there might be occasion for it. This is dated the 8th of December, the tenth year of his popedom. Then follow letters from the university of Oxford, the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Durham, and Lincoln, to the pope, all to mitigate his displeasure against the archbishop of Canterbury, in which they gave him the highest testimony possible, bearing date the 10th and the 25th days of July. These the archbishop sent by an express to Rome, and wrote the humblest submission possible to the pope, protesting that he had done and would do all that was in his power for repealing these statutes. One thing in this letter is remarkable: he says, "he hears the pope had proceeded to a sentence against him, which had never been done from the days of St. Austin to that time: but he knew that only by report, for he had not opened, much less read, the bulls in which it was contained; being commanded by the king to bring them with the seals entire, and lay them up in the paper-office till the parliament was brought together."

There are two other letters to the king, and one to the parliament, for the repeal of the statute. In those to the king, the pope writes, that he had often pressed both king and parliament to it; and that the king had answered, that he could not repeal it without the parliament. But he excepts to that, as a delaying the business, and shows it is of itself unlawful, and that the king was under excommunication as long as he kept it; therefore he expects that at the furthest, in

And to the King and Parliament. Collect. Numb. 38.

* The power of appealing was a point much controverted. Pope Pius the Second condemned it in 1549; yet it was used by the Venetians, 1509, and by the University of Paris, March 27, 1517.—FULMAN'S CORRECT.



the next parliament, it should be repealed. It bears date the 13th of October, in the tenth year of his popedom. In his letter to the parliament, he tells them that no man can be saved who is for the observation of that statute; therefore he requires them, under pain of damnation, to repeal it, and offers to secure them from any abuses which might have crept in formerly with these provisions. This is dated the third of October, *Decimo Pontificat.*; but I believe it is an error of the transcriber, and that its true date was the 13th of October.

Collect. Numb. 39.

The parliament sat in January 1427, being the sixth year of king Henry VI., during which, on the 30th of January, the archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, St. David's, Ely, and Norwich, and the abbots of Westminster and Reading, went from the House of Lords to the place where the House of Commons ordinarily sat, which was the refectory of the abbey of Westminster, where the archbishop made a long speech, in the form of a sermon, upon that text, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." He began with a protestation that he and his brethren intended not to say anything that might derogate from the king, the crown, or the people of England. Then he alleged many things for the pope's power in granting provisions, to prove it was of divine right, and admonished and required them to give the pope satisfaction in it; otherwise, he laid out to them with tears, what mischiefs might follow if he proceeded to censures; which will appear more fully from the instrument that will be found in the Collection at the end. But it seems the parliament would do nothing for all this, for no act neither of repeal nor explanation was passed.

But to no purpose. Collect. Numb. 40.

Yet it appears the pope was satisfied with the archbishop's carriage in this matter, for he soon after restored him to the exercise of his legantine power, as Godwin has it; only he by a mistake says, he was made legate anno 1428, whereas it was only a restitution after a censure.

Thus stood the law of England in that matter, which was neither repealed nor well executed; for the pope's usurpations still increasing, those statutes lay dead among the records, and several cardinals had procured and executed a legantine power, which was clearly contrary to them. And as cardinal Wolsey was already brought under the lash for it, so it was now made use of, partly to give the court of Rome apprehensions of what they were to expect from the king if they went on to use him ill; and partly to proceed severely against all those of the clergy who adhered obstinately to the interests of that court; and to make the rest compound the matter, both by a full submission and a considerable subsidy. It was in vain to pretend it was a public and allowed error, and that the king had not only connived at the cardinal's proceedings, but had made him all that while his chief minister: that therefore they were excusable in submitting to an authority to which the king gave so great encouragement, and that if they had done otherwise they had been unavoidably ruined. For to all this it was answered, that the laws were still in force, and that their ignorance could not excuse them, since they ought to have known the law; yet since the violation of it was so public, though the court proceeded to a sentence, that they were all out of the king's protection and were liable to the pains in the statutes, the king was willing, upon a reasonable composition, and a full submission, to pardon them.

The Clergy excuse themselves.

Yet they compound.

So in the convocation of Canterbury, a petition was brought in to be offered to the king. In the king's title he was called, "The protector and supreme head of the church and clergy of England." To this some opposition was made, and it was put off to another day; but by the interposition of Cromwell, and others of the king's council, who came to the convocation, and used arguments to persuade them to it, they were prevailed with to pass it with that title, at least none speaking against it: for when Warham archbishop of Canterbury said, "that silence was to be taken for consent," one cried out, "they were then all silent:" yet it was moved by some to add these words to the title, "in so far as is lawful by the law of Christ." But Parker says, the king disliked that clause, since it left his power still disputable; therefore it was cast out, and the petition passed simply

And acknowledge the King Supreme Head of the Church of England. Lord Herbert. Antiquit. Britanniæ, in Vita Warham.

as it was first brought in. Yet in that he was certainly misinformed, for when the convocation of the province of York demurred about the same petition, and sent their reasons to the king why they could not acknowledge him supreme head, which (as appears by the king's answer to them,) were chiefly founded on this, that the term "head" was improper, and did not agree to any under Christ; the king wrote a long and sharp answer to them, and showed them that words were not always to be understood in their strict sense, but according to the common acceptation. And among other things he showed what an explanation was made in the convocation of Canterbury,—that it was in so far as was agreeable to the law of Christ; by which it appears that at that time the king was satisfied to have it pass any way, and so it was agreed to by nine bishops (the bishop of Rochester being one) and sixty-two abbots and priors, and the major part of the lower house of convocation in the province of Canterbury; of which number it is very probable Reginald Pole was; for in his book to the king he says he was then in England, and adds, that the king would not accept of the sum the clergy offered, unless they acknowledged him supreme head: he being then dean of Exeter, was of the lower house of convocation; and it is not likely the king would have continued the pensions and other church preferments he had, if he had refused to sign that petition and submission. By it they prayed the king to accept 100,000*l.* in lieu of all punishments which they had incurred by going against the statutes of Provisors, and did promise for the future neither to make nor execute any constitution without the king's licence; upon which he granted them a general pardon; and the convocation of the province of York offering 18,840*l.* with another submission of the same nature afterwards, though that met with more opposition, they were also pardoned.

Printed in the Cabala.

When the king's pardon for the clergy was brought into the House of Commons, they were much troubled to find themselves not included within it; for by the statutes of Provisors, many of them were also liable, and they apprehended, that either they might be brought in trouble, or at least it might be made use of to draw a subsidy from them; so they sent their speaker with some of their members to represent to the king the great grief of his commons to find themselves out of his favour, which they concluded from the pardon of the pains of premunire to his spiritual subjects, in which they were not included, and therefore prayed the king that they might be comprehended within it. But the king answered them, that they must not restrain his mercy, nor yet force it; it was free to him either to execute or mitigate the severity of the law; that he might well grant his pardon by his great seal without their assent, but he would be well advised before he pardoned them, because he would not seem to be compelled to it. So they went away, and the house was in some trouble: many blamed Cromwell, who was growing in favour, for this rough answer; yet the king's pardon was passed.

The Commons desire to be included in the King's Pardon.

Hall.

But his other concerns made him judge it very unfit to send away his parliament discontented, and since he was so easy to them as to ask no subsidy, he had no mind to offend them; and therefore, when the thing was over, and they out of hopes of it, he of his own accord sent another pardon to all his temporal subjects, of their transgressions of the statutes of Provisors and Premunire, which they received with great joy, and acknowledged there was a just temperature of majesty and clemency in the king's proceedings.

Which the King afterwards grants.

During this session of parliament an unheard-of crime was committed by one Richard Rouse, a cook, who on the 16th of February poisoned a vessel of yeast that was to be used in porridge, in the bishop of Rochester's kitchen, with which seventeen persons of his family were mortally infected, and one of the gentlemen died of it; and some poor people that were charitably fed with the remainder of it were also infected, one woman dying. The person was apprehended, and by act of parliament, poisoning was declared treason, and Rouse was attainted, and sentenced to be boiled to death, which was to be the punishment of poisoning for all times to come, that the terror of this unheard-of punishment might strike a horror in all persons at such an unexampled crime; and the sentence was executed in Smithfield soon after.

One Attainted for Poisoning.

22 Hen. 8, Act. 16.

Hall.

Of this I take notice, the rather because of Sanders' malice, who says this Rouse was set on by Anne Boleyn, to make away the bishop of Rochester, of which there is nothing on



record; nor does any writer of that time so much as insinuate it. But persons that are set on to commit such crimes are usually either conveyed out of the way or secretly despatched, that they may not be brought to an open trial. And it is not to be imagined that a man that was employed by them that might have preferred him, and found himself given up and adjudged to such a death, would not have published their names who set him on, to have lessened his own guilt by casting the load upon them that had both employed and deserted him. But this must pass among the many other vile calumnies of which Sanders has been the inventor or publisher, and for which he has already answered to his judge.

When the session of parliament was over, the king continued to ply the queen with all the applications he could think of, to depart from her appeal. He grew very melancholy, and used no sort of diversion, but was observed to be very pensive. Yet nothing could prevail with the queen. She answered the lords of the council when they pressed her much to it, "that she prayed God to send the king a quiet conscience, but that she was his lawful wife, and would abide by it, till the court of Rome declared the contrary." Upon which the king forbore to see her, or to receive any tokens from her, and sent her word to choose where she had a mind to live in any of his manors. She answered, "that to which place soever she were removed, nothing could remove her from being his wife." Upon this answer the king left her at Windsor, the 14th of July, and never saw her more. She removed first to Moor, then to Easthamstead, and at last to Ampthill, where she staid longer.

Lord Herbert.

The King leaves the Queen.

The clergy went now about the raising of the 100,000*l.* which they were to pay in five years; and to make it easier to themselves, the prelates had a great mind to draw in the inferior clergy to bear a part of the burden. The bishop of London called a meeting of some priests about London, on the 1st of September, to the chapter-house at St. Paul's. He designed to have had at first only a small number, among whom he hoped it would easily pass; and that being done by a few, others would more willingly follow. But the matter was not so secretly carried but that all the clergy about the city hearing of it, went thither. They were not a little encouraged by many of the laity, who thought it no unpleasant diversion to see the clergy fall out among themselves. So when they came to the chapter-house on the day appointed, the bishop's officers would only admit some few to enter; but the rest forced the door and rushed in, and the bishop's servants were beaten and ill used. But the bishop seeing the tumult was such that it could not be easily quieted, told them all, "that as the state of men in this life was frail, so the clergy, through frailty and want of wisdom, had misdemeaned themselves towards the king, and had fallen in a premunire, for which the king of his great clemency was pleased to pardon them, and to accept of a little instead of the whole of their benefices, which by the law had fallen into his hand: therefore he desired they would patiently bear their share in this burden." But they answered, "they had never meddled with any of the cardinal's faculties, and so had not fallen in the premunire; and that their livings were so small, that they could hardly subsist by them. Therefore, since the bishops and abbots were only guilty, and had good preferments, they only ought to be punished and pay the tax; but that for themselves they needed not the king's pardon, and so would pay nothing for it." Upon which the bishops' officers threatened them; but they, on the other hand (being encouraged by some laymen that came along with them), persisted in their denial to pay anything; so that from high words the matter came to blows, and several of the bishop's servants were ill-handled by them. But he, to prevent a further tumult, apprehending it might end upon himself, gave them good words, and dismissed the meeting with his blessing, and promised that nothing should be brought in question that was then done. Yet he was not so good as his word, for he complained of it to the lord chancellor, who was always a great favourer of the clergy, by whose order fifteen priests and five laymen were committed to several prisons; but whether the inferior clergy paid their proportion of the tax or not, I have not been able to discover.

A disorder among the Clergy of London about the Subsidy.

Hall.

This year the state of affairs beyond sea changed very considerably. The pope expected not only to recover Florence to his family by the emperor's means, but also to wrest Modena and Reggio from the duke of Ferrara, to which

The Pope falls off to the French faction.

he pretended, as being fiefs of the papacy; and the emperor had engaged by the former treaty to restore them to him. But now that the pope's pretensions were appointed to be examined by some judges delegated by the emperor, they determined against the pope for the duke of Ferrara: which so disgusted the pope, that he fell totally from the emperor, and did unite with the king of France; a match being also projected between the duke of Orleans (afterwards Henry II.) and his niece Catharine de' Medici; which did work much on the pope's ambition, to have his family allied to so mighty a monarch. So that now he became wholly French.

A Match projected between the Pope's Niece and the Duke of Orleans.

The French king was also, on account of this marriage, to resign all the pretensions he had to any territory in Italy to his younger son; which as it would give less umbrage to the other princes of Italy, who liked rather to have a king's younger son among them than either the emperor or the French king, so the pope was wonderfully pleased to raise another great prince in Italy out of his own family. On these grounds was the match at this time designed which afterwards took effect; but with this difference, that by the dauphin's death, the duke of Orleans became king of France, and his queen made the greatest figure that any queen of France had done for many ages.

This change in the pope's mind might have produced another in the king's affairs, if he had not already gone so far that he was less in fear of the pope than formerly. He found the credit of his clergy was so low, that to preserve themselves from the contempt and fury of the people, they were forced to depend wholly on the crown. For Lutheranism was then making a great progress in England, of which I shall say nothing here, being resolved at the end of this book to give an account of the whole course of it in those years that fall within this time. But, what by the means of the new preachers, what by the scandals cast on the clergy, they were all at the king's mercy; so he did not fear much from them, especially in the southern parts, which were the richest and best-peopled. Therefore the king went on resolutely. The pope, on the other hand, was in great perplexity; he saw England ready to be lost, and knew not what to do to rescue or preserve it. If he gave way to what was lately done in the business of the *premunire*, he must thereby lose the greatest advantages he drew from that nation; and it was not likely that after the king had gone so far he would undo what was done.

The emperor was more remiss in prosecuting the queen's appeal at Rome, for at that time the Turk, with a most numerous and powerful army, was making an impression on Hungary, (which, to the great scandal of the most Christian king, was imputed to his counsels and presents at the Porte,) and all the emperor's thoughts were taken up with this. Therefore, as he gave the protestant princes of Germany some present satisfaction in religion and other matters, so he sent over to England and desired the king's assistance against that vast army of three hundred thousand men that was falling in upon Christendom. To this the king made a general answer, that gave some hopes of assisting him. But, at the same time, the protestant princes, resolving to draw some advantage from that conjuncture of affairs, and being courted by the French king, entered into a league with him, for the defence of the rights of the empire. And, to make this firmer, the king was invited by the French king to join in it; to which he consented, and sent over to France a sum of money to be employed for the safety of the empire. And this provoked the emperor to renew his endeavours in the court of Rome for prosecuting the queen's appeal.

The Emperor is engaged in a War with the Turk.

The French king encouraged the king to go on with his divorce, that he might totally alienate him from the emperor. The French writers also add another consideration, which seems unworthy of so great a king, that he himself, being at that time so public a courtier of ladies, was not ill pleased to set forward a thing of that nature. "But though princes allow themselves their pleasures, yet they seldom govern their affairs by such maxims."

1532.—Parliament complains of the Ecclesiastical Courts.

In the beginning of the next year a new session of parliament was held, in which the House of Commons went on to complain of many other grievances they lay under from the clergy, which they put in a writing, and presented it to the king. In it they complained of the proceedings in the spiritual courts, and



especially their calling men before them *ex officio*, and laying articles to their charge without any accuser; and then admitting no purgation, but causing the party accused either to abjure or to be burnt; which they found very grievous and intolerable. This was occasioned by some violent proceeding against some reputed heretics, of which an account shall be given afterwards. But those complaints were stifled, and great misunderstandings arose between the king and the House of Commons upon this following occasion.

Hall.

There was a common practice in England of men's making such settlements of their estates by their last wills, or other deeds, that the king and some great lords were thereby defrauded of the advantages they made by wards, marriages, and *primer seisin*. For regulating which a bill was brought into the House of Peers, and assented to there; but when it was sent down to the House of Commons it was rejected by them, and they would neither pass the bill nor any other qualification of that abuse. This gave the king great offence; and the House, when they addressed to him about the proceedings of the clergy, also prayed, "that he would consider what cost, charge, and pains, they had been at since the beginning of the parliament, and that it would please his grace of his princely benignity to dissolve his court of parliament, and that his subjects might return into their countries." To which the king answered, "that for their complaints of the clergy, he must hear them also before he could give judgment, since in justice he ought to hear both parties; but that their desiring the redress of such abuses was contrary to the other part of their petition; for if the parliament were dissolved, how could those things they complained of be amended? And as they complained of their long attendance, so the king had staid as long as they had done, and yet he had still patience and so they must have, otherwise their grievances would be without redress. But he did expostulate severely upon their rejecting the bill about deeds in prejudice of the rights of the crown. He said, he had offered them a great mitigation of what by the rigour of the law he might pretend to; and if they would not accept of it, he would try the utmost severity that the law allowed, and would not offer them such a favour again." Yet all this did not prevail, for the act was rejected, and their complaint against the clergy was also laid aside, and the parliament was prorogued till April next.

But reject a bill about Wards.

The Commons Petition that they may be dissolved.

The King's Answer.

In this parliament the foundation of the breach that afterwards followed with Rome was laid, by an act for restraining the payment of annates to that court, which since it is not printed with the other statutes, shall be found in the end of this volume. The substance of it is as follows:—

"That great sums of money had been conveyed out of the kingdom, under the title of annates or first fruits, to the court of Rome, which they extorted by restraint of bulls and other writs; that it happened often, by the frequent deaths of archbishops and bishops, to turn to the utter undoing of their friends, who had advanced those sums for them. These annates were founded on no law, for they had no other way of obliging the incumbents of sees to pay them but by restraining their bulls. The parliament therefore, considering that these were first begun to be paid to defend Christendom against infidels, but were now turned to a duty claimed by that court against all right and conscience, and that vast sums were carried away upon that account, which from the second year of king Henry VII. to that present time amounted to 800,000 ducats, besides many other heavy exactions of that court, did declare that the king was bound by his duty to Almighty God as a good Christian prince to hinder these oppressions: and that the rather, because many of the prelates were then very aged, and like to die in a short time, whereby vast sums of money should be carried out of England, to the great impoverishing of the kingdom: and therefore all payments of first fruits to the court of Rome were put down, and for ever restrained, under the pains of the forfeiture of the lands, goods, and chattels of him that should pay them any more, together with the profits of his see, during the time that he was vested with it. And in case bulls were restrained in the court of Rome, any person presented to a bishopric should be notwithstanding consecrated by the archbishop of the province; or if he were presented to an archbishopric, by any two

An Act against Annates. Collect. Numb. 41.

bishops in the kingdom whom the king should appoint for that end; and that being so consecrated they should be invested, and enjoy all the rights of their sees in full and ample manner; yet that the pope and court of Rome might have no just cause of complaint, the persons presented to bishoprics are allowed to pay them five lib. for the hundred of the clear profits and revenues of their several sees. But the parliament, not willing to go to extremities, remitted the final ordering of that act to the king, that if the pope would either charitably and reasonably put down the payment of annates, or so moderate them that they might be a tolerable burden, the king might at any time before Easter 1533, or before the next session of parliament, declare by his letters patent whether the premises or any part of them should be observed or not, which should give them the full force and authority of a law. And that if upon this act the pope should vex the king or any of his subjects by excommunications or other censures, these notwithstanding the king should cause the sacraments and other rites of the church to be administered, and that none of these censures might be published or executed."

This bill began in the House of Lords, from them it was sent to the Commons, and being agreed to by them, received the royal assent, but had not that final confirmation mentioned in the act before the 9th of July 1533, and then by letters patent (in which the act is at length recited) it was confirmed.

Parl. Rolls.

But now I come to open the final conclusion of the king's suit at Rome. On the 25th of January "the pope wrote to the king, that he heard reports, which he very unwillingly believed, that he had put away his queen, and kept one Anne about him as his wife; which, as it gave much scandal, so it was in high contempt of the apostolic see, to do such a thing while his suit was still depending, notwithstanding a prohibition to the contrary. Therefore the pope, remembering his former merits, which were now like to be clouded with his present carriage, did exhort him to take home his queen, and to put Anne away; and not to continue to provoke the emperor and his brother by so high an indignity, nor to break the general peace of Christendom, which was its only security against the power of the Turk." What answer the king made to this I do not find, but instead of that I shall set down the substance of a despatch which the king sent to Rome about this time, drawn from a copy of it, to which the date is not added. But it being an answer to a letter he received from the pope the 7th of October, it seems to have been written about this time, and it concluding with a credence to an ambassador, I judge it was sent by doctor Bennet, who was despatched to Rome in January 1532, to show the pope the opinions of learned men, and of the universities, with their reasons. The letter will be found in the end of this volume. The contents of it are to this purpose:—

The Pope writes to the King about the Queen's Appeal.

L. Herbert Collect. Numb. 42.

"The pope had writ to the king, in order to the clearing all his scruples, and to give him quiet in his conscience; of which the king takes notice, and is sorry that both the pope and himself were so deceived in that matter; the pope, by trusting to the judgments of others, and writing whatever they suggested, and the king by depending so much on the pope, and in vain expecting remedy from him so long. He imputes the mistakes that were in the pope's letters (which he says had things in them contrary both to God's law and man's law) to the ignorance and rashness of his counsellors; for which himself was much to be blamed, since he rested on their advice, and that he had not carried himself as became Christ's vicar, but had dealt both unconstantly and deceitfully: for when the king's cause was first opened to him, and all things that related to it were explained, he had granted a commission, with a promise not to recal it, but to confirm the sentence which the legates should give, and a decretal was sent over defining the cause. If these were justly granted, it was injustice to revoke them, but if they were justly revoked, it was unjust to grant them: so he presses the pope, that either he could grant these things, or he could not. If he could do it, where was the faith which became a friend, much more a pope, since he had broke these promises; but if he said he could not do them, had he not then just cause to distrust all that came from him, when at one time he condemned what he had allowed at another? So that the king saw clearly he did not consider the ease of his conscience, but other worldly respects, that had put him on consulting so many learned men,

A Despatch of the King to the Pope.



whose judgments differed much from those few that were about the pope, who thought the prohibition of such marriages was only positive, and might be dispensed with by the pope; whereas all other learned men thought the law was moral and indispensable. He perceived the apostolic see was destitute of that learning by which it should be directed; and the pope had oft professed his own ignorance, and that he spake by other men's mouths; but many universities in England, France, and Italy, had declared the marriage unlawful, and the dispensation null. None honoured the apostolic see more than he had done, and therefore he was sorry to write such things if he could have been silent. If he should obey the pope's letters, he would offend God and his own conscience, and give scandal to those who condemned his marriage: he did not willingly dissent from him without a very urgent cause, that he might not seem to despise the apostolic see; therefore he desired the pope would forgive the freedom that he used, since it was the truth that drew it from him: and he added, that he intended not to impugn the pope's authority further, except he compelled him; and what he did was only to bring it within its first and ancient limits, to which it was better to reduce it than to let it always run on headlong and do amiss; therefore he desired the pope would conform himself to the opinions of so many learned men, and do his duty and office." The letter ends with a credence to the ambassador.

The pope seeing his authority was declining in England, resolved now to do all he could to recover it, either by force or treaty: and so ordered a citation to be made of the king to appear in person or by proxy at Rome, to answer to the queen's appeal; upon which sir Edward Karne was sent to Rome, with a new character of excusatour. His instructions were "to take the best counsel for pleading an excuse of the king's appearance at Rome. First, upon the grounds that might be found in the anon law; and these not being sufficient, he was to insist on the prerogatives of the crown of England." Doctor Bonner went with him, who had expressed much zeal in the king's cause, though his great zeal was for preferment, which by the most servile ways he always courted. He was a forward bold man, and since there were many threatenings to be used to the pope and cardinals, he was thought fittest for the employment, but was neither learned nor discreet.

Sir Edward Karne sent to Rome.

They came to Rome in February, where they found great heats in the consistory about the king's business. The imperialists pressed the pope to proceed, but all the wise and indifferent cardinals were of another mind. And when they understood what an act was passed about annates, they saw clearly that the parliament was resolved to adhere to the king in everything he intended to do against their interests. The pope expostulated with the ambassadors about it, but they told him the act was still in the king's power; and except he provoked him, he did not intend to put it in execution. The ambassadors finding the cardinal of Ravenna of so great reputation, both for learning and virtue, that in all matters of that kind his opinion was heard as an oracle, and gave law to the whole consistory, they resolved to gain him by all means possible. And doctor Bennet made a secret address to him, and offered him what bishopric either in France or England he would desire, if he would bring the king's matter to a good issue. He was at first very shy; at length he said he had been oft deceived by many princes, who had made him great promises, but when their business was ended, never thought of performing them; therefore he would be sure: and so drave a bargain, and got under doctor Bennet's hand a promise (of which a copy being sent to the king, written by Bennet himself, will be found at the end of this volume), bearing, that he having powers from the king for that effect, dated the 29th of December last, did promise the cardinal, for his help in the king's affair, monasteries or other benefices in France, to the value of six thousand ducats a-year: and the first bishopric that fell vacant in England; and if it were not Ely, that whenever that see was vacant, upon his resigning the other he should be provided with the bishopric of Ely; dated at Rome the 7th of February 1532. This I set down as one of the most considerable arguments that could be used to satisfy the cardinal's conscience about the justice of the king's cause. This cardinal was the fittest to work secretly for the king, for he had appeared visibly against him. I find also by other letters, that both the cardinals of

His Negotiation there, taken from the Original Letters. Cott. lib. Vitel. B. 13.

The Cardinal of Ravenna corrupted by Bribes. Collect. Numb. 43.

Ancona and Monte (afterwards pope Julius the Third) were prevailed with by arguments of the same nature, though I cannot find out what the bargains were. Providellus, that was accounted the greatest canonist in Italy, was brought from Bononia, and entertained by the ambassadors, to give counsel in the king's cause, and to plead his excuse from appearing at Rome. The plea was summed up in twenty-seven articles, which were offered to the pope; and he admitted them to be examined in the consistory, appointing three of them to be opened at a session. But the imperialists opposed that; and after fifteen of them had been heard, procured a new order that they should be heard in a congregation of cardinals before the pope; pretending that a consistory sitting but once a week, and having a great deal of other business, it would be long before the matter could be brought to any issue. So Karne was served with a new order to appear in the congregation the 3rd of April, with this certification, — that if he appeared not, they would proceed. Upon which he protested, that he would adhere to the former order: yet being warned the second time, he went first and protested against it, which he got entered in the datary. This being considered in the congregation, they renewed the order of hearing it in the consistory on the 10th of April, and then Providellus opened three conclusions. Two of them related to Karne's powers; the third was concerning the safety of the place to both parties. But the imperialists and the queen's council, being dissatisfied with this order, would not appear. Upon which Karne complained of their contumacy, and said, by that it was visible they were distrustful of their cause. On the 14th of April, a new intimation was made to Karne to appear on the 17th with his advocates, to open all the rest of the conclusions; but he, according to the first order, would only plead to three of them, and selected the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first (what these related to I find not). Upon which Providellus pleaded and answered the objections that did seem to militate against them, but neither would the imperialists appear that session.

Collect. Numb. 44.

Collect. Numb. 45.

In June, news were brought to Rome which gave the pope great offence. A priest had preached for the pope's authority in England, and was for that cast into prison. And another priest, being put in prison by the archbishop of Canterbury upon suspicion of heresy, had appealed to the king as the supreme head: upon which he was taken out of the archbishop's hands, and being examined in the king's courts was set at liberty. This the pope resented much; but the ambassadors said all such things might have been prevented, if the king had got justice at the pope's hands.

The king also at this time desired a bull for a commission to erect six new bishopries, to be endowed by monasteries that were to be suppressed. This was expedited and sent away at this time: and the old cardinal of Ravenna was so jealous, that the ambassadors were forced to promise him the bishopric of Chester (one of the new bishoprics), with which he was well satisfied, having seen by a particular state of the endowment that was designed for it what advantage it would yield him. But he had declared himself so openly before against the reasons for the excuse, that he could not serve the king in that matter; but in the main cause he undertook to do great service, and so did the cardinals De Monte and Ancona.

A Bull for erecting new Bishopries.

Upon the 27th of June the debate was brought to a conclusion about the plea excusatory; and when it was expected that the pope should have given sentence against the articles, he admitted them all *si et prout de jure*. Upon which the imperialists made great complaints: the cardinals grew weary of the length of the debate, since it took up all their time; but it was told them the matter was of great importance, and it had been better for them not to have proceeded so precipitately at first, which had now brought them into this trouble, and that the king had been at much pains and trouble on their account; therefore it was unreasonable for them to complain, who were put to no other trouble but to sit in their chairs two or three hours in a week to hear the king's defences. The imperialists had also occasioned the delays, though they complained of them, by their cavils and allegations of laws and decisions that never were made, by which much time was spent. But it was objected, that the king's excuse for not coming to Rome, because it was too remote from his kingdom, and not safe, was of no force, since the place was safe to his proxy. And the cardinal of Ravenna pressed the ambassadors much to move the king, instead of the excusatory process, to send a proxy, for examining and discussing the merits of the cause, in which it would be much easier to advance the king's matter; and that he having appeared against the king in this process, would be the less suspected in the other.



The business being further considered in three sessions of the consistory, it was resolved, that since the vacation was coming on, they would neither allow of, nor reject, the king's excusatory plea; but the pope and college of cardinals would write to the king entreating him to send a proxy for judging the cause, against the winter. And with this Bonner was sent over, with instructions from the cardinals that were gained to the king, to represent to him that his excusatory plea could not be admitted; for since the debate was to be, whether the pope could grant the dispensation or not, it could not be committed to legates, but must be judged by the pope and the consistory. He was also ordered to assure the king, that the pope did now lean so much to the French faction that he needed not fear to refer the matter to him.

The Pope desires the King would submit to him.

Collect. Numb. 46.

But while these things were in debate at Rome, there was another session of parliament in April; and then the king sent for the speaker of the House of Commons, and gave him the answer which the clergy had drawn to the addresses they made in the former session about their courts. The king himself seemed not at all pleased with it; but what the house did in it does not appear, further than that they were no way satisfied with it. But there happened another thing that offended the king much: one Temse, of the House of Commons, moved, that they should address to the king to bring the queen back to the court, and ran out upon the inconveniences that were like to follow if the queen were put away, particularly the ill consequence of the illegitimation of the princess. Upon this the king took occasion (when he gave them the clergy's answer) to tell them, that he wondered at that motion made in their house, for the matter was not to be determined there. It touched his soul; he wished his marriage were good; but the doctors and learned men had determined it to be null and detestable; and therefore he was obliged in conscience to abstain from her, which he assured them flowed from no lust nor foolish appetite. He was then forty-one years old, and at that age those heats abate. But except in Spain or Portugal, it had not been heard of, that a man married two sisters; and that he never heard that any christian man before himself had married his brother's wife: therefore he assured them his conscience was troubled, which he desired them to report to the house. In this session, the lord chancellor came down to the commons, with many of the nobility about him, and told them the king had considered the marches between England and Scotland, which were uninhabited on the English side, but well peopled on the Scottish; and that laid England open to the incursion of the Scots; therefore the king intended to build houses there, for planting the English side. This the lords liked very well, and thought it convenient to give the king some aids for the charges of so necessary a work, and therefore desired the commons to consult about it. Upon which the house voted a subsidy of a fifteenth; but before the bill could be finished the plague broke out in London, and the parliament was prorogued till February following. On the 11th of May (three days before the prorogation) the king sent for the speaker of the House of Commons, and told him, "that he found upon inquiry, that all the prelates, whom he had looked on as wholly his subjects, were but half-subjects; for at their consecration they swore an oath quite contrary to the oath they swore to the crown; so that it seemed they were the pope's subjects rather than his. Which he referred to their care, that such order might be taken in it that the king might not be deluded." Upon which the two oaths that the clergy swore to the king and the pope were read in the House of Commons, but the consequence of them will be better understood by setting them down.

A Session of Parliament.

One moves for bringing the Queen to Court.

At which the King is offended.

A Subsidy is voted.

The King remits the oaths which the Clergy swore to be considered by the Commons.

*The Oath to the Pope.*

"I John, bishop or abbot of A, from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter and to the holy church of Rome, and to my lord the pope and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of counsel nor consent that they

Their Oath to the Pope.

shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence or any wrong by any means. Their counsel to me credited by them, their messengers or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regality of St. Peter, I shall help, and maintain, and defend against all men. The legate of the see apostolic going and coming I shall honourably entreat. The rights, honours, privileges, authorities of the church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I shall not be in counsel, treaty, or any act in the which anything shall be imagined against him or the church of Rome, their rights, seats, honours, or powers. And if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soon as I can I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and commandments apostolic, to my power I shall keep and cause to be kept of others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The thresholds of the apostles I shall visit yearly personally, or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my possessions without the pope's counsel. So God help me and the holy evangelists."

*The Oath to the King.*

Their Oath to the King.

"I John, bishop of A, utterly renounce and clearly forsake all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have or shall have hereafter of the pope's holiness, of and for the bishopric of A, that in anywise hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to your highness, your heirs, successors, dignity, privilege, or estate royal. And also I do swear that I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth I shall bear to you my sovereign lord, and to your heirs kings of the same, of life and limb, and yearly worship above all creatures, for to live and die with you and yours against all people. And diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business after my wit and power, and your counsel I shall keep and hold, knowledging myself to hold my bishopric of you only, beseeching you of restitution of the temporalities of the same; promising as before that I shall be a faithful, true and obedient subject to your said highness, heirs, and successors during my life; and the services and other things due to your highness for the restitution of the temporalities of the same bishopric, I shall truly do and obediently perform. So God me help and all saints."

The contradiction that was in these was so visible, that it had soon produced a severe censure from the house, if the plague had not hindered both that and the bill of subsidy. So on the 14th of May the parliament was prorogued. Two days after sir Thomas More, lord chancellor, having oft desired leave to deliver up the great seal, and be discharged of his office, obtained it; and sir Thomas Audley was made lord chancellor. More had carried that dignity with great temper, and lost it with much joy. He saw now how far the king's designs went; and though he was for cutting off all the illegal jurisdiction which the popes exercised in England, and therefore went cheerfully along with the suit of premunire; yet when he saw a total rupture like to follow, he excused himself, and retired from business with a greatness of mind that was equal to what the ancient philosophers pretended in such cases. He also disliked Anne Boleyn, and was prosecuted by her father, who studied to fasten some criminal imputations on him about the discharge of his employment; but his integrity had been such that nothing could be found to blemish his reputation.

More laid down his office.

In September following the king created Anne Boleyn marchioness of Pembroke, to bring her by degrees up to the height for which he had designed her. And in October he passed the seas, and had an interview with the French king; where all the most obliging compliments that were possible passed on both sides with great magnificence, and a firm union was concerted about all their affairs. They published a league that they made to raise a mighty army next year against the Turk; but this was not much considered, it being generally believed that the French king and the Turk were in a good correspondence. As for the matter of the king's divorce, Francis encouraged him to

An Interview with the French King.



go on in it, and in his intended marriage with Anne Boleyn, promising if it were questioned to assist him in it: and as for his appearance at Rome, as it was certain he could not go thither in person, so it was not fit to trust the secrets of his conscience to a proxy. The French king seemed also resolved to stop the payments of annates and other exactions of the court of Rome, and said he would send an ambassador to the pope, to ask redress of these, and to protest that if it were not granted, they would seek other remedies by provincial councils: and since there was an interview designed between the pope and the emperor at Bononia in December, the French king was to send two cardinals thither to procure judges for ending the business in England. There was also an interview proposed between the pope and the French king at Nice or Avignon. To this the king of England had some inclinations to go for ending all differences, if the pope were well disposed to it.

Upon this sir Thomas Eliot was sent to Rome with answer to a message the pope had sent to the king, from whose instructions both the substance of the message and of the answer may be gathered. "The pope had offered to the king that if he would name any indifferent place out of his own kingdom, he would send a legate and two auditors of the Rota thither, to form the process, reserving only the sentence to himself. The pope also proposed a truce of three or four years, and promised in that time he would call a general council. For this message the king sent the pope thanks, but for the peace he could receive no propositions about it without the concurrence of the French king; and though he did not doubt the justice of the general council, yet considering the state of the emperor's affairs at that time, with the Lutherans, he did not think it was then seasonable to call one. That as for sending a proxy to Rome, if he were a private person he could do it, but it was a part of the prerogative of his crown, and of the privileges of his subjects, that all matrimonial causes should be originally judged within his kingdom by the English church, which was consonant to the general councils and customs of the ancient church, whereunto he hoped the pope would have regard: and that for keeping up his royal authority, to which he was bound by oath, he could not without the consent of the realm submit himself to a foreign jurisdiction; hoping the pope would not desire any violation of the immunities of the realm, or to bring these into public contention, which had been hitherto enjoyed without intrusion or molestation. The pope had confessed that without an urgent cause, the dispensation could not be granted. This the king laid hold on and ordered his ambassador to show him that there was no war nor appearance of any between England and Spain when it was granted. To verify that, he sent an attested copy of the treaty between his father and the crown of Spain at that time; by the words of which it appeared that it was then taken for granted, that prince Arthur had consummated the marriage, which was also proved by good witnesses. In fine, since the thing did so much concern the peace of the realm, it was fitter to judge it within the kingdom than anywhere else; therefore he desired the pope would remit the discussing of it to the church of England, and then confirm the sentence they should give. To the obtaining of this, the ambassador was to use all possible diligence, yet if he found real intentions in the pope to satisfy the king, he was not to insist on that as the king's final resolution: and to let the cardinal of Ravenna see, that the king intended to make good what was promised in his name, the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield falling vacant, he sent him the offer of it, with a promise of the bishopric of Ely when it should be void."

Eliot sent to Rome with instructions. Cott. Lib. Vitel. B. 13.

Soon after this he married Anne Boleyn on the 14th of November, upon his landing in England, but Stow says that it was on the 25th of January. Rowland Lee (who afterward got the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield) did officiate in the marriage. It was done secretly in the presence of the duke of Norfolk and her father, her mother, and brother, and Dr. Cranmer*. The grounds on which the king did this were, that his former marriage being of itself null, there

The King married Anne Boleyn, Nov. 14. Cowper, Holinsties, and Sanders.

* Stow is in the right: for in a letter of Cranmer's to Hawkins, then the king's ambassador with the emperor, dated in June, from Croydon, he wrote, "Queen Anne was married much about St. Paul's day last; [viz. Jan. 25] as the condition thereof doth well appear, by reason she is now somewhat big with child." Cranmer was not present at the marriage, for in the same letter he writes, "Notwithstanding it hath been reported throughout a great part of the realm, that I married her; which was plainly false: for I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done. And many other things he reported of me, which be mere lies and tales."—STRYPE's CORRECTIONS.

was no need of a declarative sentence after so many universities and doctors had given their judgments against it. Soon after the marriage she was with child, which was looked on as a signal evidence of her chastity, and that she had till then kept the king at a due distance.

An interview between Pope and Emperor.

But when the pope and king met at Bononia, the pope expressed great inclinations to favour the French king, from which the emperor could not remove him, nor engage him to accept of a match for his niece Catharine de' Medici, with Francis Sforza duke of Milan. But the pope promised him all that he desired as to the king of England, and so that matter was still carried on. Dr. Bennet made several propositions to end the matter, either that it should be judged in England, according to the decree of the council of Nice, and that the archbishop of Canterbury with the whole clergy of his province should determine it, or that the king should name one, either sir Thomas More or the bishop of London, the queen should name another, the French king should name a third, and the archbishop of Canterbury to be the fourth; or that the cause should be heard in England, and if the queen did appeal, it should be referred to three delegates,—one of England, another of France, and a third to be sent from Rome, who should sit and judge the appeal in some indifferent place. But the pope would hearken to none of these overtures, since they were all directly contrary to that height of authority which he resolved to maintain: therefore he ordered Capisucci, the dean of the Rota, to cite the king to answer the queen's appeal. Karne at Rome protested against the citation, since the emperor's power was so great about Rome that the king could not expect justice there; and therefore desired they would desist, otherwise the king would appeal to the learned men in universities; and said there was a nullity in all their proceedings, since the king was a sovereign prince, and the church of England a free church, over which the pope had no just authority.

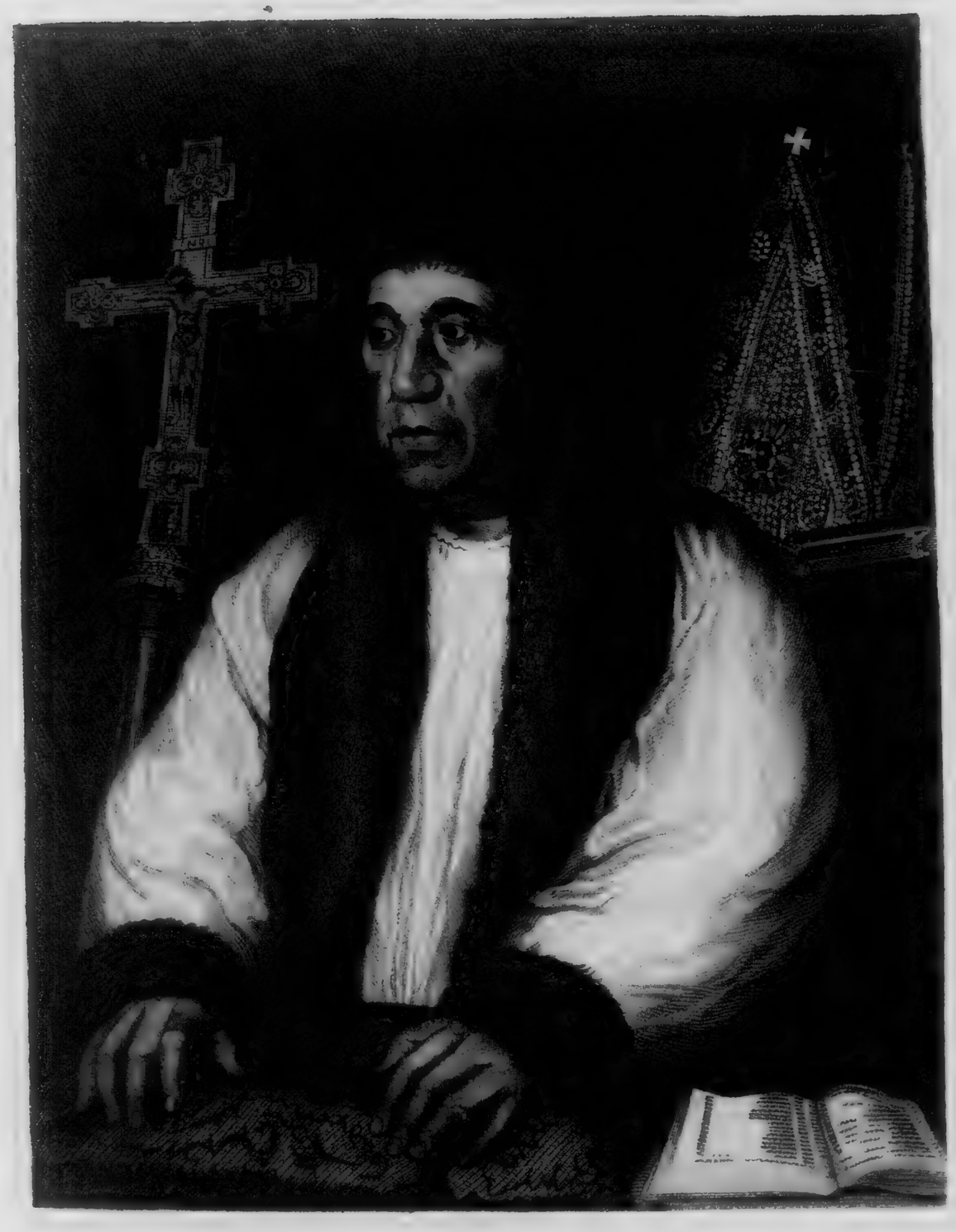
Some overtures about the Divorce. Lord Herbert.

1533. A Session of Parliament.

But while this depended at Rome, another session of parliament was held in England, which began to sit on the 4th of February. In this the breach with Rome was much forwarded by the act they passed against all appeals to Rome. The preamble bears, "that the crown of England was imperial, and that the nation was a complete body within itself, with a full power to give justice in all cases spiritual as well as temporal; and that in the spiritualty, as there had been at all times, so there were then men of that sufficiency and integrity, that they might declare and determine all doubts within the kingdom; and that several kings, as Edward I., Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV., had by several laws preserved the liberties of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, from the annoyance of the see of Rome, and other foreign potentates; yet many inconveniences had arisen by appeals to the see of Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, and other cases, which were not sufficiently provided against by these laws; by which not only the king and his subjects were put to great charges, but justice was much delayed by appeals, and Rome being at such a distance, evidences could not be brought thither nor witnesses so easily as within the kingdom: therefore it was enacted, that all such causes, whether relating to the king or any of his subjects, were to be determined within the kingdom in the several courts to which they belonged, notwithstanding any appeals to Rome, or inhibitions and bulls from Rome; whose sentences should take effect, and be fully executed by all inferior ministers; and if any spiritual persons refused to execute them because of censures from Rome, they were to suffer a year's imprisonment, and fine and ransom at the king's will; and if any persons in the king's dominions procured or executed any process or censures from Rome, they were declared liable to the pains in the statute of Provisors in the sixteenth of Richard II. But that appeals should only be from the archdeacon or his official to the bishop of the diocese, or his commissary, and from him to the archbishop of the province, or the dean of the arches, where the final determination was to be made without any further process; and in every process concerning the king or his heirs and successors, an appeal should lie to the upper house of convocation, where it should be finally determined, never to be again called in question."

An Act against appeals to Rome. 24. Hen. VIII. Act 22.

As this bill passed, the sense of both houses of parliament about the king's marriage did



WILLIAM WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

OB. 1532.

FROM THE [illegible] IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

clearly appear, but in the convocation the business was more fully debated. The convocation of the province of Canterbury was at this time destitute of its head and principal member.

Warham's Death, Aug. 23.

For Warham archbishop of Canterbury was dead since August last year. He was a great canonist, an able statesman, a dextrous courtier, and a favourer of learned men. He always hated cardinal Wolsey, and would never stoop to him, esteeming it below the dignity of his see. He was not so peevishly engaged to the learning of the schools as others were, but set up and encouraged a more generous way of knowledge; yet he was a severe persecutor of them whom he thought heretics, and inclined to believe idle and fanatical people, as will afterwards appear when the impostures of the maid of Kent shall be related.

The King resolves to promote Cranmer.

The king saw well of how great importance it was to the designs he was then forming to fill that see with a learned, prudent, and resolute man; but finding none in the episcopal order that was qualified to his mind, and having observed a native simplicity joined with much courage, and tempered with a great deal of wisdom, in Dr. Cranmer, who was then negotiating his business among the learned men of Germany, he of his own accord without any addresses from Cranmer designed to raise him to that dignity, and gave him notice of it, that he might make haste and come home to enjoy that reward which the king had appointed for him. But Cranmer having received this, did all he could to excuse himself from the burden which was coming upon him; and therefore he returned very slowly to England, hoping that the king's thoughts cooling, some other person might step in between him and a dignity, of which having a just and primitive sense, he did look on it with fear and apprehension, rather than joy and desire. This was so far from setting him back, that the king (who had known well what it was to be importuned by ambitious and aspiring churchmen, but had not found it usual that they should decline and fly from preferment) was thereby confirmed in his high opinion of him; and neither the delays of his journey, nor his entreaties to be delivered from a burden, which his humility made him imagine himself unable to bear, could divert the king. So that though six months elapsed before the thing was settled, yet the king persisted in his opinion, and the other was forced to yield.

Fox.

In the end of January the king sent to the pope for the bulls for Cranmer's promotion; and though the statutes were passed against procuring more bulls from Rome, yet the king resolved not to begin the breach till he was forced to it by the pope. It may be easily imagined, that the pope was not hearty in this promotion, and that he apprehended ill consequences from the advancement of a man, who had gone over many courts of Christendom, disputing against his power of dispensing, and had lived in much familiarity with Osiander and the Lutherans in Germany: yet on the other hand he had no mind to precipitate a rupture with England; therefore he consented to it, and the bulls were expedited, though instead of annates there was only 900 ducats paid for them.

Cranmer's Bulls from Rome.

They were the last bulls that were received in England in this king's reign; and therefore I shall give an account of them as they are set down in the beginning of Cranmer's Register. By one bull he is upon the king's nomination promoted to be archbishop of Canterbury, which is directed to the king. By a second directed to himself he is made archbishop. By a third he is absolved from all censures. A fourth is to the suffragans. A fifth to the dean and chapter. A sixth to the clergy of Canterbury. A seventh to all the laity in his see. An eighth to all that held lands of it, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as archbishop. All these bear date the 21st of February 1533. By a ninth bull dated the 22nd of February he was ordained to be consecrated, taking the oath that was in the Pontifical. By a tenth bull dated the 2nd of March the pall was sent him. And by an eleventh of the same date the archbishop of York and the bishop of London were required to put it on him. These were the several artifices to make compositions high, and to enrich the apostolic chamber, for now that about which St. Peter gloried, that he had none of it (neither silver nor gold), was the thing in the world for which his successors were most careful.

When these bulls were brought into England, Thomas Cranmer was on the 30th of March consecrated by the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph. But here a great scruple was

moved by him concerning the oath that he was to swear to the pope, which he had no mind to take; and writers near that time say, the dislike of that oath was one of the motives that made him so unwillingly accept of that dignity. He declared that he thought there were many things settled by the laws of the popes which ought to be reformed, and that the obligation which that oath brought upon him would bind him up from doing his duty both to God, the king, and the church. But this being communicated to some of the canonists and casuists, they found a temper that agreed better with their maxims than Cranmer's sincerity; which was, that before he should take the oath he should make a good and formal protestation, that he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from anything that he was bound to either by his duty to God, or the king, or the country; and that he renounced everything in it that was contrary to any of these. This protestation he made in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster, in the hands of some doctors of the canon law before he was consecrated, and he afterwards repeated it when he took the oath to the pope; by which if he did not wholly save his integrity, yet it was plain he intended no cheat, but to act fairly and above board.

His Protestation about his Oath to the Pope.

As soon as he was consecrated, and had performed everything that was necessary for his investiture, he came and sate in the upper house of convocation. There were there at that time hot and earnest debates upon these two questions, whether it was against the law of God, and indispensable by the pope, for a man to marry his brother's wife, he being dead without issue, but having consummated the marriage; and whether prince Arthur had consummated his marriage with the queen. As for the first, it was brought first into the lower house of convocation, and when it was put to the vote, fourteen were for the affirmative, seven for the negative; one was not clear, and another voted the prohibition to be moral, but yet dispensable by the pope. In the upper house it was long debated, Stokesly bishop of London arguing for the affirmative, and Fisher bishop of Rochester for the negative. The opinions of nineteen * universities were read for it, and the one house being as full as the other was empty, two hundred and sixteen being present either in person or by proxy, it was carried in the affirmative nemine contradicente; those few of the queen's party that were there it seems going out. For the other question about the matter of fact, it was remitted to the faculty of the canon law, (it being a matter that lay within their studies,) whether the presumptions were violent, and such as in the course of law must be looked on as good evidences of a thing that was secret, and was not capable of formal proof. They all, except five or six, were for the affirmative, and all the upper house confirmed this, the bishop of Bath and Wells only excepted.

Antiq. Brit. in vita Cranmer.

In this account it may seem strange that there were but twenty-three persons † in the lower house of convocation, and two hundred and sixteen in the upper house. It is taken from an unquestioned authority, so the matter of fact is not to be doubted. The most learned sir Henry Spelman has in no place of his collection of our councils considered the constitution of the two houses of convocation; and in none of our records have I been able to discover of what persons they were made up in the times of popery: and therefore since we are left to conjecture, I shall offer mine to the learned reader. It is, that none sate in the lower house but those who were deputed by the inferior clergy; and that bishops, abbots mitred and not mitred, and priors, deans, and archdeacons, sate then in the upper house of convocation ‡. To which I am induced by these two reasons: it is probable that all who were declared prelates by the pope, and had their writ to sit in a general council, had likewise a right to come to the upper house of convocation, and sit with the other prelates. And we find in the tomes of the councils, that not only abbots and priors, but deans and archdeacons, were summoned to the fourth council in the Lateran, and to that at Vienna. Another reason is,

* This is a mistake which is noticed by the bishop, part 3, book 2, anno 1531. The opinions of only six universities were laid before the convocation. Nineteen was the number of the minority who retired when the question was put.—Ed.

† The number of those who voted being only twenty-three, must be understood only of the divines: for the second question was put only to the jurists, who (in those times) exceeded the divines in number, and they did all vote in the affirmative, so that the numbers did far exceed twenty-three.—Strype's Corrections.

‡ Deans and archdeacons sat in the lower house. Cardinal Pole is mentioned as sitting in the lower house, as dean of Exeter, page 86, ante; and the error was corrected by the bishop himself, part 3, book 2, anno 1531, which see.—Ed.



that their sitting in two houses (for in all other nations they sit together) looks as if it had been taken from the constitution of our parliament, in which all that have writs personally sit in the lords' house, and those who come upon an election sit in the lower house. So it is not improbable that all who were summoned personally sate in the upper house, and those who were returned with an election sate in the lower house of convocation.

This account of that convocation I take from that collection of the British Antiquities which is believed to have been made by Matthew Parker, who lived at that time, and was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. But the convocation books being burnt, there are no records to be appealed to; yet it is not to be supposed, that in a matter of fact that was so public and well known, any man (especially one of that high rank) would have delivered falsehoods, while the books were yet extant that would have disproved them.

The church of England having in her representative made such a full decision, nothing remained but to give judgment and to declare the marriage null. The thing was already determined, only the formality of a sentence declarative was wanting. But before they proceeded to that, a new message was sent to the queen, to lay all that had passed before her, and to desire her to acquiesce in the opinions of so many universities and learned men. But she still persisted in her resolution to own her marriage, and to adhere to her appeal till the pope should judge in it. And when it was told her, that the king would settle the jointure that she was to have by his brother, and that the honour of princess of Wales should still be paid her, she rejected it. But the new queen was now with child, and brought forth queen Elizabeth the 7th of September this year; from which looking backwards nine months to the beginning of December *, it shows that she must have been married at or before that time: for all the writers of both sides agree, that she was married before she conceived with child. The king therefore thought not fit to conceal it much longer, so on Easter eve she was declared queen of England. It seems it was not thought needful at that time to proceed to any further sentence about the former marriage, otherwise I cannot see what made it be so long delayed, since the thing was in their power now as well as after. And it was certainly a preposterous method to judge the first marriage null after the second was published. So that it seems more probable they did not intend any sentence at all, till afterwards, perhaps upon advertisements from beyond sea, they went on to a formal process. Nor is it unlikely that the king, remembering the old advice that the pope sent him, once to marry a second wife, and then to send for a commission to try the matter, which the pope was willing to confirm, though he would not seem to allow it originally, resolved to follow this method; for the pope was now closing with Francis, from which union the king had reason to expect great advantages.

New Endeavours to make the Queen submit,

but in vain.

Whatsoever were the reasons of the delay, the process was framed in this method. First, Cranmer † wrote to the king, that the world had been long scandalised with his marriage, and that it lay on him as his duty to see it tried and determined; therefore craved his royal leave to proceed in it. Which being obtained, both the king and queen were cited to appear before the archbishop, at Dunstable, the 20th of May, and the archbishop went thither with the bishops of London, Winchester, (Gardiner,) Bath and Wells, and Lincoln, and many divines and canonists. That place was chosen because the queen lay then very near it at Ampthill, and so she could not pretend ignorance of what was done; and they needed not put many days in the citation, but might end the process so much the sooner. On the 10th of

Cranmer proceeds to a Sentence of Divorce, taken from the Originals. Cott. lib. Otho, c. 10.

* See note, p. 95, ante.

† Cranmer, in a letter to Hawkins, gives this account of the final sentence of divorce in these words: "As touching the final determination and concluding of the matter of divorce between my lady Katharine and the king's grace: after the convocation in that behalf had determined and agreed, according to the former sentence of the universities, it was thought convenient, by the king and his learned council, that I should repair to Dunstable;—and there to call her before me, to hear final sentence in this said matter. Notwithstanding, she would not at all obey thereunto. On the 8th of May, according to the said appointment, I came to Dunstable; my lord of Lincoln being assistant to me: and my lord of Winchester, Dr. Bell, Dr. Claybroke, Dr. Tregonnel, Dr. Sterkey, Dr. Olyver, Dr. Britton, Mr. Bedel, with divers others learned in the law, being counsellors for the king. And so there at our coming kept a court, for the appearance of the said lady Katharine; when we examined certain witnesses, who testified that she was lawfully cited,—and called to appear, as the process of the law thereunto belongeth: which continued fifteen days after our first coming thither. The morrow after Ascension-day I gave sentence therein; 'How that it was indispensable for the Pope to license any such marriage.'"—Strype's Corrections.

May the archbishop sat in court, and the king appeared by proxy, but the queen appeared not. Upon which she was declared *contumax*, and a second citation was issued out, and after that a third: but she intended not to appear, and so she was finally declared *contumax*. Then the evidences that had been brought before the legates, of the consummation of the marriage with prince Arthur, were read. After that the determinations of the universities, and divines, and canonists, were also produced and read. Then the judgments of the convocations of both provinces were also read, with many other instruments, and the whole merits of the cause were opened. Upon which after many sessions, on the 23rd of May, sentence was given with the advice of all that were there present, declaring it only to have been a marriage *de facto*, but not *de jure*, pronouncing it null from the beginning. One thing is to be observed, that the archbishop in the sentence is called the legate of the apostolic see. Whether this went of course as one of his titles, or was put in to make the sentence firmer, the reader may judge. Sentence being given, the archbishop with all the rest returned to London; and five days after on the 28th of May, at Lambeth, by another judgment, he in general words (no reasons being given in the sentence) confirmed the king's marriage with the new queen Anne, and the 1st of June she was crowned queen.

Collect. Numb. 47.

When this great business, which had been so long in agitation, was thus concluded, it was variously censured as men stood affected. Some approved the king's proceedings as canonical and just, since so many authorities, which in the interval of a general council were all that could be had (except the pope be believed infallible), had concurred to strengthen the cause; and his own clergy had upon a full and long examination judged it on his side. Others, who in the main agreed to the divorce, did very much dislike the king's second marriage before the first was dissolved; for they thought it against the common course of law to break any marriage without a public sentence; and since one of the chief politic reasons that was made use of in this suit was to settle the succession of the crown, this did embroil it more, since there was a fair colour given to except to the validity of the second marriage, because it was contracted before the first was annulled. But to this, others answered, that the first marriage being judged by the interpreters of the doctrine of the church to have been null from the beginning, there was no need of any sentence, but only for form. And all concluded it had been better there had been no sentence at all than one so late. Some excepted to the archbishop of Canterbury's being judge, who by his former writings and disputes had declared himself partial. But to this it was answered, that when a man changes his character, all that he did in another figure is no just exception: so judges decide causes in which they formerly gave counsel; and popes are not bound to the opinions they held when they were divines or canonists. It was also said, that the archbishop did only declare in legal form that which was already judged by the whole convocation of both provinces. Some wondered at the pope's stiffness, that would put so much to hazard, when there wanted not as good colours to justify a bull as they had made use of to excuse many other things. But the emperor's greatness, and the fear of giving the Lutherans advantages in disputing the pope's authority, were on the other hand so prevalent considerations, that no wonder they wrought much on a pope who pretended to no other knowledge but that of policy; for he had often said, he understood not the matter, and therefore left it in other men's hands. All persons excused queen Katharine for standing so stiffly to her ground; only her denying so confidently that prince Arthur consummated the marriage, seems not capable of an excuse. Everybody admired queen Anne's conduct, who had managed such a king's spirit so long, and had neither surfeited him with great freedom, nor provoked him by the other extreme: for the king, who was extremely nice in these matters, conceived still a higher opinion of her; and her being so soon with child after the marriage, as it made people conclude she had been chaste till then, so they hoped for a blessing upon it, since there were such early appearances of issue. Those that favoured the reformation expected better days under her protection, for they knew she favoured them. But those who were in their hearts for the established religion, did much dislike it; and many of the clergy, especially the orders of monks and friars, condemned it both in their sermons and discourses.

The Censures passed at that time.



But the king, little regarding the censures of the vulgar, sent ambassadors to all the courts of Europe to give notice of his new marriage, and to justify it by some of those reasons which have been opened in the former parts of this history. He also sent the lord Mountjoy to the divorced queen to let her know what was done, and that she was no more to be treated as queen, but as princess dowager. He was to mix promises with threatenings, particularly concerning her daughters being put next the queen's issue in succession. But the afflicted queen would not yield, and said she would not damn her soul, nor submit to such an infamy: that she was his wife, and would never call herself by any other name, whatever might follow on it, since the process still depended at Rome. That lord having written a relation of what had passed between him and her, showed it to her; but she dashed with a pen all those places in which she was called princess dowager; and would receive no service at any one's hands but of those who called her queen: and she continued to be still served as queen by all about her. Against which, though the king used all the endeavours he could, not without both threatening and violence to some of the servants, yet he could never drive her from it: and what he did in that was thought far below that height of mind which appeared in his other actings; for since he had stripped her of the real greatness of a queen, it seemed too much to vex her for keeping up the pageantry of it.

Cott. Lib. Otho, c. 10.

But the news of this made great impressions elsewhere. The emperor received the king's justification very coldly, and said he would consider what he was to do upon it, which was looked on as a declaration of war. The French king, though he expressed still great friendship to the king, yet was now resolved to link himself to the pope; for the crafty pope apprehending that nothing made the king of England so confident, as that he knew his friendship was necessary to the French king, and fearing they had resolved to proceed at once to the putting down the papal authority in their kingdoms, (which it appeared they had once agreed to do,) resolved by all means to make sure of the French king, which as it would preserve that kingdom in his obedience, so would perhaps frighten the king of England from proceeding to such extremities; since that prince in whose conjunction he trusted so much had forsaken him: therefore the pope did so vigorously pursue the treaty with Francis that it was as good as ended at this time, and an interview was projected between them at Marseilles. The pope did also grant him so great power over his own clergy, that he could scarce have expected more if he had set up a patriarch in France; so that Francis did resolve to go on in the designs which had been concerted between him and the king of England no further; but still he considered his alliance so much, that he promised to use his most effectual intercession with the pope to prevent all censures and bulls against the king; and if it were possible, to bring the matter to an amicable conclusion. And the emperor was not ill-pleased to see France and England divided. Therefore though he had at first opposed the treaty between the pope and Francis, yet afterwards he was not troubled that it took effect, hoping that it would disunite those two kings, whose conjunction had been so troublesome to him.

The Pope unites himself to the French King,

But when the news was brought to Rome of what was done in England, with which it was also related that books were coming out against the pope's supremacy, all the cardinals of the imperial faction pressed the pope to give a definitive sentence and to proceed to censures against the king. But the more moderate cardinals thought, England was not to be thrown away with such precipitation: and therefore a temper was found, that a sentence should be given upon what had been attempted in England by the archbishop of Canterbury, (which in the style of the canon law were called the *Attentates*,) for it was pretended that the matter depending in the court of Rome, by the queen's appeal and the other steps that had been made, it was not in the archbishop's power to proceed to any sentence. Therefore in general it was declared, that all that had been attempted or done in England about the king's suit of divorce was null, and that the king by such attempts was liable to excommunication, unless he put things again in the state they were in, and that before September next, and that then they would proceed further; and this sentence was affixed in Dunkirk soon after.

and condemns the king's proceedings in England.

The king resolving to follow the thing as far as it was possible, sent a great embassy to Francis, who was then on his journey to Marseilles, to dissuade the interview and marriage

till the pope gave the king satisfaction. But the French king was engaged in honour to go forward; yet he protested he would do all that lay in his power to compose the matter, and that he would take any injury that were done to the king as highly as if it were done to himself; and he desired the king would send some to Marseilles, who thereupon sent Gardiner and sir Francis Brian.

But at this time the queen brought forth a daughter, who was christened Elizabeth, (the renowned queen of England,) the archbishop of Canterbury being her godfather. She was soon after declared princess of Wales; though lawyers thought that against law, for she was only heir presumptive but not apparent to the crown, since a son coming after, he must be preferred. Yet the king would justify what he had done in his marriage with all possible respect, and having before declared the lady Mary princess of Wales, he did now the same in favour of the lady Elizabeth.

Queen Elizabeth born, Sept. 7.

The interview between the pope and the French king was at Marseilles in October, where the marriage was made up between the duke of Orleans and Katharine de Medici; to whom, besides 100,000 crowns portion, the principality of many towns in Italy, as Milan, Reggio, Pisa, Leghorn, Parma, and Piacenza, and the duchy of Urbino, were given. To the former, the pope pretended in the right of the popedom, and to the last in the right of the house of Medici. But the French king was to clear all those titles by his sword. As for the king's business, the pope referred it to the consistory. But it seems there was a secret transaction, between him and Francis, that if the king would in all other things return to his wonted obedience to the apostolic see, and submit the matter to the judgment of the consistory, (excepting only to the cardinals of the imperial faction as partial and incompetent judges,) the decision should be made to his heart's content. This I collect from what will afterwards appear. The king upon the sentence that was passed against him sent Bonner to Marseilles, who procuring an audience of the pope, delivered to him the authentic instrument of the king's appeal from him to the next general council lawfully called. At this the pope was much incensed, but said he would consider of it in consistory; and having consulted about it there, he answered that the appeal was unlawful, and therefore he rejected it; and for a general council, the calling of it belonged to him, and not to the king. About the same time the archbishop of Canterbury being threatened with a process from Rome, put in also his appeal to the next general council. Upon which Bonner delivered the threatenings that he was ordered to make with so much vehemency and fury, that the pope talked of throwing him in a cauldron of melted lead, or of burning him alive; and he apprehending some danger made his escape. About the middle of November the interview ended, the pope returning to Rome, and the French king to Paris, a firm alliance being established between them. But upon the duke of Orleans marrying the pope's niece I shall add one observation that will neither be unpleasant nor impertinent. The duke of Orleans was then but fourteen years and nine months old, being born on the last of March 1518, and yet was believed to have consummated his marriage the very first night after: so the pope's historians tell us with much triumph; though they represented that improbable, if not impossible, in prince Arthur, who was nine months older when he died.

An interview between the Pope and French King at Marseilles.

The Pope promises to give sentence for the King of England's Divorce.

Fidel. serv. Infid. subdit. Responsio.

Bzovius.

Upon the French king's return from Marseilles, the bishop of Paris was sent over to the king; which (as may be reasonably collected) followed upon some agreement made at Marseilles, and he prevailed with the king to submit the whole matter to the pope and the consistory, on such terms that the imperialists should not be allowed a voice, because they were parties, being in the emperor's power. None that has observed the genius of this king can think that after he had proceeded so far, he would have made this submission without very good assurances; and if there had not been great grounds to expect good effects from it, the bishop of Paris would not in the middle of winter have undertaken a journey from England to Rome. But the king, it seems, would not abase himself so far as to send any submission in writing till he had fuller assurances. The lord Herbert has published a letter (which he transcribed from the original, written by the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham, to the king the 11th of May

The French King prevails with the King of England to submit to the Pope,



1534), giving an account of a conference they had with queen Katharine; in which, among other motives they used, this was one, to persuade her to comply with what the king had done: "that the pope had said at Marseilles, that if the king would send a proxy to Rome, he would give the cause for him against the queen, because he knew his cause was good and just." Which is a great presumption that the pope did really give some engagements to the French king about the king's business.

When the bishop of Paris came to Rome, the motion was liked; and it was promised, that if the king sent a promise of that under his hand, with an order to his proxies to appear in court, there should be judges sent to Cambray to form the process, and then the matter should be determined for him at Rome. This was sent to the king, with the notice of the day that was prefixed for the return of his answer, and with other motives which must have been very great, since they prevailed so much. For in answer there was a courier despatched from the king, with a formal promise under his hand. And now the matter seemed at a point, the French interest was great in the court of Rome; four new cardinals had been made at Marseilles, and there were six of that faction before, which, with the pope's creatures, and the indifferent or venal voices, balanced the imperial faction, so that a wound that was looked on as fatal was now almost healed. But God in his wise and unsearchable providence had designed to draw other great ends out of this rupture, and therefore suffered them that were the most concerned to hinder it to be the chief instruments of driving it on. For the cardinals of the imperial faction were now very active; they liked not the precedent of excluding the cardinals of the nations concerned out of any business. But above all things, they were to hinder a conjunction between the pope and the king of England; for the pope being then allied to France, there was nothing the emperor feared more than the closing the breach with England, which would make the union against him so much stronger. Therefore when the day that had been prefixed for the return of the courier from England was elapsed, they all pressed the pope to proceed to a sentence definitive and to censures. Bellay the bishop of Paris represented the injustice of proceeding with so much precipitation, since where there were seas to cross, in such a season, many accidents might occasion the delay of the express. The king of England had followed this suit six years, and had patience so long; therefore he desired the delay of six days, and if in that time no return came, they might proceed. But the imperialists represented that those were only delays to gain time; and that the king of England was still proceeding in his contempt of the apostolic see and of the cardinals, and publishing books and libels against them. This so wrought on the angry pope, that without consulting his ordinary prudence, he brought the business into the consistory, where the plurality of voices carried it to proceed to a sentence. And though the process had been carried on all that winter in their usual forms, yet it was not so ripe but by the rules of the consistory there ought to have been three sessions before sentence was given. But they concluded all in one day; and so on the 23rd of March, the marriage between the king and queen Katharine was declared good, and the king required to take her as his wife, otherwise censures were to be denounced against him.

which was well received at Rome.

Hist. Council of Trent by Padre Paulo.

but the Imperialists opposed it,

and with great precipitation procure a sentence against the King.

Two days after that, the courier arrived from England with the king's submission, under his hand in due form, and earnest letters from the French king to have it accepted, that so the business might be composed. When this was known at Rome, all the indifferent and wise cardinals (among whom was Farnese, that was afterwards pope Paul III.) came to the pope, and desired that it might be again considered before it went further. So it was brought again into the consistory. But the secret reason of the imperialists opposing it was now more pressing, since there was such an appearance of a settlement if the former sentence were once recalled. Therefore they so managed the matter that it was confirmed anew by the pope and the consistory, and they ordered the emperor to execute the sentence.

The king was now in so good hope of his business, that he sent sir Edward Karne to Rome to prosecute his suit, who on his way thither met the bishop of Paris coming back with this melancholic account of his unprosperous negotiation. When the king heard it, and understood that he was used with so much

The King resolves to abolish the Pope's power in England,

scorn and contempt at Rome, being also the more vexed because he had come to such a submission, he resolved then to break totally from Rome. And in this he was beforehand with that court; for judging it the best way to procure a peace, to manage the war vigorously, he had held a session of parliament from the 15th of January till the 30th of March, in which he had procured a great change of the whole constitution of the government of the church. But before I give an account of that, I shall first open all the arguments and reasons upon which I find they proceeded in this matter.

The pope's power had been then for four years together much examined and disputed in England; in which they went by these steps, one leading to another.—They first controverted his power of dispensing with the law of God. From that they went to examine what jurisdiction he had in England, upon which followed the convicting the clergy of a premunire with their submission to the king. And that led them to controvert the pope's right to annates, and other exactions, which they also condemned. The condemning all appeals to Rome followed that naturally. And now so many branches of that power were cut off, the root was next struck at, and the foundations of the papal authority were examined. For near a year together there had been many public debates about it; and both in the parliament and convocation the thing was long disputed, and all that could be alleged on both sides was considered. The reader will be best able to judge of their reasons (and thereby of the ripeness of their judgments when they enacted the laws that passed in this parliament) when he sees a full account of them, which I shall next set down, not drawn from the writings and apologies that have been published since, but from these that came out about that time. For then were written the Institution for "The Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man," concluded in the convocation, and published by authority; and another book, "De Differentia Regiæ et Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis." The former of these was called the bishops', and the latter the king's, book *. Gardiner also wrote a book, "De vera Obedientia," to which Bonner prefixed a preface upon the same subject. Stokesly bishop of London, and Tonstal bishop of Durham, wrote a long letter in defence of the king's proceedings in this matter to cardinal Pole: from these writings, and the sermons preached by some bishops at this time, with other authentic pieces, I have extracted the substance of the arguments upon which they grounded their laws, which I shall divide in two heads. The one, of the reasons for rejecting the pope's pretended power; the other, for setting up the king's supremacy, with the explanations and limitations of it.

which had been much disputed there.

Pelerine Inglese.

Hall.

First, of the pope's power, they declared, that "they found no ground for it in the Scripture. All the apostles were made equal by Christ when he committed the church to their care in common. And he did often declare, there was no superiority of one above another. St. Paul claimed an equality with the chief apostles, both Peter, James, and John; and when he thought St. Peter blameworthy, he withstood him to his face. But whatsoever pre-eminence St. Peter might have, that was only personal, and there was no reason to affix it to his chair at Rome more than at Antioch. But if any see be to be preferred before another, it should be Jerusalem, where Christ died, and out of which the faith was propagated over all nations, Christ commanding his disciples to begin their preaching in it; so that it was truly the mother church, and is so called by St. Paul; whereas in the Scripture, Rome is called Babylon, according to Tertullian and St. Jerome.

The Arguments upon which it was rejected.

"For the places brought from Scripture in favour of the papacy, they judged that they did not prove anything for it. That 'Thou art Peter,' and 'Upon this rock I will build my church,' if it prove anything in this matter, would prove too much; even that the church

* The order in which these books were published is not observed; they were thus printed.

1. De Vera Differentia Regiæ Potestatis et Ecclesiasticæ (written by Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford), 1534.

2. De Vera Obedientia, (by Stephen Gardiner,) 1535. Set out with Bonner's preface before it, Jan. 1536.

3. The Institution of a Christian Man, 1537, which was afterwards reduced into another form, under another title, viz. A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, 1540.

But there was another written before all these, "De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis Ecclesiis contra Pontificis Tyrannidem;" and the distinction there made between the bishops' book and the king's book seems not well applied. It is more probable that "The Institution of a Christian Man," set out by the bishops, was called their book; and that being afterwards put in another method, and set out by the king's authority, it was called his book. —Fulman's Corrections.



was founded on St. Peter, as he was a private person, and so on the popes in their personal capacity. But both St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Austin, think, that by the rock, the confession he had made was only to be meant. Others of the fathers thought, by the rock, Christ himself was meant, who is the only true foundation of the church; though in another sense all the apostles are also called foundations by St. Paul. That 'Tell the church' is thought by Gerson and Æneas Silvius (afterwards pope Pius II.) rather to make against the pope and for a general council. And the fathers have generally followed St. Chrysostom and St. Austin, who thought that the giving of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the charge 'Feed my sheep,' were addressed to St. Peter in behalf of all the rest of the apostles. And that 'I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not,' was only personal, and related to his fall, which was then imminent. It is also clear by St. Paul, that every apostle had his peculiar province, beyond which he was not to stretch himself; and St. Peter's province was the circumcision, and his the uncircumcision, in which he plainly declares his equality with him.

"This was also clear from the constant tradition of the church. St. Cyprian was against appeals to Rome, and would not submit to pope Stephen's definition in the point of re-baptising of heretics; and expressly says 'that all the apostles were equal in power, and that all the bishops were also equal, since the whole office and episcopate was one entire thing, of which every bishop had a complete and equal share.' And though some places are brought out of him concerning the unity of the Roman church, and of other churches with it, yet those places have no relation to any authority that the Roman church had over other churches, but were occasioned by a schism that Novatian had made there at Rome, being elected in opposition to the bishop that was rightly chosen: and of that unity only St. Cyprian writes in those places. But from all his epistles to the bishops of Rome, it is visible he looked on himself as their equal, since he calls them brother, colleague, and fellow-bishop. And whatsoever is said by any ancient writer of St. Peter's chair, is to be understood of the pure gospel which he delivered; as St. Austin observes, that by Moses' chair is to be understood the delivering of Moses' law. But though St. Peter sate there, the succeeding popes have no more right to pretend to such authority than the kings of Spain to claim the Roman empire, because he that is now their king is emperor. When Constantine turned Christian, the dignity of the chief city of the empire made Rome to be accounted the first see; but by the general council of Nice it was declared that the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch had the same authority over the countries round about them, that he of Rome had over those that lay about that city. It is true, at that time, the Arian heresy having spread generally over the Eastern churches, from which the Western were free, the oppressed catholic bishops of the East made appeals to Rome, and extolled that see by a natural maxim in all men, who magnify that from which they have protection. But the second general council took care that that should not grow a precedent; for they decreed that every province should be governed by its own synod, and that bishops, when they were accused, must first be judged by the bishops of their own province, and from them they might appeal to the bishops of the diocese, but no higher appeal was allowed: and by that council it appears what was the foundation of the greatness of the bishop of Rome; for when Constantinople was made the seat of the empire and new Rome, it had the same privileges that old Rome had, and was set next to it in order and dignity. In a council at Milevi, in which St. Austin sate, they appointed that every clerk that should appeal to any bishop beyond the sea should be excommunicated. And when Faustianus was sent by the pope to the African churches, to claim the right of receiving appeals, and pretended a canon of the council of Nice for it, the pretension was rejected by the African fathers, who acknowledged no such right, and had never heard of that canon. Upon which they sent to the Eastern churches, and search was everywhere made for the copies of the canons of that council, but it was found that it was a forgery. From whence two things were observable: the one, that the church in that age had no tradition of any divine institution for the authority of that see, since, as the popes, who claimed it, never pretended to any such thing; so the African bishops, by their rejecting that power, show that they knew nothing of any divine warrant, all the contest being only about a canon of the church. It also appeared how early

the church of Rome aspired to power, and did not stick at making use of forged writings to support it. But pope Agatho, more modestly writing to the emperor in his own name, and in the name of all the synods that were subject to his see, calls them a few bishops in the northern and western parts. When afterwards the patriarch of Constantinople was declared by the emperor Mauritius the universal bishop, Gregory the Great did exclaim against the ambition of that title, as being equal to the pride of Lucifer, and declared that he who assumed it was the forerunner of antichrist; saying, that none of his predecessors had ever claimed such a power. And this was the more observable since the English were converted by those whom he sent over; so that this was the doctrine of that see when this church received the faith from it.

"But it did not continue long within those limits; for Boniface III. assumed that title upon the grant of Phocas. And as that Boniface got the spiritual sword put in his hand, so the eighth of that name pretended also to the temporal sword; but they owe these powers to the industry of those popes, and not to any donation of Christ's. The popes, when they are consecrated, promise to obey the canons of the eight first general councils, which, if they observe, they will receive no appeals, nor pretend to any higher jurisdiction than these give to them, and the other patriarchs equally.

"As for the decrees of latter councils, they are of less authority: for those councils consisted of monks and friars in great part, whose exemptions obtained from Rome obliged them to support the authority of that court; and those who sate in them knew little of the Scriptures, fathers, or the tradition of the church, being only conversant in the disputes and learning of the schools. And for the Florentine council, the Eastern churches, who sent the Greek bishops that sate there, never received their determination, neither then, nor at any time since.

"Many places were also brought out of the fathers, to show that they did not look on the bishops of Rome as superior to other bishops; and that they understood not those places of Scripture which were afterwards brought for the pope's supremacy in that sense; so that if tradition be the best expounder of Scripture, those latter glosses must give place to the more ancient. But that passage of St. Jerome, in which he equals the bishops of Eugubium and Constantinople to the bishop of Rome, was much made use of, since he was a presbyter of Rome, and so likely to understand the dignity of his own church best. There were many things brought from the contests that other sees had with Rome, to show that all the privileges of that and other sees were only founded on the practice and canons of the church, but not upon any divine warrant. Constantinople pretended to equal privileges. Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileia, pretended to a patriarchal dignity and exemption. Some archbishops of Canterbury contended that popes could do nothing against the laws of the church; so Laurence and Dunstan. Robert Grosteste, bishop of Lincoln, asserted the same, and many popes confessed it. And to this day no constitution of the popes is binding in any church, except it be received by it; and in the daily practice of the canon law, the customs of churches are pleaded against papal constitutions, which shows their authority cannot be from God, otherwise all must submit to their laws. And from the latter contests, up and down Europe, about giving investitures, receiving appeals, admitting of legates, and papal constitutions, it was apparent that the papal authority was a tyranny, which had been managed by cruel and fraudulent arts, but was never otherwise received in the church than as a conquest to which they were constrained to yield. And this was more fully made out in England, from what passed in William the Conqueror and Henry II.'s time, and by the statutes of provisors in many kings' reigns, which were still renewed till within a hundred years of the present time."

Upon these grounds they concluded, that the pope's power in England had no foundation, neither in the law of God, nor in the laws of the church or of the land.

The Arguments for the King's Supremacy.

From the old Testament,

As for the king's power over spiritual persons, and in spiritual causes, they proved it from the Scriptures. In the old Testament, "they found the kings of Israel intermeddled in all matters ecclesiastical. Samuel, though he had been judge, yet acknowledged Saul's authority: so also did Abimelech the high priest, and appeared before him when cited to answer upon an accusation. And Samuel, 1 Sam. xv. 18, says, he was made the head of all the tribes. Aaron, in that, was an example to all the following high-priests who submitted to Moses. David made many laws about sacred things, such as the order of the courses of the priests and their worship; and when he was dying, he declared to Solomon how far his authority extended. He told him, (1 Chron. xxviii. 21,) 'that the courses of the priests and all the people were to be wholly at his commandment:' pursuant to which Solomon, (2 Chron. viii. 14, 15,) did appoint them 'their charges in the service of God, and both the priests and Levites departed not from his commandment in any matter:' and though he had turned out Abiathar from the high-priesthood, yet they made no opposition. Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josias, made likewise laws about ecclesiastical matters.



"In the New Testament Christ himself was obedient; he paid taxes, he declared that he pretended to no earthly kingdom; he charged the people to 'render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's,' and his disciples not to affect temporal dominion, as the lords of the nations did. And though the magistrates were then heathens, yet the apostles wrote to the churches to obey magistrates, to submit to them, to pay taxes; they call the king supreme, and say he is God's minister to encourage them that do well, and to punish the evil doers, which is said of all persons without exception, and every soul is charged to be subject to the higher power.

and the new.

"Many passages were cited out of the writings of the fathers, to show that they thought churchmen were included in these places as well as other persons, so that the tradition of the church was for the king's supremacy: and by one place of Scripture the king is called supreme, by another he is called head, and by a third every soul must be subject to him; which laid together make up this conclusion, that the king is the supreme head over all persons. In the primitive church the bishops in their councils made rules for ordering their dioceses, which they only called canons or rules, nor had they any compulsive authority but what was derived from the civil sanctions.

And the practices of the primitive Church.

"After the emperors were Christians, they made many laws about sacred things, as may be seen in the Codes; and when Justinian digested the Roman law, he added many novel constitutions about ecclesiastical persons and causes. The emperors called general councils, presided in them, and confirmed them. And many letters were cited of popes to emperors, to call councils, and of the councils to them to confirm their decrees. The election of the popes themselves was sometimes made by the emperors, and sometimes confirmed by them. Pope Adrian in a synod decreed, that the emperor should choose the pope; and it was a late and unheard-of thing before the days of Gregory VII. for popes to pretend to depose princes and give away their dominions. This they compared to the pride of antichrist and Lucifer.

And from Reason.

"They also argued from reason, that there must be but one supreme; and that the king being supreme over all his subjects, clergymen must be included, for they are still subjects. Nor can their being in orders change that former relation, founded upon the law of nature and nations, no more than wives or servants by becoming Christians were not, according to the doctrine of the apostles, discharged from the duties of their former relations.

"For the great objection from those offices that are peculiar to their functions, it was answered, that these notwithstanding, the king might well be the supreme head; for in the natural body, there were many vital motions that proceeded not from the head, but from the heart, and the other inward parts and vessels; and yet the head was still the chief seat and root of life: so though there be peculiar functions appropriated to churchmen, yet the king is still head, having authority over them, and a power to direct and coerce them in these.

And from the Laws of England.

"From that they proceeded to show, that in England the kings have always assumed a supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. They began with the most ancient writing that relates to the Christian religion in England then extant, pope Eleutherius' letter to king Lucius, in which he is twice called by him God's vicar in his kingdom, and he writ in it, that it belonged to his office to bring his subjects to the holy church, and to maintain, protect, and govern them in it. Many laws were cited, which Canutus

Ethelred, Edgar, Edmond, Athelstan, and Ina, had enacted concerning churchmen, many more laws since the conquest were also made, both against appeals to Rome, and bishops going out of the kingdom without the king's leave.

"The whole business of the articles of Clarendon, and the contests that followed between king Henry II. and Thomas-a-Becket, were also opened. And though a bishop's pastoral care be of divine institution, yet as the kings of England had divided bishopries as they pleased, so they also converted benefices from the institution of the founders, and gave them to cloisters and monasteries as king Edgar did; all which was done by the consent of their clergy and nobility, without dependence on Rome; they had also granted these houses exemption from episcopal jurisdiction; so Ina exempted Glastonbury, and Offa St. Albans, from their bishop's visitation; and this continued even till the days of William the Conqueror, for he, to perpetuate the memory of the victory he obtained over Harold, and to endear himself to the clergy, founded an abbey in the field where the battle was fought, and called it Battle Abbey, and in the charter he granted them these words are to be found,—'It shall be also free and quiet for ever from all subjection to bishops, or the dominion of any other persons, as Christ's church in Canterbury is.' Many other things were brought out of king Alfred's laws, and a speech of king Edgar's, with several letters written to the popes from the kings, the parliaments, and the clergy of England, to show that their kings did always make laws about sacred matters, and that their power reached to that, and to the persons of churchmen, as well as to their other subjects."

The Qualification of that Supremacy.

But at the same time that they pleaded so much for the king's supremacy and power of making laws for restraining and coercing his subjects, it appeared that they were far from vesting him with such an absolute power as the popes had pretended to, for they thus defined the extent of the king's power. "To them specially and principally it pertaineth to defend the faith of Christ and his religion, to conserve and maintain the true doctrine of Christ, and all such as be true preachers and setters forth thereof; and to abolish abuses, heresies, and idolatries, and to punish with corporal pains such as of malice be the occasion of the same. And finally to oversee and cause that the said bishops and priests do execute their pastoral office truly and faithfully, and specially in these points, which by Christ and his apostles was given and committed to them; and in case they shall be negligent in any part thereof, or would not diligently execute the same, to cause them to redouble and supply their lack: and if they obstinately withstand their prince's kind monition, and will not amend their faults, then and in such case to put others in their rooms and places. And God hath also commanded the said bishops and priests to obey with all humbleness and reverence both kings, and princes, and governors, and all their laws; not being contrary to the laws of God, whatsoever they be; and that not only *propter iram* but also *propter conscientiam*, that is to say, not only for fear of punishment, but also for discharge of conscience."

Necessary Erudition upon the Sacrament of Orders.

Thus it appears, that they both limited obedience to the king's laws, with the due caution of their not being contrary to the law of God, and acknowledged the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the discharge of the pastoral office, committed to the pastors of the church by Christ and his apostles; and that the supremacy then pretended to was no such extravagant power as some imagine.

The necessity of extirpating the Pope's Power.

Upon the whole matter it was concluded, "that the pope's power in England had no good foundation, and had been managed with as much tyranny as it had begun with usurpation, the exactions of their courts were everywhere heavy, but in no place so intolerable as in England; and though many complaints were made of them in these last three hundred years, yet they got no ease, and all the laws about provisors were still defeated and made ineffectual; therefore they saw it was impossible to moderate their proceedings; so that there was no other remedy but to extirpate their pretended authority, and thenceforth to acknowledge the pope only bishop of Rome, with the jurisdiction about it defined by the ancient canons: and for the king to reassume his own authority, and the prerogatives of his crown, from which the kings of England had never formally departed, though they had for this last hundred years connived at an invasion and usurpation upon them, which was no longer to be endured."



These were the grounds of casting off the pope's power, that had been for two or three years studied and inquired into by all the learned men in England; and had been debated both in convocation and parliament, and except Fisher bishop of Rochester I do not find that any bishop appeared for the pope's power; and for the abbots and priors, as they were generally very ignorant, so what the cardinal had done in suppressing some monasteries, and what they now heard, that the court had an eye on their lands, made them to be as compliant as could be. But Fisher was a man of great reputation and very ancient, so that much pains was taken to satisfy him. A week before the parliament sat down, the archbishop of Canterbury proposed to him that he and any five doctors such as he should choose, and the bishop of London, and five doctors with him, might confer about it, and examine the authorities of both sides, that so there might be an agreement among them, by which the scandal might be removed, which otherwise would be taken from their janglings and contests among themselves. Fisher accepted of this, and Stokesly wrote to him on the 8th of January, that he was ready whenever the other pleased, and desired him to name time and place, and if they could not agree the matter among themselves, he moved to refer it to two learned men whom they should choose, in whose determination they would both acquiesce. How far this overture went I cannot discover, and perhaps Fisher's sickness hindered the progress of it. But now on the 15th of January the parliament sat down; by the journals I find no other bishops present but the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, Llandaff, and Carlisle. There were also twelve abbots present, but upon what pretences the rest excused their attendance I do not know; perhaps some made a difference between submitting to what was done, and being active and concurring to make the change. During the session a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's-cross, and declared to the people that the pope had no authority at all in England. In the two former sessions the bishops had preached that the general council was above the pope, but now they struck a note higher. This was done to let the people see what justice and reason was in the acts that were then passing, to which I now turn, and shall next give an account of this great session of parliament, which I shall put rather in the natural method according to the matter of the acts than in the order of time as they passed.

Pains taken to satisfy Fisher about it.

The Original is in the Cott. Lib. Otho, C. 10.

On the 9th of March a bill came up from the commons for discharging the subjects of all dependence on the court of Rome, it was read the first time in the house of lords the 13th of March, and on the 14th was read the second time and committed. The committee reported it on the 19th, by which it appears there was no stiff nor long opposition, and he that was likest to make it was both obnoxious and absent, as will afterwards appear. On the 19th it was read the third time, and on the 20th the fourth time, and then passed without any protestation. Some provisoes were added to it by the lords, to which the commons agreed, and so it was made ready for the royal assent.

Journal Procer.

In the preamble the intolerable exactions for Peter-pence, provisions, pensions, and bulls of all sorts, are complained of, "which were contrary to all laws, and grounded only on the pope's power of dispensing, which was usurped. But the king and the lords and commons within his own realm had only power to consider how any of the laws were to be dispensed with or abrogated; and since the king was acknowledged the supreme head of the church of England by the prelates and clergy in their convocations, therefore it was enacted that all payments made to the apostolic chamber, and all provisions, bulls, or dispensations, should from thenceforth cease. But that all dispensations or licences for things that were not contrary to the law of God but only to the law of the land, should be granted within the kingdom, by and under the seals of the two archbishops in their several provinces, who should not presume to grant any contrary to the laws of Almighty God, and should only grant such licences as had been formerly in use to be granted, but give no licence for any new thing till it were first examined by the king and his council whether such things might be dispensed with; and that all dispensations which were formerly taxed at or above 4*l.* should be also confirmed under the great seal. Then many clauses follow about the rates of licences

The Act for taking away the Pope's power.

It is the Act 21 in the Statute Book, 27 in the Record, and 8 in the Journal.

and the ways of procuring them. It was also declared, that they did not hereby intend to vary from Christ's church about the articles of the catholic faith of Christendom, or in any other things declared by the Scriptures, and the word of God necessary for their salvation, confirming withal the exemptions of monasteries formerly granted by the bishop of Rome, exempting them still from the archbishop's visitations: declaring that such abbeys whose elections were formerly confirmed by the pope, shall be now confirmed by the king; who likewise shall give commission under his great seal for visiting them, providing also that licences and other writs obtained from Rome before the 12th of March in that year should be valid and in force, except they were contrary to the laws of the realm; giving also to the king and his council power to order and reform all indulgences and privileges (or the abuses of them) which had been granted by the see of Rome." The offenders against this act were to be punished according to the statutes of provisors and præmunire.

This act, as it gave great ease to the subject, so it cut off that base trade of indulgences about divine laws, which had been so gainful to the church of Rome, but was of late fatal to it. All in the religious houses saw their privileges now struck at, since they were to be reformed as the king saw cause, which put them in no small confusion. Those that favoured the reformation rejoiced at this act, not only because the pope's power was rooted out, but because the faith that was to be adhered to was to be taken from those things which the Scriptures declared necessary to salvation; so that all their fears were now much qualified, since the Scripture was to be the standard of the catholic faith. On the same day that this bill passed in the house of lords, another bill was read for confirming the succession to the crown in the issue of the king's present marriage with queen Anne. It was read the second time on the 21st of March, and committed. It was reported on the 23rd, and read the third time and passed, and sent down to the commons, who sent it back again to them on the 26th, so speedily did this bill go through both houses without any opposition.

The Judgments passed on that Act.

The preamble of it was, "the distractions that had been in England about the succession to the crown, which had occasioned the effusion of much blood, with many other mischiefs, all which flowed from the want of a clear decision of the true title, from which the popes had usurped a power of investing such as pleased them in other princes' kingdoms, and princes had often maintained such donations for their other ends; therefore to avoid the like inconveniences, the king's former marriage with the princess Katharine is judged contrary to the laws of God, and void and of no effect, and the sentence passed by the archbishop of Canterbury annulling it is confirmed, and the lady Katharine is thenceforth to be reputed only princess dowager and not queen, and the marriage with queen Anne is established and confirmed; and marriages within the degrees prohibited by Moses (which are enumerated in the statute) are declared to be unlawful, according to the judgment of the convocations of this realm, and of the most famous universities and learned men abroad, any dispensations to the contrary notwithstanding, which are also declared null, since contrary to the laws of God; and all that were married within these degrees are appointed to be divorced, and the children begotten in such marriages were declared illegitimate: and all the issue that should be between the king and the present queen is declared lawful, and the crown was to descend on his issue male by her, or any other wife; or in default of issue male, to the issue female by the queen; and in default of any such, to the right heirs of the king's highness for ever: and any that after the 1st of May should maliciously divulge anything to the slander of the king's marriage, or of the issue begotten in it, were to be adjudged for misprision of treason, and to suffer imprisonment at the king's will, and forfeit all their goods and chattels to him; and if the queen outlived the king, she is declared regent till the issue by her were of age, if a son eighteen, and if a daughter sixteen years of age; and all the king's subjects were to swear that they would maintain the contents of this act, and whoever being required did refuse it, was to be judged guilty of misprision of treason, and punished accordingly." The oath it seems was likewise agreed on in the house of lords, for the form of it is set down in their journal as follows.

Act about the Succession to the Crown, 22 in the Statute Books, 34 in the Record, 26 in the Journal.



"Ye shall swear to bear faith, truth, and obedience alonely to the king's majesty, and to his heirs of his body of his most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife queen Anne, begotten and to be begotten. And further, to the heirs of our said sovereign lord according to the limitation in the statute made for surety of his succession in the crown of this realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other within this realm, nor foreign authority or potentate. And in case any oath be made or hath been made by you to any person or persons, that then ye to repute the same as vain and annihilate. And that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue means, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the said act of succession, and all the whole effects and contents thereof, and all other acts and statutes made in confirmation or for execution of the same, or of anything therein contained. And this ye shall do against all manner of persons of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition soever they be; and in nowise to do or attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apartly, to the let, hindrance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part of the same, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. So help you God, and all saints, and the holy evangelists."

The Oath about the Succession.

And thus was the king's marriage confirmed. But when the commons returned this bill to the lords, they sent them another with it, concerning the proceedings against heretics. There had been complaints made formerly, as was told before, of the severe and intolerable proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts against heretics: and on the 4th of February, the commons sent up a complaint made by one Thomas Philips against the bishop of London, for using him cruelly in prison, upon the suspicion of heresy; but the lords doing nothing in it, on the 1st of March the house of commons sent some of their number to the bishop, requiring him to make answer to the complaints exhibited against him, who acquainted the house of lords with it the next day: but as they had formerly laid aside the complaint as not worthy of their time, so they all with one consent answered, that it was not fit for any of the peers to appear or answer at the bar of the house of commons. Upon this the house of commons finding they could do nothing in that particular case, resolved to provide an effectual remedy for such abuses for the future: and therefore sent up a bill about the punishment of heretics, which was read that day for the first time, and the second and third time on the 27th and 28th, in which it passed.

Journal Procer.

The act was a repeal of the statute of the second of Henry IV., by which bishops upon suspicion of heresy might commit any to prison, as was before told, but in that act there was no declaration made what was heresy, except in the general words of what was contrary to Scriptures, or canonical sanctions. This was liable to great ambiguity, by which men were in much danger, and not sufficiently instructed what was heresy. They also complained of their proceedings, without presentment or accusation, contrary to what was practised in all other cases, even of treason itself; and many canonical sanctions had been established only by popes without any divine precept, therefore they repealed the act of Henry IV., but left the statutes of Richard II. and Henry V. still in force, with the following regulation,—"that heretics should be proceeded against upon presentments, by two witnesses at least, and then be committed, but brought to answer to their indictments in open court; and if they were found guilty, and would not abjure, or were relapse, to be adjudged to death,—the king's writ *de hæretico comburendo* being first obtained. It was also declared, that none should be troubled upon any of the pope's canons or laws, or for speaking or doing against them." It was likewise provided that men committed for heresy might be bailed.

Act about punishing Heretics, 14 in the Statute Book, 33 in the Record, 31 in the Journal.

It may easily be imagined how acceptable this act was to the whole nation, since it was such an effectual limitation of the ecclesiastical power, in one of the uneasiest parts of it; and this regulation of the arbitrary proceedings of the spiritual courts was a particular blessing to all that favoured reformation. But as the parliament was going on with these good laws, there came a submission from the clergy then sitting in convocation, to be passed in parliament. With what opposition it went through the two houses of convocation and the house of commons is not known; for as the registers of the convocation are burnt, so it does not appear that there were any journals kept in the house of commons at that time.

On the 27th of March it was sent up to the lords, and since the spiritual lords had already consented to it, there was no reason to apprehend any opposition from the temporal lords. The session was now near an end, so they made haste and read it twice that day, and the third time the next day, and passed it. The contents of it were: "The clergy acknowledged that all convocations had been and ought to be assembled by the king's writ; and promised, *in verbo sacerdotii*, that they would never make nor execute any new canons or constitutions, without the royal assent to them; and since many canons had been received that were found prejudicial to the king's prerogative, contrary to the laws of the land, and heavy to the subjects, that therefore there should be a committee of thirty-two persons, sixteen of the two houses of parliament, and as many of the clergy to be named by the king, who should have full power to abrogate or confirm canons as they found it expedient,—the king's assent being obtained. This was confirmed by act of parliament; and by the same act all appeals to Rome were again condemned. If any party found themselves aggrieved in the archbishop's courts, an appeal might be made to the king in the court of chancery, and the lord chancellor was to grant a commission under the great seal for some delegates, in whose determination all must acquiesce. All exempted abbots were also to appeal to the king; and it concluded with a proviso, that till such correction of the canons was made, all those which were then received should still remain in force, except such as were contrary to the laws and customs of the realms, or were to the damage or hurt of the king's prerogative."

The Submission made by the Clergy to the King, 19 in the Statute Book, 25 in the Record.

This proviso seemed to have a fair colour that there might still be some canons in force to govern the church by; but since there was no day prefixed to the determination of the commission, this proviso made that the act never took effect; for now it lay in the prerogative, and in the judge's breast, to declare what canons were contrary to the laws, or the rights of the crown: and it was judged more for the king's greatness to keep the matter undetermined, than to make such a collection of ecclesiastical laws as should be fixed and unmovable. The last of the public acts of this session that related to the church was about the election and consecration of bishops. On the 4th of February the commons sent up a bill to the lords about the consecration of bishops; it lay on the table till the 27th of February, and was then cast out, and a new one drawn. On what reason it was cast out is not mentioned, and the journal does not so much as say that it was once read. The new bill had its second reading the 3rd of March, and on the 5th it was ordered to be engrossed; and on the 9th it was read the third time and agreed to, and sent down to the commons, who returned it to the lords on the 16th of March. The first part of it is a confirmation of their former act against annates, to which they added, "that bishops should not be any more presented to the bishop of Rome, or sue out any bulls there, but that all bishops should be presented to the archbishop, and archbishops to any archbishop in the king's dominions, or to any four bishops whom the king should name; and that when any see was vacant, the king was to grant a licence for a new election, with a letter missive bearing the name of the person that was to be chosen; and twelve days after these were delivered, an election was to be returned by the dean and chapter, or prior and convent, under their seals. Then the person elected was to swear fealty to the king, upon which a commission was to be issued out for consecrating and investing him with the usual ceremonies; after which he was to do homage to the king, and be restored both the spiritualities and temporalities of his see, for which the king granted commissions during the vacancy; and whosoever refused to obey the contents of the act, or acted contrary to it, were declared within the statute of premunire."

Journal. Procer.

Act about Election of Bishops, 20 in Statute Book, 25 in the Record.

Collect. Numb. 48.

There passed a private act for depriving the bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, who were cardinal Campegio and Jerome de Ghinuccii; the former deserved greater severities at the king's hand, but the latter seems to have served him faithfully, and was recommended both by the king and the French king about a year before to a cardinal's hat. The preamble of the act bears, "that persons promoted to ecclesiastical benefices ought to reside within the kingdom, for preaching the laws of Almighty God, and for keeping hospitality; and since these prelates did not that, but lived at the court of Rome, and neglected their dioceses, and made the revenues of them be carried out of the kingdoms, contrary to the intentions of the founders and to the prejudice of the realm, 3000*l.* being at least carried yearly out of the kingdom; therefore their dioceses were declared vacant."



But now I come to the act of the attainder of Elizabeth Barton and her accomplices, which I shall open fully, since it was the first step that was made to rebellion, and the first occasion of putting any to death upon this quarrel; and from it one will clearly see the genius of that part of the clergy that adhered to the interests of the court of Rome. On the 21st of February the bill was sent up to the lords, and read the first time; on the 26th it was read the second time, and committed; then the witnesses and other evidences were brought before them, but chiefly she with all her accomplices, who confessed the crimes charged on her. It was reported and read the 6th of March the third time, and then the lords addressed to the king to know his pleasure, whether sir Thomas More, and others mentioned in the act as accomplices, or at least concealers, might not be heard to speak for themselves in the Star-chamber: as for the bishop of Rochester, he was sick, but he had written to the house all that he had to say for his own excuse. What presumptions lay against sir Thomas More I have not been able to find out, only that he wrote a letter to the nun, at which the king took great exceptions, yet it appears he had a mean opinion of her; for in discourse with his beloved daughter, mistress Roper, he called her commonly the silly nun. But for justifying himself, he wrote a full account of all the intercourse he had with the nun and her accomplices to Cromwell; but though by his other printed letters, both to Cromwell and the king, it seems some ill impressions remained in the king's mind about it, he still continued to justify not only his intentions, but his actions in that particular. One thing is not unworthy of observation, that Rastall, who published his works in queen Mary's time, printed the second letter he wrote to Cromwell, yet did not publish that account which he sent first to him concerning it, to which More refers himself in all his following letters; though it is more like a copy of that would have been preserved, than of those other letters that refer to it. But perhaps it was kept up on design; for in queen Mary's time they had a mind to magnify that story of the nun's, since she was thought to have suffered on her mother's account: and among the other things she talked, one was that the lady Mary should one day reign in England,—for which Sanders has since thought fit to make a prophetess of her. And it is certain More had a low opinion of her, which appears in many places of his printed letters; but that would have been much plainer if that full account he wrote of that affair had been published,—and therefore, that one of their martyrs might not lessen the esteem of another, it was fit to suppress it. Whether my conjectures in this be well grounded or not, is left to the reader's judgment. In conclusion, More's justifications, seconded with the good offices that the lord chancellor Audley and Cromwell did him (who, as appears by his letters, stood his friends in that matter), did so work on the king, that his name was put out of the bill,—and so the act was agreed on by both houses, and the royal assent followed. The matter was this: Elizabeth Barton, of Kent, in the parish of Aldington, being sick and distempered in her brain, fell in some trances (it seems by the symptoms they were hysterical fits) and spoke many words that made great impressions on some about her, who thought her inspired of God; and Richard Master, parson of the parish, hoping to draw great advantages from this, went to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and gave him a large account of her speeches, who ordered him to attend her carefully, and bring him a further report of any new trances she might afterwards fall in. But she had forgot all she had said in her fits, yet the crafty priest would not let it go so, but persuaded her that what she had said was by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and that she ought to own that it was so. Upon which he taught her to counterfeit such trances, and to utter such speeches as she had done before; so that after a while's practice she became very ready at it. The thing was much noised abroad, and many came to see her, but the priest had a mind to raise the reputation of an image of the blessed Virgin that was in a chapel within his parish, that so pilgrimages being made to it, he might draw these advantages from it that others made from their famed images, but chose for his associate one doctor Bocking, a canon* of Christ-church in Canterbury; upon which

The Act about the Maid of Kent, and her Accomplices.

12 in Statute Book, 31 in the Record, 7 in the Journal.

See his Works, page 1435.

* There were no canons in that church, they were all monks.—Fulman's Corrections.

they instructed her to say in her counterfeited trances that the blessed Virgin had appeared to her, and told her she could never recover till she went and visited her image in that chapel. They had also taught her in her fits to make strange motions with her body, by which she was much disfigured, and to speak many godly words against sin and the new doctrines, which were called heresies, as also against the king's suit of divorce. It was also noised abroad on what day she intended to go and visit the image of the Virgin, so that about 2000 people were gathered together, and she being brought to the chapel fell into her fits and made many strange grimaces and alterations of her body, and spake many words of great piety, saying, that by the inspiration of God she was called to be a religious woman, and that Bocking was to be her ghostly father. And within a little while she seemed by the intercession of Our Lady to be perfectly recovered of her former distempers, and she afterwards professed a religious life. There were also violent suspicions of her incontinency, and that Bocking was a carnal as well as a spiritual father. She fell in many raptures, and pretended she saw strange visions, heard heavenly melody, and had the revelation of many things that were to come, so that great credit was given to what she said, and people generally looked on her as a prophetess, and among those the late archbishop of Canterbury was led away with the rest. A book was writ of her revelations and prophecies by one Deering, another monk, who was taken into the conspiracy with many others. It was also given out that Mary Magdalen gave her a letter that was writ in heaven, which was showed to many, being all writ in golden letters. She pretended when the king was last at Calais, that he being at mass, an angel brought away the sacrament and gave it to her, being then invisibly present, and that she was presently brought over the sea to her monastery again. But the design of all these trances was to alienate the people from their duty to the king, for the maid gave it out, that God revealed to her that if the king went on in the divorce and married another wife, he should not be king a month longer, and in the reputation of Almighty God not one hour longer, but should die a villain's death. This, she said, was revealed to her in answer to the prayers she had put up to God to know whether he approved of the king's proceedings or not; which coming to the knowledge of the bishop of Rochester and some others, who adhered to the queen's interests, they had frequent meetings with the maid, and concealed what she spake concerning the king; and some of them gave such credit to what she said, that they practised on many others to draw them from their allegiance, and prevailed with several of the fathers and nuns of Sion, of the Charter-house in London and Shene, and of the Observants of Richmond, Greenwich, and Canterbury, with a great many other persons.

This appeared most signally at Greenwich, where the king lived most in summer, for one Peto being to preach in the king's chapel, denounced heavy judgments upon him to his face, and told him "that many lying prophets had deceived him, but he, as a true Michajah, warned him that the dogs should lick his blood as they had done Ahab's" (for that prophecy about Ahab was his text), with many other bitter words, and concluded, "that it was the greatest misery of princes to be daily so abused by flatterers as they were." The king bore it patiently, and expressed no signs of any commotion; but to undeceive the people, he took care that doctor Corren or Curwin should preach next Sunday, who justified the king's proceedings, and condemned Peto as a rebel, a slanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Peto was gone to Canterbury, but another observant friar of the same house, Elston, interrupted him, and said he was one of the lying prophets that sought by adultery to establish the succession to the crown, and that he would justify all that Peto had said; and spake many other things with great vehemency, nor could they silence him till the king himself commanded him to hold his peace. And yet all that was done either to him or Peto was, that being called before the privy council they were rebuked for their insolence: by which it appears that king Henry was not very easily inflamed against them when a crime of so high a nature was so slightly passed over*.

The insolence of some of the friars.

Stow.

Nor was this all, but the fathers that were in the conspiracy had confederated to publish these revelations in their sermons, up and down the kingdom. They had also given notice

* It was not passed over: for Stow says, p. 561, these friars and all the rest of that order were shortly after banished;—and after that none durst openly oppose themselves against the king's affections.—ANON. CORRECT.



of them to the pope's ambassadors, and had brought the maid to declare her revelations to them; they had also sent an account to queen Katharine for encouraging her to stand out and not submit to the laws, of which confederacy Thomas Abel was likewise one. The thing that was in so many hands could not be a secret; therefore, the king, who had despised it long, ordered that in November the former year the maid and her accomplices, Richard Master, doctor Bocking, Richard Deering, Henry Gold, a parson in London, Hugh Rich, an observant friar, Richard Risby, Thomas Gold and Edward Twaites, gentlemen, and Thomas Laurence, should be brought into the Star-chamber, where there was a great appearance of many lords; they were examined upon the premises, and did all without any rack or torture confess the whole conspiracy, and were adjudged to stand in Paul's all the sermon time, and after sermon the king's officers were to give every one of them his bill of confession to be openly read before the people; which was done next Sunday, the bishop of Bangor preaching, they being all set in a scaffold before him. This public manner was thought upon good grounds to be the best way to satisfy the people of the imposture of the whole matter, and it did very much convince them that the cause must needs be bad where such methods were used to support it. From thence they were carried to the Tower, where they lay till the session of parliament, but when they lay there some of their accomplices sent messages to the nun to encourage her to deny all that she had said; and it is very probable that the reports that went abroad of her being forced or cheated into a confession, made the king think it necessary to proceed more severely against her. The thing being considered in parliament, it was judged a conspiracy against the king's life and crown. So the nun and master Bocking, Deering, Rich, Risby, and Henry Gold, were attainted of high treason: and the bishop of Rochester, Thomas Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Twaites, John Adeson, and Thomas Abel, were judged guilty of misprision of treason, and to forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, and to be imprisoned during his pleasure; and all the books that were written of her revelations were ordered to be sent in to some of the chief officers of state, under the pains of fine and imprisonment. It had been also found, that the letter which she pretended to have got from Mary Magdalen was written by one Hankherst of Canterbury; and that the door of the dormitory, which was given out to be made open by miracle, that she might go into the chapel for converse with God, was opened by some of her accomplices for beastly and carnal ends. But in the conclusion of the act, all others who had been corrupted in their allegiance by these impostures, except the persons before named, were, at the earnest intercession of queen Anne, pardoned.

Stow.

The two houses of parliament (having ended their business) were prorogued on the 29th of March to the 3d of November, and before they broke up, all the members of both houses, that they might give a good example to the king's other subjects, swore the oath of succession, as appears from the act made about it in the next session of parliament. The execution of these persons was delayed for some time, it is like till the king had a return from Rome of the messenger he had sent thither with his submission.

Soon after that, on the 20th of April, the nun and Bocking, master Deering, Risby, and Gold (Rich is not named, being perhaps either dead or pardoned), were brought to Tyburn. The nun spake these words: "Hither I am come to die, and I have not been only the cause of mine own death, which most justly I have deserved, but also I am the cause of the death of all those persons which at this time here suffer. And yet to say the truth, I am not so much to be blamed, considering that it was well known to these learned men that I was a poor wench without learning, and therefore they might easily have perceived that the things that were done by me, could not proceed in no such sort; but their capacities and learning could right well judge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether feigned; but because the thing which I feigned was profitable to them, therefore they much praised me, and bore me in hand, that it was the Holy Ghost and not I that did them; and then I, being puffed up with their praises, fell into a certain pride and foolish fantasy with myself, and thought I might feign what I would, which thing hath brought me to this case; and for the which now I cry God and the king's highness most heartily mercy, and desire you, all good people, to pray to God to have mercy on me, and on all them that here suffer with me."

The Nun's speech at her death.

Hall.

On all this I have dwelt the longer, both because these are all called martyrs by Sanders, and that this did first provoke the king against the regular clergy, and drew after it all the severities that were done in the rest of his reign. The foulness and the wicked designs of this imposture did much alienate people from the interest of Rome, and made the other acts both pass more easily and be better received by the people. It was also generally believed, that what was now discovered was no new practice, but that many of the visions and miracles by which religious orders had raised their credit so high, were of the same nature; and it made way for the destroying of all the monasteries in England, though all the severity which at this time followed on it, was that the observant friars of Richmond, Greenwich, Canterbury, Newark, and Newcastle, were removed out of their houses, and put with the other Gray friars, and Augustin friars were put in their houses.

Stow.

But because of the great name of Fisher bishop of Rochester, and since this was the first step to his ruin, it is necessary to give a fuller account of his carriage in this matter. When the cheat was first discovered, Cromwell, then secretary of state, sent the bishop's brother to him with a sharp reproof for his carriage in that business; but withal advised him to write to the king and acknowledge his offence, and desire his pardon, which he knew the king, considering his age and sickness, would grant. But he wrote back, excusing himself that all he did was only to try whether her revelations were true. He confessed he conceived a great opinion of her holiness, both from common fame and her entering into religion; from the report of her ghostly father, whom he esteemed learned and religious, and of many other learned and virtuous priests; from the good opinion the late archbishop of Canterbury had of her, and from what is in the prophet Amos, "That God will do nothing without revealing it to his servants." That upon these grounds he was induced to have a good opinion of her; and that to try the truth about her he had sometimes spoken with her, and sent his chaplains to her, but never discovered any falsehood in her. And for his concealing what she had told him about the king, which was laid to his charge, he thought it needless for him to speak of it to the king, since she had said to him that she had told it to the king herself: she had named no person who should kill the king, which by being known might have been prevented. And as in spiritual things, every churchman was not bound to denounce judgments against those that could not bear it; so in temporal things the case might be the same; and the king had on other occasions spoken so sharply to him that he had reason to think the king would have been offended with him for speaking of it, and would have suspected that he had a hand in it; therefore he desired for the passion of Christ to be no more troubled about that matter, otherwise he would speak his conscience freely. To all which Cromwell wrote a long letter, which the reader will find in the collection, copied from the rude draught of it written with his own hand; in which he charges the matter upon him heavily, and shows him that he had not proceeded as a grave prelate ought to have done; for he had taken all that he had heard of her upon trust, and had examined nothing; that if every person that pretends to revelations were believed on their own words, all government would be thereby destroyed. He had no reason to conclude, from the prophecy of Amos, that every thing that is to fall out must be revealed to some prophet, since many notable things had fallen out, of which there was no revelation made beforehand. But he told him the true reason that made him give credit to her was the matter of her prophecies; to which he was so addicted, as he was to every other thing in which he once entered, that nothing could come amiss that served to that end. And he appealed to his conscience whether if she had prophesied for the king he would have given such easy credit to her, and not have examined the matter further. Then he shows how guilty he was in not revealing what concerned the king's life, and how frivolous all his excuses were; and after all tells him that though his excusing the matter had provoked the king, and that if it came to a trial he would certainly be found guilty, yet again he advises him to beg the king's pardon for his negligence and offence in that matter; and undertakes that the king would receive him into his favour, and that all matters of displeasure passed before that time should be forgiven and forgotten. This shows that though Fisher had in the progress of the king's cause given him great offence, yet he was ready to pass it all over, and not to take the advantage which he now had against him.

Fisher gently dealt with.

But is obstinate and intractable.

Collect. Numb. 49. Cott. Lib. Cleopa. E. 4.



But Fisher was still obstinate and made no submission, and so was included within the act for misprision of treason; and yet I do not find that the king proceeded against him upon this act till by new provocations he drew a heavier storm of indignation upon himself.

When the session of parliament was at an end, commissioners were sent everywhere to offer the oath of the succession to the crown to all, according to the act of parliament, which was universally taken by all sorts of persons. Gardiner wrote from Winchester the 6th of May to Cromwell, that in the presence of the lord chamberlain, the lord Audley, and many other gentlemen, all abbots, priors, wardens, with the curates of all parishes and chapels within the shire, had appeared and taken the oath very obediently; and had given in a list of all the religious persons in their houses of fourteen years of age and above, for taking whose oaths some commissioners were appointed. The forms in which they took the oath are not known, and it is no wonder, for though they were enrolled, yet in queen Mary's time there was a commission given to Bonner and others to examine the records, and raze out of them all things that were done either in contempt of the see of Rome or to the defamation of religious houses, pursuant to which there are many things taken out of the rolls which I shall sometimes have occasion afterwards to take notice of; yet some writings have escaped their diligence, so there remains but two of the subscriptions of religious orders, both bearing date the 4th of May 1534. One is by the prior and convent of Langley Regis, that were Dominicans, the Franciscans of Aylesbury, the Dominicans of Dunstable, the Franciscans of Bedford, the Carmelites of Hecking, and the Franciscans de Mare. The other is by the prioress and convent of the Dominican nuns at Deptford.

The Oath for the Succession generally sworn. Orig. Cott. Lib. Otho. C. 10.

In these, besides the renewing their allegiance to the king, "they swear the lawfulness of his marriage with queen Anne, and that they shall be true to the issue begotten in it; that they shall always acknowledge the king head of the church of England; and that the bishop of Rome has no more power than any other bishop has in his own diocese; and that they should submit to all the king's laws, notwithstanding the pope's censures to the contrary. That in their sermons they should not pervert the scriptures, but preach Christ and his gospel sincerely according to the scriptures, and the tradition of orthodox and catholic doctors; and in their prayers that they should pray first for the king, as supreme head of the church of England, then for the queen and her issue, and then for the archbishop of Canterbury and the other ranks of the clergy." To this these six priors set their hands with the seals of their convents, and in their subscriptions declared that they did it freely and uncompelled, and in the name of all the brethren in the convent.

Collect. Numb. 50. Rot. Claus.

Those last clauses are not in the other Writing.

But sir Thomas More and the bishop of Rochester refused to take the oath as it was conceived; whose fall being so remarkable, I shall show the steps of it. There was a meeting of the privy council at Lambeth, to which many were cited to appear and take the oath. Sir Thomas More was first called, and the oath was tendered to him under the great seal; then he called for the act of succession to which it related, which was also showed him: having considered of them, he said he would neither blame these that made the act nor those that swore the oath, but for his part, though he was willing to swear to the succession, if he might be suffered to draw an oath concerning it, yet for the oath that was offered him his conscience so moved him that he could not without hazarding his soul take it. Upon this the lord chancellor told him that he was the first who had refused to swear it, and that the king would be highly offended with him for denying it, and so he was desired to withdraw and consider better of it. Several others were called upon, and did all take the oath except the bishop of Rochester, who answered upon the matter as More had done. When the lords had despatched all the rest, More was again brought before them: they showed him how many had taken it; he answered, he judged no man for doing it, only he could not do it himself. Then they asked the reasons why he refused it? He answered, he feared it might provoke the king more against him if he should offer reasons, which would be called a disputing against law: but when he was further pressed to give his reasons, he said if the king would command him to do it he would put them in writing.

More and Fisher refuse the Oath.

See his Works, p. 1428.

The archbishop of Canterbury urged him with this argument, that since he said he blamed no other person for taking it, it seemed he was not persuaded it was a sin, but was doubtful in the matter: but he did certainly know he ought to obey the king and the law, so there was a certainty on the one hand and only a doubt on the other; therefore he was obliged to do that about which he was certain, notwithstanding these his doubtings. This did shake him a little, especially (as himself writes) "coming out of so noble a prelate's mouth:" but he answered, that though he had examined the matter very carefully, yet his conscience leaned positively to the other side; and he offered to purge himself by his oath that it was purely out of a principle of conscience, and out of no light fantasy or obstinacy, that he thus refused it. The abbot of Westminster pressed him, that however the matter appeared to him he might see his conscience was erroneous, since the great council of the realm was of another mind, and therefore he ought to change his conscience (a reasoning very fit for so rich an abbot, which discovers of what temper his conscience was). But to this More answered, that if he were alone against the whole parliament, he had reason to suspect his own understanding; but he thought he had the whole council of Christendom on his side, as well as the great council of England was against him. Secretary Cromwell, who (as More writes) tenderly favoured him, seeing his ruin was now inevitable, was much affected at it, and protested with an oath he had rather his own only son had lost his head than that he should have refused the oath. Thus both he and the bishop of Rochester refused it, but both offered to swear another oath for the succession of the crown to the issue of the king's present marriage, because that was in the power of the parliament to determine it. Cranmer, who was a moderate and wise man, and foresaw well the ill effects that would follow on contending so much with persons so highly esteemed over the world, and of such a temper that severity would bend them to nothing, did, by an earnest letter to Cromwell, dated the 27th of April, move, that what they offered might be accepted; for if they once swore to the succession it would quiet the kingdom, for they acknowledging it, all other persons would acquiesce and submit to their judgments. But this sage advice was not accepted.

Weaver's Monuments, page 504 and 506.

The king was much irritated against them, and resolved to proceed with them according to law, and therefore they were both indicted upon the statute, and committed prisoners to the Tower. And it being apprehended, that if they had books and paper given them they would write against the king's marriage or his supremacy, these were denied them. The old bishop was hardly used, his bishopric was seized on, and all his goods taken from him, only some old rags were left to cover him; and he was neither supplied well in diet nor other necessaries, of which he made sad complaints to Cromwell. But the remainder of this tragical business, which left one of the greatest blots on this king's proceedings, falling within the limits of the next book, I haste on to the conclusion of this.

And are proceeded against.

The separation from Rome was made in the former session of parliament, but the king's supremacy was not yet fully settled. This was reserved for the next session that sate in November from the 3d of that month to the 18th of December, about which we can have no light from the journals, they being lost. The first act confirmed what had been already acknowledged by the clergy, that the king was the supreme head in earth of the church of England, "which was to be annexed to his other titles: it was also enacted that the king and his heirs and successors should have power to visit and reform all heresies, errors, and other abuses, which in the spiritual jurisdiction ought to be reformed."

Another session of Parliament.

The King's Supremacy declared.

By the second act they confirmed the oath about the succession, concerning which some doubts had been made, because there was no oath specified in the former act: though both houses had taken it: it was now enacted, that all the subjects were obliged to take it when offered to them, under the pains contained in the act passed in the former session. By the third act, the first fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices were given to the king, as the supreme head of the church. The clergy were easily prevailed on to consent to the putting down of the annates paid to the court of Rome, for all men readily concur to take off any imposition; but at that time it had perhaps abated much of their heartiness, if they had

The Oath about the Succession confirmed.

The first fruits of benefices given to the King.



imagined that these duties should have been still paid, therefore that was kept up till they had done all that was to be done against Rome. And now as the commons and secular lords would no doubt easily agree to lay a tax on the clergy, so the others having no foreign support, were not in a condition to wrestle against it.

In the thirteenth act, among other things that were made treason, one was the denying the king the dignity, title or name of his estate royal; or the calling the king heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown. This was done to restrain the insolences of some friars, and all such offenders were to be denied the privilege of sanctuaries. By the fourteenth act provision was made for suffragan bishops, which, as is said, "had been accustomed to be had within this realm, for the more speedy administration of the sacraments, and other good wholesome and devout things, and laudable ceremonies, to the increase of God's honour, and for the commodity of good and devout people; therefore they appointed for suffragans sees, the towns of Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Guilford, Southampton, Taunton, Shaftsbury, Malton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Penrith, Bridgewater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and the towns of Penrith and Berwick, St. Germain in Cornwall, and the Isle of Wight." For these sees the bishop of the diocese was to present two to the king, who might choose either of them, and present the person so named to the archbishop of the province to be consecrated; after which they might exercise such jurisdiction as the bishop of the diocese should give to them, or as suffragans had been formerly used to do, but their authority was to last no longer than the bishop continued his commission to them. But that the reader may more clearly see how this act was executed, he shall find in the collection a writ for making a suffragan bishop. These were believed to be the same with the chorepiscopi in the primitive church, which as they were begun before the first council of Nice, so they continued in the western church till the ninth century, and then a decretal of Damascus being forged, that condemned them, they were put down everywhere by degrees and now revived in England*. Then followed the grant of a subsidy to the king: it was now twelve years since there was any subsidy granted. A fifteenth and a tenth were given, to be paid in three years, the final payment being to be at Allhallow tide, in the year 1537. The bill began with a most glorious preamble "of the king's high wisdom and policy in the government of the kingdom these twenty-four years in great wealth and quietness, and the great charges he had been at in the last war with Scotland, in fortifying Calais, and in the war of Ireland; and that he intended to bring the wilful, wild, and unreasonable, and savage people of Ireland to order and obedience, and intended to build forts on the marches of Scotland, for the security of the nation, to amend the haven of Calais, and make a new one at Dover. By all which they did perceive the entire love and zeal which the king bore to his people, and that he sought not their wealth and quietness only for his own time, being a mortal man, but did provide for it in all time coming, therefore they thought that of very equity, reason, and good conscience, they were bound to show like correspondence of zeal, gratitude, and kindness." Upon this the king sent a general pardon with some exceptions, ordinary in such cases. But Fisher and More were not only excluded from this pardon by general clauses, but by two particular acts they were attainted of misprision of treason. By the third act according to the record, John bishop of Rochester, Christopher Plummer, Nicholas Wilson, Edward Powel, Richard Fetherston, and Miles Willyr, clerks, were attainted for refusing the oath of succession, and the bishopric of Rochester, with the benefices of the other clerks, were declared void from the 2d of January next; yet it seems few were fond of succeeding him in that see, for John Hilsey, the next bishop of Rochester, was not consecrated before the year

Sundry things are declared Treason.

An Act for Suffragan Bishops.

Collect. Numb. 51.

Act 26. Rot. Parl.

A Subsidy granted.

More and Fisher attainted. Act. 3. and 4. Rot. Parl.

* The bishops suffragans were before common in England, some abbots or rich clergymen procuring under foreign, or perhaps feigned titles, that dignity, and so performing some parts of the episcopal function in large or neglected dioceses; so the abbot or prior of Tame was one. Such was Robert King, abbot of Oseny, afterwards bishop of Oxford, and Thomas Cornish, a residentiary of Wells, who by the name of Thomas Episcopus Tinensis, did confer orders and perform other episcopal functions for Fox, while he was bishop of Exeter, from 1487 to 1492; and afterwards when he was bishop of Wells, as appears by those registers. He died in the year 1513.—FULMAN' CORRECT.

1537 *. By the fourth act, sir Thomas More is by an invidious preamble charged with ingratitude, for the great favours he had received from the king, and "for studying to sow and make sedition among the king's subjects, and refusing to take the oath of succession, therefore they declared the king's grants to him to be void, and attaint him of misprision of treason."

The Proceedings against them variously censured.

This severity, though it was blamed by many, yet others thought it was necessary in so great a change, since the authority of these two men was such, that if some signal notice had not been taken of them, many might by their endeavours, especially encouraged by that impunity, have been corrupted in their affections to the king. Others thought the prosecuting them in such a manner did rather raise their reputation higher, and give them more credit with the people, who are naturally inclined to pity those that suffer, and to think well of those opinions, for which they see men resolved to endure all extremities. But others observed the justice of God, in retaliating thus upon them their own severities to others, for as Fisher did grievously prosecute the preachers of Luther's doctrine, so More's hand had been very heavy on them as long as he had power, and he had showed them no mercy, but the extremity of the law, which himself now felt to be very heavy. Thus ended this session of parliament, with which this Book is also to conclude, for now I come to a third period of the king's reign, in which he did govern his subjects without any competitor, but I am to stop a little and give an account of the progress of the Reformation in these years that I have passed through.

The progress of the Reformation.

The cardinal was no great persecutor of heretics, which was generally thought to flow from his hatred of the clergy, and that he was not ill pleased to have them depressed. During the agitation of the king's process, there was no prosecution of the preachers of Luther's doctrine: whether this flowed from any intimation of the king's pleasure to the bishops or not, I cannot tell, but it is very probable it must have been so, for these opinions were received by many, and the popish clergy were so inclined to severity, that as they wanted not occasions, so they had a good mind to use those preachers cruelly, so that it is likely the king restrained them, and that was always mixed with the other threatenings to work upon the pope that heresy would prevail in England, if the king got not justice done him, so that till the cardinal fell, they were put to no further trouble.

But as soon as More came into favour, he pressed the king much, to put the laws against heretics in execution, and suggested that the court of Rome would be more wrought upon by the king's supporting the church and defending the faith vigorously, than by threatenings, and therefore a long proclamation was issued out against the heretics, many of their books were prohibited, and all the laws against them were appointed to be put in execution, and great care was taken to seize them as they came into England, but many escaped their diligence.

Fox.

There were some at Antwerp, Tindal, Joye, Constantine, with a few more, that were every year writing and printing new books, chiefly against the corruptions of the clergy, the superstition of pilgrimages, of worshipping images, saints, and relics, and against relying on these things, which were then called in the common style *good works*, in opposition to which they wrote much about faith in Christ with a true evangelical obedience, as the only mean by which men could be saved. The book that had the greatest authority and influence was Tindal's translation of the New Testament, of which the bishops made great complaints, and said it was full of errors. But Tonstall, then bishop of London, being a man of invincible moderation, would do nobody hurt, yet endeavoured as he could to get their books into his hands: so being at Antwerp in the year 1529, as he returned from his embassy at the treaty of Cambray, he sent for one Packington, an English merchant there, and desired him to see how many New Testaments of Tindal's translation he might have for money. Packington, who was a secret favourer of Tindal, told him what the bishop proposed. Tindal was very glad of it,—for being convinced of some faults in his work, he was designing a new and more correct edition; but he was poor, and the former impression not being sold off, he could not go about it:

Tindal and others at Antwerp.

Hall.

* I am very sure from several authorities that Hilsey was bishop in 1535.—ANON. CORRECT.



so he gave Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, for which the bishop paid the price, and brought them over, and burnt them publicly in Cheapside. This had such a hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the word of God, that people from thence concluded there must be a visible contrariety between that book and the doctrines of those who so handled it; by which both their prejudice against the clergy and their desire of reading the New Testament was increased. So that next year, when the second edition was finished, many more were brought over, and Constantine being taken in England, the lord chancellor in a private examination promised him that no hurt should be done him if he would reveal who encouraged and supported them at Antwerp; which he accepted of, and told that the greatest encouragement they had was from the bishop of London, who had bought up half the impression. This made all that heard of it laugh heartily, though more judicious persons discerned the great temper of that learned bishop in it. When the clergy condemned Tindal's translation of the New Testament, they declared they intended to set out a true translation of it; which many thought was never truly designed by them, but only pretended, that they might restrain the curiosity of seeing Tindal's work, with the hopes of one that should be authorised: and as they made no progress in it, so at length on the 24th of May, anno 1530, there was a paper drawn and agreed to by archbishop Warham, chancellor More, bishop Tonstall, and many canonists and divines, which every incumbent was commanded to read to his parish, as a warning to prevent the contagion of heresy. The contents of which were, "that the king having called together many of the prelates, with other learned men out of both universities, to examine some books lately set out in the English tongue, they had agreed to condemn them, as containing several points of heresy in them; and it being proposed to them whether it was necessary to set forth the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, they were of opinion, that though it had been sometimes done, yet it was not necessary, and that the king did well not to set it out at that time in the English tongue." So by this all the hopes of a translation of the Scriptures vanished.

The New Testament burnt.

The last paper in Sir Henry Spelman's 2d vol.

There came out another book which took mightily; it was entitled, "The Supplication of the Beggars," written by one Simon Fish of Gray's-inn. In it the beggars complained to the king, that they were reduced to great misery, the alms of the people being intercepted by companies of strong and idle friars; for supposing that each of the five mendicant orders had but a penny a quarter from every household, it did rise to a vast sum, of which the indigent and truly necessitous beggars were defrauded. Their being unprofitable to the commonwealth, with several other things, were also complained of. He also taxed the pope for cruelty and covetousness, that did not deliver all persons out of purgatory, and that none but the rich who paid well for it could be discharged out of that prison. This was written in a witty and taking style, and the king had it put in his hands by Anne Boleyn, and liked it well, and would not suffer anything to be done to the author.

Supplication of the Beggars.

Chancellor More was the most zealous champion the clergy had, for I do not find that any of them wrote much, only the bishop of Rochester wrote for purgatory; but the rest left it wholly to him, either because few of them could write well, or that he being much esteemed, and a disinterested person, things would be better received from him than from them who were looked on as parties. So he answered this supplication by another, in the name of the souls that were in purgatory, representing the miseries they were in, and the great relief they found by the masses the friars said for them, and brought in every man's ancestors calling earnestly upon him to befriend those poor friars now when they had so many enemies. He confidently asserted it had been the doctrine of the church for many ages, and brought many places out of the scriptures to prove it, besides several reasons that seemed to confirm it. This being writ of a subject that would allow of a great deal of popular and moving eloquence, in which he was very eminent, took with many.

More answers it.

But it discovered to others what was the foundation of those religious orders, and that if the belief of purgatory were once rooted out, all that was built on that foundation must needs fall with it. So John Frith wrote an answer to More's supplication,

Frith replies.

to show that there was no ground for purgatory in Scripture, and that it was not believed in the primitive church. He also answered the bishop of Rochester's book, and some dialogues that were written on the same subject, by Rastal a printer and kinsman of More's: he discovered the fallacy of their reasonings, which were built on the weakness or defects of our repentance in this life; and that therefore there must be another state in which we must be further purified. To this he answered, that our sins were not pardoned for our repentance, or the perfection of it, but only for the merits and sufferings of Christ; and that if our repentance is sincere, God accepts of it; and sin being once pardoned, it could not be further punished. He showed the difference between the punishments we may suffer in this life, and those in purgatory; the one are either medicinal corrections for reforming us more and more, or for giving warning to others: the other are terrible punishments without any of these ends in them: therefore the one might well consist with the free pardon of sin, the other could not. So he argued from all these places of Scripture in which we are said to be freely pardoned our sins by the blood of Christ, that no punishment in another state could consist with it. He also argued from all those places in which it is said, that we shall at the day of judgment receive according to what we have done in the body, that there was no state of purgatory beyond this life. For the places brought out of the Old Testament, he showed they could not be meant of purgatory, since according to the doctrine of the schoolmen there was no going to purgatory before Christ. For the places in the New Testament he appealed to More's great friend, Erasmus, whose exposition of these places differed much from his glosses. That place in the Epistle to the Corinthians about the fire, that was to try every man's work, he said was plainly allegorical; and since the foundation, the building of gold, silver, and precious stones; of wood, hay and stubble, were figuratively taken, there was no reason to take the fire in a literal sense: therefore by fire was to be understood the persecution then near at hand; called, in other places, the fiery trial.

For the ancient doctors, he showed, that in the fourth century, St. Ambrose, Jerome, and St. Austin, the three great doctors of that age, did not believe it, and cited several passages out of their writings. It is true St. Austin went further than the rest: for though in some passages he delivered his opinion against it, yet in other places he spake of it more doubtfully as a thing that might be inquired into, but that it could not be certainly known; and indeed before Gregory the Great's time, it was not received in the church, and then the Benedictine monks were beginning to spread and grow numerous, and they, to draw advantages from it, told many stories of visions and dreams, to possess the world with the belief of it; then the trade grew so profitable, that ever since it was kept up and improved; and what succeeded so well with one society and order to enrich themselves much by it, was an encouragement to others to follow their track in the same way of traffic. This book was generally well received, and the clergy were so offended at the author, that they resolved to make him feel a real fire whenever he was caught, for endeavouring to put out their imaginary one.

That from which More and others took greatest advantage was, that the new preachers prevailed only on simple tradesmen and women, and other illiterate persons: but to this the others answered, that the Pharisees made the same objection to the followers of Christ, who were fishermen, women, and rude mechanics; but Christ told them, "that to the poor the gospel was preached;" and when the philosophers and Jews objected that to the apostles, they said God's glory did the more appear, since not many rich, wise, or noble were called, but the poor and despised were chosen: that men who had much to lose had not that simplicity of mind, nor that disengagement from worldly things, that was a necessary disposition to fit them for a doctrine which was like to bring much trouble and persecution on them.

Thus I have opened some of these things, which were at that time disputed by the pen, in which opposition new things were still started and examined. But this was too feeble a weapon for the defence of the clergy, therefore they sought out sharper tools. So there were many brought into the bishops' courts, some for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English, some for reading the forbidden books, some for harbouring the preachers, some for speaking against pilgrimages, or

The cruel proceedings against the Reformers.



the worshiping and adorning of images, some for not observing the church fasts, some for not coming to confession and the sacrament, and some for speaking against the vices of the clergy. Most of these were simple and illiterate men, and the terror of the bishops' courts, and prisons, and of a faggot in the end, wrought so much on their fears and weakness, that they generally abjured, and were dismissed. But in the end of the year, 1530, one Thomas Hitton, who had been curate of Maidstone, and had left that place going oft to Antwerp; he bringing over some of the books that were printed there, was taken at Gravesend, and brought before Warham and Fisher, who after he had suffered much by a long and cruel imprisonment, condemned him to be burnt.

More. Tindal.

The most eminent person that suffered about this time was Thomas Bilney, of whose abjuration an account was given in the first book; he after that went to Cambridge, and was much troubled in his conscience for what he had done, so that the rest of that society at Cambridge were in great apprehensions of some violent effect, which that desperation might produce, and sometimes watched him whole nights. This continued about a year, but at length his mind was more quieted, and he resolved to expiate his abjuration by as public and solemn a confession of the truth; and to prepare himself the better both to defend and suffer for the doctrines, which he had formerly through fear denied, he followed his studies for two years. And when he found himself well fortified in this resolution, he took leave of his friends at Cambridge, and went to his own country of Norfolk, to whom he thought he owed his first endeavours.

Bilney's Trial. Latimer's Sermons.

He preached up and down the country, confessing his former sin of denying the faith, and taught the people to beware of idolatry, or trusting to pilgrimages, to the cowl of St. Francis, to the prayers of saints, or to images; but exhorted them to stay at home, to give much alms, to believe in Jesus Christ, and to offer up their hearts, wills, and minds to him in the sacrament. This being noised about, he was seized on by the bishop's officers, and put in prison at Norwich, and the writ was sent for to burn him as a relapse, he being first condemned and degraded from his priesthood: while he was in prison the friars came oft about him to persuade him to recant again, and it was given out that he did read a bill of abjuration.

The things objected to him. Fox.

More not being satisfied to have sent the writ for his burning, studied also to defame him, publishing this to the world; yet in that he was certainly abused, for if he had signed any such paper, it had been put in the bishop's register, as all things of that nature were; but no such writing was ever shown, only some said they heard him read it, and others who denied there was any such thing, being questioned for it, submitted and confessed their fault. But at such a time it was no strange thing, if a lie of that nature was vented with so much authority, that men were afraid to contradict it; and when a man is a close prisoner, those who only have access to him may spread what report of him they please, and when once such a thing is said, they never want officious vouchers to lie and swear for it. But since nothing was ever showed under his hand, it is clear there was no truth in these reports, which were spread about to take away the honour of martyrdom from the new doctrines. It is true he had never inquired into all the other tenets of the church of Rome, and so did not differ from them about the presence of Christ in the sacrament and some other things. But when men durst speak freely, there were several persons that witnessed the constancy and sincerity of Bilney, in these his last conflicts; and among the rest, Matthew Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was an eye-witness of his sufferings, which from his relation were published afterwards: he took his death patiently and constantly, and in the little time that was allowed him to live after his sentence, he was observed to be cheerful; and the poor victuals that were brought him, bread and ale, he eat up heartily, of which when one took notice, he said he must keep up that ruinous cottage till it fell; and often repeated that passage in Isaiah, "When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned;" and putting his finger in the flame of the candle, he told those about him that he well knew what a pain burning was, but that it should only consume the stubble of his body, and that his soul should be purged by it.

It is given out that he abjured.

The falsehood of which afterwards appeared. Fox.

When the day of execution came, being the 10th of November, as he was led out he said to one that exhorted him to be patient and constant, that as the mariners endured the tossing of the waves hoping to arrive at their desired port, so though he was now entering into a storm, yet he hoped he should soon arrive at the haven, and desired their prayers. When he came to the stake, he repeated the creed, to show the people that he died in the faith of the apostles; then he put up his prayers to God with great shows of inward devotion; which ended, he repeated the 143 Psalm, and paused on these words of it, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified," with deep recollection: and when doctor Warner that accompanied him to the stake, took leave with him with many tears, Bilney with a cheerful countenance exhorted him to feed his flock, that at his Lord's coming he might find him so doing. Many of the begging friars desired him to declare to the people that they had not procured his death; for that was got among them, and they feared the people would give them no more alms: so he desired the spectators not to be the worse to these men for his sake, for they had not procured his death. Then the fire was set to, and his body consumed to ashes.

The manner of his suffering.

Thus it appears, both what opinion the people had of him, and in what charity he died even towards his enemies, doing them good for evil; but this, though it perhaps struck terror in weaker minds, yet it no less encouraged others to endure patiently all the severities that were used to draw them from this doctrine. Soon after one Richard Byfield suffered; he was a monk of St. Edmundsbury, and had been instructed by doctor Barnes, who gave him some books; which being discovered, he was put in prison, but through fear abjured; yet afterward he left the monastery and came to London: he went oft over to Antwerp, and brought in forbidden books, which being smelled out, he was seized on, and examined about these books; he justified them, and said he thought they were good and profitable, and did openly exclaim against the dissolute lives of the clergy; so being judged heretic, he was burned in Smithfield, the 11th of November.

Byfield's sufferings.

In December, one John Tewksbury, a shopkeeper in London, who had formerly abjured, was also taken and tried in sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea, where sentence was given against him by Stokesley bishop of London (for Tonstall was translated the former year to Durham), and was burnt in Smithfield. There were also three burnt at York this year, two men and one woman.

And Tewksbury's.

These proceedings were complained of in the following session of parliament, as was formerly told, and the ecclesiastical courts being found both arbitrary and cruel, the house of commons desired a redress of that from the king; but nothing was done about it till three years after, that the new act against heretics was made, as was already told. The clergy were not much moved at the address which the house of commons made, and therefore went on in their extreme courses; and to strike a terror in the gentry, they resolved to make an example of one James Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple: he was carried to the lord chancellor's house, where much pains was taken to persuade him to discover such as he knew in the Temple who favoured the new opinions; but fair means not prevailing, More made him be whipped in his own presence, and after that, sent him to the Tower, where he looked on, and saw him put to the rack. Yet it seems that nothing could be drawn from him that might be made use of to any other person's hurt; yet he himself afterwards overcome with fear, abjured and did penance, but had no quiet in his conscience till he went publicly to church with a New Testament in his hand, and confessed with many tears that he had denied God, and prayed the people not to do as he had done, and said that he felt a hell in his own conscience for what he had done. So he was soon after carried to the Tower, (for now the bishops, to avoid the imputation of using men cruelly in their prisons, did put heretics in the king's prisons:) he was charged for having said, "That Thomas à Becket was a murderer, and damned in hell if he did not repent, and for speaking contemptuously of praying to saints, and saying that the sacrament of the altar was only Christ's mystical body, and that his body was not chewed with the teeth, but received by faith." So he was judged an obstinate and relapsed heretic, and was burnt in Smithfield about the end of April 1532. There were also some others burnt a little

Bainham's sufferings.

Fox.



before this time, of whom a particular account could not be recovered by Fox with all his industry. But with Bainham More's persecution ended, for soon after he laid down the great seal, which set the poor preachers at ease.

Crome and Latimer were brought before the convocation and accused of heresy. They both subscribed the articles offered to them, "that there was a purgatory: that the souls in it were profited by masses said for them; that the saints are now in heaven, and as mediators pray for us: that men ought to pray to them and honour them: that pilgrimages were pious and meritorious: that men who vowed chastity might not marry without the pope's dispensation: that the keys of binding and loosing were given to St. Peter and to his successors, though their lives were bad, and not at all to the laity: that men merited by prayers, fasting, and other good works: that priests prohibited by the bishop should not preach till they were purged and restored: that the seven sacraments conferred grace: that consecrations and benedictions used by the church were good: that it was good and profitable to set up the images of Christ and the saints in the churches, and to adorn them and burn candles before them: and that kings were not obliged to give their people the Scriptures in a vulgar tongue." By these articles it may be easily collected what were the doctrines then preached by the reformers. There was yet no dispute about the presence of Christ in the sacrament, which was first called in question by Frith, for the books of Zuinglius and Œcolampadius came later into England, and hitherto they had only seen Luther's works with those written by his followers.

Regist. Tonst.

Articles which some abjured.

But in the year 1532 there was another memorable instance of the clergy's cruelty against the dead bodies of those whom they suspected of heresy. The common style of all wills and testaments at that time was, first, "I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, and to our lady St. Mary and to all the saints in heaven:" but one William Tracy of Worcestershire dying, left a will of a far different strain, for he bequeathed his soul "only to God through Jesus Christ, to whose intercessions alone he trusted, without the help of any other saint, therefore he left no part of his goods to have any pray for his soul." This being brought into the convocation by the prolocutor, he was condemned as a heretic, and an order was sent to Parker chancellor of Worcester, to raise his body. The officious chancellor went beyond his order and burned the body; but the record bears, that though he might by the warrant he had raise the body according to the law of the church, yet he had no authority to burn it. So two years afterwards Tracy's heirs sued him for it, and he was turned out of his office of chancellor, and fined in 400*l*.

Tracy's Testament.

Regist. Fitz-James.

Regist. Stokes. Fol. 72.

There is another instance of the cruelty of the clergy this year. One Thomas Harding of Buckinghamshire, an ancient man, who had abjured in the year 1506, was now observed to go often into woods, and was seen sometimes reading. Upon which his house was searched, and some parcels of the New Testament in English were found in it. So he was carried before Longland, bishop of Lincoln, who as he was a cruel persecutor, so being the king's confessor, acted with the more authority. This aged man was judged a relapse, and sent to Chesham, where he lived to be burned, which was executed on Corpus-Christi eve. At this time there was an indulgence of forty days' pardon proclaimed to all that carried a faggot to the burning of an heretic: so dextrously did the clergy endeavour to infect the laity with their own cruel spirit; and that wrought upon this occasion a signal effect, for as the fire was kindled, one flung a faggot at the old man's head, which dashed out his brains.

Harding's sufferings.

Fox.

In the year 1533 it was thought fit by some signal evidence to convince the world that the king did not design to change the established religion, though he had then proceeded far in his breach with Rome; and the crafty bishop of Winchester, Gardiner, as he complied with the king in his second marriage and separation from Rome, so being an inveterate enemy to the Reformation, and in his heart addicted to the court of Rome, did by this argument often prevail with the king to punish the heretics, that it would most effectually justify his other proceedings, and convince the world that he was still a good catholic king, which at several times drew the king to what he desired. And at this time, the steps the king had made in his separation from the pope

1533.

Frith's sufferings.

had given such heart to the new preachers, that they grew bolder and more public in their assemblies.

John Frith, as he was an excellent scholar, which was so taken notice of some years before, that he was put in the list of those whom the cardinal intended to bring from Cambridge, and put in his college at Oxford; so he had offended them by several writings and by a discourse which he wrote against the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, had provoked the king, who continued to his death to believe that firmly. The substance of his arguments was, "that Christ in the sacrament gave eternal life, but the receiving the bare sacrament did not give eternal life, since many took it to their damnation; therefore Christ's presence there was only felt by faith. This he further proved by the fathers before Christ who did eat the same spiritual food, and drink of the rock, which was Christ, according to St. Paul: since then they and we communicate in the same thing, and it was certain that they did not eat Christ's flesh corporally, but fed by faith on a Messias to come, as Christians do on a Messias already come: therefore we do now only communicate by faith. He also insisted much on the signification of the word sacrament, from whence he concluded that the elements must be the mystical signs of Christ's body and blood; for if they were truly the flesh and blood of Christ, they should not be sacraments: he concluded that the ends of the sacrament were these three, by a visible action to knit the society of Christians together in one body, to be a means of conveying grace upon our due participating of them, and to be remembrances to stir up men to bless God for that unspeakable love, which in the death of Christ appeared to mankind. To all these ends the corporal presence of Christ availed nothing, they being sufficiently answered by a mystical presence: yet he drew no other conclusion from these premises, but that the belief of the corporal presence in the sacrament was no necessary article of our faith." This either flowed from his not having yet arrived at a sure persuasion in the matter, or that he chose in that modest style to encounter an opinion of which the world was so fond, that to have opposed it in downright words would have given prejudices against all that he could say.

His arguments against the corporal presence.

Frith, upon a long conversation with one upon this subject, was desired to set down the heads of it in writing, which he did. The paper went about and was by a false brother conveyed to sir Thomas More's hands, who set himself to answer it in his ordinary style, treating Frith with great contempt, calling him always the young man. Frith was in prison before he saw More's book, yet he wrote a reply to it, which I do not find was then published; but a copy of it was brought afterwards to Cranmer, who acknowledged when he wrote his apology against Gardiner, that he had received great light in that matter from Frith's book, and drew most of his arguments out of it. It was afterwards printed with his works anno 1573, and by it may appear how much truth is stronger than error. For though More wrote with as much wit and eloquence as any man in that age did, and Frith wrote plainly without any art; yet there is so great a difference between their books, that whoever compares them will clearly perceive the one to be the ingenious defender of an ill cause, and the other a simple asserter of truth. Frith wrote with all the disadvantage that was possible, being then in the jail, where he could have no books, but some notes he might have collected formerly: he was also so loaded with irons, that he could scarcely sit with any ease. He began with confirming what he had delivered about the fathers before Christ, their feeding on his body in the same manner that Christians do since his death: this he proved from Scripture and several places of St. Austin's works; he proved also from Scripture that after the consecration the elements were still bread and wine, and were so called both by our Saviour and his apostles; that our senses show they are not changed in their natures, and that they are still subject to corruption, which can no way be said of the body of Christ. He proved that the eating of Christ's flesh, in the sixth of St. John, cannot be applied to the sacrament, since the wicked receive it, who yet do not eat the flesh of Christ, otherwise they should have eternal life. He showed also that the sacrament coming in the room of the Jewish paschal lamb, we must understand Christ's words, "This is my body," in the same sense in which it was said, that the lamb was the Lord's passover. He confirmed this by many passages cited out of Tertullian, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Ambrose,



Jerome, Austin, Fulgentius, Eusebius, and some later writers, as Bede, Bertram and Druthmar, who did all assert that the elements retained their former natures and were only the mysteries, signs, and figures of the body and blood of Christ. But Gelasius's words seemed so remarkable that they could not but determine the controversy, especially considering he was bishop of Rome: he therefore writing against the Eutychians, who thought the human nature of Christ was changed into the divine, says, "that as the elements of bread and wine being consecrated to be the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, did not cease to be bread and wine in substance, but continued in their own proper natures; so the human nature of Christ continued still, though it was united to the divine nature:" this was a manifest indication of the belief of the church in that age, and ought to weigh more than a hundred high rhetorical expressions. He brought likewise several testimonies out of the fathers to show that they knew nothing of the consequences that follow transubstantiation; of a body being in more places at once, or being in a place after the manner of a spirit, or of the worship to be given to the sacrament. Upon this he digresses, and says that the German divines believed a corporal presence; yet since that was only an opinion that rested in their minds and did not carry along with it any corruption of the worship or idolatrous practice, it was to be borne with, and the peace of the church was not to be broken for it; but the case of the church of Rome was very different, which had set up gross idolatry, building it upon this doctrine.

Thus I have given a short abstract of Frith's book, which I thought fit the rather to do, because it was the first book that was written on this subject in England by any of the reformers. And from hence it may appear upon what solid and weighty reasons they then began to shake the received opinion of transubstantiation, and with how much learning this controversy was managed by him who first undertook it.

One thing was singular in Frith's opinion, that he thought there should be no contest made about the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament; for whatever opinion men held in speculation, if it went not to a practical error (which was the adoration of it, for that was idolatry in his opinion), there were no disputes to be made about it, therefore he was much against all heats between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, for he thought in such a matter that was wholly speculative, every man might hold his own opinion without making a breach of the unity of the church about it.

He was apprehended in May 1533, and kept in prison till the 20th of June, and then he was brought before the bishop of London, Gardiner and Longland sitting with him. They objected to him his opinions about the sacrament and purgatory; he answered that for the first he did not find transubstantiation in the Scriptures nor in any approved authors; and therefore he would not admit anything as an article of faith, without clear and certain grounds: for he did not think the authority of the church reached so far. They argued with him upon some passages out of St. Austin and St. Chrysostom, to which he answered, by opposing other places of the same fathers, and showed how they were to be reconciled to themselves; when it came to a conclusion, these words are set down in the register as his confession.

Register Stokes. Fol. 71. and a Letter of his in Fox.

"Frith thinketh and judgeth that the natural body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar, but in one place only at once. Item he saith, that neither part is a necessary article of our faith, whether the natural body be there in the sacrament or not."

His opinion of the Sacrament.

As for purgatory, he said a man consisted of two parts, his body and soul; his body was purged by sickness and other pains, and at last by death, and was not by their own doctrine sent to purgatory. And for the soul, it was purged through the word of God received by faith. So his confession was written down in these words. "Item Frith thinketh and judgeth that there is no purgatory for the soul after that it is departed from the body, and as he thinketh herein, so hath he said, written and defended; howbeit he thinketh neither part to be an article of faith, necessarily to be believed under pain of damnation."

And of Purgatory.

The bishops, with the doctors that stood about them, took much pains to make him change; but he told them that he could not be induced to believe that these were articles of

faith. And when they threatened to proceed to a final sentence, he seemed not moved with it, but said, let judgment be done in righteousness. The bishops, though none of them were guilty of great tenderness, yet seemed to pity him much; and the bishop of London professed he gave sentence with great grief of heart. In the end he was judged an obstinate heretic, and was delivered to the secular power; there is one clause in this sentence, which is not in many others, therefore I shall set it down.

He is condemned.

"Most earnestly requiring, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done upon thee, may be so moderate, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of heretics, and to the unity of the catholic faith." This was thought a scorning of God and men, when those who knew that he was to be burned, and intended it should be so, yet used such an obtestation by the bowels of Jesus Christ, that the rigour might not be extreme. This being certified, the writ was issued out, and as the register bears, he was burned in Smithfield the 4th of July; and one Andrew Hewet with him, who also denied the presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar. This Hewet was an apprentice, and went to the meetings of these preachers, and was twice betrayed by some spies whom the bishop's officers had among them, who discovered many. When he was examined, he would not acknowledge the corporal presence, but was illiterate and resolved to do as Frith did, so he was also condemned and burnt with him.

When they were brought to the stake Frith expressed great joy at his approaching martyrdom, and in a transport of it, hugged the faggots in his arms as the instruments that were to send him to his eternal rest. One doctor Cook, a parson of London, called to the people, that they should not pray for them any more than they would do for a dog. At which Frith smiled, and prayed God to forgive him; so the fire was set to, and they were consumed to ashes.

His constancy in his sufferings.

This was the last act of the clergy's cruelty against men's lives, and was much condemned; it was thought an unheard-of barbarity thus to burn a moderate and learned young man, only because he would not acknowledge some of their doctrines to be articles of faith; and though his private judgment was against their tenet, yet he was not positive in it, any further than that he could not believe the contrary to be necessary to salvation. But the clergy were now so bathed in blood, that they seemed to have stripped themselves of those impressions of pity and compassion which are natural to mankind; they therefore held on in their severe courses, till the act of parliament did effectually restrain them.

In the account that was given of that act, mention was made of one Thomas Philips, who put in his complaint to the house of commons against the bishop of London. The proceedings against him had been both extreme and illegal; he was first apprehended and put in the Tower upon suspicion of heresy, and when they searched him a copy of Tracy's testament was found about him, and butter and cheese were found in his chamber, it being in the time of Lent. There was also another letter found about him, exhorting him to be ready to suffer constantly for the truth. Upon these presumptions the bishop of London proceeded against him, and required him to abjure. But he said he would willingly swear to be obedient as a Christian man ought, and that he would never hold any heresy during his life, nor favour heretics; but the bishop would not accept of that, since there might be ambiguities in it; therefore he required him to make the abjuration in common form, which he refused to do, and appealed to the king as the supreme head of the church. Yet the bishop pronounced him contumax, and did excommunicate him; but whether he was released on his appeal or not, I do not find; yet perhaps this was the man of whom the pope complained to the English ambassadors 1532, that a heretic having appealed to the king as the supreme head of the church, was taken out of the bishops' hands, and judged and acquitted in the king's courts. It is probable this was the man, only the pope was informed, that it was from the archbishop of Canterbury that he appealed, in which there might be a mistake for the bishop of London. But whatever ground there may be for that conjecture, Philips got his liberty and put in a complaint to the house of commons, which produced the act about heretics.

Philips' sufferings.



And now that act being passed, together with the extirpation of the pope's authority, and the power being lodged in the king to correct and reform heresies, idolatries, and abuses, the standard of the catholic faith being also declared to be the Scriptures, the persecuted preachers had ease and encouragement everywhere. They also saw that the necessity of the king's affairs would constrain him to be gentle to them, for the sentence which the pope gave against the king was committed to the emperor to be executed by him, who was then aspiring to an universal monarchy; and therefore as soon as his other wars gave him leisure to look over to England and Ireland, he had now a good colour to justify an invasion both from the pope's sentence, and the interests and honour of his family in protecting his aunt and her daughter. Therefore the king was obliged to give him work elsewhere, in order to which his interest obliged him to join himself to the princes of Germany, who had at Smalcald entered into a league offensive and defensive, for the liberty of religion and the rights of the empire. This was a thorn in the emperor's side, which the king's interest would oblige him by all means to maintain. Upon which the reformers in England concluded, that either the king, to recommend himself to these princes, would relax the severities of the law against them; or otherwise, that their friends in Germany would see to it: for in these first fervours of reformations, the princes made that always a condition in their treaties, that those who favoured their doctrine might be no more persecuted.

A stop is put to these cruel proceedings.

But their chief encouragement was from the queen, who reigned in the king's heart as absolutely as he did over his subjects, and was a known favourer of them. She took Shaxton and Latimer to be her chaplains, and soon after promoted them to the bishopries of Salisbury and Worcester, then vacant by the deprivation of Campegio and Ghinuccii; and in all other things cherished and protected them, and used her most effectual endeavours with the king to promote the reformation. Next to her, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, was a professed favourer of it, who, besides the authority of his character and see, was well fitted for carrying it on, being a very learned and industrious man. He was at great pains to collect the sense of ancient writers upon all the heads of religion, by which he might be well directed in such an important matter. I have seen two volumes in folio written with his own hand, containing upon all the heads of religion, a vast heap both of places of Scripture, and quotations out of ancient fathers, and later doctors and schoolmen; by which he governed himself in that work. There is also an original letter of the lord Burleigh's extant, which I have seen, in which he writes that he had six or seven volumes of his writings, all which, except two other, that I have seen, are lost, for aught I can understand. From which it will appear in the sequel of this work, that he neither copied from foreign writers, nor proceeded rashly in the reformation. He was a man of great temper, and as I have seen in some of his letters to Osiander, and some of Osiander's answers to him, he very much disliked the violence of the German divines. He was gentle in his whole behaviour, and though he was a man of too great candour and simplicity to be refined in the arts of policy, yet he managed his affairs with great prudence; which did so much recommend him to the king, that no ill offices were ever able to hurt him. It is true, he had some singular opinions about ecclesiastical functions and offices, which he seemed to make wholly dependent on the magistrate, as much as the civil were; but as he never studied to get his opinion in that made a part of the doctrine of the church, reserving only to himself the freedom of his own thoughts, which I have reason to think he did afterwards either change, or at least was content to be overruled in it,—so it is clear that he held not that opinion to get the king's favour by it, for in many other things, as in the business of the six articles, he boldly and freely argued, both in the convocation and the house of peers, against that which he knew was the king's mind, and took his life in his hands, which had certainly been offered at a stake, if the king's esteem of him had not been proof against all attempts.

The Queen favoured the Reformers.

Cranmer promoted the Reformation.

Next him, or rather above him, was Cromwell, who was made the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters. A man of mean birth, but noble qualities, as appeared in two signal instances, the one being his pleading in parliament so zealously and successfully for the fallen and disgraced cardinal, whose secretary he was, when Gardiner, though more obliged by him, had basely forsaken him. This was thought so just

Assisted by Cromwell.

and generous in him, that it did not at all hinder his preferment, but raised his credit higher; such a demonstration of gratitude and friendship in misfortune being so rare a thing in a court. The other was his remembering the merchant of Lucca, that had pitied and relieved him when he was a poor stranger there, and expressing most extraordinary acknowledgments and gratitude, when he was afterwards in the top of his greatness, and the other did not so much as know him, much less pretend to any returns for past favours, which showed that he had a noble and generous temper; only he made too much haste to be great and rich. He joined himself in a firm friendship to Cranmer, and did promote the reformation very vigorously.

The Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner opposed it.

But there was another party in the court, that wrestled much against it; the head of it was the duke of Norfolk, who though he was the queen's uncle, yet was her mortal enemy. He was a dexterous courtier and complied with the king, both in his divorce and separation from Rome, yet did upon all occasions persuade the king to innovate nothing in religion. His great friend that joined all along with him in those counsels was Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who was a crafty and politic man, and understood the king well, and complied with his temper in everything; he despised Cranmer, and hated all reformation. Longland, that had been the king's confessor, was also managed by them; and they had a great party in the court, and almost all the church-men were on their side.

Reasons against the Reformation.

That which prevailed most with the king was, that himself had writ a book in defence of the faith, and they said, would he now retract that which all learned men admired so much? or would he encourage Luther and his party, who had treated him with so little respect? If he went to change the doctrines that were formerly received, all the world would say he did it in spite to the pope, which would cast a great dishonour on him, as if his passion governed his religion. Foreign princes, who in their hearts did not much blame him for what he had hitherto done, but rather wished for a good opportunity to do the like, would now condemn him if he meddled with the religion; and his own subjects, who complied with that which he had done, and were glad to be delivered from foreign jurisdiction, and the exactions of the court of Rome, would not bear a change of the faith, but might be thereby easily set on, by the emissaries of the pope or emperor, to break out in rebellion. These things being managed skilfully, and agreeing with his own private opinion, wrought much on him; and particularly what was said about his own book, which had been so much commended to him, that he was almost made believe it was written by a special inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

Reasons for it.

But on the other side Cranmer represented to him, that since he had put down the pope's authority, it was not fit to let those doctrines be still taught, which had no other foundation but the decrees of popes. And he offered upon the greatest hazard to prove, that many things, then received as articles of faith, were no better grounded; therefore he pressed the king to give order to hear and examine things freely, that when the pope's power was rejected, the people might not be obliged to believe doctrines which had no better warrant. And for political counsels, he was to do the duty of a good christian prince, and leave the event to God; and things might be carried on with that due care, that the justice and reasonableness of the king's proceedings should appear to all the world. And whereas it was objected, that the doctrines of the catholic church ought not to be examined by any particular church; it was answered, that when all Christendom were under one emperor, it was easy for him to call general councils, and in such circumstances it was fit to stay for one; and yet even then, particular churches did in their national synods condemn heresies, and reform abuses. But the state of Christendom was now altered, it was under many princes, who had different interests, and therefore they thought it a vain expectation to look for any such council. The protestants of Germany had now for above ten years desired the emperor to procure one, but to no effect; for sometimes the pope would not grant it, and at other times the French king protested against it. The former year the pope had sent to the king to offer a general council, to be held at Mantua this year, but the king found that was but an illusion; for the marquess of Mantua protested he would not admit such a number of strangers as a council would draw together into his

Hall.



THOMAS HOWARD, DUKE OF NORFOLK.

OB. 1554

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF NORFOLK

town; yet the king promised to send his ambassadors thither when the council met. But now the king consulting his prelates, whether the emperor might by his authority summon a general council, as the Roman emperors had done: some of them gave the following answer, copied from the original that is yet extant, which might have been written any time between the year 1534, in which Thomas Goodrick was made bishop of Ely, and the year 1540, in which John Clark, bishop of Bath and Wells, died; but I incline to think from other circumstances, that it was written about the end of the year 1534.

A resolution of some bishops about the calling of a general council.

*For the General Council.*

"Though that in the old time, when the empire of Rome had his ample dominion over the most part of the world, the first four general councils (the which at all times have been of most estimation in the church of Christ) were called and gathered by the emperor's commandment, and for a godly intent; that heresies might be extinct, schisms put away, good order and manners in the ministers of the church and the people of the same established. Like as many councils more were called; till now of late by the negligence as well of the emperor as other princes, the bishop of Rome hath been suffered to usurp this power; yet now, for so much that the empire of Rome and the monarchy of the same hath no such general dominion, but many princes have absolute power in their own realms, and a whole and entire monarchy, no one prince may by his authority call any general council, but if that any one or more of these princes for the establishing of the faith, for the extirpation of schisms, &c. lovingly, charitably, with a good sincere intent, to a sure place, require any other prince, or the rest of the great princes, to be content to agree that for the wealth, quietness, and tranquillity of all christian people, by his or their free consent, a general council might be assembled; that prince or those princes so required are bound by the order of charity, for the good fruit that may come of it, to condescend and agree thereunto, having no lawful impediment nor just cause moving to the contrary. The chief causes of the general councils are before expressed.

Ex MSS. D.D. Stillingfleet.

"In all the ancient councils of the church, in matters of the faith and interpretation of the Scripture, no man made definitive subscription but bishops and priests, forsomuch as the declaration of the word of God pertaineth unto them.

T. Cantuarien.
Cuthbertus Dunelmen.
Jo. Bath. wellen.
Tho. Elien.

But besides this resolution, I have seen a long speech of Cranmer's, written by one of his secretaries. It was spoken soon after the parliament had passed the acts formerly mentioned, for it relates to them as lately done; it was delivered either in the house of lords, the upper house of convocation, or at the council board; but I rather think it was in the house of lords, for it begins, "My lords." The matter of it does so much concern the business of reformation, that I know the reader will expect I should set down the heads of it. It appears he had been ordered to inform the house about these things. The preamble of his speech runs upon this conceit: "That as rich men flying from their enemies, carry away all they can with them, and what they cannot take away they either hide or destroy it; so the court of Rome had destroyed so many ancient writings and hid the rest, having carefully preserved everything that was of advantage to them, that it was not easy to discover what they had so artificially concealed. Therefore in the canon law, some honest truths were yet to be found, but so mislaid that they are not placed where one might expect them, but are to be met with in some other chapters, where one would least look for them. And many more things said by the ancients of the see of Rome and against their authority were lost, as appears by the fragments yet remaining. He showed that many of the ancients called everything which they thought well done of Divine institution, by a large extent of the phrase, in which sense the passages of many fathers that magnified the see of Rome were to be understood.

A speech of Cranmer's, about a general council. Ex MSS. D.D. Stillingfleet.

"Then he showed for what end general councils were called, to declare the faith and reform errors; not that ever any council was truly general, for even at Nice there were no bishops almost, but out of Egypt, Asia, and Greece; but they were called general, because the emperor summoned them, and all Christendom did agree to their definitions, which he proved by several authorities: therefore though there were many more bishops in the council of Arimini than at Nice or Constantinople, yet the one was not received as a general council, and the others were: so that it was not the number nor authority of the bishops, but the matter of their decisions, which made them be received with so general a submission.

"As for the head of the council. St. Peter and St. James had the chief direction of the council of the apostles, but there were no contests then about headship. Christ named no head, which could be no more called a defect in him than it was one in God, that had named no head to govern the world. Yet the church found it convenient to have one over them, so archbishops were set over provinces. And though St. Peter had been head of the apostles, yet as it is not certain that he was ever in Rome, so it does not appear that he had his headship for Rome's sake, or that he left it there; but he was made head for his faith, and not for the dignity of any see: therefore the bishops of Rome could pretend to nothing from him, but as they followed his faith; and Liberius and some other bishops there had been condemned for heresy; and if, according to St. James, faith be to be tried by works, the lives of the popes for several ages gave shrewd presumptions that their faith was not good. And though it were granted that such a power was given to the see of Rome, yet, by many instances, he showed that positive precepts in a matter of that nature were not for ever obligatory. And therefore Gerson wrote a book, *De Auferibilitate Papæ*. So that if a Pope with the cardinals be corrupted, they ought to be tried by a general council, and submit to it. St. Peter gave an account of his baptising Cornelius, when he was questioned about it. So Damasus, Sixtus, and Leo, purged themselves of some scandals.

"Then he showed how corrupt the present pope was, both in his person and government, for which he was abhorred, even by some of his cardinals, as himself had heard and seen at Rome. It is true there was no law to proceed against a vicious pope, for it was a thing not foreseen, and thought scarcely possible; but new diseases required new remedies, and if a pope that is an heretic may be judged in council, the same reason would hold against a simoniacal, covetous, and impious pope, who was salt that had lost its savour. And by several authorities he proved, that every man who lives so, is thereby out of the communion of the church; and that as the pre-eminence of the see of Rome flowed only from the laws of men, so there was now good cause to repeal these, for the pope, as was said in the council of Basil, was only vicar of the church, and not of Christ, so he was accountable to the church. The council of Constance and the divines of Paris had, according to the doctrine of the ancient church, declared the pope to be subject to a general council, which many popes in former ages had confessed. And all that the pope can claim even by the canon law, is only to call and preside in a general council, but not to overrule it, or have a negative vote in it.

"The power of councils did not extend to princes, dominions, or secular matters, but only to points of faith, which they were to declare, and to condemn heretics: nor were their decrees laws, till they were enacted by princes. Upon this, he enlarged much to show, that though a council did proceed against a king (with which they then threatened the king), that their sentence was of no force, as being without their sphere. The determination of councils ought to be well considered and examined by the Scriptures, and in matters indifferent, men ought to be left to their freedom; he taxed the severity of Victor's proceedings against the churches of the East, about the day of Easter; and concluded that as a member of the body is not cut off, except a gangrene comes in it, so no part of the church ought to be cut off but upon a great and inevitable cause. And he very largely showed, with what moderation and charity the church should proceed even against those that held errors; and the standard of the council's definitions should only be taken from the Scriptures, and not from men's traditions.

"He said, some general councils had been rejected by others, and it was a tender point, how much ought to be deferred to a council; some decrees of councils were not at all obeyed. The divines of Paris held, that a council could not make a new article of faith, that was not in the Scriptures. And as all God's promises to the people of Israel had this condition implied within them, if they kept his commandments; so he thought the promises to the Christian church had this condition in them, if they kept the faith. Therefore he had much doubting in himself as to general councils and he thought that only the word of God was the rule of faith, which ought to take place in all controversies of religion. The Scriptures were called canonical, as being the only rules of the faith of Christians; and these by appointment of the ancient councils were only to be read in the churches. The fathers SS. Ambrose, Jerome, and Austin, did in many things differ from one another, but always appealed to the Scriptures, as the common and certain standard. And he cited some remarkable passages out of St. Austin, to show what difference he put between the Scriptures, and all the other writings even of the best and holiest fathers. But when all the fathers agreed in the exposition of any place of Scripture, he acknowledged he looked on that as flowing from the Spirit of God, and it was a most dangerous thing to be wise in our own conceit: therefore he thought councils ought to found their decisions on the word of God, and those expositions of it that had been agreed on by the doctors of the church.

"Then he discoursed very largely what a person a judge ought to be: he must not be partial, nor a judge in his own cause, nor so much as sit on the bench when it is tried, lest his presence should overawe others. Things also done upon a common error cannot bind, when the error upon which they were done comes to be discovered; and all human laws ought to be changed, when a public visible inconvenience follows them. From which he concluded, that the pope being a party, and having already passed his sentence in things which ought to be examined by a general council, could not be a judge, nor sit in it. Princes also, who upon a common mistake thinking the pope head of the church, had sworn to him, finding that this was done upon a false ground, may pull their neck out of his yoke, as every man may make his escape out of the hands of a robber. And the court of Rome was so corrupt, that a pope, though he meant well, as Adrian did, yet could never bring any good design to an issue; the cardinals and the rest of that court being so engaged to maintain their corruptions." These were the heads of that discourse, which it seems he gave them in writing after he had delivered it; but he promised to entertain them with another discourse, of the power the bishops of the Christian church have in their sees, and of the power of a Christian prince to make them do their duty; but that I could never see, and I am afraid it is lost.

All this I thought necessary to open, to show the state of the court and the principles that the several parties in it went upon, when the reformation was first brought under consideration, in the third period of this king's reign, to which I am now advanced.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

# PART I.—BOOK III.

## OF THE OTHER TRANSACTIONS ABOUT RELIGION AND REFORMATION, DURING THE REST OF THE REIGN OF KING HENRY VIII.

The rest of the King's Reign grows troublesome.

THE king having passed through the traverses and tossings of his suit of divorce, and having, with the concurrence both of his clergy and parliament, brought about what he had projected, seemed now at ease in his own dominions. But though matters were carried in public assemblies smoothly and successfully, yet there were many secret discontents, which being fomented both by the pope and the emperor's agents, wrought him great trouble,—so that the rest of his life was full of vexation and disquiet.

All that were zealously addicted to that which they called the old religion, did conclude that whatever firmness the king expressed to it now was either pretended out of policy, for avoiding the inconveniences which the fears of a change might produce; or though he really intended to perform what he professed, yet the interests in which he must embark with the princes of Germany against the pope and the emperor, together with the power that the queen had over him, and the credit Cranmer and Cromwell had with him, would prevail on him to change some things in religion. And they looked on these things as so complicated together, that the change of any one must needs make way for change in more, since that struck at the authority of the church, and left people at liberty to dispute the articles of faith. This they thought was a gate opened to heresy; and therefore they were everywhere meeting together and consulting what should be done for suppressing heresy and preserving the catholic faith.

By the Practices of the Monks and Friars.

That zeal was much inflamed by the monks and friars, who clearly saw the acts of parliament were so levelled at their exemptions and immunities, that they were now like to be at the king's mercy. They were no more to plead their bulls, nor claim any privileges further than it pleased the king to allow them. No new saints from Rome could draw more riches or honour to their orders. Privileges and indulgences were out of doors; so that the arts of drawing in the people, to enrich their churches and houses, were at an end. And they had also secret intimations that the king and the courtiers had an eye on their lands, and they gave themselves for lost if they could not so embroil the king's affairs that he should not adventure on so invidious a thing. Therefore, both in confessions and conferences, they infused into the people a dislike of the king's proceedings; which though for some time it did not break out into an open rebellion, yet the humour still fermented, and people only waited for an opportunity: so that if the emperor had not been otherwise distracted, he might have made war upon the king with great advantages. For many of his discontented subjects would have joined with the enemy, but the king did so dexterously manage his leagues with the French king and the princes of the empire, that the emperor could never make any impressions on his dominions.

Which provoked the King to great severities.

But those factious spirits, seeing nothing was to be expected from any foreign power, could not contain themselves, but broke out into open rebellion. And this provoked the king to great severities: his spirit was so fretted by the tricks the court of Rome had put on him, and by the ingratitude and seditious practices of Reginald Pole, that he thereby lost much of his former temper and patience, and was too ready upon slight grounds to bring his subjects to the bar,—where, though the matter was always so ordered that according to law they were indicted and judged, yet the severity of the law bordering sometimes on rigour and cruelty, he came to be called a cruel tyrant. Nor did his severity lie only on one side,—but being addicted to some tenets of the old religion, and impatient of contradiction, or perhaps blown up, either with the vanity



of his new title of head of the church, or with the praises which flatterers bestowed on him, he thought all persons were bound to regulate their belief by his dictates, which made him prosecute protestants as well as proceed against papists. Yet it does not appear that cruelty was natural to him; for in twenty-five years' reign, none had suffered for any crime against the state but Pole earl of Suffolk, and Stafford duke of Buckingham. The former he prosecuted in obedience to his father's last commands at his death: his severity to the other was imputed to the cardinal's malice. The proceedings were also legal. And the duke of Buckingham had, by the knavery of a priest, to whom he gave great credit, been made believe he had a right to the crown; and practices of that nature touch princes so nearly, that no wonder the law was executed in such a case. This shows that the king was not very jealous, nor desirous of the blood of his subjects. But though he always proceeded upon law, yet in the last ten years of his life many instances of severity occurred, for which he is rather to be pitied than either imitated or sharply censured.

The former book was full of intrigues and foreign transactions; the greatest part of it being an account of a tedious negotiation with the subtlest and most refined court in Christendom in all the arts of human policy. But now my work is confined to this nation; and except in short touches by the way, I shall meddle no further with the mysteries of state, but shall give as clear an account of those things that relate to religion and reformation as I could possibly recover. The suppression of monasteries, the advance and declension of reformation, and the proceedings against those who adhered to the interests of the court of Rome, must be the chief subjects of this book. The two former shall be opened in the series of time as they were transacted. But the last shall be left to the end of the book, that it may be presented in one full view.

The Bishops swear the King's supremacy.

After the parliament had ended their business, the bishops did all renew their allegiance to the king, and swore also to maintain his supremacy in ecclesiastical matters; acknowledging that he was the supreme head of the church of England, though there was yet no law for the requiring of any such oath. The first act of the king's supremacy was, his naming Cromwell vicar-general, and general visiter of all the monasteries and other privileged places. This is commonly confounded with his following dignity of lord vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters; but they were two different places, and held by different commissions. By the one he had no authority over the bishops, nor had he any precedence; but the other, as it gave him the precedence next the royal family, so it clothed him with a complete delegation of the king's whole power in ecclesiastical affairs. For two years he was only vicar-general. But the tenor of his commissions, and the nature of the power devolved on him by them, cannot be fully known. For neither the one nor the other are in the rolls, though there can be no doubt made but commissions of such importance were enrolled; therefore the loss of them can only be charged on that search and rasure of records made by Bonner upon the commission granted to him by queen Mary, of which I have spoken in the preface of this work. In the prerogative-office there is a subaltern commission granted to doctor (afterwards secretary) Petre, on January 13th, in the twenty-seventh year of the king's reign, by which it appears that Cromwell's commission was at first conceived in very general words, for he is called the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical causes, his vicar-general, and official principal. But because he could not himself attend upon all these affairs, therefore doctor Petre is deputed under him for receiving the probates of wills; from whence likewise it appears, that all wills where the estate was 200*l.* or above, were no more to be tried or proved in the bishops' courts, but in the vicar-general's court. Yet though he was called vicegerent in that commission, he was spoken of and writ to by the name of vicar-general; but after the second commission, seen and mentioned by the lord Herbert, in July 1536, he was always designed lord vicegerent.

Antiq. Oxon. lib. 1, p. 258. The original Letter is in Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4. Feb. 15.

The next thing that was everywhere laboured with great industry, was to engage all the rest of the clergy, chiefly the regulars, to own the king's supremacy, to which they generally submitted. In Oxford the question being put whether the pope had any other jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop, it was referred to thirty doctors and bachelors, who were empowered to set the university seal to their conclusion; they all agreed in the negative, and the

whole university being examined about it, man by man assented to their determination. All the difficulty that I find made, was at Richmond, by the Franciscan friars, where the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (Rowland Lee), and Thomas Bedyl, tendered some conclusions to them, among which this was one: "That the pope of Rome has no greater jurisdiction in this kingdom of England, by the law of God, than any other foreign bishop." This they told them was already subscribed by the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Winchester, Durham, Bath, and all the other prelates, and heads of houses, and all the famous clerks of the realm. And therefore they desired that the friars would refer the matter to the four seniors of the house, and acquiesce in what they should do. But the friars said it concerned their consciences, and therefore they would not submit it to a small part of their house; they added, that they had sworn to follow the rule of St. Francis, and in that they would live and die; and cited a chapter of their rule, "That their order should have a cardinal for their protector, by whose directions they might be governed in their obedience to the holy see." But to this the bishop answered, that St. Francis lived in Italy, where the monks and other regulars that had exemptions were subject to the pope, as they were in England to the archbishop of Canterbury. And for the chapter which they cited, it was shown them that it was not written by St. Francis, but made since his time; and though it were truly a part of his rule, it was told them that no particular rule ought to be preferred to the laws of the land, to which all subjects were bound to give obedience, and could not be excused from it by any voluntary obligation under which they brought themselves. Yet all this could not prevail on them, but they said to the bishop they had professed St. Francis's rule, and would still continue in the observance of it.

The Franciscan Friars refuse it.

But though I do not find such resistance made elsewhere, yet it appears that some secret practices of many of those orders against the state were discovered; therefore it was resolved, that some effectual means must be taken for lessening their credit and authority with the people; and so a general visitation of all monasteries and other religious houses was resolved on. This was chiefly advised by doctor Leighton, who had been in the cardinal's service with Cromwell, and was then taken notice of by him as a dexterous and diligent man, and therefore was now made use of on this occasion. He by a letter to Cromwell advertised him, that upon a long conference with the dean of the Arches, he found the dean was of opinion that it was not fit to make any visitation in the king's name yet for two or three years, till his supremacy were better received; and that he apprehended a severe visitation so early, would make the clergy more averse to the king's power. But Leighton, on the other hand, thought nothing would so much recommend the supremacy as to see such good effects of it as might follow upon a strict and exact visitation. And the abuses of religious persons were now so great and visible, even to the laity, that the correcting and reforming these would be a very popular thing. He writ further, that there had been no visitation in the northern parts since the cardinal ordered it: therefore he advised one, and desired to be employed in Yorkshire. And by another letter, dated the 4th of June, he wrote to Cromwell, desiring that doctor Lee and he might be employed in visiting all the monasteries from the diocese of Lincoln northwards, which they could manage better than anybody else, having great kindred and a large acquaintance in those parts: so that they would be able to discover all the disorders or seditious practices in these houses. He complained that former visitations had been slight and insignificant, and promised great faithfulness and diligence both from himself and doctor Lee.

A General visitation of Monasteries is designed.

Orig. Cott. Lib. E. 4.

The archbishop of Canterbury was now making his metropolitical visitation, having obtained the king's licence for it, which says, "that he having desired, that according to the custom, and the prerogative of his metropolitical see, he might make his visitation; the king granted him licence to do it, and required all to assist and obey him: dated the 28th of April." Things were not yet ripe for doing great matters; so that which he now looked to was to see that all should submit to the king's supremacy; and renounce any dependence on the pope, whose name was to be struck out of all the public offices of the church. This was begun in May 1535. Stokesley, bishop of London, submitted not to this visitation till he had entered three protestations for keeping up of privileges.

Cranmer makes his Metropolitical visitation.

Rot. Pat. Regn. 26. Part 1st.

Regist. Stoks. Folio 44.



In October began the great visitation of monasteries, which was committed to several commissioners. Leighton, Lee, and London, were most employed. But many others were also empowered to visit. For I find letters from Robert Southwell, Ellice Price, John Apprice, Richard Southwell, John Gage, Richard Bellasis, Walter Hendle, and several others, to Cromwell; giving him an account of the progress they made in their several provinces. Their commissions, if they were passed under the great seal, and enrolled, have been taken out of the rolls; for there are none of them to be found there. Yet I incline to think they were not under the great seal. For I have seen an original commission for the visitation that was next year, which was only under the king's hand and signet; from which it may be inferred, that the commissions this year were of the same nature: yet whether such commissions could authorise them to grant dispensations, and discharge men out of the houses they were in, I am not skilled enough in law to determine. And by their letters to Cromwell I find they did assume authority for these things. So what their power was I am not able to discover. But besides their powers and commissions, they got instructions to direct them in their visitations, and injunctions to be left in every house, of which, though I could not recover the originals, yet copies of very good authority I have seen, which the reader will find in the collection at the end of this book. The instructions contain 86 articles. The substance of them was, to try,

The King's Visitation begun.

In MSS. D. G. Pierpoint.

Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4.

Instructions for the Visitation.

"Whether divine service was kept up day and night in the right hours? And how many were commonly present, and who were frequently absent?

"Whether the full number, according to the foundation, was in every house? Who were the founders? What additions have been made since the foundation? And what were their revenues? Whether it was ever changed from one order to another? By whom? And for what cause?

See Collect. Numb. 1st.

"What mortmains they had? And whether their founders were sufficiently authorised to make such donations?

"Upon what suggestions and for what causes they were exempted from their diocesans?

"Their local statutes were also to be seen and examined.

"The election of their head was to be inquired into. The rule of every house was to be considered. How many professed? And how many novices were in it? And at what time the novices professed?

"Whether they knew their rule and observed it? Chiefly the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience? Whether any of them kept any money without the master's knowledge? Whether they kept company with women within or without the monastery? Or if there were any back-doors by which women came within the precinct? Whether they had any boys lying by them?

"Whether they observed the rules of silence, fasting, abstinence, and hair-shirts? Or by what warrant they were dispensed with, in any of these?

"Whether they did eat, sleep, wear their habit, and stay within the monastery, according to their rules?

"Whether the master was too cruel, or too remiss? And whether he used the brethren without partiality or malice?

"Whether any of the brethren were incorrigible?

"Whether the master made his accounts faithfully once a-year? Whether all the other officers made their accounts truly? And whether the whole revenues of the house were employed according to the intention of the founders?

"Whether the fabric was kept up, and the plate and furniture were carefully preserved?

"Whether the convent-seal and the writings of the house were well kept? And whether leases were made by the master to his kindred and friends, to the damage of the house? Whether hospitality was kept, and whether at the receiving of novices, any money or reward was demanded or promised? What care was taken to instruct the novices?

"Whether any had entered into the house in hope to be once the master of it?

"Whether in giving presentations to livings the master had reserved a pension out of them? Or what sort of bargains he made concerning them?

"An account was to be taken of all the parsonages and vicarages belonging to every house, and how these benefices were disposed of, and how the cure was served."

All these things were to be inquired after in the houses of monks or friars. And in the visitation of nunneries they were to search.

"Whether the house had a good enclosure; and if the doors and windows were kept shut, so that no man could enter at inconvenient hours?

"Whether any men conversed with the sisters alone, without the abbess's leave?

"Whether any sister was forced to profess, either by her kindred or by the abbess?

"Whether they went out of their precinct without leave? And whether they wore their habit then?

"What employment they had out of the times of divine service? What familiarity they had with religious men? Whether they wrote love-letters? or sent and received tokens or presents?

"Whether the confessor was a discreet and learned man, and of good reputation? And how oft a year the sisters did confess and communicate?"

They were also to visit all collegiate churches, hospitals, and cathedrals, and the order of the knights of Jerusalem. But if this copy be complete, they were only to view their writings and papers to see what could be gathered out of them about the reformation of monastical orders. And as they were to visit according to these instructions, so they were to give some injunctions in the king's name.

Injunctions for all Religious Houses. See Collect. Numb. 2d.

"That they should endeavour all that in them lay that the act of the king's succession should be observed" (where it is said, that they had under their hands and seals confirmed it. This shows that all the religious houses in England had acknowledged it): "and they should teach the people that the king's power was supreme on earth, under God, and that the bishop of Rome's power was usurped by craft and policy, and by his ill canons and decretals, which had been long tolerated by the prince, but was now justly taken away.

"The abbot and brethren were declared to be absolved from any oath they had sworn to the pope, or to any foreign potentate; and the statutes of any order that did bind them to a foreign subjection were abrogated and ordered to be razed out of their books.

"That no monk should go out of the precinct, nor any woman enter within it, without leave from the king or the visitor; and that there should be no entry to it but one.

"Some rules were given about their meals, and a chapter of the Old or New Testament was ordered to be read at every one. The abbot's table was to be served with common meats, and not with delicate and strange dishes; and either he or one of the seniors were to be always there to entertain strangers.

"Some other rules follow about the distribution of their alms, their accommodation in health and sickness. One or two of every house was to be kept at the university; that when they were well instructed they might come and teach others: and every day there was to be a lecture of divinity for a whole hour: the brethren must all be well employed.

"The abbot or head was every day to explain some part of the rule, and apply it according to Christ's law, and to show them that their ceremonies were but elements introductory to true Christianity; and that religion consisted not in habits, or in such like rites, but in cleanness of heart, pureness of living, unfeigned faith, brotherly charity, and true honouring of God in spirit and truth: that therefore they must not rest in their ceremonies, but ascend by them to true religion.

"Other rules are added about the revenues of the house, and against wastes, and that none be entered into their house nor admitted under twenty-four years of age.

"Every priest in the house was to say mass daily; and in it to pray for the king and queen.

"If any break any of these injunctions, he was to be denounced to the king or his visitor-general. The visitor had also authority to punish any whom he should find guilty of any crime, and to bring the visitor-general such of their books and writings as he thought fit."



But before I give an account of this visitation, I presume it will not be ingrateful to the reader, to offer him some short view of the rise and progress of monastic orders in England, and of the state they were in at this time. What the ancient British monks were, or by what rule they were governed; whether it was from the Eastern churches that this constitution was brought into Britain, and was either suited to the rule of St. Anthony, St. Pachom, or St. Basil; or whether they had it from France, where, Sulpitius tells us, St. Martin set up monasteries,—must be left to conjecture. But from the little that remains of them, we find they were very numerous, and were obedient to the bishop of Caerleon, as all the monks of the primitive times were to their bishops, according to the canons of the council of Chalcedon.

An account of the progress of the monastical state in England.

But upon the confusions which the Gothic wars brought into Italy, Benedict and others set up religious houses; and more artificial rules and methods were found out for their government. Not long after that, Austin the monk came into England; and having baptised Ethelbert, he persuaded him to found a monastery at Canterbury, which the king, by his charter, exempted from the jurisdiction of the archbishop and his successors. This was not only done by Austin's consent, but he by another writing confirms this foundation; and exempted both the monastery, and all the churches belonging to it, from his or his successor's jurisdictions; and most earnestly conjures his successors never to give any trouble to the monks, who were only to be subject to their own abbot. And this was granted, that they might have no disturbance in the service of God. But (whether this, with many other ancient foundations, were not latter forgeries, which I vehemently suspect, I leave to critics to discuss) the next exemption that I find was granted in the year 680, to the abbey of Peterborough, by pope Agatho, and was signed by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, called the pope's legate (this I doubt was forged afterwards). In the year 725, king Ina's charter to the abbey of Glastonbury relates to their ancient charters, and exempts them from the bishop's jurisdiction. King Offa founded and exempted the monastery of St. Albans, in the year 793, which pope Honorius III. confirmed, Anno 1218. Kenulph king of Mercia founded and exempted Abingdon, in the year 821. Knut founded and exempted St. Edmundsbury in the year 1020.

The Exemptions of Monasteries. See Monasticon.

About the end of the eighth century, the Danes began to make their descents into England, and made everywhere great depredations; and finding the monks had possessed themselves of the greatest part of the riches of the nation, they made their most frequent inroads upon these places where they knew the richest spoil was to be found. And they did so waste and ruin these houses, that they were generally abandoned by the monks, who as they loved the ease and wealth they had enjoyed formerly in their houses, so had no mind to expose themselves to the persecutions of those heathenish invaders. But when they had deserted their seats, the secular clergy came and possessed them; so that in king Edgar's time there was scarce a monk in all England. He was a most dissolute and lewd prince, but being persuaded by Dunstan and other monks, that what he did towards the restoring of that decayed state would be a matter of great merit, became the great promoter of the monastical state in England; for he converted most of the chapters into monasteries: and by his foundation of the priory of Worcester, it appears he had then founded no fewer than forty-seven, which he intended to increase to fifty, the number of pardons. Yet in his foundations, he only exempted the monasteries from all exactions or dues which the bishops claimed. There are exemptions of several rates and sizes: some houses were only exempted from all exactions; others from all jurisdiction or visitations; others had only an exemption for their precinct; others for all the churches that belonged to them. Edward the Confessor exempted many of these houses which Edgar had founded, as Ramsey, &c. He also founded and exempted Westminster; and the exemption of the last was likewise confirmed by pope Nicolas, in a bull to king Edward. William the Conqueror founded and exempted the abbey of Battel from all episcopal jurisdiction.

Monasteries generally wasted and deserted.

Antiquit. Britan.

But are again set up by King Edgar.

But after that time I do not find that our kings exempted abbeys from anything but episcopal exactions; for though formerly kings had made laws and given orders about

ecclesiastical matters, yet now the claim to an immunity from the civil jurisdiction and also the papal authority were grown to that height, that princes were to meddle no more with sacred things. And henceforth all exemptions were granted by the popes, who claimed a jurisdiction over the whole church, and assumed that power to themselves with many other usurpations.

All the ancient foundations were subscribed by the king, the queen, and prince, with many bishops and abbots and dukes and earls consenting. The abbeys being exempted from all jurisdiction, both civil and spiritual, and from all impositions, and having generally the privilege of sanctuary for all that fled to them, were at ease and accountable to none, so they might do what they pleased. They found also means to enrich themselves, first by the belief of purgatory. For they persuaded all people that the souls departed went generally thither; few were so holy as to go straight to heaven; and few so bad as to be cast to hell. Then people were made believe, that the saying of masses for their souls gave them great relief in their torments, and did at length deliver them out of them. This being generally received, it was thought by all a piece of piety to their parents, and of necessary care for themselves and their families, to give some part of their estates towards the enriching of these houses, for having a mass said every day for the souls of their ancestors, and for their own after their death. And this did so spread, that if some laws had not restrained their profuseness, the greater part of all the estates in England had been given to those houses. But the statutes of Mortmain were not very effectual restraints; for what king soever had refused to grant a mortmain, was sure to have an uneasy reign ever after.

Arts used by the Monks for enriching their Houses.

Yet this did not satisfy the monks, but they fell upon other contrivances, to get the best of all men's jewels, plate, and furniture. For they persuaded them, that the protection and intercession of saints were of mighty use to them; so that whatsoever respect they put on the shrines and images, but chiefly on the relics of saints, they would find their account in it, and the saints would take it kindly at their hands, and intercede the more earnestly for them. And people who saw courtiers much wrought on by presents, imagined the saints were of the same temper; only with this difference, that courtiers love to have presents put in their own hands, but the saints were satisfied if they were given to others. And as in the courts of princes the new favourite commonly had greatest credit, so every new saint was believed to have a greater force in his addresses; and therefore everybody was to run to their shrines and make great presents to them. This being infused into the credulous multitude, they brought the richest things they had to the places where the bodies or relics of those saints were laid. Some images were also believed to have a peculiar excellency in them, and pilgrimages and presents to these were much magnified. But to quicken all this, the monks found the means, either by dreams and visions, or strange miraculous stories, to feed the devotion of the people. Relics without number were everywhere discovered, and most wonderful relations of the martyrdom and other miracles of the saints were made and read in all places to the people; and new improvements were daily made in a trade, that through the craft of the monks and the simplicity of the people brought in great advantages. And though there was enough got to enrich them all, yet there was strange rivalling, not only among the several orders, but the houses of the same order. The monks, especially of Glastonbury, St. Albans, and St. Edmundsbury, vied one with another who could tell the most extravagant stories, for the honour of their house, and of the relics in it.

The monks in these houses abounding in wealth, and living at ease and in idleness, did so degenerate, that from the twelfth century downward, their reputation abated much; and the privileges of sanctuaries were a general grievance, and oft complained of in parliaments: for they received all that fled to them, which put a great stop to justice, and did encourage the most criminal offenders. They became lewd and dissolute, and so impudent in it, that some of their farms were let for bringing in a yearly tribute to their lusts: nor did they keep hospitality and relieve the poor; but rather encouraged vagabonds and beggars, against whom laws were made, both in Edward III., king Henry VII., and this king's reign.

They became generally corrupted.



But from the twelfth century, the orders of begging friars were set up, and they by the appearance of severity and mortification gained great esteem. At first they would have nothing, no real estates, but the ground on which their house stood. But afterwards distinctions were found for satisfying their consciences in larger possessions. They were not so idle and lazy as the monks, but went about and preached, and heard confessions, and carried about indulgences, with many other pretty little things, *Agnus Dei's*, rosaries, and pebbles, which they made the world believe had great virtue in them: and they had the esteem of the people wholly engrossed to themselves. They were also more formidable to princes than the monks, because they were poorer, and by consequence more hardy and bold. There was also a firmer union of their whole order, they having a general at Rome, and being divided into many provinces, subject to their provincials. They had likewise the school-learning wholly in their hands, and were great preachers, so that many things concurred to raise their esteem with the people very high, yet great complaints lay against them, for they went more abroad than the monks did, and were believed guilty of corrupting families. The scandals that went on them, upon their relaxing the primitive strictness of their orders, were a little rectified by some reformations of these orders. But that lasted not long: for they became liable to much censure, and many visitations had been made, but to little purpose. This concurring with their secret practices against the king, both in the matter of his divorce and supremacy, made him more willing to examine the truth of these reports; that if they were found guilty of such scandals, they might lose their credit with the people, and occasions be ministered to the king to justify the suppression of them.

Upon which the begging Friars grew much in credit.

There were also two other motives that inclined the king to this counsel. The one was, that he apprehended a war from the emperor, who was then the only prince in the world that had any considerable force at sea; having both great fleets in the Indies, and being prince of the Netherlands, where the greatest trade of these parts was driven. Therefore the king judged it necessary to fortify his ports, and seeing the great advantages of trade, which began then to rise much, was resolved to encourage it: for which end he intended to build many havens and harbours. This was a matter of great charge, and as his own revenue could not defray it, so he had no mind to lay heavy taxes on his subjects, therefore the suppression of monasteries was thought the easiest way of raising money.

The King's secret motives for dissolving these Houses.

He also intended to erect many more bishopries, to which Cranmer advised him much, that the vastness of some dioceses being reduced to a narrower compass, bishops might better discharge their duties, and oversee their flocks, according to the Scriptures and the primitive rules.

But Cranmer did on another reason press the suppression of monasteries. He found that their foundations and whole state was inconsistent with a full and true reformation. For among the things to be reformed were these abuses, which were essential to their constitution (such as the belief of purgatory, of redeeming souls by masses, the worship of saints and images, and pilgrimages, and the like). And therefore those societies, whose interest it was to oppose the reformation, were once to be suppressed: and then he hoped, upon new endowments and foundations, new houses should have been erected at every cathedral, to be nurseries for that whole diocese; which he thought would be more suitable to the primitive use of monasteries, and more profitable to the church. This was his scheme, as will afterwards appear; which was in some measure effected, though not so fully as he projected, for reasons to be told in their proper place.

Cranmer's design in it.

There had been a bull sent from Rome, for dissolving some monasteries and erecting bishoprics out of them, as was related in the former book, in the year 1532. And it seems it was upon that authority, that in the year 1533 the priory of Christ's church, near Aldgate, in London, was dissolved and given to the lord chancellor, Sir Thomas Audley (not to make him speak shriller for his master in the house of commons, as Fuller mistakes it; for he had been lord chancellor a year before this was given him). The pope's authority not being at that time put down, nor the king's supremacy

First Monastery that was dissolved.

set up, I conjecture it was done, pursuant to the bull for the dissolution of some religious houses; but I never saw the dissolution, and so can only guess on what ground it was made. But in the parliament held the former year, in which the king's grant of that house to the lord chancellor was confirmed, it is said in the preamble, "That the prior and convent had resigned that house to the king the 24th of February, 23rd Regni, and had left their house; but no mention is made upon what reason they did it.

Act. 10. Rot. Parl. Regn. 25.

But now I come to consider how the visitors carried on their visitations. Many severe things are said of their proceedings, nor is it any wonder that men who had traded so long in lies, as the monks had done, should load those whom they esteemed the instruments of their ruin with many calumnies. By their letters to Cromwell it appears that in most houses they found monstrous disorders. That many fell down on their knees and prayed they might be discharged, since they had been forced to make vows against their wills; with these the visitors dispensed and set them at liberty. They found great factions in the houses, and barbarous cruelties exercised by one faction against another, as either of them prevailed. In many places, when they gave them the king's injunctions, many cried out that the severity of them was intolerable, and they desired rather to be suppressed than so reformed. They were all extremely addicted to idolatry and superstition. In some they found the instruments, and other tools for multiplying and coining.

The Proceedings of the Visitors.

Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4.

But for the lewdness of the confessors of nunneries, and the great corruption of that state, whole houses being found almost all with child; for the dissoluteness of abbots and the other monks and friars not only with whores, but married women; and for their unnatural lusts and other brutal practices; these are not fit to be spoken of, much less enlarged on, in a work of this nature. The full report of this visitation is lost, yet I have seen an extract of a part of it, concerning one hundred and forty-four houses, that contains abominations in it equal to any that were in Sodom.

Ibid.

One passage that is more remarkable I shall only set down; because upon it followed the first resignation of any religious house that I could ever find. Doctor Leighton beset the abbot of Langden's house, and broke open his door of a sudden and found his whore with him; and in the abbot's coffer there was an habit for her, for she went for a young brother. Whether the shame of this discovery or any other consideration prevailed with him I know not; but on the 13th of November, he and ten monks signed a resignation, which hath an odd kind of preamble to be found in the collection.

Some Houses resigned up to the King.

Collect. Numb. 3. Sect. 1.

"It says that the revenue of the house was so much endamaged, and engaged in so much debt, that they considering this, and what remedies might be found for it, saw that except the king, of whose foundation the house was, did speedily relieve them, it must be very quickly ruined, both as to its spiritual and temporal concerns; therefore they surrender up their house to the king." They were of the order of Premonstre, and their house was dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin and St. Thomas-a-Becket. This precedent was followed by the like surrender, with the same preamble, on the 15th of November, by the prior of Folkeston, a Benedictin; and on the 16th, by the prior of Dover with eight monks. These were all of them in the county of Kent. But neither among the original surrenders, nor in the Clause Rolls, are there any other deeds in this year of our Lord; there are indeed in the same year of the king (which runs till April 1536) four other surrenders, with the same preambles. Of Merton in Yorkshire, a convent of Augustinians, signed by the prior and five monks; the 9th of February, of Bilsingtoun in Kent, signed by the prior and two monks; the 21st of February, of Tilty in Essex, a convent of Cistercians, signed by the prior and five monks, and of Hornby in Yorkshire, a convent of the Premonstre, signed by the prior and two monks, the 23rd of March. These were all the surrenders that I can discover to have been made before the act of parliament for the suppressing the lesser monasteries passed in the next session that was assembled in February.

The Original of these Resignations are in the Augmentation Office, and enrolled. Rot. Claus. Part. 1st, Regn. 27.

But before that, the afflicted and unfortunate queen Katharine died at Kimbolton; she had been much disquieted because she would not lay down her title of queen.

1536.



Many of her servants were put from her on that account, but she would accept of no service from any that did not use her as a queen, and call her so. The king sent oft to her, to persuade her to more compliance; but she stood her ground, and said since the pope had judged her marriage good, she would lose her life before she did anything in prejudice of it. She became more cheerful than she had wont to be, and the country people came much to her, whom she received, and used very obligingly. The king had a mind she should go to Fotheringhay castle; but when it was proposed to her, she plainly said she would never go thither unless she were carried as a prisoner, bound with ropes. She desired leave to come nearer London; but that was not granted. She had the jointure that was assigned her as princess dowager, and was treated with the respect due to that dignity, but all the women about her still called her queen. I do not find she had any thoughts of going out of England, though her life in it was but melancholy. Yet her care to support her daughter's title made her bear all the disgraces she lay under. The officious and practising clergy that were for the court of Rome looked on her as the head of their party, and asserted her interests much. Yet she was so watched that she could not hold any great correspondence with them, though in the matter of the Maid of Kent she had some meddling.

The death of Queen Katharine.

Originals. Otho, C. 10. Cott. Lib.

When she sickened, she made her will, and appointed her body to be buried in a convent of Observant Friars (who had done and suffered most for her), and ordered five hundred masses to be said for her soul, and that one should go a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Walsingham, and give twenty nobles by the way to the poor. Some other small legacies she left to her servants. When the king heard she was sick, he sent a kind message to her; and the emperor's ambassador went to see her and to cheer her up: but when she found her sickness like to prove mortal, she made one about her write a letter in her name to the king. In the title she called him "Her good lord, king, and husband. She advised him to look to the health of his soul. She forgave him all the troubles he had cast her into. She recommended their daughter Mary to him, and desired he would be a loving father to her. She also desired that he would provide matches for her maids, who were but three; and that he would give her servants one year's wages more than was due to them;" and concluded, lastly, "I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things." By another letter she recommended her daughter to the emperor's care. On the 8th of January she died, in the fiftieth year of her age, thirty-three years after she came to England. She was a devout and pious princess, and led a severe and mortified life. In her greatness, she wrought much with her own hands, and kept her women well employed about her; as appeared when the two legates came once to speak with her. She came out to them with a skein of silk about her neck, and told them she had been within at work with her women. She was most passionately devoted to the interests of the court of Rome, they being so interwoven with her own; and, in a word, she is represented as a most wonderful good woman. Only I find on many occasions that the king complained much of her uneasiness and peevishness. But whether the fault was in her humour, or in the provocations she met with, the reader may conjecture. The king received the news of her death with some regret; but he would not give leave to bury her as she ordered, but made her body be laid in the abbey church of Peterborough, which he afterwards converted to an episcopal cathedral. But queen Anne did not carry her death so decently, for she expressed too much joy at it, both in her carriage and dress.

On the 4th of February the parliament sat, upon a prorogation of fourteen months, (for in the record there is no mention of any intermedial prorogation,) where a great many laws relating to civil concerns were passed. By the fifteenth act, the power that had been given by a former act to the king, for naming thirty-two persons to make a collection of ecclesiastical laws, was again confirmed; for nothing had been done upon the former act. But there was no limitation of time in this act, and so there was nothing done in pursuance of it.

A new session of Parliament.

The great business of this session of parliament was the suppressing the lesser monasteries. How this went through the two houses we cannot know from the Journals, for they are lost: but all the historians of that time tell us, that the report which the visitors made to the king was read in parliament; which represented the

The lesser Monasteries are suppressed.

manners of these houses so odiously, that the act was easily carried. The preamble bears "that small religious houses, under the number of twelve persons, had been long and notoriously guilty of vicious and abominable living, and did much consume and waste their churches, lands, and other things belonging to them; and that for above two hundred years there had been many visitations for reforming these abuses, but with no success,—their vicious living increasing daily; so that, except small houses were dissolved and the religious put into greater monasteries, there could no reformation be expected in that matter. Whereupon the king having received a full information of these abuses, both by his visitors and other credible ways, and considering that there were divers great monasteries, in which religion was well kept and observed, which had not the full number in them that they might and ought to receive, had made a full declaration of the premises in parliament. Whereupon it was enacted, that all houses which might spend yearly 200*l.* or within it, should be suppressed, and their revenues converted to better uses, and they compelled to reform their lives." The lord Herbert thinks it strange that the statute in the printed book has no preamble, but begins bluntly. Fuller tells us, that he wonders that lord did not see the record; and he sets down the preamble and says, the rest follow as in the printed statute, chapter twenty-seventh, by a mistake for the twenty-eighth. This shows that neither the one nor the other ever looked on the record: for there is a particular statute of dissolution, distinct from the twenty-eighth chapter: and the preamble which Fuller sets down belongs not to the twenty-eighth chapter, as he says, but to the eighteenth chapter, which was never printed; and the twenty-eighth relates in the preamble to that other statute which had given these monasteries to the king.

Reasons for doing it.

The reasons that were pretended for dissolving these houses were, that whereas there was but a small number of persons in them, they entered into confederacies together, and their poverty set them on to use many ill arts to grow rich. They were also much abroad, and kept no manner of discipline in their houses. But those houses were generally much richer than they seemed to be: for the abbots raising great fines out of them, held the leases still low, and by that means they were not obliged to entertain a greater number in their house, and so enriched themselves and their brethren by the fines that were raised; for many houses then rated at two hundred pounds, were worth many thousands, as will appear to any that compares what they were then valued at (which is collected by Speed) with what their estates are truly worth. When this was passing in parliament, Stokesley bishop of London said, "These lesser houses were as thorns soon plucked up, but the great abbots were like putrefied old oaks; yet they must needs follow, and so would others do in Christendom before many years were passed."

By another act, all these houses, their churches, lands, and all their goods, were given to the king and his heirs and successors, together with all other houses, which within a year before the making of the act had been dissolved or suppressed; and for the gathering the revenues that belonged to them a new court was erected, called the court of the augmentations of the king's revenue, which was to consist of a chancellor, a treasurer, an attorney and solicitor, and ten auditors, seventeen receivers, a clerk, an usher, and a messenger. This court was to bring in the revenues of such houses as were now dissolved, excepting only such as the king by his letters-patent continued in their former state, appointing a seal for the court, with full power and authority to dispose of these lands so as might be most for the king's service.

Thus fell the lesser abbeys, to the number of 376; and soon after, this parliament, which had done the king such eminent service and had now sat six years, was dissolved, on the 14th of April.

The Translation of the Bible in English designed.

In the convocation, a motion was made of great consequence, that there should be a translation of the Bible in English, to be set up in all the churches of England. The clergy, when they procured Tindall's translation to be condemned, and suppressed it, gave out that they intended to make a translation into the vulgar tongue: yet it was afterwards, upon a long consultation, resolved, that it was free for the church to give the Bible in a vulgar tongue or not, as they pleased; and that the king was not obliged to it, and that at that time it was not at all expedient to do it. Upon which those that promoted the reformation made great complaints, and said it was visible the clergy knew there was an opposition between the Scriptures and their doctrine: that they had first condemned Wickliff's translation, and then Tindal's; and though they ought to teach men the word of God, yet they did all they could to suppress it.



The reasons for it.

In the times of the Old Testament, the Scriptures were writ in the vulgar tongue, and all were charged to read and remember the law. The apostles wrote in Greek, which was then the most common language in the world. Christ did also appeal to the Scriptures, and sent the people to them: and by what St. Paul says of Timothy, it appears that children were then early trained up in that study. In the primitive church, as nations were converted to the faith the Bible was translated into their tongue. The Latin translation was very ancient; the Bible was afterwards put into the Scythian, Dalmatian, and Gothic tongues. It continued thus for several ages, till the state of monkery rose; and then, when they engrossed the riches, and the popes assumed the dominion of the world, it was not consistent with these designs, nor with the arts used to promote them, to let the Scriptures be much known; therefore legends and strange stories of visions, with other devices, were thought more proper for keeping up their credit, and carrying on their ends.

It was now generally desired that if there were just exceptions against what Tindal had done, these might be amended in a new translation. This was a plausible thing, and wrought much on all that heard it; who plainly concluded, that those who denied the people the use of the Scriptures in their vulgar tongues, must needs know their own doctrine and practices to be inconsistent with it. Upon these grounds Cranmer, who was projecting the most effectual means for promoting a reformation of doctrine, moved in convocation, that they should petition the king for leave to make a translation of the Bible. But Gardiner and all his party opposed it, both in convocation and in secret with the king. It was said, that all the heresies and extravagant opinions which were then in Germany, and from thence coming over to England, sprang from the free use of the Scriptures. And whereas in May the last year, nineteen Hollanders were accused of some heretical opinions, "denying Christ to be both God and man, or that he took flesh and blood of the Virgin Mary, or that the sacraments had any effect on those that received them;" in which opinions fourteen of them remained obstinate, and were burned by pairs in several places; it was complained, that all those drew their damnable errors from the indiscreet use of the Scriptures. And to offer the Bible in the English tongue to the whole nation, during these distractions, would prove, as they pretended, the greatest snare that could be. Therefore they proposed, that there should be a short exposition of the most useful and necessary doctrines of the Christian faith given to the people in the English tongue, for the instruction of the nation, which would keep them in a certain subjection to the king and the church, in matters of faith.

The opposition made to it.

The other party, though they liked well the publishing such a treatise in the vulgar tongue, yet by no means thought that sufficient; but said, the people must be allowed to search the Scripture, by which they might be convinced that such treatises were according to it. These arguments prevailed with the two houses of convocation. So they petitioned the king that he would give order to some to set about it. To this, great opposition was made at court. Some, on the one hand, told the king that a diversity of opinions would arise out of it; and that he could no more govern his subjects if he gave way to that. But, on the other hand, it was represented, that nothing would make his supremacy so acceptable to the nation, and make the pope more hateful, than to let them see, that whereas the popes had governed them by a blind obedience, and kept them in darkness, the king brought them into the light and gave them the free use of the word of God. And nothing would more effectually extirpate the pope's authority, and discover the impostures of the monks, than the Bible in English; in which all people would clearly discern there was no foundation for those things. These arguments, joined with the power that the queen had in his affections, were so much considered by the king, that he gave order for setting about it immediately. To whom that work was committed, or how they proceeded in it, I know not. For the account of these things has not been preserved, nor conveyed to us, with that care that the importance of the

thing required. Yet it appears that the work was carried on at a good rate: for three years after this it was printed at Paris; which shows they made all convenient haste in a thing that required so much deliberation.

But this was the last public good act of this unfortunate queen; who, the nearer she drew to her end, grew more full of good works. She had distributed, in the last nine months of her life, between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds to the poor, and was designing great and public good things. And by all appearance, if she had lived, the money that was raised by the suppression of religious houses had been better employed than it was. In January, she brought forth a dead son. This was thought to have made ill impressions on the king: and that, as he concluded from the death of his sons by the former queen, that the marriage was displeasing to God; so he might, upon this misfortune, begin to make the like judgment of this marriage. Sure enough the popish party were earnestly set against the queen, looking on her as the great supporter of heresy. And at that time Fox, then bishop of Hereford, was in Germany at Smalcald, treating a league with the Protestant princes, who insisted much on the Augsburg Confession. There were many conferences between Fox and doctor Barnes, and some others, with the Lutheran divines, for accommodating the differences between them, and the thing was in a good forwardness. All which was imputed to the queen. Gardiner was then ambassador in France, and wrote earnestly to the king to dissuade him from entering into any religious league with these princes; for that would alienate all the world from him, and dispose his own subjects to rebel. The king thought the German princes and divines should have submitted all things to his judgment, and had such an opinion of his own learning, and was so puffed up with the flattering praises that he daily heard, that he grew impatient of any opposition, and thought that his dictates should pass for oracles. And because the Germans would not receive them so, his mind was alienated from them.

The fall of Queen Anne.

The whole Popish party drove it on.

But the duke of Norfolk at court, and Gardiner beyond sea, thought there might easily be found a mean to accommodate the king, both with the emperor and the pope, if the queen were once out of the way, for then he might freely marry any one whom he pleased, and that marriage, with the male issue of it, could not be disputed; whereas, as long as the queen lived, her marriage, as being judged null from the beginning, could never be allowed by the court of Rome or any of that party: with these reasons of state others of affection concurred. The queen had been his wife three years, but at this time he entertained a secret love for Jane Seymour, who had all the charms both of beauty and youth in her person, and her humour was tempered between the severe gravity of queen Katharine and the gay pleasantness of queen Anne. The queen perceiving this alienation of the king's heart, used all possible arts to recover that affection of whose decay she was sadly sensible. But the success was quite contrary to what she designed; for the king saw her no more with those eyes which she had formerly captivated, but grew jealous, and ascribed these caresses to some other criminal affections, of which he began to suspect her. This being one of the most memorable passages of this reign, I was at more than ordinary pains to learn all I could concerning it, and have not only seen a great many letters that were writ by those that were set about the queen, and catched everything that fell from her and sent it to court, but have also seen an account of it, which the learned Spelman, who was a judge at that time, writ with his own hand in his common-place book, and another account of it writ by one Anthony Anthony, a surveyor of the ordnance of the Tower. From all which I shall give a just and faithful relation of it, without concealing the least circumstance that may either seem favourable or unfavourable to her.

She was of a very cheerful temper, which was not always limited within the bounds of exact decency and discretion. She had rallied some of the king's servants more than became her. Her brother, the lord Rochford, was her friend as well as brother; but his spiteful wife was jealous of him; and being a woman of no sort of virtue, (as will appear afterwards by her serving queen Katharine Howard in her beastly practices, for which she was attainted and executed,) she carried many stories to the king, or some about him, to persuade that there was a familiarity between the queen and her brother, beyond what so near a relation could justify. All that could be said for it was only this;—

The King's jealousy of her.



that he was once seen leaning upon her bed, which bred great suspicion. Henry Norris, that was groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton, that were of the king's privy-chamber, and one Mark Smeton, a musician, were all observed to have much of her favour. And their zeal in serving her was thought too warm and diligent to flow from a less active principle than love. Many circumstances were brought to the king, which working upon his aversion to the queen, together with his affection to mistress Seymour, made him conclude her guilty. Yet somewhat which himself observed or fancied at a tilting at Greenwich, is believed to have given the crisis to her ruin. It is said that he spied her let her handkerchief fall to one of her gallants to wipe his face, being hot after a course. Whether she dropped it carelessly or of design, or whether there be any truth in that story, the letters concerning her fall making no mention of it, I cannot determine; for Spelman makes no mention of it, and gives a very different account of the discovery in these words: "As for the evidence of this matter, it was discovered by the lady Wingfield, who had been a servant to the queen, and becoming on a sudden infirm some time before her death did swear this matter to one of her—" and here unluckily the rest of the page is torn off. By this it seems there was no legal evidence against the queen, and that it was but a witness at second-hand who deposed what they heard the lady Wingfield swear. Who this person was we know not, nor in what temper of mind the lady Wingfield might be when she swore it. The safest sort of forgery, to one whose conscience can swallow it, is to lay a thing on a dead person's name, where there is no fear of discovery before the great day, and when it was understood that the queen had lost the king's heart, many either out of their zeal to popery, or design to make their fortune, might be easily induced to carry a story of this nature. And this it seems was that which was brought to the king at Greenwich, who did thereupon immediately return to Whitehall, it being the 1st of May. The queen was immediately restrained to her chamber, the other five were also seized on: but none of them would confess anything, but Mark Smeton, as to any actual thing, so Cromwell writ. Upon this they were carried to the Tower. The poor queen was in a sad condition; she must not only fall under the king's displeasure, but be both defamed and destroyed at once. At first she smiled and carried it cheerfully, and said she believed the king did this only to prove her. But when she saw it was in earnest, she desired to have the sacrament in her closet, and expressed great devotion, and seemed to be prepared for death.

The Letters about this. Cott. Lib. Otho C. 10.

The surprise and confusion she was in raised fits of the mother, which those about her did not seem to understand; but three or four letters which were writ by sir William Kingston to secretary Cromwell, concerning her to court, say, that she was at some times very devout, and cried much, and of a sudden would burst out in laughter, which are evident signs of vapours. When she heard that those who were accused with her were sent to the Tower, she then concluded herself lost, and said she should be sent thither next, and talked idly, saying, "that if her bishops were about the king, they would all speak for her." She also said, "that she would be a saint in heaven, for she had done many good deeds; and that there should be no rain, but heavy judgments on the land, for what they were now doing to her." Her enemies had now gone too far not to destroy her. Next day she was carried to the Tower, and some lords that met her on the river declared to her what her offences were; upon which she made deep protestations of her innocence and begged leave to see the king, but that was not to be expected. When she was carried into the Tower, "she fell down on her knees, and prayed God to help her, as she was not guilty of the thing for which she was accused." That same day the king wrote to Cranmer to come to Lambeth, but ordered him not to come into his presence; which was procured by the queen's enemies, who took care that one who had such credit with the king should not come at him till they had fully persuaded him that she was guilty. Her uncle's lady, the lady Boleyn, was appointed to lie in the chamber with her; which she took very ill, for, upon what reason I know not, she had been in very ill terms with her. She engaged her into much discourse, and studied to draw confessions from her. Whatsoever she said was presently sent to the court; and a woman full of vapours was like enough to tell everything that was true, with a great deal more; for persons in that condition not only have no command of themselves, but are apt to say anything that comes in their fancy.

She is put in the Tower, and pleads her Innocency.

The duke of Norfolk and some of the king's council were with her, but could draw nothing from her, though they made her believe that Norris and Mark had accused her. But when they were gone, she fell down on her knees and wept, and prayed often, "Jesu, have mercy on me," and then fell a-laughing: when that fit was over, she desired to have the sacrament still by her, that she might cry for mercy. And she said to the lieutenant of the Tower, she was as clear of the company of all men, as to sin, as she was clear from him, and that she was the king's true wedded wife; and she cried out, "O Norris, hast thou accused me? thou art in the Tower with me, and thou and I shall die together; and Mark, so shall thou too." She apprehended they were to put her in a dungeon, and sadly bemoaned her own and her mother's misery, and asked them whether she must die without justice. But they told her the poorest subjects had justice, much more would she have it. The same letter says, that Norris had not accused her; and that he said to her almoner that he could swear for her, she was a good woman. But she being made believe that he had accused her, and not being then so free in her thoughts as to consider that ordinary artifice for drawing out confessions, told all she knew, both of him and Mark, which, though it was not enough to destroy her, yet certainly wrought much on the jealous and alienated king. She told them, "that she once asked Norris why he did not go on with his marriage? who answered her, that he would yet tarry some time. To which she replied, You look for dead men's shoes; for if aught come to the king but good, you would look to have me. He answered, if he had any such thought, he would his head were cut off. Upon which she said, she could undo him if she pleased, and thereupon she fell out with him." As for Mark, who was then laid in irons, she said he was never in her chamber but when the king was last at Winchester; and then he came in to play on the virginals: she said, "that she never spoke to him after that but on Saturday before May-day, when she saw him standing in the window, and then she asked him why he was so sad; he said, it was no matter: she answered, You may not look to have me speak to you as if you were a nobleman, since you are an inferior person. No, no, madam, said he, a look sufficeth me. She seemed more apprehensive of Weston than of anybody. For on Whitsun-Monday last he said to her, that Norris came more to her chamber upon her account, than for anybody else that was there. She had observed that he loved a kinswoman of hers, and challenged him for it, and for not loving his wife. But he answered her, that there were women in the house whom he loved better than them both. She asked, 'Who is that?' 'Yourself,' said he; upon which, she said, she defied him."

But confessed some indiscreet words.

This misery of the queen's drew after it the common effects that follow persons under such a disgrace; for now all the court was against her, and every one was courting the rising queen. But Cranmer had not learned these arts, and had a better soul in him than to be capable of such baseness and ingratitude. He had been much obliged by her, and had conceived a high opinion of her, and so could not easily receive ill impressions of her; yet he knew the king's temper, and that a downright justification of her would provoke him: therefore he wrote the following letter, on the 3d of May, with all the softness that so tender a point required; in which he justified her, as far as was consistent with prudence and charity. The letter shows of what a constitution he was that wrote it, and contains so many things that tend highly to her honour, that I shall insert it here as I copied it from the original.

Cranmer's Letter to the King about her. Cott. Lib.

"Pleaseth it your most noble grace, to be advertised, that at your grace's commandment by Mr. Secretary his letters, written in your grace's name, I came to Lambeth yesterday, and do there remain to know your grace's further pleasure. And forsomuch as without your grace's commandment, I dare not, contrary to the contents of the said letters, presume to come unto your grace's presence; nevertheless of my most bounden duty, I can do no less than most humbly to desire your grace, by your great wisdom, and by the assistance of God's help, somewhat to suppress the deep sorrows of your grace's heart, and to take all adversities of God's hands both patiently and thankfully. I cannot deny but your grace hath great causes many ways of lamentable heaviness: and also that in the wrongful estimation of the world, your grace's honour of every part is so highly touched (whether the things that commonly be spoken of be true or not), that I remember not that ever Almighty God sent unto your grace any like occasion to try your grace's constancy throughout, whether your highness can be content to take of God's hand, as well things displeasant as pleasant. And if he find in your most noble heart such an obedience unto his will, that your grace, without murmuration and overmuch heaviness, do accept all adversities, not less thanking him, than when all things succeed after your grace's will and pleasure, nor less procuring his glory and honour; then I suppose your grace did never thing more acceptable unto him, since your first governance of this your realm. And moreover, your grace shall give unto him occasion to multiply and increase his graces and benefits unto your highness, as he did unto his most faithful servant Job; unto whom, after his great calamities and heaviness, for his obedient heart, and willing acceptation of God's scourge and rod, *Addidit ei Dominus cuncta duplicia.* And if it be true, that is openly reported of the queen's grace, if men had a right estimation of things, they should not esteem any part of your grace's honour to be touched thereby, but her honour only to be clearly disparaged. And I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean amazed. For I never had better opinion in woman, than I had in her; which maketh me to think, that she should not be culpable. And again, I think your highness would not have gone so far, except she had surely been culpable. Now I think that your grace best knoweth, that next unto your grace, I was most bound unto her of all creatures living. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your grace to suffer me in that, which both God's law, nature, and also her kindness, bindeth me unto; that is, that I may with your grace's favour wish and pray for her, that she may declare herself inculpable and innocent. And if she be found culpable, considering your grace's goodness towards her, and from what condition your grace of your only mere goodness took her, and set the crown upon her head; I repute him not your grace's faithful servant and subject, nor true unto the realm, that would not desire the offence without mercy to be punished, to the example of all other. And as I loved her not a little, for the love which I judged her to bear towards God and his gospel; so if she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his gospel, that ever will favour her, but must hate her above all other; and the more they favour the gospel, the more they will hate her: for then there was never creature in our time that so much slandered the gospel. And God hath sent her this punishment, for that she feignedly hath professed his gospel in her mouth, and not in heart and deed. And though she have offended so that she hath deserved never to be reconciled unto your grace's favour; yet Almighty God hath manifoldly declared his goodness towards your grace, and never offended you. But your grace, I am sure, knowledgeth that you have offended him. Wherefore I trust that your grace will bear no less entire favour unto the truth of the gospel than you did before: forsomuch as your grace's favour to the gospel was not led by affection unto her, but by zeal unto the truth. And thus I beseech Almighty God, whose gospel he hath ordained your grace to be defender of, ever to preserve your grace from all evil, and give you at the end the promise of his gospel. From Lambeth, the 3d day of May.

"After I had written this letter unto your grace, my lord chancellor, my lord of Oxford, my lord of Sussex, and my lord chamberlain of your grace's house, sent for me to come unto the Star-chamber, and there declared unto me such things as your grace's pleasure was they should make me privy unto; for the which I am most bounden unto your grace. And what communication we had together, I doubt not but they will make the true report thereof unto your grace. I am exceedingly sorry that such faults can be proved by the queen as I heard of their relation. But I am, and ever shall be, your faithful subject,

"Your grace's most humble subject and chaplain,

T. Cantuariensis."

But jealousy, and the king's new affection, had quite defaced all the remainders of esteem for his late beloved queen. Yet the ministers continued practising, to get further evidence for the trial; which was not brought on till the 12th of May; and then Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried by a commission of Oyer and Terminer in Westminster Hall. They were twice indicted, and the indictments were found by two grand juries, in the counties of Kent and Middlesex; the crimes with

She is brought to a trial.

which they were charged being said to be done in both these counties. Mark Smeton confessed he had known the queen carnally three times: the other three pleaded not guilty, but the jury, upon the evidence formerly mentioned, found them all guilty; and judgment was given, that they should be drawn to the place of execution, and some of them to be hanged, others to be beheaded, and all to be quartered, as guilty of high treason. On the 15th of May, the queen and her brother the lord Rochford (who was a peer, having been made a viscount when his father was created earl of Wiltshire) were brought to be tried by their peers; the duke of Norfolk being lord high steward for that occasion. With him sate the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-five more peers, of whom their father the earl of Wiltshire was one*. Whether this unnatural compliance was imposed on him by the imperious king, or officiously submitted to by himself, that he might thereby be preserved from the ruin that fell on his family, is not known. Here the queen of England, by an unheard-of precedent, was brought to the bar, and indicted of high treason. The crimes charged on her were, that she had procured her brother and the other four to lie with her, which they had done often; that she had said to them that the king never had her heart, and had said to every one of them by themselves, that she loved them better than any person whatsoever; which was to the slander of the issue that was begotten between the king and her; and this was treason, according to the statute made in the 26th year of this reign (so that the law that was made for her and the issue of her marriage is now made use of to destroy her). It was also added in the indictment, that she and her complices had conspired the king's death: but this it seems was only put in to swell the charge; for if there had been any evidence for it, there was no need of stretching the other statute; or if they could have proved the violating of the queen, the known statute of the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Edward III. had been sufficient. When the indictment was read, she held up her hand and pleaded not guilty, and so did her brother, and did answer the evidence that was brought against her discreetly. One thing is remarkable, that Mark Smeton, who was the only person that confessed anything, was never confronted with the queen, nor was kept to be an evidence against her, for he had received his sentence three days before, and so could be no witness in law: but perhaps, though he was wrought on to confess, yet they did not think he had confidence enough to aver it to the queen's face; therefore the evidence they brought, as Spelman says, was the oath of a woman that was dead, yet this, or rather the terror of offending the king, so wrought on the lords, that they found her and her brother guilty: and judgment was given that she should be burnt or beheaded at the king's pleasure. Upon which Spelman observes, that whereas burning is the death which the law appoints for a woman that is attainted of treason, yet since she had been queen of England, they left it to the king to determine whether she should die so infamous a death or be beheaded; but the judges complained of this way of proceeding, and said such a disjunctive in a judgment of treason had never been seen. The lord Rochford was also condemned to be beheaded and quartered. Yet all this did not satisfy the enraged king, but the marriage between him and her must be annulled, and the issue illegitimated. The king remembered an intrigue that had been between her and the earl of Northumberland, which was mentioned in the former book; and that the then lord Piercy had said to the cardinal, "that he had gone so far before witnesses, that it lay upon his conscience, so that he could not go back:" this it's like might be some promise he made to marry her, *per verba de futuro*, which though it was no precontract in itself, yet it seems the poor queen was either so ignorant or so ill advised as to be persuaded afterwards it was one, though it's certain that nothing but a contract *per verba de præsenti* could be of any force to annul the subsequent marriage. The king and his council, reflecting upon what it seems the cardinal had told him, resolved to try what could be made of it, and pressed the earl of Northumberland to confess a contract between him and her. But he took his oath before the two archbishops, that there was no contract nor promise of marriage ever between them, and received the sacrament upon it before the duke of Norfolk and others of the king's learned council in the law spiritual, wishing it might be to his damnation if there was any such thing (concerning which I have

* This is an error. The earl of Wiltshire was not one of her judges. See the Addenda at the end of this book. —Ed.



seen the original declaration under his own hand). Nor could they draw any confession from the queen before the sentence; for certainly if they could have done that, the divorce had gone before the trial; and then she must have been tried only as marchioness of Pembroke. But now she lying under so terrible a sentence, it is most probable that either some hopes of life were given her, or at least she was wrought on by the assurances of mitigating that cruel part of her judgment, of being burnt, into the milder part of the sentence, of having her head cut off; so that she confessed a precontract, and on the 17th of May was brought to Lambeth; and in court, the afflicted archbishop sitting judge, some persons of quality being present, she confessed some just and lawful impediments, by which it was evident that her marriage with the king was not valid. Upon which confession, the marriage between the king and her was judged to have been null and void. The record of the sentence is burnt; but these particulars are repeated in the act that passed in the next parliament, touching the succession to the crown. It seems this was secretly done, for Spelman writes of it thus: "It was said there was a divorce made between the king and her, upon her confessing a precontract with another before her marriage with the king:" so then it was then only talked of, but not generally known.

Upon an extorted confession is divorced.

The two sentences that were passed upon the queen, the one of attainder for adultery, the other of divorce because of a precontract, did so contradict one another, that it was apparent one, if not both, of them must be unjust. For if the marriage between the king and her was null from the beginning, then since she was not the king's wedded wife, there could be no adultery. And her marriage to the king was either a true marriage, or not: if it was true, then the annulling of it was unjust; and if it was no true marriage, then the attainder was unjust, for there could be no breach of that faith which was never given. So that it is plain, the king was resolved to be rid of her, and to illegitimate her daughter, and in that transport of his fury, did not consider that the very method he took discovered the injustice of his proceedings against her. Two days after this, she was ordered to be executed in the green on Tower-hill. How she received these tidings, and how steadfast she continued in the protestations of her innocence, will best appear by the following circumstances:—The day before she suffered, upon a strict search of her past life, she called to mind, that she had played the step-mother too severely to lady Mary, and had done her many injuries. Upon which she made the lieutenant of the Tower's lady sit down in the chair of state; which the other, after some ceremony, doing, she fell down on her knees, and with many tears charged the lady, as she would answer it to God, to go in her name, and do, as she had done, to the lady Mary, and ask her forgiveness for the wrongs she had done her. And she said, she had no quiet in her conscience till she had done that. But though she did in this what became a Christian, the lady Mary could not so easily pardon these injuries, but retained the resentments of them her whole life.

Her preparation for death.

This ingenuity and tenderness of conscience about lesser matters is a great presumption, that if she had been guilty of more eminent faults, she had not continued to the last denying them, and making protestations of her innocency. For that same night she sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged herself much obliged to him, that had continued still to advance her. She said he had, from a private gentlewoman, first made her a marchioness, and then a queen; and now, since he could raise her no higher, was sending her to be a saint in heaven: she protested her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. And her carriage that day she died will appear from the following letter, writ by the lieutenant of the Tower, copied from the original, which I insert, because the copier employed by the lord Herbert has not writ it out faithfully; for I cannot think that any part of it was left out on design.

"Sir,—These shall be to advertise you I have received your letter, wherein you would have strangers conveyed out of the Tower; and so they be, by the means of Richard Gressum and William Loke, and Wythspall. But the number of strangers past not thirty, and not many hothe*; and the ambassador of the emperor had a servant there, and honestly put out: sir, if we have not an hour certain, as it may be known in London, I think here will be but few, and I think a reasonable number were

The Lieutenant of the Tower's letter.

* *I. e.* of others.—Ed.

best, for I suppose she will declare herself to be a good woman, for all men but for the king, at the hour of her death. For this morning she sent for me, that I might be with her at such time as she received the good lord, to the intent I should hear her speak as touching her innocency alway to be clear. And in the writing of this she sent for me, and at my coming she said, 'Mr. Kingston, I hear say I shall not die aforenoon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this time, and past my pain.' I told her it should be no pain, it was so sottel. And then she said, 'I heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a little neck,' and put her hands about it, laughing heartily. I have seen many men, and also women, executed; and that they have been in great sorrow, and to my knowledge this lady has much joy and pleasure in death. Sir, her almoner is continually with her, and had been since two o'clock after midnight. This is the effect of anything that is here at this time, and thus fare-you-well.—Yours,

"WILLIAM KINGSTON."

Her Execution.

A little before noon, being the 19th of May, she was brought to the scaffold, where she made a short speech to a great company that came to look on the last scene of this fatal tragedy; the chief of whom were the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, the lord chancellor, and secretary Cromwell, with the lord mayor, the sheriffs and aldermen of London. She said, "She was come to die, as she was judged by the law; she would accuse none, nor say anything of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the king; and called him a most merciful and gentle prince, and that he had been always to her a good, gentle, sovereign lord: and if any would meddle with her cause, she required them to judge the best. And so she took her leave of them, and of the world; and heartily desired they would pray for her." After she had been some time in her devotions, her last words being, "*To Christ I commend my soul*," her head was cut off by the hangman of Calais, who was brought over as more expert at beheading than any in England: her eyes and lips were observed to move after her head was cut off, as Spelman writes; but her body was thrown into a common chest of elm-tree that was made to put arrows in, and was buried in the chapel within the Tower before twelve o'clock.

Her brother with the other four did also suffer; none of them were quartered, but they were all beheaded, except Smeton, who was hanged. It was generally said, that he was corrupted into that confession, and had his life promised him; but it was not fit to let him live to tell tales. Norris had been much in the king's favour, and an offer was made him of his life, if he would confess his guilt and accuse the queen. But he generously rejected that unhandsome proposition, and said, "that in his conscience he thought her innocent of these things laid to her charge; but whether she was or not, he would not accuse her of anything, and he would die a thousand times rather than ruin an innocent person."

The several censures that were then passed on those proceedings.

These proceedings occasioned as great variety of censures, as there were diversity of interests. The Popish party said, the justice of God was visible, that she who had supplanted queen Katharine met with the like and harder measure, by the same means. Some took notice of her faint justifying herself on the scaffold, as if her conscience had then prevailed so far, that she could no longer deny a thing for which she was so soon to answer at another tribunal. But others thought her care of her daughter made her speak so tenderly; for she had observed, that queen Katharine's obstinacy had drawn the king's indignation on her daughter; and therefore that she alone might bear her misfortunes, and derive no share of them on her daughter, she spake in a style that could give the king no just offence: and as she said enough to justify herself, so she said as much for the king's honour as could be expected. Yet in a letter that she wrote to the king from the Tower (which will be found in the collection), she pleaded her innocence in a strain of so much wit, and moving passionate eloquence, as perhaps can scarce be paralleled: certainly her spirits were much exalted when she wrote it, for it is a pitch above her ordinary style. Yet the copy I take it from, lying among Cromwell's other papers, makes me believe it was truly written by her.

Collect. Numb. 4th.

Her carriage seemed too free, and all people thought that some freedoms and levities in her had encouraged those unfortunate persons to speak such bold things to her, since few



attempt upon the chastity, or make declarations of love, to persons of so exalted a quality, except they see some invitations, at least in their carriage. Others thought that a free and jovial temper might, with great innocence, though with no discretion, lead one to all those things that were proved against her; and therefore they concluded her chaste, though indiscreet. Others blamed the king, and taxed his cruelty in proceeding so severely against a person whose chastity he had reason to be assured of, since she had resisted his addresses near five years, till he legitimated them by marriage. But others excused him. It is certain her carriage had given just cause of some jealousy, and that being the rage of a man, it was no wonder if a king of his temper, conceiving it against one whom he had so signally obliged, was transported into unjustifiable excesses*.

Others condemned Cranmer, as a man that obsequiously followed all the king's appetites; and that he had now divorced the king a second time, which showed that his conscience was governed by the king's pleasure as his supreme law. But what he did was unavoidable. For whatever motives drew from her the confession of that precontract, he was obliged to give sentence upon it: and that which she confessed being such as made her incapable to contract marriage with the king, he could not decline the giving of sentence upon so formal a confession. Some loaded all that favoured the Reformation, and said, it now appeared what a woman their great patroness and supporter had been. But to those it was answered, that her faults, if true, being secret, could cast no reflection on those, who being ignorant of them, made use of her protection. And the church of Rome thought not their cause suffered by the enraged cruelty and ambition of the cursed Irene, who had convened the second council of Nice, and set up the worship of images again in the East; whom the popes continued to court and magnify, after her barbarous murder of her son, with other acts of unsatiated spite and ambition. Therefore they had no reason to think the worse of persons for claiming the protection of a queen, whose faults (if she was at all criminal) were unknown to them when they made use of her.

Some have since that time concluded it a great evidence of her guilt, that during her daughter's long and glorious reign, there was no full nor complete vindication of her published. For the writers of that time thought it enough to speak honourably of her, and, in general, to call her innocent. But none of them ever attempted a clear discussion of the particulars laid to her charge. This had been much to her daughter's honour, and therefore, since it was not done, others concluded it could not be done; and that their knowledge of her guilt restrained their pens. But others do not at all allow of that inference, and think rather that it was the great wisdom of that time not to suffer such things to be called in question; since no wise government will admit of a debate about the clearness of the prince's title. For the very attempting to prove it, weakens it more than any of the proofs that are brought can confirm it; therefore it was prudently done of that queen and her great ministers, never to suffer any vindication or apology to be written. Some indiscretions could not be denied, and these would all have been catched hold of, and improved by the busy emissaries of Rome and Spain.

But nothing did more evidently discover the secret cause of this queen's ruin, than the king's marrying Jane Seymour, the day after her execution. She of all king Henry's wives gained most on his esteem and affection: but she was happy in one thing, that she did not outlive his love; otherwise she might have fallen as signally as her predecessor had done. Upon this turn of affairs a great change of counsels followed.

The Lady Mary endeavours a reconciliation with her father.

There was nothing now that kept the emperor and the king at a distance but the illegitimation of the lady Mary; and if that matter had been adjusted, the king was in no more hazard of trouble from him: therefore it was proposed that she might be again restored to the king's favour. She found this was the best opportunity she could ever look for, and therefore laid hold on it, and wrote an humble submission to the king, and desired again to be admitted to his presence. But her submissions had some reserves in them, therefore she was pressed to be more express

* It has been asserted that king Henry, when his life was drawing to a close, testified some remorse for his conduct towards Anne Boleyn. See further, part iii. book 3, an. 1536.

in her acknowledgments. At this she stuck long, and had almost embroiled herself again with her father. She freely offered to submit to the laws of the land about the succession, and confessed the fault of her former obstinacy. But the king would have her acknowledge that his marriage to her mother was incestuous and unlawful, and to renounce the pope's authority and to accept him as supreme head of the church of England. These things were of hard digestion with her, and she could not easily swallow them; so she wrote to Cromwell, to befriend her at the king's hands. Upon which many letters passed between them. He wrote to her, that it was impossible to recover her father's favour, without a full and clear submission in all points. So in the end she yielded, and sent the following paper, all written with her own hand, which is set down, as it was copied from the original yet extant.

Her submission under her own hand. Cott. Lib. Otho, C. 10.

"The confession of me, the lady Mary, made upon certain points and articles under written; in the which, as I do now plainly, and with all mine heart, confess and declare mine inward sentence, belief, and judgment, with a due conformity of obedience to the laws of the realm; so minding for ever to persist and continue in this determination, without change, alteration, or variance, I do most humbly beseech the king's highness my father, whom I have obstinately and inobediently offended in the denial of the same heretofore, to forgive mine offences therein, and to take me to his most gracious mercy.

"First, I confess and acknowledge the king's majesty to be my sovereign lord and king, in the imperial crown of this realm of England; and do submit myself to his highness, and to all and singular laws and statutes of this realm, as becometh a true and faithful subject to do; which I shall also obey, keep, observe, advance, and maintain, according to my bounden duty, with all the power, force, and qualities, that God hath endued me with, during my life.

"*Item*, I do recognise, accept, take, repute, and knowledge, the king's highness to be supreme head in earth, under Christ, of the church of England; and do utterly refuse the bishop of Rome's pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction within this realm heretofore usurped, according to the laws and statutes made in that behalf, and of all the king's true subjects humbly received, admitted, obeyed, kept, and observed; and also do utterly renounce and forsake all manner of remedy, interest, and advantage, which I may by any means claim by the bishop of Rome's laws, process, jurisdiction, or sentence, at this present time, or in anywise hereafter, by any manner of title, colour, mean, or case, that is, shall, or can be devised for that purpose.

MARY.

"*Item*, I do freely, frankly, and for the discharge of my duty towards God, the king's highness, and his laws, without other respect, recognise and knowledg, that the marriage heretofore had between his majesty, and my mother the late princess dowager, was by God's law, and man's law, incestuous and unlawful.

MARY."

Upon this she was again received into favour. One circumstance I shall add, that shows the frugality of that time. In the establishment that was made for her family, there was only 40*l.* a quarter assigned for her privy purse. I have seen a letter of hers to Cromwell, at the Christmas quarter, desiring him to let the king know, that she must be at some extraordinary expense that season, that so he might increase her allowance, since the 40*l.* would not defray the charge of that quarter.

She is restored to his favour.

For the lady Elizabeth, though the king divested her of the title of princess of Wales, yet he continued still to breed her up in the court, with all the care and tenderness of a father. And the new queen, what from the sweetness of her disposition, and what out of compliance with the king, who loved her much, was as kind to her as if she had been her mother: of which I shall add one pretty evidence, though the childishness of it may be thought below the gravity of a history; yet by it the reader will see, both the kindness that the king and queen had for her, and that they allowed her to subscribe "daughter." There are two original letters of hers yet remaining, writ to the queen when she was with child of king Edward; the one in Italian, the other in English; both writ in a fair hand, the same that she wrote all the rest of her life. But the

The lady Elizabeth well used by the king and queen.



# QUEEN JANE SEYMOUR.

OB. 1537.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PICTURE IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

conceits in that writ in English, are so pretty, that it will not be unacceptable to the reader to see this first blossom of so great a princess when she was not full four years of age; she being born in September 1533, and this writ in July 1537.

Her letter to the queen when not four years of age.

"Although your highness' letters be most joyful to me in absence, yet considering what pain it is to you to write, your grace being so great with child, and so sickly, your commendation were enough in my lord's letter. I much rejoice at your health, with the well-liking of the country; with my humble thanks that your grace wished me with you till I were weary of that country. Your highness were like to be combered, if I should not depart till I were weary being with you: although it were in the worst soil in the world, your presence would make it pleasant. I cannot reprove my lord for not doing your commendations in his letter, for he did it; and although he had not, yet I will not complain on him, for that he shall be diligent to give me knowledge from time to time how his busy child doth; and if I were at his birth, no doubt I would see him beaten, for the trouble he has put you to. Mr. Denny, and my lady, with humble thanks prayeth most entirely for your grace, praying the Almighty God to send you a most lucky deliverance. And my mistress wisheth no less, giving your highness most humble thanks for her commendations. Writ with very little leisure, this last day of July.

"Your humble daughter,

"Elizabeth."

But to proceed to more serious matters. A parliament was summoned to meet the 8th of June. If full forty days be necessary for a summons, then the writs must have been issued forth the day before the late queen's disgrace; so that it was designed before the justs at Greenwich, and did not flow from anything that then appeared. When the parliament met, the lord chancellor Audley, in his speech, told them, "that when the former parliament was dissolved, the king had no thoughts of summoning a new one so soon. But for two reasons he had now called them. The one was, that he finding himself subject to so many infirmities, and considering that he was mortal (a rare thought in a prince), he desired to settle an apparent heir to the crown, in case he should die without children lawfully begotten. The other was, to repeal an act of the former parliament, concerning the succession of the crown, to the issue of the king by queen Ann Boleyn. He desired them to reflect on the great troubles and vexation the king was involved in by his first unlawful marriage, and the dangers he was in by his second; which might well have frighted anybody from a third marriage. But Anne, and her conspirators, being put to death, as they well deserved; the king, at the humble request of the nobility, and not out of any carnal concupiscence, was pleased to marry again, a queen, by whom there were very probable hopes of his having children: therefore he recommended to them to provide an heir to the crown by the king's direction, who, if the king died without children lawfully begotten, might rule over them. He desired they would pray God earnestly, that he would grant the king issue of his own body; and return thanks to Almighty God, that preserved such a king to them out of so many eminent dangers, who employed all his care and endeavours, that he might keep his whole people in quiet, peace, and perfect charity, and leave them so to those that should succeed him."

A new Parliament called.

Journal Procerum.

But though this was the chief cause of calling the parliament, it seems the ministers met with great difficulties, and therefore spent much time in preparing men's minds. For the bill about the succession to the crown was not brought into the house of lords before the 30th day of June, that the lord chancellor offered it to the house. It went through both houses without any opposition. It contained, first, "a repeal of the former act of succession, and a confirmation of the two sentences of divorce, the issue of both the king's former marriages being declared illegitimate, and for ever excluded from claiming the inheritance of the crown, as the king's lawful heirs by lineal descent. The attainder of queen Anne and her complices is confirmed. Queen Anne is said to have been inflamed with pride, and carnal desires of her body; and, having confederated herself with her complices, to have committed divers treasons, to the danger of the king's royal person (with other aggravating

The Act of Succession.

words), for which she had justly suffered death, and is now attainted by act of parliament. And all things that had been said or done against her, or her daughter, being contrary to an act of parliament then in force, are pardoned; and the inheritance of the crown is established on the issue of queen Jane, whether male or female, or the king's issue by any other wife whom he might marry afterwards.

"But since it was not fit to declare to whom the succession of the crown belonged after the king's death, lest the person so designed might be thereby enabled to raise trouble and commotions; therefore they considering the king's wise and excellent government, and confiding in the love and affection which he bore to his subjects, did give him full power to declare the succession to the crown, either by his letters patent under the great seal, or by his last will, signed with his hand, and promised all faithful obedience to the persons named by him. And if any, so designed to succeed in default of others, should endeavour to usurp upon those before them, or to exclude them, they are declared traitors, and were to forfeit all the right they might thereafter claim to the crown. And if any should maintain the lawfulness of the former marriages, or that the issue by them was legitimate, or refused to swear to the king's issue by queen Jane, they were also declared traitors."

By this act it may appear how absolutely this king reigned in England. Many questioned much the validity of it, and (as shall afterwards appear) the Scots said, that the succession to the crown was not within the parliament's power to determine about it, but must go by inheritance to their king, in default of issue by this king. Yet by this, the king was enabled to settle the crown on his children, whom he had now declared illegitimate, by which he brought them more absolutely to depend upon himself. He neither made them desperate, nor gave them any further right than what they were to derive purely from his own good pleasure. This did also much pacify the emperor, since his kinswoman was, though not restored in blood, yet put in a capacity to succeed to the crown.

At this time there came a new proposition from Rome, to try if the king would accommodate matters with the pope. Pope Clement VII. died two years before this, in the year 1534, and cardinal Farnese succeeded him, called pope Paul III. He had before this made one unsuccessful attempt upon the king; but upon the beheading of the bishop (and declared cardinal) of Rochester, he had thundered a most terrible sentence of deposition against the king, and designed to commit the execution of it to the emperor: yet now, when queen Katharine and queen Anne, who were the occasions of the rupture, were both out of the way, he thought it was a proper conjuncture to try if a reconciliation could be effected. This he proposed to sir Gregory Cassali, who was no more the king's ambassador at Rome, but was still his correspondent there. The pope desired he would move the king in it, and let him know that he had ever favoured his cause in the former pope's time, and though he was forced to give out a sentence against him, yet he had never any intention to proceed upon it to further extremities.

The Pope endeavoured a reconciliation with the King.

But the king was now so entirely alienated from the court of Rome, that to cut off all hopes of reconciliation, he procured two acts to be passed in this parliament. The one was for the utter extinguishing the authority of the bishop of Rome. It was brought into the house of lords on the 4th of July; and was read the first time the 5th, and the second time on the 6th of July, and lay at the committee till the 12th. And on the 14th it was sent down to the commons; who, if there be no mistake in the Journal, sent it up that same day: they certainly made great haste, for the parliament was dissolved in four days.

But in vain.

"The preamble of this first act contains severe reflections on the bishop of Rome (whom some called the pope), who had long darkened God's word, that it might serve his pomp, glory, avarice, ambition, and tyranny; both upon the souls, bodies, and goods of all Christians; excluding Christ out of the rule of man's soul, and princes out of their dominions: and had exacted in England great sums, by dreams, and vanities, and other superstitious ways. Upon these reasons his usurpations had been by law put down in this nation; yet many of his emissaries were still practising up and down the kingdom, and persuading people to acknowledge his pretended authority. Therefore every person so offending after the last of July next to come, was to incur the pains of a premunire; and all officers, both civil and ecclesiastical, were commanded to make inquiry about such offences, under several penalties."



On the 12th of July, a bill was brought in concerning privileges obtained from the see of Rome, and was read the first time. And on the 17th it was agreed to, and sent down to the commons, who sent it up again the next day. It bears, that the popes had, during their usurpation, "granted many immunities to several bodies and societies in England, which upon that grant had been now long in use: therefore all these bulls, breves, and everything depending on or flowing from them, were declared void and of no force. Yet all marriages celebrated by virtue of them, that were not otherwise contrary to the law of God, were declared good in law; and all consecrations of bishops by virtue of them were confirmed. And for the future, all who enjoyed any privileges by bulls, were to bring them in to the chancery, or to such persons as the king should appoint for that end. And the archbishop of Canterbury was lawfully to grant anew the effects contained in them; which grant was to pass under the great seal, and to be of full force in law."

This struck at the abbots' rights. But they were glad to bear a diminution of their greatness, so they might save the whole, which now lay at stake. By the thirteenth act, they corrected an abuse which had come in, to evade the force of a statute made in the twenty-first year of this king, about the residence of all ecclesiastical persons in their livings. One qualification that did excuse from residence, was their staying at the university for the completing of their studies. Now it was found, that many dissolute clergymen went and lived at the universities, not for their studies, but to be excused from serving their cures. So it was enacted, that none above the age of forty, that were not either heads of houses, or public readers, should have any exemption from their residence, by virtue of that clause in the former act. And those under that age should not have the benefit of it, except they were present at the lectures, and performed their exercises in the schools.

By another act, there was provision made against the prejudice the king's heirs might receive, before they were of age, by parliaments held in their non-age; that whatsoever acts were made before they were twenty-four years of age, they might at any time of their lives after that repeal and annul, by their letters patent, which should have equal force with a repeal by act of parliament. From these acts it appears that the king was absolute master both of the affections and fears of his subjects, when in a new parliament called on a sudden, and in a session of six weeks, from the 8th of June to the 18th of July, acts of this importance were passed without any protest or public opposition.

But having now opened the business of the parliament as it relates to the state, I must next give an account of the convocation, which sat at this time, and was very busy, as appears by the journal of the house of lords, in which this is given for a reason of many adjournments, because the spiritual lords were busy in the convocation. It sat down on the 9th of June, according to Fuller's extract, it being the custom of all this reign for that court to meet two or three days after the parliament. Hither Cromwell came as the king's vicar-general: but he was not yet vicegerent.* For he sat next the archbishop; but when he had that dignity, he sat above him. Nor do I find him styled in any writing vicegerent for some time after this; though the lord Herbert says, he was made vicegerent the 18th of July this year, the same day in which the parliament was dissolved.

The Proceedings in the Convocation.

Latimer, bishop of Worcester, preached the Latin sermon, on these words,—"The children of this world are wiser in their generation, than the children of light." He was the most celebrated preacher of that time; the simplicity and plainness of his matter, with a serious and fervent action that accompanied it, being preferred to more learned and elaborate composures. On the 21st of June, Cromwell moved that they would confirm the sentence of the invalidity of the king's marriage with queen Anne, which was accordingly done by both houses of convocation. But certainly Fuller was asleep when he wrote, "that ten days before that, the archbishop had passed the sentence of divorce, on the day before the queen was beheaded:"

* In a public instrument in Fuller's History of Cambridge, p. 109, dated Oct. 22, 1535, Cromwell is styled vicegerent that year; and in the writ of summons, in 1539 (in Dugdale), he is styled Vicarius Generalis. So that these two titles seem to have been used promiscuously. —ANON. CORRECT.

whereas if he had considered this more fully, he must have seen that the queen was put to death a month before this, and was divorced two days before she died. Yet with this animadversion, I must give him my thanks for his pains in copying out of the journals of convocation many remarkable things, which had been otherwise irrecoverably lost.

On the 23rd of June, the lower house of convocation sent to the upper house a collection of many opinions that were then in the realm; which, as they thought, were abuses, and errors, worthy of special reformation. But they began this representation with a protestation, "that they intended not to do or speak anything which might be unpleasant to the king, whom they acknowleged their supreme head, and were resolved to obey his commands, renouncing the pope's usurped authority, with all his laws and inventions, now extinguished and abolished; and did addict themselves to Almighty God, and his laws, and unto the king, and the laws made within this kingdom."

Fuller.

There are sixty-seven opinions set down, and are either the tenets of the old Lollards or the new reformers, together with the anabaptists' opinions. Besides all which, they complained of many unsavoury and indiscreet expressions, which were either feigned on design to disgrace the new preachers, or were perhaps the extravagant reflections of some illiterate and injudicious persons; who are apt upon all occasions, by their heat and folly, rather to prejudice than advance their party; and affect some petulant jeers which they think witty, and are perhaps well entertained by some others, who, though they are more judicious themselves, yet, imagining that such jests on the contrary opinions will take with the people, do give them too much encouragement. Many of these jests about confession, praying to saints, holy water, and the other ceremonies of the church, were complained of. And the last articles contained sharp reflections on some of the bishops, as if they had been wanting in their duty to suppress such things. This was clearly levelled at Cranmer, Latimer, and Shaxton, who were noted as the great promoters of these opinions. The first did it prudently and solidly; the second, zealously and simply; and the third, with much indiscreet pride and vanity. But now that the queen was gone, who had either raised or supported them, their enemies hoped to have advantages against them, and to lay the growth of these opinions to their charge. But this whole project failed, and Cranmer had as much of the king's favour as ever; for, instead of that which they had projected, Cromwell, by the king's order, coming to the convocation, declared to them, that it was the king's pleasure, that the rites and ceremonies of the church should be reformed by the rules of Scripture, and that nothing was to be maintained which did not rest on that authority; for it was absurd, since that was acknowledged to contain the laws of religion, that recourse should rather be had to glosses, or the decrees of popes, than to these. There was at that time one Alexander Alesse, a Scotchman, much esteemed for his learning and piety, whom Cranmer entertained at Lambeth. Him Cromwell brought with him to the convocation, and desired him to deliver his opinion about the sacraments. He enlarged himself much to convince them, that only baptism and the Lord's supper were instituted by Christ *.

Antiq. Brit. in Vita Cranmer.

Stokesley, bishop of London, answered him in a long discourse, in which he showed he was better acquainted with the learning of the schools and the canon-law than with the gospel; he was seconded by the archbishop of York, and others of that party.

But Cranmer, in a long and learned speech, showed how useless these niceties of the schools were, and of how little authority they ought to be; and discoursed largely of the authority of the Scriptures, of the use of the sacraments, of the uncertainty of tradition, and of the corruption which the monks and friars had brought into the Christian doctrine. He was vigorously seconded by the bishop of Hereford, who told them, the world would be no

* An account of this conference was published by Alesse in Latin, and translated into English by Edm. Alen. He was sent for into England by the lord Cromwell and the archbishop; sent to Cambridge, driven thence; withdrew to London, where he studied and practised physic certain years; met by chance with the lord Cromwell, who took him with him to Westminster, where he found all the bishops gathered together, unto whom all the bishops and prelates rose up and did obedience as to their vicar-general, and he sat him down in the highest place: then follows an account of the debate, and how the bishops were divided. He places this meeting in the year 1537. The book is without date, so it does not appear when it was printed. —ANON. CORRECT. [Further mention is made of Alesse *infra*, under the year 1541.—ED.]



longer deceived with such sophisticated stuff as the clergy had formerly vented: the laity were now in all nations studying the Scriptures, and that not only in the vulgar translations, but in the original tongues; and, therefore, it was a vain imagination to think they would be any longer governed by those arts which in the former ages of ignorance had been so effectual. Not many days after this, there were several articles brought into the upper house of convocation, devised by the king himself, about which there were great debates among them. The two archbishops heading two parties, Cranmer was for a reformation; and with him joined, Thomas Goodrich bishop of Ely, Shaxton of Sarum, Latimer of Worcester, Fox of Hereford, Hilsey of Rochester, and Barlow of St. David's.

But Lee archbishop of York was a known favourer of the pope's interests; which, as it first appeared in his scrupling so much, with the whole convocation of York, the acknowledging the king to be supreme head of the church of England, so he had since discovered it on all occasions in which he durst do it without the fear of losing the king's favour: so he, and Stokesley bishop of London, Tonstall of Durham, Gardiner of Winchester, Longland of Lincoln, Sherburn of Chichester, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlisle, had been still against all changes. But the king discovered that those did in their hearts love the papal authority, though Gardiner dissembled it most artificially. Sherburn bishop of Chichester, upon what inducement I cannot understand, resigned his bishopric, which was given to Richard Sampson, dean of the chapel; a pension of 400*l.* being reserved to Sherburn for his life, which was confirmed by an act of this parliament. Nix of Norwich had also offended the king signally, by some correspondence with Rome, and was kept long in the Marshalsea, and was convicted and found in a *premunire*: the king, considering his great age, had, upon his humble submission, discharged him out of prison, and pardoned him. But he died the former year; though Fuller, in his slight way, makes him sit in this convocation: for by the seventeenth act of the last parliament it appears that the bishopric of Norwich being vacant, the king had recommended William Abbot of St. Bennet's to it; but took into his own hands all the lands and manors of the bishopric, and gave the bishop several of the priories in Norfolk in exchange, which was confirmed in parliament.

Act 17. 27 Regni.

I shall next give a short abstract of the articles about religion, which were, after much consultation and long debating, agreed to.

"First, All bishops and preachers must instruct the people to believe the whole Bible, and the three creeds—that made by the apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian; and interpret all things according to them, and in the very same words, and condemn all heresies contrary to them, particularly those condemned by the first four general councils.

Articles agreed on about religion. Printed by Fuller.

Secondly, Of baptism the people must be instructed: that it is a sacrament instituted by Christ, for the remission of sins, without which none could attain everlasting life; and that not only those of full age, but infants, may, and must be baptized, for the pardon of original sin, and obtaining the gift of the Holy Ghost, by which they became the sons of God. That none baptized ought to be baptized again. That the opinions of the Anabaptists and Pelagians were detestable heresies: and that those of ripe age, who desired baptism, must with it join repentance and contrition for their sins, with a firm belief of the articles of the faith.

"Thirdly, Concerning penance, they were to instruct the people that it was instituted by Christ, and was absolutely necessary to salvation. That it consisted of contrition, confession, and amendment of life, with exterior works of charity, which were the worthy fruits of penance. For contrition, it was an inward shame and sorrow for sin, because it is an offence of God, which provokes his displeasure. To this must be joined a faith of the mercy and goodness of God, whereby the penitent must hope that God will forgive him, and repute him justified and of the number of his elect children, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by him, but for the only merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ. That this faith is got and confirmed by the application of the promises of the gospel, and the use of the sacraments; and for that end, confession to a priest is necessary, if it may be had, whose absolution was instituted by Christ, to apply the promises of God's

grace to the penitent: therefore the people were to be taught, that the absolution is spoken by an authority given by Christ in the gospel to the priest, and must be believed, as if it were spoken by God himself, according to our Saviour's words; and therefore none were to condemn auricular confession, but use it for the comfort of their consciences. The people were also to be instructed, that though God pardoned sin only for the satisfaction of Christ, yet they must bring forth the fruits of penance, prayer, fasting, almsdeeds, with restitution and satisfaction for wrongs done to others, with other works of mercy and charity, and obedience to God's commandments, else they could not be saved; and that by doing these, they should both obtain everlasting life, and mitigation of their afflictions in this present life, according to the Scriptures.

"Fourthly, As touching the sacrament of the altar, people were to be instructed that under the forms of bread and wine, there was truly and substantially given the very same body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary; and therefore it was to be received with all reverence, every one duly examining himself, according to the words of St. Paul.

"Fifthly, The people were to be instructed, that justification signifieth remission of sins, and acceptation into the favour of God; that is to say, a perfect renovation in Christ. To the attaining which they were to have contrition, faith, charity, which were both to concur in it, and follow it; and that the good works necessary to salvation were not only outward civil works, but the inward motions and graces of God's holy Spirit, to dread, fear, and love him; to have firm confidence in God, to call upon him, and to have patience in all adversities; to hate sin, and have purposes and wills not to sin again; with such other motions and virtues consenting and agreeable to the law of God."

The other articles were about the ceremonies of the church. "First, of images. The people were to be instructed that the use of them was warranted by the Scriptures, and that they served to represent to them good examples and to stir up devotion, and therefore it was meet that they should stand in the churches. But that the people might not fall into such superstition as it was thought they had done in time past, they were to be taught to reform such abuses, lest idolatry might ensue, and that in censing, kneeling, offering, or worshipping them, the people were to be instructed not to do it to the image, but to God and his honour.

"Secondly, For the honouring of saints, they were not to think to attain these things at their hands, which were only obtained of God; but that they were to honour them as persons now in glory, to praise God for them, and imitate their virtues, and not fear to die for the truth, as many of them had done.

"Thirdly, For praying to saints, the people were to be taught, that it was good to pray to them, to pray for and with us. And to correct all superstitious abuses in this matter, they were to keep the days appointed by the church for their memories, unless the king should lessen the number of them, which if he did, it was to be obeyed.

"Fourthly, Of ceremonies. The people were to be taught, that they were not to be condemned and cast away, but to be kept as good and laudable, having mystical significations in them, and being useful to lift up our minds to God. Such were the vestments in the worship of God: the sprinkling holy-water, to put us in mind of our baptism and the blood of Christ; giving holy bread, in sign of our union in Christ, and to remember us of the Sacrament; bearing candles on Candlemas-day, in remembrance that Christ was the spiritual light; giving ashes on Ash-Wednesday, to put us in mind of penance and of our mortality; bearing palms on palm-Sunday, to show our desire to receive Christ in our hearts, as he entered into Jerusalem; creeping to the cross on Good-Friday, and kissing it, in memory of his death, with the setting up the sepulchre on that day; the hallowing the font, and other exorcisms and benedictions.

"And lastly, As to purgatory, they were to declare it good and charitable to pray for the souls departed, which was said to have continued in the church from the beginning: and therefore the people were to be instructed, that it consisted well with the due order of charity to pray for them, and to make others pray for them, in masses and exequies, and to give alms to them for that end. But since the place they were in, and the pains they suffered, were uncertain by the Scripture, we ought to remit them wholly to God's mercy: therefore all these abuses were to be put away, which, under the pretence of purgatory, had been advanced, as if the pope's pardons did deliver souls out of it, or masses said in certain places, or before certain images, had such efficiency: with other such-like abuses*."



These articles being thus conceived, and in several places corrected and tempered by the king's own hand, were signed by Cromwell, and the archbishop of Canterbury and seventeen other bishops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty archdeacons and proctors of the lower house of convocation; among whom, Polydor Virgil and Peter Vannes signed with the rest, as appears by the original yet extant. They being tendered to the king, he confirmed them, and ordered them to be published with a preface in his name. It is said in the preface, "that he, accounting it the chief part of his charge, that the word and commandments of God should be believed and observed, and to maintain unity and concord in opinion; and understanding, to his great regret, that there was great diversity of opinion arisen among his subjects, both about articles of faith and ceremonies; had in his own person taken great pains and study about these things, and had ordered also the bishops, and other learned men of the clergy, to examine them; who after long deliberation had concluded on the most special points, which the king thought proceeded from a good, right, and true judgment, according to the laws of God; these would also be profitable for establishing unity in the church of England: therefore he had ordered them to be published, requiring all to accept of them, praying God so to illuminate their hearts, that they might have no less zeal and love to unity and concord in reading them, than he had in making them to be devised, set forth, and published; which good acceptance should encourage him to take further pains for the future, as should be most for the honour of God, and the profit and the quietness of his subjects."

Published by the King's Authority.

This being published, occasioned great variety of censures. Those that desired reformation, were glad to see so great a step once made, and did not doubt but this would make way for further changes. They rejoiced to see the Scriptures and the ancient creeds made the standards of the faith, without mentioning tradition or the decrees of the church. Then the foundation of Christian faith was truly stated, and the terms of the covenant between God and man in Christ were rightly opened, without the niceties of the schools of either side. Immediate worship of images and saints was also removed, and purgatory was declared uncertain by the Scripture. These were great advantages to them; but the establishing the necessity of auricular confession, the corporal presence in the sacrament, the keeping up and doing reverence to images, and the praying to saints, did allay their joy; yet they still counted it a victory to have things brought under debate, and to have some grosser abuses taken away.

And variously censured.

The other party were unspeakably troubled. Four sacraments were passed over, which would encourage ill-affected people to neglect them. The gainful trade by the belief of purgatory was put down; for though it was said to be good to give alms for praying for the dead, yet since both the dreadful stories of the miseries of purgatory, and the certainty of redeeming souls out of them by masses, were made doubtful, the people's charity and bounty that way would soon abate. And in a word, the bringing matters under dispute was a great mortification to them; for all concluded that this was but a preamble to what they might expect afterwards.

When these things were seen beyond sea, the papal party made everywhere great use of it, to show the necessity of adhering to the pope; since the king of England, though, when he broke off from his obedience to the apostolic see, he pretended he would maintain the catholic faith entire, yet was now making great changes in it. But others, that were more moderate, acknowledged that there was great temper and prudence in contriving these articles. And, it seems, the emperor, and the more learned divines about him, both approved of the precedent, and liked the particulars so well, that not many years after, the emperor published a work not unlike this, called "The Interim;" because it was to be in force in that interim, till all things were more fully debated and determined by a general council, which, in many particulars agreed, with these articles. Yet some stricter persons censured

* See Addenda to this part, and the articles at length in Addenda (No. 1) to the collection of Records, &c. referred to in Part I.—ED.

this work much, as being a political daubing, in which, they said, there was more pains taken to gratify persons, and serve particular ends, than to assert truth in a free and unbiassed way, such as became divines. This was again excused, and it was said, that all things could not be attained on a sudden: that some of the bishops and divines, who afterwards arrived at a clear understanding of some matters, were not then so fully convinced about them, and so it was their ignorance, and not their cowardice or policy, that made them compliant in some things. Besides, it was said, that as our Saviour did not reveal all things to his disciples till they were able to bear them; and as the apostles did not of a sudden abolish all the rites of Judaism, but for some time, to gain the Jews, complied with them and went to the temple, and offered sacrifices; so the people were not to be over-driven in this change. The clergy must be brought out of their ignorance by degrees, and then the people were to be better instructed; but to drive furiously, and do all at once, might have spoiled the whole design, and totally alienated those who were to be drawn on by degrees; it might have also much endangered the peace of the nation, the people being much disposed by the practices of the friars to rise in arms: therefore these slow steps were thought the surer and better method.

The Convocation declares against the Council called by the Pope.

On the last day of the convocation, there was another writing brought in by Fox bishop of Hereford, occasioned by the summons for a general council to sit at Mantua, to which the pope had cited the king to appear. The king had made his appeal from the pope to a general council, but there was no reason to expect any justice in an assembly so constituted as this was like to be. Therefore it was thought fit to publish somewhat of the reasons why the king could not submit his matter to the decision of such council as was then intended; and it was moved that the convocation should give their sense of it.

Collect. Numb. 5.

The substance of their answer (which the reader will find in the collection) was, "that as nothing was better instituted by the ancient fathers for the establishment of the faith, the extirpation of heresies, the healing of schisms, and the unity of the Christian church, than general councils, gathered in the Holy Ghost, duly called to an indifferent place; with other necessary requisites: so, on the other hand, nothing could produce more pestiferous effects than a general council called upon private malice, of ambition, or other carnal respects; which Gregory Nazianzen so well observed in his time, that he thought 'all assemblies of bishops were to be eschewed, for he never saw good come of any of them, and they had increased rather than healed the distempers of the church. For the appetite of vain-glory, and a contentious humour, bore down reason.' Therefore they thought Christian princes ought to employ all their endeavours to prevent so great a mischief. And it was to be considered, first, who had authority to call one; secondly, if the reasons for calling one were weighty; thirdly, who should be the judges; fourthly, what should be the manner of proceeding; fifthly, what things should be treated of in it. And as to the first of these, they thought neither the pope, nor any one prince of what dignity soever, had authority to call one without the consent of all other Christian princes; especially such as had entire and supreme government over all their subjects." This was signed on the 20th of July by Cromwell and the archbishop of Canterbury, with fourteen bishops, and forty abbots, priors, and clerks, of the convocation of Canterbury. Whether this and the former articles were also signed by the convocation of the province of York, does not appear by any record; but that I think is not to be doubted. This being obtained, the king published a long and sharp protestation against the council now summoned to Mantua *; in which he shows that the pope had no power to call one; "for as it was done by the emperors of old, so it pertained to Christian princes now: that the pope had no jurisdiction in England, and so could summon none of this nation to come to any such meeting: that the place was neither safe nor proper: that nothing could be done in a council to any purpose if the pope sate judge in chief in it, since one of the true ends why a council was to be desired

The King publishes his Reasons against it.

Fox.

* The king's protestation was not published till about eight or nine months after these articles were agreed to by the convocation of Canterbury; and in April 1538, the king set on another protestation against a bull for the council at Vincenza.—FULMAN'S CORRECT.



was to reduce his power within its old limits. A free general council was that which he much desired, but he was sure this could not be such: and the present distractions of Christendom, and the wars between the emperor and the French king, showed this was no proper time for one. The pope, who had long refused or delayed to call one, did now choose this conjuncture of affairs, knowing that few would come to it, and so they might carry things as they pleased. But the world was now awake; the Scriptures were again in men's hands, and people would not be so tamely cozened as they had been. Then he shows how unsafe it was for any Englishman to go to Mantua, how little regard was to be had to the pope's safe-conduct, they having so oft broken their oaths and promises. He also shows how little reason he had to trust himself to the pope, how kind he had been to that see formerly, and how basely they had requited it. And that now these three years past, they had been stirring up all Christian princes against him, and using all possible means to create him trouble. Therefore he declared, he would not go to any council called by the bishop of Rome; but when there was a general peace among Christian princes, he would most gladly hearken to the motion of a true general council: and in the mean while, he would preserve all the articles of the faith in his kingdom, and sooner lose his life and his crown than suffer any of them to be put down. And so he protested against any council to be held at Mantua, or anywhere else, by the bishop of Rome's authority: that he would not acknowledge it, nor receive any of their decrees."

Cardinal Pole opposes the King's proceedings.

At this time Reginald Pole, who was of the royal blood, being by his mother descended from the duke of Clarence, brother to king Edward IV., and in the same degree of kindred with the king by his father's side, was in great esteem for his learning and other excellent virtues. It seems the king had determined to breed him up to the greatest dignity in the church; and to make him as eminent in learning, and other acquired parts, as he was for quality, and a natural sweetness and nobleness of temper. Therefore the king had given him the deanery of Exeter, with several other dignities, towards his maintenance beyond sea; and sent him to Paris, where he stayed several years: there he first incurred the king's displeasure. For, being desired by him to concur with his agents in procuring the subscriptions and seals of the French universities, he excused himself; yet it was in such terms, that he did not openly declare himself against the king. After that he came over to England, and, as he writes himself, was present when the clergy made their submission, and acknowledged the king supreme head. In which, since he was then dean of Exeter, and kept his deanery several years after that, it is not to be doubted but that, as he was by his place obliged to sit in the convocation, so he concurred with the rest in making that submission. From thence he went to Padua, where he lived long, and was received into the friendship and society of some celebrated persons, who gave themselves much to the study of eloquence and of the Roman authors. These were, Centareno, Bembo, Caraffa, Sadoletti, with a great many more, that became afterwards well known over the world: but all those gave Pole the pre-eminence, and that justly too, for he was accounted one of the most eloquent men of his time.

The king called him oft home to assist him in his affairs, but he still declined it; at length, finding delays could prevail no longer, he wrote the king word, that he did not approve of what he had done, neither in the matter of his divorce nor his separation from the apostolic see. To this the king answered, desiring his reasons why he disagreed from him, and sent him over a book which doctor Sampson had writ in defence of the proceedings in England. Upon which he wrote his book "De Unitate Ecclesiastica," and sent it over to the king; and soon after printed it this year. In which book he condemned the king's actions, and pressed him to return to the obedience he owed the see of Rome, with many sharp reflections; but the book was more considered for the author, and the wit and eloquence of it, than for any great learning or deep reasoning in it. He did also very much depress the royal, and exalt the papal authority: he compared the king to Nebuchadonosor, and addressed himself in the conclusion to the emperor, whom he conjured to turn his arms rather against the king than the Turk. And, indeed, the indecencies of his expressions against the king, not to mention the scurrilous language he bestows on Sampson, whose book he undertakes to answer, are such, that it

And writes his Book against him.

appears how much the Italian air had changed him; and that his converse at Padua had, for some time, defaced that generous temper of mind which was otherwise so natural to him.

Upon this, the king desired him at first to come over and explain some passages in his book: but when he could not thus draw him into his toils, he proceeded severely against him, and divested him of all his dignities; but these were plentifully made up to him by the pope's bounty, and the emperor's. He was afterwards rewarded with a cardinal's hat, but he did not rise above the degree of a deacon. Some believe that the spring of this opposition he made to the king was a secret affection he had for the lady Mary. The publishing of this book made the king set the bishops on work to write vindications of his actions; which Stokesley and Tonstal did in a long and learned letter that they wrote to Pole. And Gardiner published his book of "True Obedience;" to which Bonner, who was hot on the scent of preferment, added a preface. But the king designed sharper tools for Pole's punishment: yet an attainder in absence was all he could do against himself. But his family and kindred felt the weight of the king's displeasure very sensibly.

Many Books are written for the King.

But now I must give an account of the dissolution of the monasteries, pursuant to the act of parliament, though I cannot fix the exact time in which it was done. I have seen the original instructions, with the commission, given to those who were to visit the monasteries in and about Bristol. All the rest were of the same kind: they bear date the 28th of April, after the session of parliament was over; and the report was to be made in the octaves of St. Michael the archangel. But I am inclined to think that the great concussion and disorder things were in by the queen's death made the commissioners unwilling to proceed in so invidious a matter till they saw the issue of the new parliament. Therefore I have delayed giving any account of the proceedings in that matter till this place. The instructions will be found in the collection. The substance of them was as follows:—

"The auditors of the court of augmentations were the persons that were employed. Four, or any three of them, were commissioned to execute the instructions in every particular visitation. One auditor or receiver, and one of the clerks of the former visitation, were to call for three discreet persons in the county, who were also named by the king. They were to signify to every house the statute of dissolution, and show them their commission. Then they were to put the governor, or any other officer of the house, to declare upon oath the true state of it: and to require him speedily to appear before the court of augmentations, and, in the mean time, not to meddle with anything belonging to the house: then to examine how many religious persons were in the house, and what lives they led; how many of them were priests, how many of them would go to other religious houses, and how many of them would take capacities and go into the world. They were to estimate the state and fabric of the house, and the number of the servants they kept; and to call for the convent-seal and writings, and put them in some sure place; and take an inventory of all their plate and their moveable goods, and to know the value of all that, before the 1st of March last, belonged to the house, and what debts they owed. They were to put the convent-seal, with the jewels and plate, in safe keeping, and to leave the rest (an inventory being first taken) in the governors' hands, to be kept by them till further order. And the governors were to meddle with none of the rents of the house, except for necessary sustenance, till they were another way disposed of. They were to try what leases and deeds had been made for a whole year before the 4th of February last. Such as would still live in monasteries were to be recommended to some of the great monasteries that lay next: and such as would live in the world must come to the archbishop of Canterbury, or the lord chancellor, to receive capacities." (From which it appears that Cromwell was not at this time lord vicegerent, for he granted these capacities when he was in that power.) "And the commissioners were to give them a reasonable allowance for their journey, according to the distance they lived at. The governor was to be sent to the court of augmentations, who were to assign him a yearly pension for his life."

Collect. Numb. 6. Instructions about the Dissolution of Monasteries.

What report those commissioners made, or how they obeyed their instructions, we know



CARDINAL POLE.

OB. 1557.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF TITIAN IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RT HON^BLE LORD ARUNDEL OF WARDOUR

not; for the account of it is razed out of the records. The writers that lived near that time represent the matter very odiously, and say, about ten thousand persons were set to seek for their livings; only forty shillings in money and a gown being given to every religious man. The rents of them all rose to about thirty-two thousand pounds; and the goods, plate, jewels, and other moveables, were valued at a hundred thousand pounds: and it is generally said, and not improbably, that the commissioners were as careful to enrich themselves as to increase the king's revenue. The churches and cloisters were for the most part pulled down; and the lead, bells, and other materials were sold; and this must needs have raised great discontents everywhere.

Great discontents among all sorts of people.

The religious persons that were undone went about complaining of the sacrilege and injustice of this suppression; that what the piety of their ancestors had dedicated to God and his saints, was now invaded and converted to secular ends. They said, the king's severity fell first upon some particular persons of their orders, who were found delinquents; but now, upon the pretended miscarriages of some individual persons to proceed against their houses and suppress them, was an unheard-of practice. The nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded or enriched these houses, and who provided for their younger children or impoverished friends, by putting them into these sanctuaries, complained much of the prejudice they sustained by it. The people, that had been well entertained at the abbots' tables, were sensible of their loss: for generally, as they travelled over the country, the abbeys were their stages, and were houses of reception to travellers and strangers. The devouter sort of people of their persuasion thought their friends must now lie in purgatory without relief, except they were at the charge to keep a priest, who should daily say mass for their souls. The poor, that fed on their daily alms, were deprived of that supply.

Endeavours are used to quiet these.

But to compose these discontents, first many books were published to show what crimes, cheats, and impostures those religious persons were guilty of. Yet that wrought not much on the people; for they said, why were not these abuses severely punished and reformed? But must whole houses, and the succeeding generations, be punished for the faults of a few? Most of these reports were also denied, and even those who before envied the ease and plenty in which the abbots and monks lived, began now to pity them, and condemned the proceedings against them. But to allay this general discontent, Cromwell advised the king to sell their lands at very easy rates to the gentry in the several counties, obliging them, since they had them upon such terms, to keep up the wonted hospitality. This drew in the gentry apace both to be satisfied with what was done, and to assist the crown for ever in the defence of these laws; their own interest being so interwoven with the rights of the crown. The commoner sort, who, like those of old that followed Christ for the loaves, were most concerned for the loss of a good dinner on a holiday, or when they went over the country about their business, were now also in a great measure satisfied, when they heard that all to whom these lands were given, were obliged under heavy forfeitures to keep up the hospitality; and when they saw that put in practice, their discontent, which lay chiefly in their stomach, was appeased.

And to quiet other people, who could not be satisfied with such things, the king made use of a clause in the act that gave him the lesser monasteries, which empowered him to continue such as he should think fit. Therefore on the 17th of August, he, by his letters patent, did of new give back *in perpetuam elemosynam*, for perpetual alms, five abbeys. The first of these was the abbey of St. Mary of Betlesden of the Cistercian order in Buckinghamshire; ten more were afterwards confirmed. Sixteen nunneries were also confirmed; in all, thirty-one houses. The patents (in most of which some manors are excepted that had been otherwise disposed of) are all enrolled, and yet none of our writers have taken any notice of this. It seems these houses had been more regular than the rest: so that in a general calamity they were rather reprieved than excepted: for two years after this, in the suppression of the rest of the monasteries, they fell under the common fate of other houses. By these new endowments, they were obliged to pay tenths and first fruits, and to obey all the statutes and rules that should be sent to them from the king, as supreme head of the church. But it is not unlike that some presents to the commissioners

Collect. Numb. 3. sect. 2.

or to Cromwell made these houses outlive this ruin: for I find great trading in bribes at this time, which is not to be wondered at when there was so much to be shared.

But great disorders followed upon the dissolution of the other houses. People were still generally discontented. The suppression of religious houses occasioned much outcrying, and the articles then lately published about religion increased the distaste they had conceived at the government. The old clergy were also very watchful to improve all opportunities, and to blow upon every spark. And the pope's power of deposing kings had been for almost five hundred years received as an article of faith. The same council that established transubstantiation had asserted it: and there were many precedents not only in Germany, France, Spain, and Italy, but also in England, of kings that were deposed by popes, whose dominions were given to other princes. This had begun in the eighth century in two famous deprivations: the one in France, of Childeric III., who was deprived and the crown given to Pepin; and about the same time, those dominions in Italy which were under the Eastern emperors renounced their allegiance to them. In both these the popes had a great hand; yet they rather confirmed and approved of those treasonable mutations, than gave the first rise to them. But after pope Gregory VII.'s time, it was clearly assumed, as a right and prerogative of the papal crown, to depose princes, and absolve subjects from the oaths of allegiance, and set up others in their stead. And all those emperors or kings that contested anything with popes, sat very uneasy and unsafe in their thrones ever after that. But if they were tractable to the demands of the court of Rome, then they might oppress their subjects and govern as unjustly as they pleased: for they had a mighty support from that court. This made princes more easily bear the pope's usurpations, because they were assisted by them in all their other proceedings. And the friars, having the consciences of people generally in their hands, as they had the word given by their general at Rome, so they disposed people either to be obedient or seditious, as they pleased.

Yet People generally incline to rebel.

Now, not only their own interests, mixed with their zeal for the ancient religion, but the pope's authority, gave them as good a warrant to incline the people to rebel as any had in former times, of whom some were canonized for the like practices. For in August the former year, the pope had summoned the king to appear within ninety days, and to answer for putting away his queen and taking another wife; and for the laws he had made against the church, and putting the bishop of Rochester and others to death for not obeying these laws: and if he did not reform these faults, or did not appear to answer for them, the pope excommunicated him and all that favoured him, deprived the king, put the kingdom under an interdict, forbade all his subjects to obey and other states to hold commerce with him, dissolved all his leagues with foreign princes, commanded all the clergy to depart out of England, and his nobility to rise in arms against him. But now, the force of those thunders which had formerly produced great earthquakes and commotions was much abated; yet some storms were raised by this, though not so violent as had been in former times.

The people were quiet till they had reaped their harvest; and though some injunctions were published a little before to help it the better forward, most of the holidays in harvest being abolished by the king's authority, yet that rather inflamed them the more. Other injunctions were also published in the king's name by Cromwell his vicegerent, which was the first act of pure supremacy done by the king. For in all that went before, he had the concurrence of the two convocations. But these, it is like, were penned by Cranmer. The reader is referred to the collection of papers for them, as I transcribed them out of the register.

The King's injunctions about Religion.

The substance of them was, "that first, all ecclesiastical incumbents were for a quarter of a year after that once every Sunday, and ever after that twice every quarter, to publish to the people, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power had no ground in the law of God, and therefore was on good reasons abolished in this kingdom; and that the king's power was by the law of God supreme over all persons in his dominions. And they were to do their uttermost endeavour to extirpate the pope's authority, and to establish the king's.

Collect. Numb. 7.

"Secondly,—They were to declare the articles lately published, and agreed to by the convocation; and to make the people know which of them were articles of faith, and which of them rules for the decent and politic order of the church.

"Thirdly,—They were to declare the articles lately set forth for the abrogation of some superfluous holidays, particularly in harvest-time.

"Fourthly,—They were no more to extol images or relics for superstition or gain; nor to exhort people to make pilgrimages, as if blessings and good things were to be obtained of this or that saint or image. But instead of that, the people were to be instructed to apply themselves to the keeping of God's commandments, and doing works of charity; and to believe that God was better served by them when they staid at home and provided for their families than when they went pilgrimages, and that the moneys laid out on these were better given to the poor.

"Fifthly,—They were to exhort the people to teach their children the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments, in English: and every incumbent was to explain these, one article a-day, till the people were instructed in them. And to take great care that all children were bred up to some trade or way of living.

"Sixthly,—They must take care that the sacraments and sacramentals be reverently administered in their parishes, from which when at any time they were absent, they were to commit the cure to a learned and expert curate, who might instruct the people in wholesome doctrine; that they might all see that their pastors did not pursue their own profits or interests so much as the glory of God, and the good of the souls under their cure.

"Seventhly*,—They should not, except on urgent occasion, go to taverns or alehouses; nor sit too long at any sort of games after their meals: but give themselves to the study of the Scripture, or some other honest exercise; and remember that they must excel others in purity of life, and be examples to all others to live well and christianly.

"Eighthly,—Because the goods of the church were the goods of the poor; every beneficed person that had twenty pound or above, and did not reside, was yearly to distribute the fortieth part of his benefice to the poor of the parish.

"Ninthly,—Every incumbent that had an hundred pound a year must give an exhibition for one scholar at some grammar-school or university; who after he had completed his studies, was to be partner of the cure and charge, both in preaching and other duties: and so many hundred pounds as any had, so many students he was to breed up.

"Tenthly,—Where parsonage or vicarage-houses were in great decay, the incumbent was every year to give a fifth part of his profits to the repairing of them till they were finished; and then to maintain them in the state they were in.

"Eleventhly,—All these injunctions were to be observed, under pain of suspension and sequestration of the mean profits till they were observed."

These were equally ingrateful to the corrupt clergy and to the laity that adhered to the old doctrine. The very same opinions about pilgrimages, images, and saints departed, and instructing the people in the principles of Christian religion in the vulgar tongue, for which the Lollards were not long ago either burnt or forced to abjure them, were now set up by the king's authority. From whence they concluded, that whatsoever the king said of his maintaining the old doctrine, yet he was now changing it. The clergy also were much troubled at this precedent of the king's giving such injunctions to them, without the consent of the convocation: from which they concluded they were now to be slaves to the lord vicegerent. The matter of these injunctions was also very uneasy to them. The great profits they made by their images and relics, and the pilgrimages to them, were now taken away: and yet severe impositions and heavy taxes were laid on them; a fifth part for repairs, a tenth at least for an exhibitioner, and a fortieth for charity, which were cried out on as intolerable burdens. Their labour was also increased, and they were bound up to many severities of life: all these things touched the secular clergy to the quick, and made them concur with the regular clergy in disposing the people to rebel.

Which were much censured.

This was secretly fomented by the great abbots. For though they were not yet struck at,

* The seventh article, for providing a Bible in Latin and English, and laying it in the quire, is wholly omitted.—STRYPE'S CORRECT. [All the articles are given at length in the collection of Records, No. 7, referred to in this book.—ED.]

yet the way was prepared to it; and their houses were oppressed with crowds of those who were sent to them from the suppressed houses. There was some pains taken to remove their fears. For a letter was sent to them all in the king's name to silence the reports that were spread abroad, as if all monasteries were to be quite suppressed. This they were required not to believe, but to serve God according to their order, to obey the king's injunctions, to keep hospitality, and make no wastes nor dilapidations. Yet this gave them small comfort, and, as all such things do, rather increased than quieted their jealousies and fears. So many secret causes concurring, no wonder the people fell into mutinous and seditious practices.

A Rebellion in Lincolnshire.

The first rising was in Lincolnshire in the beginning of October, where a churchman, disguised into a cobbler, and directed by a monk, drew a great body of men after him. About 20,000 were gathered together. They swore to be true to God, the king and the commonwealth, and digested their grievances into a few articles, which they sent to the king, desiring a redress of them.

Their demands.

"They complained of some things that related to secular concerns, and some acts of parliament that were uneasy to them: they also complained of the suppression of so many religious houses; that the king had mean persons in high places about him, who were ill counsellors: they also complained of some bishops who had subverted the faith; and they apprehended the jewels and plate of their churches should be taken away. Therefore they desired the king would call to him the nobility of the realm, and by their advice redress their grievances; concluding with an acknowledgment of the king's being their supreme head, and that the tenths and first fruits of all livings belonged to him of right."

The King's Answer.

When the king heard of this insurrection, he presently sent the duke of Suffolk with a commission to raise forces for dispersing them: but with him he sent an answer to their petition. "He began with that about his counsellors, and said, it was never before heard of that the rabble presumed to dictate to their prince what counsellors he should choose: that was the prince's work, and not theirs; the suppression of religious houses was done pursuant to an act of parliament, and was not set forth by any of his counsellors: the heads of these religious houses had under their own hands confessed those horrid scandals which made them a reproach to the nation; and in many houses there were not above four or five religious persons: so it seemed they were better pleased that such dissolute persons should consume their rents in riotous and idle living, than that their prince should have them for the common good of the whole kingdom. He also answered their other demands in the same high and commanding strain; and required them to submit themselves to his mercy, and to deliver their captains and lieutenants into the hands of his lieutenants; and to disperse and carry themselves as became good and obedient subjects, and to put an hundred of their number into the hands of his lieutenants, to be ordered as they had deserved."

When this answer was brought to them, it raised their spirits higher. The practising clergymen continued to inflame them. They persuaded them that the Christian religion would be very soon effaced, and taken away quite, if they did not vigorously defend it; that it would come to that, that no man should marry a wife, receive any of the sacraments, nor eat a piece of roast meat, but he should pay for it; that it were better to live under the Turk than under such oppression: therefore there was no cause in which they could with more honour and a better conscience hazard their lives than for the holy faith. This encouraged and kept them together a little longer. They had forced many of the gentry of the country to go along with them. These sent a secret message to the duke of Suffolk, letting him know what ill effects the king's rough answer had produced; that they had joined with the people only to moderate them a little, and they knew nothing that would be so effectual as the offer of a general pardon. So the duke of Suffolk, as he moved towards them with the forces which he had drawn together, sent to the king to know his pleasure, and earnestly advised a gentle composing of the matter without blood. At that same time the king was advertised from the North that there was a general and formidable rising there; of which he had the greater apprehensions, because of their neighbourhood to Scotland, whose king, being the king's nephew, was the heir presumptive of the crown, since the king had illegitimated

It is quieted by the Duke of Suffolk.

A new Rebellion in the North.



both his daughters. And though the king's firm alliance with France made him less apprehensive of trouble from Scotland, and their king was at this time in France, to marry the daughter of Francis; yet he did not know how far a general rising might invite that king to send orders to head and assist the rebels in the North. Therefore he resolved first to quiet Lincolnshire. And as he had raised a great force about London, with which he was marching in person against them; so he sent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with secret assurances of mercy. By these means they were melted away. Those who had been carried in the stream submitted to the king's mercy, and promised all obedience for the future; others, that were obstinate, and knew themselves unpardonable, fled northward, and joined themselves to the rebels there: some of their other leaders were apprehended, in particular the cobbler, and were executed.

But for the Northern rebellion, as the parties concerned, being at a greater distance from the court, had larger opportunities to gather themselves into a huge body; so the whole contrivance of it was better laid. One Ask commanded in chief. He was a gentleman of an ordinary condition, but understood well how to draw on and govern a multitude. Their march was called the Pilgrimage of Grace. And to inveigle the people, some priests marched before them with crosses in their hands. In their banners they had a crucifix with the five wounds, and a chalice: and every one wore on his sleeve, as the badge of the party, an emblem of the five wounds of Christ, with the name Jesus wrought in the midst. All that joined to them took an oath, "that they entered into this pilgrimage of grace for the love of God, the preservation of the king's person and issue, the purifying the nobility, and driving away all base-born and ill counsellors; and for no particular profit of their own, nor to do displeasure to any, nor to kill any for envy; but to take before them the cross of Christ, his faith, the restitution of the church, and the suppression of heretics and their opinions."

Which grew very formidable.

These were specious pretences, and very apt to work upon a giddy and discontented multitude. So people flocked about their crosses and standards in great numbers; and they grew to be 40,000 strong. They went over the country without any great opposition. The archbishop of York and the lord Darcy were in Pomfret castle; which they yielded to them, and were made to swear their covenant. They were both suspected of being secret promoters of the rebellion: the latter suffered for it, but how the former excused himself I cannot give any account. They also took York and Hull; but though they summoned the castle of Skipton, yet the earl of Cumberland, who would not degenerate from his noble ancestors, held it out against all their force: and though many of the gentlemen, whom he had entertained at his own cost, deserted him, yet he made a brave resistance. Scarborough castle was also long besieged; but there sir Ralph Evers, that commanded it, gave an unexampled instance of his fidelity and courage; for though his provisions fell short, so that for twenty days he and his men had nothing but bread and water, yet they stood out till they were relieved.

This rising in Yorkshire encouraged those of Lancashire, the bishopric of Durham, and Westmoreland, to arm. Against these the earl of Shrewsbury, that he might not fall short of the gallantry and loyalty of his renowned ancestors, made head: though he had no commission from the king. But he knew his zeal and fidelity would easily procure him a pardon, which he modestly asked for the service he had done. The king sent him not only that, but a commission to command in chief all his forces in the North. To his assistance he ordered the earl of Derby to march; and sent Courtney, marquis of Exeter, and the earls of Huntington and Rutland, to join him. He also ordered the duke of Suffolk, with the force that he had led into Lincolnshire, to lie still there; lest they, being but newly quieted, should break out again and fall upon his armies behind; when the Yorkshiremen met them before.

The Duke of Norfolk and others sent against them.

On the 20th of October, he sent the duke of Norfolk with more forces to join the earl of Shrewsbury: but the rebels were very numerous and desperate. When the duke of Norfolk understood their strength, he saw great reason to proceed with much caution: for if they had got the least advantage of the king's troops, all the discontents in England would upon the report of that have broken out. He saw their numbers were now such, that the gaining some time was their ruin: for such a great

body could not subsist long together without much provisions; and that must be very hard for them to bring in: so he set forward a treaty. It was both honourable for the king to offer mercy to his distracted subjects, and of great advantage to his affairs: for as their numbers did every day lessen, so the king's forces were still increasing. He wrote to the king, that, considering the season of the year, he thought the offering some fair conditions might persuade them to lay down their arms and disperse themselves: yet when the earl of Shrewsbury sent a herald with a proclamation, ordering them to lay down their arms and submit to the king's mercy, Ask received him sitting in state, with the archbishop on the one hand and the lord Darcy on the other, but would not suffer any proclamation to be made till he knew the contents of it. And when the herald told what they were, he sent him away without suffering him to publish it. And then the priests used all their endeavours to engage the people to a firm resolution of not dispersing themselves till all matters about religion were fully settled.

As they went forward, they everywhere repossessed the ejected monks of their houses; and this encouraged the rest, who had a great mind to be in their old nests again. They published also many stories among them of the growing burdens of the king's government, and made them believe that impositions would be laid on everything that was either bought or sold. But the king hearing how strong they were, sent out a general summons to all the nobility to meet him at Northampton the 7th of November. And the forces sent against the rebels advanced to Doncaster, to hinder them from coming further southward; and took the bridge, which they fortified, and laid their forces along the river to maintain that pass.

They advance to Doncaster.

The writers of that time say, that the day of battle was agreed on; but that the night before, excessive rains falling, the river swelled so that it was unpassable next day, and they could not force the bridge. Yet it is not likely the earl of Shrewsbury, having in all about 5000 men about him, would agree to a pitched battle with those who were six times his number, being then 30,000. Therefore it is more likely that the rebels only intended to pass the river the next day, which the rain that fell hindered: but the duke of Norfolk continued to press a treaty, which was hearkened to by the other side, who were reduced to great straits; for their captain would not suffer them to spoil the country, and they were no longer able to subsist without doing that. The duke of Norfolk directed some that were secretly gained, or had been sent over to them as deserters, to spread reports among them; that their leaders were making terms for themselves, and would leave the rest to be undone. This, joined to their necessities, made many fall off every day. The duke of Norfolk finding his arts had so good an operation, offered to go to court with any whom they would send with their demands, and to intercede for them. This he knew would take up some time, and most of them would be dispersed before he could return. So they sent two gentlemen, whom they had forced to go with them, to the king to Windsor. Upon this the king discharged the rendezvous at Northampton, and delayed the sending an answer as much as could be: but at last, hearing that though most of them were dispersed, yet they had engaged to return upon warning, and that they took it ill that no answer came, he sent the duke of Norfolk to them with a general pardon, six only excepted by name, and four others that were not named. But in this the king's counsels were generally censured, for every one was now in fear, and so the rebels rejected the proposition. The king also sent them word by their own messenger, "that he took it very ill at their hands, that they had chosen rather to rise in arms against him, than to petition him about these things that were uneasy to them." And to appease them a little, the king, by new injunctions, commanded the clergy to continue the use of all the ceremonies of the church. This, it is like, was intended for keeping up the four sacraments, which had not been mentioned in the former articles. The clergy that were with the rebels met at Pomfret to draw up articles to be offered at the treaty that was to be at Doncaster, where three hundred were ordered to come from the rebels to treat with the king's commissioners. So great a number was called, in hopes that they would disagree about their demands, and so fall out among themselves. On the 6th of December they met to treat, and, it seems, had so laid their matter before, that they agreed upon these following demands:—

The Duke of Norfolk breaks them by delays.



"A general pardon to be granted: a parliament to be held at York; and courts of justice to be there, that none on the north of Trent might be brought to London upon any law-suit. They desired a repeal of some acts of parliament: those for the last subsidy, for uses, for making words misprision of treason, and for the clergy's paying their tenths and first-fruits to the king. They desired the princess Mary might be restored to her right of succession; the pope to his wonted jurisdiction, and the monks to their houses again: that the Lutherans might be punished; that Audley, the lord chancellor, and Cromwell, the lord privy-seal, might be excluded from the next parliament; and Lee and Leighton, that had visited the monasteries, might be imprisoned for bribery and extortion."

Their demands.

But the lords, who knew that the king would by no means agree to these propositions, rejected them. Upon which the rebels took heart again, and were growing more enraged and desperate; so that the duke of Norfolk wrote to the king, that if some content were not given them, it might end very ill, for they were much stronger than his forces were: and both he, and the other commanders of the king's forces, in their hearts wished that most of their demands were granted; being persons who though they complied with the king, and were against that rebellion, yet were great enemies to Lutheranism, and wished a reconciliation with Rome; of which the duke of Norfolk was afterwards accused by the lord Darcy, as if he had secretly encouraged them to insist on these demands. The king seeing the humour was so obstinate, resolved to use gentler remedies, and so sent to the duke of Norfolk a general pardon, with a promise of a parliament, ordering him not to make use of these except in extremity. This was no easy thing to that duke, since he might be afterwards made to answer for it, whether the extremity was really such as to justify his granting these things. But the rebels were become again as numerous as ever, and had resolved to cross the river, and to force the king's camp, which was still much inferior to theirs in number. But rains falling the second time, made the fords again unpassable. This was spoken of by the king's party as little less than a miracle, that God's providence had twice so opportunely interposed for the stopping of the progress of the rebels: and it is very probable that, on the other side, it made great impression on the superstitious multitude, and both discouraged them and disposed them to accept of the offer of pardon, and a parliament to be soon called for considering their other demands. The king signed the pardon at Richmond the 9th of December; by which all their treasons and rebellion to that day were pardoned, provided they made their submission to the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Shrewsbury, and lived in all due obedience for the future. The king sent likewise a long answer to their demands as to what they complained about the subversion of the faith. He protested his zeal for the true Christian faith, and that he would live and die in the defence and preservation of it; but the ignorant multitude were not to instruct him what the true faith was, nor to presume to correct what he and the whole convocation had agreed on. That as he had preserved the church of England in her true liberties, so he would do still; and that he had done nothing that was so oppressive as many of his progenitors had done upon lesser grounds. But that he took it very ill of them, who had rather one churl or two should enjoy the profits of their monasteries, to support them in their dissolute and abominable course of living, than that their king should have them for defraying the great charge he was at for their defence against foreign enemies. For the laws, it was high presumption in a rude multitude to take on them to judge what laws were good, and what not. They had more reason to think that he, after twenty-eight years' reign, should know it better than they could. And for his government, he had so long preserved his subjects in peace and justice, had so defended them from their enemies, had so secured his frontier, had granted so many general pardons, had been so unwilling to punish his subjects and so ready to receive them into mercy, that they could show no parallel to his government among all their former kings. And whereas it was said, that he had many of the nobility of his council in the beginning of his reign, and few now; he showed them in that one instance how they were abused by the lying slanders of some disaffected persons: for when he came to the crown, there were none that were born noble of his council but only the earl of Surrey and the earl of Shrewsbury; whereas now, the

The King's Answer to them.

dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the lord Steward, the earls of Oxford and Sussex, and the lord Sands, were of the privy-council: and for the spirituality, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Winchester, Hereford, and Chichester, were also of it: and he and his whole council judging it necessary to have some at the board who understood the law of England, and the treaties with foreign princes, he had by their unanimous advice brought in his chancellor and the lord privy-seal. He thought it strange that they, who were but brutes, should think they could better judge who should be his counsellors than himself and his whole council: therefore he would bear no such thing at their hands, it being inconsistent with the duty of good subjects to meddle in such matters. But if they or any of his other subjects could bring any just complaint against any about him, he was ready to hear it; and if it were proved, he would punish it according to law. As for the complaints against some of the prelates for preaching against the faith, they could know none of these things but by the report of others; since they lived at such a distance, that they themselves had not heard any of them preach. Therefore he required them not to give credit to lies, nor be misled by those who spread such calumnies and ill reports: and he concluded all with a severe expostulation; adding that such was his love to his subjects, that imputing this insurrection rather to their folly and lightness than to any malice or rancour, he was willing to pass it over more gently, as they would perceive by his proclamation."

1537. Now the people were come to themselves again, and glad to get off so easily; and they all cheerfully accepted the king's offers, and went home again to their several dwellings. Yet the clergy were no way satisfied, but continued still to practise amongst them, and kept the rebellion still on foot; so that it broke out soon after. The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Shrewsbury were ordered to lie still in the country with their forces till all things were more fully composed. They made them all come to a full submission; and first, to revoke all oaths and promises made during the rebellion, for which they asked the king's pardon on their knees; secondly, to swear to be true to the king, and his heirs and successors; thirdly, to obey and maintain all the acts of parliament made during the king's reign; fourthly, not to take arms again but by the king's authority; fifthly, to apprehend all seditious persons; sixthly, to remove all the monks, nuns, and friars, whom they had placed again in the dissolved monasteries. There were also orders given to send Ask their captain, and the lord Darcy, to court. Ask was kindly received, and well used by the king. He had showed great conduct in commanding the rebels; and it seems the king had a mind either to gain him to his service, or, which I suspect was the true cause, to draw from him a discovery of all those who in the other parts of the kingdom had favoured or relieved them. For he suspected, not without cause, that some of the great abbots had given secret supplies of money to the rebels; for which many of them were afterwards tried and attainted. The lord Darcy was under great apprehensions, and studied to purge himself that he was forced to a compliance with them; but pleaded, that the long and important services he had done the crown for fifty years, he being then fourscore, together with his great age and infirmity, might mitigate the king's displeasure. But he was made prisoner. Whether this gave those who had been in arms new jealousies, that the king's pardon would not be inviolably observed; or whether the clergy had of new prevailed on them to rise in arms, I cannot determine: but it broke out again, though not so dangerously as before. Two gentlemen of the North, Musgrave and Tilby, raised a body of 8000 men, and thought to have surprised Carlisle, but were repulsed by those within. And, in their return, the duke of Norfolk fell upon them and routed them. He took many prisoners, and by martial law hanged up all their captains, and seventy other prisoners, on the walls of Carlisle. Others, at that same time, thought to have surprised Hull; but it was prevented, and the leaders of that party were also taken and executed.

The Rebellion is quieted.

New Risings, but soon dispersed.

Many other risings were in several places of the country, which were all soon repressed: the ground of them all was, that the parliament which was promised was not called; but the king said, they had not kept conditions with him, nor would he call a parliament till all things were quieted. But the duke of Norfolk's vigilance everywhere prevented their gathering together in any great body; and, after several unsuccessful attempts, at length



the country was absolutely quieted in January following. And then the duke of Norfolk proceeded according to the martial law against many whom he had taken. Ask had also left the court without leave, and had gone amongst them, but was quickly taken. So he and many others were sent to several places, to be made public examples. He suffered at York, others at Hull, and in other towns in Yorkshire. But the lord Darcy and the lord Hussy were arraigned at Westminster, and attainted of treason; the former for the northern, and the other for the Lincolnshire insurrection. The lord Darcy was beheaded at Tower-hill, and was much lamented; everybody thought that, considering his merits, his age, and former services, he had hard measure. The lord Hussy was beheaded at Lincoln. The lord Darcy, in his trial, accused the duke of Norfolk, that, in the treaty at Doncaster, he had encouraged the rebels to continue in their demands. This the duke denied, and desired a trial by combat, and gave some presumptions to show that the lord Darcy bore him ill-will and said this out of malice. The king either did not believe this, or would not seem to believe it; and the duke's great diligence in the suppression of these commotions set him beyond all jealousies. But after those executions, the king wrote to the duke in July next, to proclaim an absolute amnesty over all the North; which was received with great joy, everybody being in fear of himself: and so this threatening storm was dissipated without the effusion of much blood, save what the sword of justice drew. At the same time the king of Scotland, returning from France with his queen, and touching on the coast of England, many of the people fell down at his feet, praying him to assist them, and he should have all. But he was, it seems, bound up by the French king, and so went home without giving them any encouragement. And thus ended this rebellion, which was chiefly carried on by the clergy under pretence of religion.

The Chief of the Rebels executed.

And now the king was delivered of all his apprehensions that he had been in for some years in fear of stirs at home. But they being now happily composed; as he knew it would so overawe the rest of his discontented subjects, that he needed fear nothing from them for a great while; so it encouraged him to go on in his other designs, of suppressing the rest of the monasteries, and reforming some other points of religion. Therefore there was a new visitation appointed for all the monasteries of England. And the visiters were ordered to examine all things that related either to their conversation, to their affection to the king, and the supremacy, or to their superstition, in their several houses; to discover what cheats and impostures there were, either in their images, relics, or other miraculous things, by which they had drawn people to their houses on pilgrimages, and gotten from them any great presents: also to try how they were affected during the late commotions, and to discover everything that was amiss in them, and report it to the lord vicegerent. In the records of the whole twenty-eighth year of the king's reign, I find but one original surrender of any religious house; the abbot of Furnese in Lincolnshire, valued at 960*l.*, with thirty monks, resigning up that house to the king, on the 9th of April, which was very near the end of the year of the king's reign, for it commenced on the 22nd of April. Two other surrenders are enrolled that year. The one was of Bermondsey in Surrey, the 1st of June, in the twenty-eighth of the king's reign. The preamble was, that they surrendered in hopes of greater benevolence from the king. But this was the effect of some secret practice, and not of the act of parliament; for it was valued at 548*l.*, and so fell not within the act. The other was of Bushlisham, or Bishtam, in Berkshire, made by Barlow, bishop of St. David's, that was commendator of it, and a great promoter of the Reformation. It was valued at 327*l.* But in the following year they made a quicker progress, and found strange enormities in the greater houses. It seems all the houses under 200*l.* of rent were not yet suppressed; for I find many within that value afterwards resigning their houses. So that I am inclined to believe, that the first visitation being made towards the suppression of the lesser monasteries, and that (as appears by their instructions) being not to be finished till they had made a report of what they had done to the court of augmentations, who were after the report made to determine what pensions were to be reserved to the abbot and other officers; (which report was to be made in the octaves of St. Michael, and after that, a new commission was to be given for their suppression;) when that was done, they went no further at that time, that so I cannot think there were many

A new Visitation of Monasteries.

houses suppressed when these stirs began: and after their first rising, it is not likely that great progress would be made in a business that was likely to inflame the people more, and increase the number of the rebels. Neither do I find any houses suppressed by virtue of the former act of parliament till the twenty-ninth year of the king's reign.

Some of the great Abbots surrender their Houses.

And yet they made no great haste this year; for there are but twenty-one surrenders all this year, either in the rolls or augmentation office. And now, not only small abbeys, but greater ones were surrendered to the king. The abbots were brought to do it upon several motives. Some had been faulty during the late rebellion, and were liable to the king's displeasure: and these, to redeem themselves, compounded the matter by a resignation of their house. Others began to like the Reformation, and that made them the more willing to surrender their houses: such as Barlow, bishop of St. David's, who not only surrendered up his own house of Bushlisham, but prevailed on many others to do the like. Others were convicted of great disorders in their conversation; and these, not daring to stand a trial, were glad to accept of a pension for life, and deliver up their house. Others were guilty of making great wastes and dilapidations. For they all saw the dissolution of their houses approaching, and so every one was induced to take all the care he could to provide for himself and his kindred; so that the visiters found in some of the richest abbeys of England, as St. Alban's and Battle, such depredations made, that at St. Alban's an abbot could not subsist any longer, the rents were so low; and in Battle, as all their furniture was old and torn, not worth an 100*l.*, so both in house and chapel they had not 400 marks' worth of plate. In other houses they found not above twelve or fifteen ounces of plate, and no furniture at all, but only such things as they could not embezzle; as the walls and windows, bells and lead. In other houses, the abbot and monks were glad to accept of a pension for themselves during life; and so, being only concerned for their own particular interest, resigned their house to the king. Generally, the monks had eight marks a-year pension till they were provided for. The abbots' pensions were proportioned to the value of their house and to their innocence. The abbots of St. Albans and Tewkesbury had 400 marks a-year a-piece. The abbot of St. Edmondsbury was more innocent, for the visiters wrote from thence, that they could find no scandals in that house: so he (it seems) was not easily brought to resign his house, and had 500 marks' pension reserved to him. And for their inferior officers some had thirty, some ten or eight, and the lowest six pounds pension.

In other places, upon a vacancy either by death or deprivation, they did put in an abbot only to resign up the house. For after the king's supremacy was established, all those abbots that had been formerly confirmed by the pope were placed in this manner. The king granted a *congé d'élire* to the prior and convent, with a missive letter, declaring the name of the person whom they should choose: then they returned an election to the king, who, upon that, gave his assent to it by a warrant under the great seal, which was certified to the lord vicegerent; who thereupon confirmed the election, and returned him back to the king, to take the oaths: upon which the temporalities were restored. Thus all the abbots were now placed by the king, and were generally picked out to serve this turn. Others, in hope of advancement to bishoprics, or to be suffragan bishops, as the inferior sort of them were made generally, were glad to recommend themselves to the king's favour by a quick and cheerful surrender of their monastery. Upon some of these inducements it was that the greatest number of the religious houses were resigned to the king before there was any act of parliament made for their suppression. In several houses, the visiters, who were generally either masters of chancery or auditors of the court of augmentations, studied not only to bring them to resign their houses, but to sign confessions of their past lewd and dissolute lives. Of these there is only one now extant, which (it is like) escaped the general razure and destruction of all papers of that kind in queen Mary's time. But from the letters that I have seen, I perceive there were such confessions made by many other houses. That confession of the prior and Benedictines of St. Andrew's in Northampton is to be seen in the records of the court of augmentations; in which, with the most aggravating expressions that could be devised, they acknowledged their past ill life, "for which the pit of hell was ready to swallow them up. They

Confessions of horrid Crimes made in several Houses.



confessed that they had neglected the worship of God, lived in idleness, gluttony, and sensuality," with many other woful expressions to that purpose.

Other houses, as the monastery of Betlesden, resigned with this preamble: "that they did profoundly consider that the manner and trade of living which they, and others of their pretended religion, had for a long time followed, consisted in some dumb ceremonies, and other constitutions of the bishops of Rome, and other foreign potentates; as the abbot of Cisteaux, by which they were blindly led, having no true knowledge of God's laws; procuring exemptions from their ordinary and diocesan, by the power of the bishop of Rome, and submitting themselves wholly to a foreign power, who never came hither to reform their abuses, which were now found among them. But that now knowing the most perfect way of living is sufficiently declared by Christ and his apostles; and that it was most fit for them to be governed by the king, who was their supreme head on earth; they submitted themselves to his mercy, and surrendered up their monastery to him on the 25th of September, in the thirtieth year of his reign." This writing was signed by the abbot, the sub-prior, and nine monks. There are five other surrenders to the same purpose, by the grey and white friars of Stamford—the grey friars of Coventry, Bedford, and Aylesbury, yet to be seen. Some are resigned upon this preamble: "that they hoped the king would of new found their house; which was otherwise like to be ruined, both in spirituals and temporals." So did the abbot of Chertsey in Surrey, with fourteen monks, on the 14th of July, in the twenty-ninth year of this reign, whose house was valued at 744*l.* I have some reason to think that this abbot was for the Reformation, and intended to have had his house new founded to be a house of true and well-regulated devotion: and so I find the prior of great Malvern in Worcestershire offered such a resignation. He was recommended by bishop Latimer to Cromwell, with an earnest desire that his house might stand, not in monkery, but so as to be converted to preaching, study, and prayer. And the good prior was willing to compound for his house by a present of 500 marks to the king, and of 200 to Cromwell. He is commended for being an old worthy man, a good housekeeper, and one that daily fed many poor people. To this Latimer adds, "Alas my good lord! shall we not see two or three in every shire changed to such remedy?"

Collect. Numb. 3. sect. 4.

But the resolution was taken once to extirpate all. And therefore though the visiters interceded earnestly for one nunnery in Oxfordshire, Godstow, where there was great strictness of life; and to which most of the young gentlewomen of the county were sent to be bred, so that the gentry of the country desired the king would spare the house; yet all was ineffectual.

The Form of most Surrenders.

The general form in which most of these resignations begins is: "that the abbot and brethren, upon full deliberation, certain knowledge, of their own proper motion, for certain just and reasonable causes, specially moving them in their souls and consciences, did freely, and of their own accord, give and grant their houses to the king." Others (it seems) did not so well like this preamble, and therefore did, without any reason or preamble, give away their houses to the visiters, as feoffees in trust for the king's use. And thus they went on procuring daily more surrenders, so that in the thirtieth year of the king's reign there were one hundred and fifty-nine resignations enrolled, of which the originals of one hundred and fifty-five do yet remain.

Collect. Numb. 3. sect. 1.

Collect. Numb. 3. sect. 3.

And for the reader's further satisfaction, he shall find, in the collection at the end of this book, the names of all these houses so surrendered, with other particulars relating to them, which would too much weary him if inserted in the thread of this work. But there was no law to force any to make such resignations; so that many of the great abbots would not comply with the king in this matter, and stood it out till after the following parliament, that was in the thirty-first year of his reign.

Divers Opinions about these.

It was questioned by many whether these surrenders could be good in law, since the abbots were but trustees and tenants for life. It was thought they could not absolutely alienate and give away their house for ever. But the parliament afterwards declared the resignations were good in law; for by their foundations all was trusted to the abbot and the senior brethren of the house, who putting the convent-seal to any deed, it was of force in law. It was also said, that they thus surrendering,

had forfeited their charters and foundations; and so the king might seize and possess them with a good title, if not upon the resignation, yet upon forfeiture. But others thought that, whatsoever the nicety of law might give the king, yet there was no sort of equity in it, that a few trustees, who were either bribed or frighted, should pass away that which was none of theirs, but only given them in trust and for life. Other abbots were more roughly handled. The prior of Wooburn was suspected of favouring the rebels; of being against the king's supremacy, and for the pope's; and of being for the general council then summoned to Mantua. And he was dealt with to make a submission and acknowledgment. In an account of a long conference which he had with a privy-councillor under his own hand, I find that the great thing which he took offence at was, that Latimer and some other bishops preached against the veneration of the Blessed Virgin, and the other saints; and that the English Bible then set out differed in many things from the Latin; with several lesser matters. So that they looked on their religion as changed, and wondered that the judgments of God upon queen Anne had not terrified others from going on to subvert the faith: yet he was prevailed with, and did again submit to the king and acknowledge his supremacy; but he afterwards joined himself to the rebels, and was taken with them, together with the abbot of Whaley, and two monks of his house; and the abbot of Gervaux, with a monk of his house; and the abbot of Sawley in Lancashire, with the prior of that house; and the prior of Burlington; who were all attainted of high treason, and executed. The abbots of Glastonbury and Reading were men of great power and wealth. The one was rated at 3508*l.* and the other at 2116*l.* They seeing the storm like to break out on themselves, sent a great deal of the plate and money that they had in their house to the rebels in the North; which being afterwards discovered, they were attainted of high treason a year after this; but I mention it here for the affinity of the matter: further particulars about the abbot of Reading I have not yet discovered. But there is an account given to Cromwell of the proceedings against the abbot of Glastonbury in two letters which I have seen: the one was writ by the sheriff of the county, the other by sir John Russell, who was present at his trial, and was reputed a man of as great integrity and virtue as any in that time; which he seems to have left as an inheritance to that noble family that has descended from him. These inform that he was indicted of burglary as well as treason; for having broken the house in his monastery where the plate was kept, and taken it out, which, as sir William Thomas says, was sent to the rebels. The evidence being brought to the jury, who (as sir John Russell writes) were as good and worthy men as had ever been on any jury in that county, they found him guilty. He was carried to the place of execution, near his own monastery; where (as the sheriff writes) he acknowledged his guilt, and begged God and the king pardon for it. The abbot of Colchester was also attainted of high-treason. What the particulars were I cannot tell. For the record of their attainders was lost; but some of our own writers deserve a severe censure, who write it was for denying the king's supremacy; whereas, if they had not undertaken to write the history without any information at all, they must have seen that the whole clergy, but most particularly the abbots, had over and over again acknowledged the king's supremacy.

Some Abbots attainted of Treason.

For clearing which and discovering the impudence of Sanders' relation of this matter, I shall lay before the reader the evidences that I find of the submission of these and all the other abbots to the king's supremacy: First, in the convocation in the 22d year of this reign, they all acknowledged the king supreme head of the church of England. They did all also swear to maintain the act of the succession of the crown, made in the 25th year of his reign, in which the pope's power was plainly condemned. For in the proceedings against More and Fisher, it was frequently repeated to them that all the clergy had sworn it. It is also entered in the journal of the house of lords, that all the members of both houses swore it at their breaking up: and the same journals inform us, that the abbots of Colchester and Reading sate in that parliament, and as there was no protestation made against any of the acts passed in that session, so it is often entered that the acts were agreed to by the unanimous consent of the lords. It appears also by several original letters, that the heads of all the religious houses in England had signed that position, that the pope had no more jurisdiction in this kingdom than any foreign bishop whatsoever. And it was rejected by none but some Carthusians, and Franciscans of the Observance, who were proceeded against, for refusing to acknowledge it: when they were so pressed in it none can imagine that a parliamentary abbot would have been dispensed with. And in the last parliament in which the second oath about the succession to the crown was enacted, it was added that they should also swear the king to be the supreme head of the church. The abbots of Glastonbury and Reading were then present, as appears by the journals, and consented to it: so little reason there is for imagining that they refused that, or any other compliance that might secure them in their abbeys.



In particular, the abbot of Reading had so got into Cromwell's good opinion, that in some differences between him and Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, that was Cromwell's creature, he had the better of the bishop. Upon which Shaxton, who was a proud ill-natured man, wrote a high expostulating letter to Cromwell, "complaining of an injunction he had granted against him at the abbot's desire. He also showed that in some contests between him and his residentiaries, and between him and the mayor of Salisbury, Cromwell was always against him: he likewise challenged him for not answering his letters. He tells him God will judge him for abusing his power as he did; he prays God to have pity on him and to turn his heart;" with a great deal more provoking language. He also adds many insolent praises of himself; and his whole letter is as extravagant a piece of vanity and insolence as ever I saw. To this Cromwell wrote an answer, that shows him to have been indeed a great man. The reader will find it in the collection, and see from it how modestly and discreetly he carried his greatness.

Collect. Numb. 8.

But how justly soever these abbots were attainted, the seizing on their abbey-lands pursuant to those attainders, was thought a great stretch of law; since the offence of an ecclesiastical incumbent is a personal thing, and cannot prejudice the church; no more than a secular man, who is in an office, does by being attainted, bring any diminution of the rights of his office on his successors. It is true there were some words cast into the thirteenth act of the parliament in the 26th year of this reign, by which divers offences were made treason, that seemed to have been designed for such a purpose. The words are, that whatsoever lands any traitor had of any estate of inheritance in use or possession, by any right, title, or means, should be forfeited to the king. By which, as it is certain estates in tail were comprehended, so the lands that any traitor had in possession or use, seem to be included; and that the rather, because by some following words their heirs and successors are for ever excluded. This either was not thought on when the bishop of Rochester was attainted, or perhaps was not claimed, since the king intended not to lessen the number of bishopries, but rather to increase them. Besides, the words of the statute seem only to belong to an estate of inheritance; within which church-benefices could not be included, without a great force put on them. 'Tis true the word successor favoured these seizures, except that be thought an expletory word put in out of form, but still to be limited to an estate of inheritance. That word does also import, that such criminals might have successors: but if the whole abbey was forfeited, these abbots could have no successors; yet it seems the seizures of these abbeys were founded on that statute, and this stretch of the law occasioned that explanation which was added of the words estate of inheritance, in the statute made in Edward VI.'s reign about treasons,—where it is expressed, that traitors should forfeit to the crown what lands they had of any estate of inheritance, to which is added in their own right, it seems, on design to cut off all pretence for such proceedings for the future, as had been in this reign. But if there was any illegality in these seizures, the following parliament did at least tacitly justify them; for they excepted out of the provisos made concerning the abbeys that were suppressed, such as had been forfeited and seized on by any attaindors of treason.

Another surrender is not unlike these, but rather less justifiable. Many of the Carthusian monks of London were executed for their open denying of the king's supremacy, and for receiving books from foreign parts against his marriage, and other proceedings: divers also of the same house that favoured them, but so secretly that clear proof could not be found to convict them, were kept prisoners in their cells till they died. But the prior was a worthy man, of whom Thomas Bedyl, one of the visitors, writes, "that he was a man of such charity that he had not seen the like, and that the eyes of the people were much on that

house, and therefore he advised that the house might be converted to some good use." But the prior was made to resign, with this preamble, "that many of that house had offended the king, so that their goods might be justly confiscated, and themselves adjudged to a severe death; which they desired to avoid, by an humble submission, and surrender of their house to the king." But there were great complaints made of the visitors, as if they had practised with the abbots and priors to make these surrenders; and that they had conspired with them to cheat the king, and had privately embezzled most of the plate and furniture. The abbess of Chepstow complained in particular of doctor London, one of the visitors, that he had been corrupting her nuns; and generally it was cried out on, that underhand and ill practices were used: therefore, to quiet these reports, and to give some colour to justify what they were about, all the foul stories that could be found out were published to defame these houses. Battle abbey was represented to be a little Sodom; so was Christ-church in Canterbury, with several other houses. But for whoredom and adultery they found instances without number; and of many other unnatural practices and secret lusts, with arts to hinder conceptions and make abortions. But no story became so public as a discovery made of the prior of the Crossed-friars in London, who on a Friday, at eleven o'clock in the day, was found in bed with a whore. He fell down on his knees, and prayed those who surprised him not to publish his shame; but they had a mind to make some advantage by it, and asked him money. He gave them 30*l.*, which he protested was all he had,—but he promised them 30*l.* more: yet failing in the payment, a suit followed on it; and in a bill which I have seen given to Cromwell, then master of the rolls, the case is related.

The Superstition and cheats of these Houses discovered.

But all stories of this kind served only to disgrace those abbots or monks that were so faulty; and the people generally said, these were personal crimes which ought to be punished; but they were no way satisfied with the justice of the king's proceedings, against whole houses for the faults of a few. Therefore another way was thought on, which indeed proved more effectual, both for recovering the people out of the superstitious fondness they had for their images and relics, and for discovering the secret impostures that had been long practised in these houses,—and this was, to order the visitors to examine well all the relics and feigned images to which pilgrimages were wont to be made. In this doctor London did great service. From Reading he writes, "That the chief relics of idolatry in the nation were there; an angel with one wing, that brought over the spear's head that pierced our Saviour's side. To which he adds a long inventory of their other relics, and says there were as many more as would fill four sheets of paper. He also writes from other places that he had everywhere taken down their images and trinkets." At St. Edmundsbury, as John-ap-Rice informed, they found some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence, the parings of St. Edmund's toes, St. Thomas à Becket's penknife and boots; with as many pieces of the cross of our Saviour as would make a large whole cross. They had also relics against rain, and for hindering weeds to spring. But to pursue this further were endless, the relics were so innumerable: and the value which the people had of them may be gathered from this, that a piece of St. Andrew's finger, set in an ounce of silver, was laid to pledge by the house of Westacre for 40*l.*,—but the visitors, when they suppressed that house, did not think fit to redeem it at so high a rate.

Images publicly broken.

For their images, some of them were brought to London, and were there, at St. Paul's cross, in the sight of all the people, broken, that they might be fully convinced of the juggling impostures of the monks. And in particular, the crucifix of Boxley in Kent, commonly called the Rood of Grace; to which many pilgrimages had been made, because it was observed sometimes to bow, and to lift itself up, to shake, and to stir head, hands, and feet, to roll the eyes, move the lips, and bend the brows; all which were looked on by the abused multitude as the effects of a Divine power. These were now publicly discovered to have been cheats; for the springs were showed by which all these motions were made. Upon which John Hilsey, then bishop of Rochester, made a sermon, and broke the rood in pieces. There was also another famous imposture discovered at Hales, in Gloucestershire, where the blood of Christ was showed in a phial of crystal, which the people sometimes saw, but sometimes they could not see it; so they were made believe that



they were not capable of so signal a favour, as long as they were in mortal sin; and so they continued to make presents till they bribed Heaven to give them the sight of so blessed a relic. This was now discovered to have been the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week; and the one side of the phial was so thick that there was no seeing through it, but the other was clear and transparent: and it was so placed near the altar, that one in a secret place behind could turn either side of it outward; so when they had drained the pilgrims that came thither of all they had brought with them, then they afforded them the favour of turning the clear side outward, who upon that went home very well satisfied with their journey and the expense they had been at. There was brought out of Wales a huge image of wood called Darvel Gatheren, of which one Ellis Price, visitor of the diocese of St. Asaph, gave this account, on the 6th of April 1537,—"That the people of the country had a great superstition for it, and many pilgrimages were made to it; so that the day before he wrote, there were reckoned to be above five or six hundred pilgrims there: some brought oxen and cattle, and some brought money; and it was generally believed, that if any offered to that image, he had power to deliver his soul from hell." So it was ordered to be brought to London, where it served for fuel to burn friar Forrest. There was a huge image of our Lady at Worcester, that was had in great reverence; which when it was stripped of some veils that covered it was found to be the statue of a bishop.

Pelerine Inglese.

Barlow, bishop of St. Davids, did also give many advertisements of the superstition of his country, and of the clery and monks of that diocese, who were guilty of heathenish idolatry, gross impiety, and ignorance, and of abusing the people with many evident forgeries,—about which, he said, he had good evidence when it should be called for. But that which drew most pilgrims and presents in those parts, was an image of Our Lady with a taper in her hand, which was believed to have burned nine years, till one forswearing himself upon it, it went out; and was then much reverenced and worshipped. He found all about the cathedral so full of superstitious conceits, that there was no hope of working on them; therefore he proposed the translating the Episcopal seat from St. David's to Caermarthen, which he pressed by many arguments, and in several letters, but with no success. Then many rich shrines of Our Lady of Walsingham, of Ipswich, and Islington, with a great many more, were brought up to London, and burnt by Cromwell's orders.

Thomas à Becket's shrine broken.

But the richest shrine of England was that of Thomas à Becket, called St. Thomas of Canterbury, the martyr; who, being raised up by king Henry II. to the archbishopric of Canterbury, did afterwards give that king much trouble, by opposing his authority and exalting the pope's. And though he once consented to the articles agreed on at Clarendon, for bearing down the papal, and securing the regal power, yet he soon after repented of that only piece of loyalty of which he was guilty all the while he was archbishop. He fled to the pope, who received him as a confessor for the dearest article of the Roman belief. The king and kingdoms were excommunicated, and put under an interdict upon his account. But afterwards, upon the intercession of the French king, king Henry and he were reconciled, and the interdict was taken off. Yet his unquiet spirit could take no rest, for he was no sooner at Canterbury than he began to embroil the kingdom again; and was proceeding by censures against the archbishop of York and some other bishops, for crowning the king's son in his absence. Upon the news of that, the king, being then in Normandy, said, "If he had faithful servants he would not be so troubled with such a priest;" whereupon some zealous or officious courtiers came over and killed him; for which, as the king was made to undergo a severe penance, so the monks were not wanting in their ordinary arts to give out many miraculous stories concerning his blood. This soon drew a canonisation from Rome; and he being a martyr for the papacy, was more extolled than all the apostles or primitive saints had ever been: so that for 300 years he was accounted one of the greatest saints in heaven, as may appear from the accounts in the leger books of the offerings made to the three greatest altars in Christ's-church in Canterbury. The one was to Christ, the other to the Virgin, and the third to St. Thomas. In one year there was offered at Christ's altar, 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d*: to the Virgin's altar, 63*l.* 5*s.* 6*d*: but to St. Thomas's altar, 832*l.* 12*s.* 3*d*. But the next year the odds grew greater,

for there was not a penny offered at Christ's altar, and at the Virgin's only 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*—but at St. Thomas's, 954*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* By such offerings it came, that his shrine was of inestimable value. There was one stone offered there by Louis VII. of France, who came over to visit it in a pilgrimage, that was believed the richest in Europe. Nor did they think it enough to give him one day in the calendar, the 29th of December, but unusual honours were devised for this martyr of the liberties of the Church, greater than any that had been given to the martyrs for Christianity. The day of raising his body, or, as they called it, of his translation, being the 7th of July, was not only a holiday, but every fiftieth year there was a jubilee for fifteen days together, and indulgence was granted to all that came to visit his shrine; as appears from the record of the sixth jubilee, after his translation, anno 1420,—which bears, that there were then about a hundred thousand strangers come to visit his tomb. The jubilee began at twelve o'clock on the vigil of the feast, and lasted fifteen days; by such arts they drew an incredible deal of wealth to his shrine. The riches of that, together with his disloyal practices, made the king resolve both to unshrine and unsaint him at once. And then his skull, which had been much worshipped, was found an imposture; for the true skull was lying with the rest of his bones in his grave. The shrine was broken down and carried away; the gold that was about it filling two chests, which were so heavy that they were a load to eight strong men to carry them out of the church; and his bones were, as some say, burnt; so it was understood at Rome: but others say they were so mixed with other dead bones, that it would have been a miracle indeed to have distinguished them afterwards. The king also ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar, and the office for his festivity to be dashed out of all breviaries. And thus was the superstition of England to images and relics extirpated.

Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury.

Yet the king took care to qualify the distaste which the articles published the former year had given. And though there was no parliament in the year 1537, yet there was a commission from the king to bishops and other learned divines; upon the conclusion of which, there was printed an explanation of the chief points of religion, signed by both the archbishops, seventeen bishops, eight archdeacons, and seventeen doctors of divinity and law. In which there was an exposition of the creed, the seven sacraments, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, and the salutation of the Virgin, with an account of justification and purgatory. But this work was put in a better form afterwards, where the reader will find a more particular account of it. When all these proceedings of the king's were known at Rome, all the satirical pens there were employed to paint him out as the most infamous sacrilegious tyrant that ever was. They represented him as one that made war with heaven and the saints that were there: that committed outrages on the bodies of the saints, which the heathenish Romans would have punished severely for any that committed the like on those that were dead, how mean or bad soever they had been. All his proceedings against the priests or monks that were attainted and executed for high treason, were represented as the effects of savage and barbarous cruelty. His suppressing the monasteries, and devouring what the devotion of former ages had consecrated to God and his saints, was called ravenous and impious sacrilege; nor was there anything omitted that could make him appear to posterity the blackest tyrant that ever wore a crown. They compared him to Pharaoh, Nabuchadonosor, Belshazar, Nero, Domitian, and Diocletian; but chiefly to Julian the apostate. This last parallel liked them best, and his learning, his apostacy, and pretence of reforming, were all thought copied from Julian; only they said his manners were worse. These things were every day printed at Rome, and the informations that were brought out of England were generally addressed to cardinal Pole, whose style was also known in some of them: all which possessed the king with the deepest and most implacable hatred to him that ever he bore to any person, and did provoke him to all those severities that followed on his kindred and family.

New Articles about Religion published.

Invectives against the King printed at Rome.

But the malice of the court of Rome did not stop there. For now the pope published all these thunders which he had threatened three years before. The bull of Deposition is printed in Cherubin's *Bulla rerum Romanarum*, which, since many have the confidence to deny matters of fact, though most publicly acted, shall be found in the collec-

Collect. Numb. 9.



tion of papers. The substance of it is as follows: "The pope being God's vicar on earth, and according to Jeremiah's prophecy, set over nations and kingdoms, 'to root out and destroy;' and having the supreme power over all the kings in the whole world, was bound to proceed to due correction, when milder courses were ineffectual; therefore since king Henry, who had been formerly a defender of the faith, had fallen from it, had, contrary to an inhibition made, put away his queen, and married one Anne Boleyn, and had made impious and hurtful laws; denying the pope to be the supreme head of the church, but assuming that title to himself, and had required all his subjects under pain of death to swear to it; and had put the cardinal of Rochester to death, because he would not consent to these heresies; and by all these things had rendered himself unworthy of his regal dignity; and had hardened his heart (as Pharaoh did) against all the admonitions of pope Clement VII.; therefore, since these his crimes were so notorious, he in imitation of what the apostle did to Elymas the magician, proceeds to such censures as he had deserved; and with the advice of his cardinals, does first exhort him and all his complices to return from their errors, to annul the acts lately made, and to proceed no farther upon them; which he requires him and them to do, under the pains of excommunication and rebellion, and of the king's losing his kingdom, whom he required within ninety days to appear at Rome, by himself or proxy, and his complices within sixty days, to give an account of their actions, otherwise he would then proceed to a further sentence against them: and declares, that if the king and his complices do not appear, he has fallen from the right to his crown, and they from the right to their estates; and when they die, they were to be denied christian burial. He puts the whole kingdom under an interdict; and declares all the king's children by the said Anne, and the children of all his complices, to be under the same pains, though they be now under age, and incapacitates them for all honours or employments, and declares all the subjects or vassals of the king's, or his complices, absolved from all oaths or obligations to them, and requires them to acknowledge them no more. And declares him and them infamous, so that they might neither be witnesses nor make wills. He requires all other persons to have no dealings with him or them, neither by trading, nor any other way, under the pain of excommunication,—the annulling their contracts, and the exposing goods so traded in to all that should catch them. And that all clergymen should within five days after the expiration of the time prefixed go out of the kingdom; (leaving only so many priests as would be necessary for baptizing infants, and giving the sacrament to such as died in penitence) under the pains of excommunication and deprivation; and charges all noblemen and others in his dominions, under the same pains, to rise up in arms against him and to drive him out of his kingdom, and that none should take up arms for him, or any way assist him, and declares all other princes absolved from any confederacies made, or to be made with him; and earnestly obtests the emperor and all kings, and requires other princes under the former pains to trade no more with him; and in case of their disobedience he puts their kingdoms under an interdict: and requires all princes and military persons, in the virtue of holy obedience, to make war upon him, and to force him to return to the obedience of the apostolic see; and to seize on all goods or merchandises belonging to the king or his complices wherever they could find them; and that such of his subjects that were seized on should be made slaves. And requires all bishops, three days after the time that was set down was elapsed, to intimate this sentence in all their churches with putting out of candles, and other ceremonies that ought to be used, in the most solemn and public manner that might be: and all who hindered the publication of this sentence are put under the same pains. He ordained this sentence to be affixed at Rome, Tournay, and Dunkirk, which should stand for a sufficient publication; and concludes, that if any should endeavour to oppose or enervate any of the premises, he should incur the indignation of Almighty God and the holy apostles, St. Peter and Paul. Dated at Rome the 30th of August, 1535." But the pope found the princes of Christendom liked the precedent, of using a king in that manner, so ill, that he suspended the execution of this bull till this time, that the suppression of abbeys, and the burning of Thomas à Becket's bones, did so inflame the pope, that he could forbear no longer, and therefore by a new sentence he did all he could to shake him in his throne.

The Pope's Bulls against the King.

The preamble of it was, "that, as our Saviour had pity on St. Peter after his fall, so it became St. Peter's successors to imitate our Saviour in his clemency; and that therefore though he having heard of king Henry's crimes, had proceeded to a sentence against him (here the former bull was recited); yet some other princes, who hoped he might be reclaimed by gentler methods, had interposed for a suspension of the sentence: and he being easy to believe what he so earnestly desired, had upon their intercession suspended it. But now he found they had been deceived in their hopes, and that he grew worse and worse, and had done such dishonour to the saints, as to raise St. Thomas of Canterbury's body, to arraign him of high treason, and to burn his body, and sacrilegiously to rob the riches that had been offered to his shrine, as also to suppress St. Austin's abbey in Canterbury; and that having thrust out the monks, he had put in wild beasts into their grounds, having transformed himself into a beast. Therefore he takes off the suspension, and publishes the bull, commanding it to be executed: declaring that the affixing it at Dieppe or Boulogne in France, at St. Andrew's or Callistren, (that is Coldstream, a town near the border of England,) in Scotland or Tuam, or Artifert in Ireland, or any two of these, should be a sufficient publication. Dated the 7th of December, Anno Dom. 1538."

No man can read these bulls but he must conclude that if the pope be the infallible and universal pastor of the church, whom all are bound to obey, he has a full authority over all kings, to proceed to the highest censures possible: and since the matters of fact, enumerated in the sentence as the grounds of it, were certainly true; then, the pope is either clothed with the powers of deposing princes, or if otherwise, he lied to the world when he pretended to it thus, and taught false doctrine, which cannot stand with infallibility,—and the pretended grounds of the sentence as to matter of fact being evidently true, this must be a just sentence; and therefore all that acknowledged the infallibility of that see, were bound to obey it, and all the rebellions that followed, during the reign of the king or his children, were founded on this sentence, and must be justified by it: otherwise the pope's infallibility must fall to the ground. But this was to be said for the pope, that though he had raised the several branches of this sentence higher than any of his predecessors had ever done; yet, as to the main, he had very good and authentic precedents for what he did, from the depositions of emperors or kings that were made by former popes for about five hundred years together. This I thought needful to be more fully opened, because of the present circumstances we are now in; since hereby every one that will consider things must needs see that the belief of the pope's infallibility does necessarily infer the acknowledgment of their power of deposing heretical kings. For it is plain, the pope did this *ex cathedra*, and as a pastor feeding and correcting his flock.

But not content with this, he also wrote to other princes, inflaming them against the king, particularly to the kings of France and Scotland. To the last of these he sent a breve, declaring king Henry a heretic, a schismatic, a manifest adulterer, a public murderer, a rebel, and convict of high treason against him, the pope his lord; for which crimes he had deposed him, and offered his dominions to him if he would go and invade them. And thus the breach between him and the pope was past reconciling; and at Rome it was declared equally meritorious to fight against him as against the Turk. But cardinal Pole made it more meritorious, in his book. Yet the thunders of the Vatican had now lost their force, so that these had no other effect but to enrage the king more against all such as were suspected to favour their interests, or to hold any correspondence with cardinal Pole. Therefore he first procured a declaration against the pope's pretensions, to be signed by all the bishops of England: in which, after they declared against the pope's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, upon the grounds formerly touched, they concluded, "That the people ought to be instructed, that Christ did expressly forbid his apostles or their successors to take to themselves the power of the sword, or the authority of kings. And that, if the bishop of Rome, or any other bishop, assumed any such power, he was a tyrant and usurper of other men's rights, and a subverter of the kingdom of Christ." This was subscribed by nineteen bishops (all that were then in England), and twenty-five doctors of divinity and law. It was at some time before May 1538; for Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford, who was one that signed it, died the 8th of May that year. There was no convocation

Lesley, Hist. Scot.

The Clergy in England declared against these.



called by writ for doing this. For as there is no mention of any such writ in the registers, so if it had been done by convocation, Cromwell had signed it first; but his hand not being at it, it is more probable that a meeting of the clergy was called by the king's missive letters; or that, as was once done before, the paper was drawn at London, and sent over the kingdom to the episcopal sees for the bishops' hands to it.

There is another original paper extant, signed at this time by eight bishops: from which I conjecture those were all that were then about London. It was to show, "That by the commission which Christ gave to churchmen, they were only ministers of his gospel, to instruct the people in the purity of the faith; but that by other places of scripture the authority of Christian princes over all their subjects, as well bishops and priests as others, was also clear. And that the bishops and priests have charge of souls within their cures, power to administer sacraments, and to teach the word of God: to the which word of God, Christian princes acknowledge themselves subject; and that in case the bishops be negligent, it is the Christian princes' office to see them do their duty." This, being signed by John Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, must be after the year 1537, in which he was consecrated; and Latimer and Shaxton also signing, it must be before the year 1539, in which they resigned. But I believe it was signed at the same time that the other was; and the design of it was to refute those calumnies spread at Rome, as if the king had wholly suppressed all ecclesiastical offices, and denied them any divine authority, making them wholly dependent on the civil power, and acting by commission only from him. And therefore they explained the limits of both these powers, in so clear and moderate a way, that it must have stopped the mouths of all opposers. But whether there was any public use made of this paper I can by no means discover*.

Collect. Numb. 10.

The king did also set forward the printing of the English Bible, which was finished this year, at London, by Grafton the printer, who printed 1500 of them at his own charge. This Bible Cromwell presented to the king, and procured his warrant, allowing all his subjects in all his dominions to read it without control or hazard. For which the archbishop wrote Cromwell a letter of most hearty thanks, dated the 13th of August. Who "did now rejoice that he saw this day of Reformation, which he concluded was now risen in England, since the light of God's word did shine over it without any cloud." The translation had been sent over to France to be printed at Paris, the workmen in England not being judged able to do it as it ought to be. Therefore, in the year 1537, it was recommended to Bonner's care, who was then ambassador at Paris, and was much in Cromwell's favour, who was setting him up against Gardiner. He procured the king of France's leave to print it at Paris, in a large volume: but upon a complaint made by the French clergy, the press was stopped, and most of the copies were seized on and publicly burnt; but some copies were conveyed out of the way, and the workmen and forms were brought over to England, where it was now finished and published. And injunctions were given out in the king's name, by Cromwell, to all incumbents, "to provide one of these Bibles, and set it up publicly in the church, and not to hinder or discourage the reading of it, but to encourage all persons to peruse it, as being the true lively word of God, which every Christian ought to believe, embrace, and follow, if he expected to be saved. And all were exhorted not to make contests about the exposition or sense of any difficult place, but to refer that to men of higher judgment in the Scriptures. Then some other rules were added, about the instructing the people in the principles of religion, by teaching the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, in English. And that in every church there should be a sermon made every quarter of a year at least, to declare to the people the true gospel of Christ, and to exhort them to the works of charity, mercy, and faith; and not to trust in other men's works, or pilgrimages, to images, or relics, or saying over beads, which they did not understand; since these things tended to idolatry and superstition, which, of all offences, did most provoke God's indignation. They were to take down all images which were abused by pilgrimages, or offerings made to them; and to suffer no candles to be set before any image; only there might be candles before the cross,

The Bible printed in English.

New injunctions set out by the King. Collect. Numb. 11.

* See Addenda at the end of Part I.—ED.

and before the sacrament, and about the sepulchre. And they were to instruct the people, that images served only as the books of the unlearned, to be remembrances of the conversations of them whom they represented: but if they made any other use of images, it was idolatry: for remedying whereof, as the king had already done in part, so he intended to do more for the abolishing such images, which might be a great offence to God, and a danger to the souls of his subjects. And if any of them had formerly magnified such images or pilgrimages to such purposes, they were ordered openly to recant, and acknowledge that in saying such things they had been led by no ground in Scripture; but were deceived by a vulgar error which had crept into the church through the avarice of those who had profit by it. They were also to discover all such as were letters of the reading of God's word in English, or hindered the execution of these injunctions. Then followed orders for keeping of registers in their parishes, for reading all the king's injunctions once every quarter at least; that none were to alter any of the holidays without directions from the king; and all the eves of the holidays formerly abrogated, were declared to be no fasting-days: the commemoration of Thomas à Becket was to be clean omitted: the kneeling for the *aves* after sermon were also forbidden; which were said in hope to obtain the pope's pardon. And whereas in their processions they used to say so many suffrages with an *ora pro nobis* to the saints, by which they had not time to say the suffrages to God himself, they were to teach the people that it were better to omit the *ora pro nobis*, and to sing the other suffrages which were most necessary and most effectual."

These injunctions struck at three main points of popery: containing encouragements to the vulgar to read the Scriptures in a known tongue, and putting down all worship of images, and leaving it free for any curate to leave out the suffrages to the saints. So that they were looked on as a deadly blow to that religion. But now those of that party did so artificially comply with the king, that no advantages could be found against any of them for their disobedience. The king was master at home, and no more to be disobeyed. He had not only broken the rebellion of his own subjects, and secured himself by alliance from the dangers threatened him by the pope, but all their expectations from the lady Mary were now clouded: for on the 12th of October 1537, queen Jane had borne him a son, who was christened Edward, the archbishop of Canterbury being one of his godfathers. This very much encouraged all that were for reformation, and disheartened those who were against it. But the joy for this young prince was qualified by the queen's death two days after *, which afflicted the king very much: for of all his wives, she was the dearest to him. And his grief for that loss is given as the reason why he continued two years a widower. But others thought he had not so much tenderness in his nature as to be much or long troubled for anything: therefore the slowness of his marrying was ascribed to some reasons of state. But the birth of the prince was a great disappointment to all those whose hopes rested on the lady Mary's succeeding her father: therefore they submitted themselves with more than ordinary compliance to the king.

Prince Edward born.

Gardiner was as busy as any in declaiming against the religious houses, and took occasion in many of his sermons to commend the king for suppressing them. The archbishop of York had recovered himself at court: and I do not find that he interposed in the suppression of any of the religious houses, except Hexham; about which he wrote to Cromwell, that it was a great sanctuary when the Scots made inroads: and so he thought that the continuing of it might be of great use to the king. He added in that letter, "that he did carefully silence all the preachers of novelties. But some of these boasted that they would shortly have licences from the king, as he heard they had already from the archbishop of Canterbury; but he desired Cromwell to prevent that mischief." This is all that I find of him.

Great compliances by the Popish party.

There is a pardon granted to Stokesly, bishop of London, on the 3rd of July, in the thirtieth year of his reign, being this year, for having acted by commission from Rome, and sued out bulls from thence. If these crimes were done before the separation from Rome, they were remitted by the general pardon. If he took a particular pardon, it seems strange that it was

* See Note in the first page of Book 1, Part 2, showing that the Queen probably survived the birth of the prince twelve days.—ED.



not enrolled till now. But I am apt to believe it was rather the omission of a clerk, than his being guilty of such a transgression about this time; for I see no cause to think the king would have pardoned such a crime in a bishop in those days. All that party had now, by their compliance and submission, gained so much on the king, that he began to turn more to their councils than he had done of late years. Gardiner was returned from France, where he had been ambassador for some years. He had been also in the emperor's court; and there were violent presumptions that he had secretly reconciled himself to the pope, and entered into a correspondence with him. For one of the legate's servants discoursed of it at Ratisbon, to one of sir Henry Knevet's retinue (who was joined in the embassy with Gardiner), whom he took to be Gardiner's servant, and with whom he had an old acquaintance. The matter was traced, and Knevet spoke with the Italian that had first let it fall, and was persuaded of the truth of the thing. But Gardiner smelling it out, said that Italian, upon whose testimony the whole matter depended, was corrupted to ruin him; and complained of it to the emperor's chancellor, Granvel: upon which Ludovico (that was the Italian's name) was put in prison. And it seems the king either looked on it as a contrivance of Gardiner's enemies, or at least seemed to do so, for he continued still to employ him. Yet on many occasions he expressed great contempt of him, and used him not as a counsellor, but as a slave. But he was a man of great cunning, and had observed the king's temper exactly, and knew well to take a fit occasion for moving the king in anything, and could improve it dexterously. He therefore represented to the king, that nothing would so secure him, both at home and abroad, against all the mischief the pope was contriving, as to show great zeal against heretics, chiefly the Sacramentaries (by that name they branded all that denied the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist). And the king being all his life zealous for the belief of the corporal presence, was the more easily persuaded to be severe on that head: and the rather because the princes of Germany, whose friendship was necessary to him, being all Lutherans, his proceedings against the Sacramentaries would give them no offence.

Gardiner stirs up the King against those called Sacramentaries.

An occasion at that time presented itself as opportunely as they could have wished: one John Nicolson, alias Lambert, was then questioned by the archbishop of Canterbury for that opinion. He had been minister of the English company at Antwerp, where, being acquainted with Tindal and Frith, he improved that knowledge of religion which was first infused in him by Bilney. But chancellor More ordered the merchants to dismiss him; so he came over to England, and was taken by some of archbishop Warham's officers, and many articles were objected to him. But Warham died soon after, and the change of counsels that followed occasioned his liberty. So he kept a school at London, and hearing doctor Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, preach of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, he came to him upon it, and offered his reasons why he could not believe the doctrine he had preached: which he put in writing, digesting them into ten arguments. Taylor showed this to doctor Barnes, who, as he was bred among the Lutherans, so had not only brought over their opinions, but their temper with him. He thought that nothing would more obstruct the progress of the Reformation than the venting that doctrine in England. Therefore Taylor and he carried the paper to Cranmer, who was at that time also of Luther's opinion *, which he had drunk in from his friend Osiander. Latimer was of the same belief. So Lambert was brought before them, and they studied to make him retract his paper: but all was in vain, for Lambert, by a fatal resolution, appealed to the king.

And Lambert in particular.

Who had appealed to the King.

This Gardiner laid hold on, and persuaded the king to proceed solemnly and severely in it. The king was soon prevailed with, and both interest and vanity concurred to make him improve this opportunity for showing his zeal and learning. So letters were written to many of the nobility and bishops to come and see this trial; in which the king intended to sit in person, and to manage some part of the argument. In November, on the day that was prefixed, there was a great appearance in Westminster-Hall of the bishops and clergy, the

* Cranmer at his trial being asked what doctrine he taught concerning this sacrament, when he condemned Lambert the Sacramentary, expressly says, "I maintained then the Papists' doctrine." Fox, vol. 3, p. 656. Nor could he well otherwise have argued against Lambert as he then did. To name no more authorities.—ANON. CORRECT.

nobility, judges, and the king's council, with an incredible number of spectators. The king's guards were all in white, and so was the cloth of state.

When the prisoner was brought to the bar, the trial was opened by a speech of doctor Dayes, which was to this effect: "That this assembly was not at all convened to dispute about any point of faith, but that the king, being supreme head, intended openly to condemn and confute that man's heresy in all their presence." Then the king commanded him to declare his opinion about the sacrament. To which Lambert began his answer with a preface, acknowledging the king's great goodness that he would thus hear the causes of his subjects, and commending his great judgment and learning. In this the king interrupted him, telling him in Latin that he came not there to hear his own praises set forth, and therefore commanded him to speak to the matter. This he uttered with a stern countenance; at which Lambert being a little disordered, the king asked him again, whether was Christ's body in the sacrament or not? He answered in the words of St. Austin, "It was his body in a certain manner." But the king bade him answer plainly, whether it was Christ's body or not? So he answered, "That it was not his body." Upon which the king urged him with the words of Scripture, "This is my body;" and then he commanded the archbishop to confute his opinion, who spoke only to that part of it which was grounded on the impossibility of a body's being in two places at once. And that he confuted from Christ's appearing to St. Paul; showing, that though he is always in heaven, yet he was seen by St. Paul in the air. But Lambert affirmed that he was then only in heaven, and that St. Paul heard a voice, and saw a vision, but not the very body of Christ. Upon this they disputed for some time; in which it seems the bishop of Winchester thought Cranmer argued but faintly, for he interposed in the argument.

And was publicly tried at Westminster.

Arguments brought against him.

Tonstal's arguments run all upon God's omnipotency; that it was not to be limited by any appearances of difficulties, which flowed from our want of a right understanding of things; and our faculties being weak, our notions of impossibilities were proportioned to these. But Stokesley thought he had found out a demonstration that might put an end to the whole controversy; for he showed, that in nature we see one substance changed into another, and yet the accidents remain. So when water is boiled till it evaporates into air, one substance is changed into another, and moisture, that was the accident, remains, it being still moist. This (as one of the eye-witnesses relates) was received with great applause, and much joy appeared in the bishop's looks upon it. But whether the spectators could distinguish well between laughter for joy and a scornful smile, I cannot tell: for certainly this crotchet must have provoked the latter rather, since it was a sophism not to be forgiven any above a junior sophister; thus, from an accidental conversion, where the substance was still the same, only altered in its form and qualities, (according to the language of that philosophy which was then most in vogue,) to infer a substantial mutation, where one substance was annihilated, and a new one produced in its place. But these arguments, it seems, disordered Lambert somewhat; and either the king's stern looks, the variety of the disputants, ten, one after another, engaging with him, or the greatness of the presence, with the length of the action, which continued five hours, put him in some confusion; it is not improbable but they might in the end bring him to be quite silent. This, one that was present said, flowed from his being spent and wearied; and that he saw what he said was little considered: but others ascribed it to his being confounded with the arguments that were brought against him. So the general applause of the hall gave the victory on the king's side. When he was thus silent, the king asked him if he was convinced by these arguments, and whether he would live or die? He answered, That he committed his soul to God, and submitted his body to the king's clemency. But the king told him, if he did not recant he must die, for he would not be a patron of heretics; and since he would not do that, the king ordered Cromwell to read the sentence, (which he as the king's vice-gerent did,) declaring him an incorrigible heretic, and condemning him to be burnt. Which was soon after executed in Smithfield, in a most barbarous manner; for when his legs and thighs were burned to the stumps, there not being fire enough to consume the rest of him suddenly, two of the officers raised up his body on their halberds,

He is condemned.



he being yet alive, and crying out, None but Christ, none but Christ; and then they let him fall down into the fire, where he was quickly consumed to ashes. He was a learned and good man. His answers to the articles objected to him by Warham, and a book which in his imprisonment he wrote for justifying his opinion, which he directed to the king, do show both great learning for those times, and a very good judgment.

And burned.

This being done, the party that opposed the Reformation persuaded the king that he had got so much reputation to himself by it, that it would effectually refute all aspersions which had been cast on him, as if he intended to change the faith: neither did they forget to set on him in his weak side, and magnify all that he had said, as if the oracle had uttered it: by which they said it appeared he was indeed a defender of the faith, and the supreme head of the church. And he had so good a conceit of what was then done, that he intended to pursue these severities further; and therefore soon after he resolved on summoning a parliament, partly for confirming what he had done, and completing what remained to be done further, in the suppression of the monasteries; and likewise for making a new law for punishing some opinions which were then spreading about the sacrament, and some other articles, as will soon appear.

Now the archbishop of Canterbury's interest at court suffered a great diminution. His chief friend among the bishops was Fox, bishop of Hereford, who was much esteemed and employed by the king. He was a privy-councillor, and had been employed in a negotiation with the princes of Germany, to whom he was a very acceptable minister. They proposed, That the king would receive the Augsburg Confession, except in such things as should be altered in it by common consent, and defend it in a free council, if any such were called; and that neither of them should acknowledge any council called by the pope: that the king should be called the patron of their league, and they should mutually assist one another, the king giving 100,000 crowns a-year towards the defence of the league.

The popish party gain ground at Court.

The bishop of Winchester being then in France, did much dissuade the king from making a religious league with them; against which he gave some plausible politic reasons, for his conscience never struggled with a maxim of state. But the king liked most of the propositions, only he would not accept the title of defender of their league, till some differences in the doctrine were agreed. So they were to have sent over Sturmius as their agent, and Melancthon, Bucer, and George Draco, to confer with the king's divines. But upon queen Anne's fall this vanished; and though the king entered into a civil league with them, and had frequently a mind to bring over Melancthon, for whom he had a great value, yet it never took effect. There were three things in which the Germans were more positive than in any other point of reformation. These were, the communion in both kinds, the worship in a known tongue, and an allowance for the marriage of the clergy. All the people had got these things in their heads; so that it was generally believed, that if the pope had in time consented to them, the progress of the Reformation had been much stopped. The express words of the institution, and the novelty of the contrary practice, had engaged that nation very early for communion in both kinds. Common sense made them all desire to understand what they did and said in the worship of God; and the lewd and dissolute practices of the unmarried clergy were so public, that they thought the honour of their families, of which that nation is extremely sensible, could not be secured, unless the clergy might have wives of their own. But at these the king stuck more than at other things that were more disputable. For in all other points that were material, he had set up the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession; and there was good ground to hope that the evidence of at least two of these would have brought over the king to a fuller agreement and firmer union with them*. But the bishop of Hereford's death gave a great blow to that design. For though that party thought they had his room well filled, when they had got Bonner to be his successor, yet they found afterwards what a fatal mistake they committed in raising him now to Hereford, and translating him within a few months to London, vacant by Stokesley's death.

The King's correspondence with the German Princes.

Bonner's dissimulation.

* See Addenda, at the end of Part I.

But during the vacancy of the see of Hereford, Cranmer held a visitation in it, where he left some injunctions (to be found in the Collection) which chiefly related to the encouraging of reading the Scriptures, and giving all due obedience to the king's injunctions. For the other bishops that adhered to Cranmer, they were rather clogs than helps to him. Latimer's simplicity and weakness made him be despised: Shaxton's proud and litigious humour drew hatred on him: Barlow was not very discreet; and many of the preachers whom they cherished, whether out of an unbridled forwardness of temper, or a true zeal that would not be managed and governed by politic and prudent measures, were flying at many things that were not yet abolished. Many complaints were brought of these to the king. Upon which letters were sent to all the bishops in the king's name, to take care that as the people should be instructed in the truth, so they should not be unwarily charged with too many novelties; since the publishing these, if it was not tempered with great discretion, would raise much contention, and other inconveniences that might be of dangerous consequence. But it seems this caveat did not produce what was designed by it, or at least the opposite party were still bringing in new complaints: for I have seen an original letter of Cromwell's to the bishop of Landaff, bearing date the 6th of January, in which he makes mention of the king's letters * sent to that purpose and requires him to look to the execution of them, both against the violence of the new preachers, and against those that secretly carried on the pretended authority of the bishop of Rome; otherwise he threatens to proceed against him in another manner. All these things concurred to lessen Cranmer's interest in the court; nor had he any firm friend there but Cromwell, who was also careful to preserve himself: there was not a queen now in the king's bosom to favour their motions. Queen Jane had been their friend, though she came in Anne Boleyn's room, that had supported them most. The king was observed to be much guided by his wives, as long as they kept their interest with him. Therefore Cromwell thought the only way to retrieve a design that was almost lost, was to engage the king in an alliance with some of the princes of Germany, from whence he had heard much of the beauty of the lady Anne of Cleves, the duke of Cleves' sister, whose elder sister was married to the duke of Saxony.

Collect. Numb. 12.

Collect. Numb. 13.

But while he was setting this on foot, a parliament was summoned to meet the 28th of April. To which all the parliamentary abbots had their writs. The abbots of Westminster, St. Albans, St. Mary, York, Glastonbury, Gloucester, Ramsey, Evesham, Peterborough, Reading, Malmesbury, Croyland, Selby, Thorny, Winchelcomb, Waltham, Cirencester, Tewkesbury, and Colchester, sate in it. On the 5th of May the lord chancellor acquainted them that the king, being most desirous to have all his subjects of one mind in religion, and to quiet all controversies about it, had commanded him to move to them, that a committee might be appointed for examining these different opinions, and drawing up articles for an agreement, which might be reported and considered by the house. To this the lords agreed, and named for a committee, Cromwell the vicegerent, the two archbishops, the bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle, and Worcester; who were ordered to go about it with all haste, and were dispensed with for their attendance in the house, till they had ended their business. But they could come to no agreement; for the archbishop of Canterbury, having the bishops of Ely and Worcester to second him, and being favoured by Cromwell, the other five could carry nothing against them: nor would either party yield to the other, so that eleven days passed in these debates.

A new Parliament.

On the 16th of May, the duke of Norfolk told the lords, that the committee that was named had made no progress, for they were not of one mind, which some of the lords had objected, when they were first named. Therefore he offered some articles to the lords' consideration, that they might be examined by the whole house, and that there might be a perpetual law made for the observation of them, after the lords had freely delivered their minds about them. The articles were,

The six Articles are proposed.

"First, Whether in the eucharist Christ's real body was present without any transubstantiation? (so it is in the journal *absque transubstantiatione*). It seems so the corporal presence had been established, they would have left the manner of it indefinite.

* See Addenda, at the end of Part I.



"Secondly, Whether that sacrament was to be given to the laity in both kinds?

"Thirdly, Whether the vows of chastity, made either by men or women, ought to be observed by the law of God?

"Fourthly, Whether by the law of God private masses ought to be celebrated?

"Fifthly, Whether priests by the law of God might marry?

"Sixthly, Whether auricular confession were necessary by the law of God?"

Against these the archbishop of Canterbury argued long. For the first, he was then in his opinion a Lutheran, so he was not like to say much against it. But certainly he opposed the second much, since there was not anything for which those with whom he held correspondence were more earnest, and seemed to have greater advantages, both from Christ's own words in the institution and the constant practice of the church for twelve ages.

Reasons against them.

For the Third, It seemed very hard to suppress so many monasteries and set the religious persons at liberty, and yet bind them up to chastity. That same parliament by another act absolved them from their vow of poverty, giving them power to purchase lands: now it was not reasonable to bind them up to some parts of their vow, when they absolved them from the rest. And it was no ways prudent to bind them up from marriage, since as long as they continued in that state, they were still capable to re-enter into their monasteries when a fair occasion should offer; whereas they upon their marrying did effectually lay down all possible pretensions to their former houses.

For the Fourth, The asserting the necessity of private masses, was a plain condemnation of the king's proceedings in the suppression of so many religious houses, which were societies chiefly dedicated to that purpose. For if these masses did profit the souls departed, the destroying so many foundations could not be justified. And for the living, these private masses were clearly contrary to the first institution, by which that which was blessed and consecrated was to be distributed; and it was to be a communion, and so held by the primitive church, which admitted none so much as to see the celebration of that sacrament but those who received it, laying censures upon such as were present at the rest of that office, and did not stay and communicate.

For the Fifth, it touched Cranmer to the quick, for he was then married. The Scripture did in no place enjoin the celibat of the clergy. On the contrary, Scripture speaks of their wives, and gives the rules of their living with them. And St. Paul in express words condemns all men's leaving their wives, without exception, saying "That the man hath not power over his own body but the wife." In the primitive church, though those that were in orders did not marry, yet such as were married before orders kept their wives, of which there were many instances; and when some moved in the council of Nice, that all that had been married when they entered into orders should put away their wives, it was rejected, and ever since the Greek churches have allowed their priests to keep their wives. Nor was it ever commanded in the western church, till the popes began their usurpation. Therefore the prohibition of it being only grounded on the papal constitutions, it was not reasonable to keep it up, since that authority on which it was built was now overthrown.

What was said concerning auricular confession*, I cannot so easily recover. For though Cranmer argued three days against these articles, I can only gather the substance of his arguments from what himself wrote on some of these heads afterwards. For nothing remains of what passed there, but what is conveyed to us in the journal, which is short and defective.

On the 24th of May the parliament was prorogued to the 30th, upon what reason it does not appear. It was not to set any of the bills backward; for it was agreed, that the bills should continue in the state in which they were then, till their next meeting. When they met again, on the 30th of May, being Friday, the lord chancellor intimated to them, that not only the spiritual lords but the king himself had taken much pains to bring things to an agreement, which was effected. Therefore he moved in the king's name, that a bill might be brought in for punishing such as offended against these articles. So the lords appointed the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely and St. David's, and doctor

* See Addenda, at the end of Part I.

Peter, a master of chancery, (afterwards secretary of state,) to draw one bill; and the archbishop of York, the bishops of Durham and Winchester, and doctor Tregonnel, another master of chancery, to draw another bill about it; and to have them both ready, and to offer them to the king by Sunday next. But the bill that was drawn by the archbishop of York, and those with him, was best liked; yet it seems the matter was long contested, for it was not brought to the house before the 7th of June, and then the lord chancellor offered it, and it was read the first time. On the 9th of June it had the second reading, and on the 10th it was engrossed and read the third time. But when it passed, the king desired the archbishop of Canterbury to go out of the house, since he could not give his consent to it; but he humbly excused himself, for he thought he was bound in conscience to stay and vote against it. It was sent down to the house of commons, where it met with no great opposition; for on the 14th it was agreed to, and sent up again; and on the 28th it had the force of a law by the royal assent.

**An Act passed for them.**

The title of it was an act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian religion. It is said in the preamble, the king, "considering the blessed effects of union, and the mischiefs of discord, since there were many different opinions, both among the clergy and laity about some points of religion, had called this parliament and a synod at the same time, for removing these differences, where six articles were proposed, and long debated by the clergy: and the king himself had come in person to the parliament and council, and opened many things of high learning and great knowledge about them; and that he, with the assent of both houses of parliament, had agreed on the following articles. First, That in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration there remained no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms, the natural body and blood of Christ were present. Secondly, That communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God; but that both the flesh and blood of Christ were together in each of the kinds. Thirdly, That priests after the order of priesthood might not marry by the law of God. Fourthly, That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God. Fifthly, That the use of private masses ought to be continued; which, as it was agreeable to God's law, so men received great benefit by them. Sixthly, That auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the church. The parliament thanked the king for the pains he had taken in these articles; and enacted, that if any after the 12th of July did speak, preach, or write against the first article, they were to be judged heretics, and to be burnt without any abjuration, and to forfeit their real and personal estates to the king. And those who preached or obstinately disputed against the other articles, were to be judged felons; and to suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy. And those, who either in word or writing spake against them, were to be prisoners during the king's pleasure, and forfeit their goods and chattels to the king for the first time; and if they offended so the second time, they were to suffer as felons. All the marriages of priests are declared void; and if any priest did still keep any such woman, whom he had so married and lived familiarly with her as with his wife, he was to be judged a felon: and if a priest lived carnally with any other woman, he was upon the first conviction to forfeit his benefices, goods, and chattels, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure; and upon the second conviction was to suffer as a felon. The women so offending, were also to be punished in the same manner as the priests; and those who contemned or abstained from confession or the sacrament at the accustomed times, for the first offence were to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned; and for the second, were to be adjudged of felony. And for the execution of this act, commissions were to be issued out to all archbishops and bishops, and their chancellors and commissaries, and such others in the several shires as the king should name, to hold their sessions quarterly or oftener, and they were to proceed upon presentments and by a jury. Those commissioners were to swear that they should execute their commission indifferently, without favour, affection, corruption, or malice. All ecclesiastical incumbents were to read this act in their churches once a quarter. And in the end a proviso was added, concerning vows of chastity. That they should not oblige any, except such as had taken them at or above the age of twenty-one years, or had been compelled to take them."



This act was received by all that secretly favoured popery with great joy; for now they hoped to be revenged on all those who had hitherto set forward a reformation. It very much quieted the bigots, who were now persuaded that the king would not set up heresy, since he passed so severe an act against it, and it made the total suppression of monasteries go the more easily through. The popish clergy liked all the act very well, except that severe branch of it against their unchaste practices. This was put in by Cromwell to make it cut with both edges. (Some of our inconsiderate writers who never perused the statutes tell us it was done by a different act of parliament; but greater faults must be forgiven them who write upon hearsay.) There was but one comfort that the poor reformers could pick out of the whole act, that they were not left to the mercy of the clergy and their ecclesiastical courts, but were to be tried by a jury, where they might expect more candid and gentle dealing. Yet the denying them the benefit of abjuration, was a severity beyond what had ever been put in practice before: so now they began to prepare for new storms and a heavy persecution.

**which is variously censured.**

The other chief business of this parliament was the suppression of monasteries. It is said in the preamble of that act, "That divers abbots, priors, and other heads of religious houses, had, since the 4th of February in the twenty-seventh year of the king's reign, without constraint, of their own accord, and according to the due course of the common law, by sufficient writings of record under their convent-seals, given up their houses and all that belonged to them to the king. Therefore all houses that were since that time suppressed, dissolved, relinquished, forfeited, or given up, are confirmed to the king and his successors for ever: and all monasteries that should thereafter be suppressed, forfeited, or given up, are also confirmed to the king and his successors. And all these houses, with the rents belonging to them, were to be disposed of by the court of augmentations for the king's profit, excepting only such as were come into the king's hands by attainders of treason, which belonged to the exchequer,—reserving to all persons, except the patrons, founders, and donors of such houses, the same right to any parts of them or jurisdiction in them, which they could have claimed if that act had never been made. Then followed many clauses for annulling all deeds and leases, made within one year before the suppression of any religious house, to the prejudice of it, or different from what had been granted formerly. And all churches or chapels which belonged to these monasteries, and were formerly exempted from the visitation or jurisdiction of their ordinary, are declared to be within the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese, or of any other that should be appointed by the king."

**An Act about the suppression of the greater Monasteries.**

This act passed in the house of peers, without any protestation made by any of the abbots, though it appears by the journal that at the first reading of it there were eighteen abbots present, at the second reading twenty, and seventeen at the third reading, and the abbots of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Reading, were among those who were present; so little reason there is to think they were attainted for any open withstanding the king's proceedings, when they did not protest against this act, which was so plainly levelled at them. It was soon despatched by the commons, and offered to the royal assent. By it no religious houses were suppressed, as is generally taken for granted; but only the surrenders that either had been or were to be made, were confirmed. The last proviso for annulling all exemptions of churches and chapels had been a great happiness to the church, if it had not been for that clause, that the king might appoint others to visit them, which in a great degree did enervate it. For many of those who afterwards purchased these lands with the impropriated tithes, got this likewise in their grants, that they should be the visitors of the churches and chapels formerly exempted, from whence great disorders have since followed in these churches, which not falling within the bishop's jurisdiction, are thought not liable to his censures,—so that the incumbents in them being under no restraints, have often been scandalous to the church, and given occasion to those who were disaffected to the hierarchy, to censure the prelates for these offences which they could not punish, since the offenders were thus excepted out of their jurisdiction. This abuse, which first sprang from the ancient exemptions that were confirmed or granted by the see of Rome, has not yet met with an effectual remedy.

Upon the whole matter, this suppression of abbeys was universally censured; and besides the common exceptions which those that favoured the old superstition made, it was ques-

tioned whether the lands that formerly belonged to religious houses ought to have returned to the founders and donors by way of reverter, or to have fallen to the lords of whom the lands were holden by way of escheat, or to have come to the crown. It is true, by the Roman law, or at least by a judgment of the senate in Theodosius's time, the endowments of the heathenish temples were upon a full debate, whether they should return to the right heirs or be confiscated, in the end adjudged to the fisc or the emperor's exchequer, upon this reason, that by the will of the donors they were totally alienated from them and their heirs. But in England it went otherwise: and when the order of the knights-templars was dissolved, it was then judged in favour of the lord by escheat*. For though the founders and donors had totally alienated these lands from themselves and their heirs, yet there was no reason from thence to conclude anything that might wrong the superior lord of his right in the case of an escheat. And this must have held good, if those alienations and endowments had been absolute without any condition. But the endowments being generally rather of the nature of covenants and contracts, and made in consideration of so many masses to be said for their souls, then it was most just, that, upon a non-performance of the condition, and when that public error and cheat which the monks had put upon the world was discovered, the lands should have returned to the founders and patrons, and their heirs and successors. Nor was there any grounds for the lords to pretend to them by escheat, especially where their ancestors had consented to and confirmed those endowments,—therefore there was no need of excluding them by any special proviso. But for the founders and donors, certainly if there had not been a particular proviso made against them, they might have recovered the lands which their ancestors had superstitiously given away; and the surrenders which religious persons made to the crown could not have cut off their title. But this act did that effectually. It is true, many of the greatest of them were of royal foundation, and these would have returned to the crown without dispute.

Another about the erecting new Bishoprics.

On the 23d of May, in this session of parliament, a bill was brought in by Cromwell, for giving the king power to erect new bishoprics by his letters patent. It was read that day for the first, second, and third time, and sent down to the Commons. The preamble of it was, "That it was known what slothful and ungodly life had been led by those who were called religious. But that these houses might be converted to better uses; that God's word might be better set forth, children brought up in learning, clerks nourished in the universities, and that old decayed servants might have livings, poor people might have alms-houses to maintain them; readers of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, might have good stipends; daily alms might be ministered, and allowance might be made for mending of the highways, and exhibitions for ministers of the church; for these ends, if the king thought fit to have more bishopries or cathedral churches erected out of the rents of these houses, full power was given to him to erect, and found them, and to make rules and statutes for them, and such translations of sees, or divisions of them †, as he thought fit." But on this act I must add a singular remark. The preamble and material parts of it were drawn by the king himself, and the first draught of it under his hand is yet extant, which shows his extraordinary application and understanding of business. But in the same paper there is a list of the sees which he intended to found; of which what was done afterwards came so far short, that I know nothing to which it can be so reasonably imputed as the declining of Cranmer's interest at court, who had proposed the erecting of new cathedrals and sees, with other things mentioned in the preamble of the statute, as a great mean for reforming the church. The sees which the king then designed, with the abbeys out of which they were to be erected, follow, as it is in the paper under the king's own hand.

The King's design about these.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Essex | Waltham, Hartford, St. Albans. | Northampton and Huntingdon. | Peterborough. |
| Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire. | Dunstable. Newenham. Clowstown. | | |

* Quære? Because by the statute *De Terris Templariorum*, neither the king nor the lords were to have by escheat the lands that were the Templars'; but those lands were to remain to the prior and brethren of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.—Granger's Correct.

† See Addenda, at the end of Part I.



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Leicester and Rutland. | Leicester. | Oxford and Berkshire. | Osnay and Tame. |
| Lancashire. | Fountaines and the Archdeaconry of Richmond. | Middlesex. | Westminster. |
| | | Gloucestershire. | St. Peters. |
| Suffolk. | Edmonds-bury. | Stafford and Salop. | Shrewsbury. |
| Nottingham and Derby. | Welbeck. Werksop. | | |
| Hartford. | Thurgarton. St. Alban's. | Cornwall. | Lanceston. Bedmynne. Wardreth. |

Over these is written, "The bishopries to be made." In another corner of the page he writes as follows:—

"Places to be altered according to our device, which have sees in them: Christ's-church in Canterbury, St. Swithin's, Ely, Durham, Rochester, with a part of Leeds, Worcester, and all others having the same." Then a little below: "Places to be altered into colleges and schools—Burton super Trent." More is not written in that paper. But I wonder much that in this list Chester was forgotten; yet it was erected before any of them. For I have seen a commission under the privy seal to the bishop of Chester, to take the surrender of the monastery of Hamond in Shropshire, bearing date the 24th of August this year. So it seems the see of Chester was erected and endowed before the act passed, though there is among the rolls a charter for endowing and founding of it afterwards. Bristol is not mentioned in this paper, though a see was afterwards erected there. It was not before the end of the next year that these sees were founded; and there was in that interval so great a change made, both of the councils and ministers, that no wonder the things now designed were never accomplished.

An Act about the King's proclamations.

Another act passed in this parliament concerning the obedience due to the king's proclamations. There had been great exceptions made to the legality of the king's proceedings, in the articles about religion, and other injunctions published by his authority, which were complained of as contrary to law; since by these the king had without consent of parliament altered some laws, and had laid taxes on his spiritual subjects. Upon which an act passed, which sets forth in the preamble, "the contempt and disobedience of the king's proclamations, by some who did not consider what a king by his royal power might do; which, if it continued, would tend to the disobedience of the laws of God and the dishonour of the king's majesty (who may full ill bear it). Considering also, that many occasions might require speedy remedies, and that delaying these till a parliament met might occasion great prejudices to the realm, and that the king, by his royal power given of God, might do many things in such cases; therefore it is enacted, that the king for the time being, with advice of his council, might set forth proclamations with pains and penalties in them, which were to be obeyed as if they were made by an act of parliament. But this was not to be so extended that any of the king's subjects should suffer in their estates, liberties, or persons, by virtue of it; nor that by it any of the king's proclamations, laws, or customs, were to be broken and subverted." Then follow some clauses about the publishing of proclamations, and the way of prosecuting those who contemned and disobeyed them. It is also added, "That if any offended against them, and in further contempt went out of the realm, he was to be adjudged a traitor. This also gave power to the councillors of the king's successor, if he were under age, to set forth proclamations in his name, which were to be obeyed in the same manner with these set forth by the king himself." This act gave great power to the judges, since there were such restrictions in some branches of it, which seemed to lessen the great extent of the other parts of it, so that the expositors of the law had much referred to them; upon this act were the great changes of religion in the nonage of Edward VI. grounded.

An Act about Precedence.

There is another act, which but collaterally belongs to ecclesiastical affairs, and therefore shall be but slightly touched. It is the act of the precedency of the officers of state, by which the lord vicegerent has the precedence of all persons in the kingdom next the royal family: and on this I must make one remark, which may seem very improper for one of my profession, especially when it is an animadversion on one of the

greatest men that any age has produced, the most learned Mr. Selden. He in his Titles of Honour says, "That this statute was never printed in the statute-book, and but incorrectly by another, and that therefore he inserts it literally as is in the record." In which there are two mistakes: for it is printed in the statute-book, that was set down in that king's reign, though left out in some latter statute-books, and that which he prints is not exactly according to the record. For as he prints it, the bishop of London is not named in the precedency; which is not according to the parliament-roll, in which the bishop of London has the precedence next the archbishop of York; and though this is corrected in a posthumous edition, yet in that set out by himself it is wanting. Nor is that omission among the errors of the press, for though there are many of these gathered to be amended, this is none of them. This I do not take notice of out of any vanity, or humour of censuring a man so great in all sorts of learning; but my design is only to let ingenious persons see, that they ought not to take things on trust easily, no, not from the greatest authors.

These are all the public acts that relate to religion which were passed in this parliament.

Some Acts of attainders.

With these there passed an act of attainder of the marquess of Exeter and the lord Montacute, with many others, that were either found to have had a great hand in the late rebellion, or were discovered to hold correspondence with cardinal Pole, who was then trafficking with foreign princes, and projecting a league among them against the king. But of this I shall give a more full account at the end of this book,—being there to open the grounds of all the attainders that were passed in these last years of the king's reign. There is one remarkable thing that belongs to this act.

Some were to be attainted in absence; others they had no mind to bring to make their answer, but yet designed to attaint them. Such were the marchioness of Exeter, and the countess of Sarum, mother to cardinal Pole, whom by a gross mistake Speed fancies to have been condemned without arraignment or trial, as Cromwell had been by parliament,—for she was now condemned a year before him. About the justice of doing this there was some debate; and to clear it Cromwell sent for the judges and asked their opinions, whether a man might be attainted in parliament without being brought to make his answer? They said it was a dangerous question. That the parliament ought to be an example to all inferior courts; and that when any person was charged with a crime, he, by the common rule of justice and equity, should be heard to plead for himself. But the parliament being the supreme court of the nation, what way soever they proceeded, it must be good in law; and it could never be questioned whether the party was brought to answer or not: and thus a very ill precedent was made, by which the most innocent person in the world might be ruined. And this, as has often been observed in the like cases, fell very soon heavily on the author of the counsel, as shall appear.

When the Parliament was prorogued, on the 28th of June, the king apprehending that the archbishop of Canterbury might be much cast down with the act for the six articles, sent for him and told him, that he had heard how much, and with what learning, he had argued against it; and therefore he desired he would put all his arguments in writing, and bring them to him. Next day he sent the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the lord Cromwell, to dine with him; ordering them to assure him of the king's constant and unshaken kindness to him, and to encourage him all they could. When they were at table with him at Lambeth, they run out much on his commendation, and acknowledged he had opposed the act with so much learning, gravity, and eloquence, that even those that differed from him were much taken with what he said, and that he needed fear nothing from the king. Comwell saying, that this difference the king put between him and all his other councillors, that when complaints were brought of others, the king received them, and tried the truth of them; but he would not so much as hearken to any complaint of the archbishop. From that he went on to make a parallel between him and cardinal Wolsey: that the one lost his friends by his haughtiness and pride, but the other gained on his enemies by his gentleness and mildness. Upon which the duke of Norfolk said, he might best speak of the cardinal, for he knew him well, having been his man. This nettled Cromwell, who answered, that though he had served him, yet he never liked his manners; and that though the cardinal had designed, (if his attempt for the popedom had been successful), to have made him his admiral, yet he had resolved not to accept of it, nor to leave his country *. To which the duke of Norfolk replied, with a deep oath, that he lied; with other reproachful language. This troubled Cranmer extremely, who did all he could to quiet and reconcile them. But now the enmity between those two great ministers broke out to that height, that they were never afterwards hearty friends.

The King's care of Cranmer. Antiq. Brit. in vita Cran.

But Cranmer went about that which the king had commanded: and made a book of the reasons that led him to oppose the six articles, in which the places out of the Scriptures, the authorities of the ancient doctors, with the arguments drawn from these, were all digested in a good method. This he commanded his secretary to write out in a fair hand, that it might be given the king. The secretary returning with it from Croydon, where the archbishop was then, to Lambeth, found the key of his chamber was carried away by the archbishop's almoner; so that he being obliged to go over to London, and not daring to trust the book to any other's keeping, carried it with himself, where both he and the book met with an unlooked-for encounter. Some others that were with him in the wherry would needs go to the Southwark side, to look on a bear-baiting that was near the river, where the king was in person. The bear broke loose into the river, and the dogs after her. They that were in the boat leaped out, and left the poor secretary alone there. But the bear got into the boat, with the dogs about her, and sunk it. The secretary, apprehending his life was in danger, did not mind his book, which he lost in the water. But being quickly rescued and brought to land, he begun to look for his book, and saw it floating in the river. So he desired the bearward to bring it to him; who took it up, but before he would restore it, put it into the hands of a priest that stood there, to see what it might contain. The priest reading a little in it found it a confutation of the six articles; and told the bearward that whosoever claimed it would be hanged for his pains. But the archbishop's secretary, thinking to mend the matter, said it was his lord's book. This made the bearward more intractable, for he was a spiteful papist, and hated the archbishop; so that no offers nor intreaties could prevail with him to give it back. Whereupon Morice (that was the secretary's name) went and opened the matter to Cromwell the next day; Cromwell was then going to court, and he expected to find the bearward there, looking to deliver the book to some of Cranmer's enemies; he therefore ordered Morice to go along with him; where, as they had expected, they found the fellow with the book about him; upon whom Cromwell called, and took the book out of his hands, threatening him severely for his presumption in meddling with a privy councillor's book.

Proceedings upon that act.

But though Cranmer escaped this hazard, yet in London the storm of the late act was falling heavily on them that were obnoxious. Shaxton and Latimer, the bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, within a week after the session of Parliament, as it appears, resigned their bishoprics. For on the 7th of July the chapters of these churches petitioned the king for his leave to fill those sees, they being then vacant by the free resignation of the former bishops. Upon which the *congé d'élire* for both was granted. Nor was this all, but they being presented as having spoken against the six articles, were put in prison, where the one lay till the king died, and the other till a little before his death, as shall be shown in its proper place. There were also commissions issued out for proceeding upon that statute; and those who were commissioned for London were all secret favourers of popery; so they proceeded most severely, and examined many witnesses against all who were presented; whom they interrogated not only upon the express words of the statute, but upon all such collateral or presumptive circumstances as might entangle them, or conclude them guilty. So that in a very little while five hundred persons were put in prison, and involved in the breach of the statute. Upon this not only Cranmer and Cromwell, but the duke of Suffolk and Audley the chancellor, represented to the king how hard it would be, and of what ill consequence, to execute the law upon so many persons. So the king was prevailed with to pardon them all; and I find no further proceeding upon this statute till Cromwell fell.

* Fox adds another passage of that discourse between Cromwell and the duke of Norfolk: "that he was never so far in love with Wolsey as to have waited on him to Rome, as he understood the Duke of Norfolk would have done."—FULMAN'S CORRECT.

But the opposite party used all the arts possible to insinuate themselves into the king. And therefore, to show how far their compliance would go, Bonner took a strange commission from the king on the 12th of November this year. It has been certainly enrolled, but it is not there now, so that I judge it was rased in that suppression of records which was in queen Mary's time. But, as men are commonly more careless at home, Bonner has left it on record in his own register. Whether the other bishops took such commissions from this king, I know not. But I am certain there is none such in Cranmer's register: and it is not likely, if any such had been taken out by him, that ever it would have been rased. The commission itself will be found in the collection of papers at the end. The substance of it is, "That since all jurisdictions, both ecclesiastical and civil, flowed from the king as supreme head, and he was the foundation of all power, it became those who exercised it only (*precario*) at the king's courtesy, gratefully to acknowledge, that they had it only of his bounty; and to declare that they would deliver it up again when it should please him to call for it. And since the king had constituted the lord Cromwell his vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs, yet because he could not look into all those matters, therefore the king, upon Bonner's petition, did empower him in his own stead, to ordain such as he found worthy to present and give institution, with all the other parts of episcopal authority, for which he is duly commissionated; and this to last during the king's pleasure only. And all the parts of the episcopal function being reckoned up, it concluded with a strict charge to the bishop to ordain none but such of whose integrity, good life, and learning, he had very good assurance. For as the corruptions of the Christian doctrine, and of men's manners, had chiefly proceeded from ill pastors, so it was not to be doubted but good pastors, well chosen, would again reform the Christian doctrine and the lives of Christians." After he had taken this commission, Bonner might have been well called one of the king's bishops. The true reason of this profound compliance was, that the popish party apprehended that Cranmer's great interest with the king was chiefly grounded on some opinions he had of the ecclesiastical officers being as much subject to the king's power as all other civil officers were. And this having endeared him so much to the king, therefore they resolved to outdo him in that point. But there was this difference, that Cranmer was once of that opinion, and if he followed it at all, it was out of conscience; but Bonner, against his conscience (if he had any), complied with it.

Collect. Numb. 14.

Now followed the final dissolution of the abbeys; there are fifty-seven surrenders upon record this year. The originals of about thirty of these are yet to be seen. Thirty-seven of them were abbeys or priories, and twenty nunneries. The good house of Godstow now fell with the rest, though among the last of them. Now the great parliament abbots surrendered apace, as those of Westminster, St. Albans, St. Edmundsbury, Canterbury, St. Mary in York, Selby, St. Peter's in Gloucester, Cirencester, Waltham, Winchcombe, Malmsbury, and Battel. Three others were attainted, Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester. The deeds of the rest are lost. Here it will not be unacceptable to the reader to know who were the parliamentary abbots. There were in all twenty-eight, as they were commonly given. Fuller has given a catalogue of them in three places of his history of abbeys; but as every one of these differs from the others, so none of them are according to the journals of parliament; the lord Herbert is also mistaken in his account. I shall not rise higher in my inquiry than this reign, for anciently many more abbots and priors sate in parliament, beside other clergy that had likewise their writs, and of whose right to sit in the house of commons there was a question moved in Edward the Sixth's reign, as shall be opened in its proper place. Much less will I presume to determine so great a point in law, whether they sate in the house of lords, as being a part of the ecclesiastical state, or as holding their lands of the king by baronage. I am only to observe the matter of fact, which is, that in the journals of parliament in this reign these twenty-eight abbots had their writs: Abingdon, St. Alban's, St. Austin's Canterbury, Battle, St. Bennet's in the Holm, Berdeny, Cirencester, Colchester, Coventry, Croyland, St. Edmundsbury, Evesham, Glastonbury, Gloucester, Hide, Malmsbury, St. Mary's in York, Peterborough, Ramsey, Reading, Selby, Shrewsbury, Tavistock, Tewkesbury, Thorney, Waltham, Westminster, and Winchelcomb; to whom also the prior of St. John's may be added. But besides all

Dissolution of the great abbeys.



these, I find that in the twenty-eighth year of this king the abbot of Burton-upon-Trent sat in parliament. Generally Coventry and Burton were held by the same man, as one bishop held both Coventry and Litchfield; but in that year they were held by two different persons, and both had their writs to that parliament. The method used in the suppression of these houses will appear by one complete report made of the suppression of the abbey of Tewksbury, which, out of many I copied, is in the collection. From it the reader will see what provision was made for the abbot, the prior, the other officers, and the monks, and other servants of the house; and what buildings they ordered to be defaced, and what to remain; and how they did estimate the jewels, plate, and other ornaments. But monasteries were not sufficient to stop the appetite of some that were about the king, for hospitals were next looked after. One of these was this year surrendered by Thomas Thirleby, with two other priests; he was master of St. Thomas's hospital in Southwark, and was designed bishop of Westminster, to which he made his way by that resignation. He was a learned and modest man, but of so fickle or cowardly a temper, that he turned always with the stream in every change that was made, till queen Elizabeth came to the crown; but then, being ashamed of so many turns, he resolved to show he could once be firm to somewhat.

Collect. Numb. 3. Sect. 5.

Some hospitals surrendered.

Now were all the monasteries of England suppressed, and the king had then in his hand the greatest opportunity of making royal and noble foundations that ever king of England had. But, whether out of policy to give a general content to the gentry, by selling to them at low rates, or out of easiness to his courtiers, or out of an unmeasured lavishness in his expense, it came far short of what he had given out he would do, and what himself seemed once to have designed. The clear yearly value of all the suppressed houses is cast up, in an account then stated to be, viz. 131,607*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* as the rents were then rated, but was at least ten times so much in true value. Of which he designed to convert 18,000*l.* into a revenue for eighteen bishopricks and cathedrals. But of these he only erected six, as shall be afterwards shown. Great sums were indeed laid out on building and fortifying many ports in the channel, and other parts of England, which were raised by the sale of abbey-lands.

The Abbeys sold or given away.

At this time many were offering projects for noble foundations, on which the king seemed very earnest: but it is very likely, that before he was aware of it he had so outrun himself in his bounty that it was not possible for him to bring these to any effect. Yet I shall set down one of the projects, which shows the greatness of his mind that designed it; that is, of sir Nicholas Bacon, who was afterwards one of the wisest ministers that ever this nation bred. The king designed to found a house for the study of the civil law, and the purity of the Latin and French tongues. So he ordered sir Nicholas Bacon and two others, Thomas Denton and Robert Cary, to make a full project of the nature and orders of such a house, who brought it to him in a writing; the original whereof is yet extant. The design of it was, that there should be frequent pleadings, and other exercises, in the Latin and French tongues; and when the king's students were brought to some ripeness, they should be sent with his ambassadors to foreign parts, and trained up in the knowledge of foreign affairs; and so the house should be the nursery for ambassadors. Some were also to be appointed to write the history of all embassies, treaties, and other foreign transactions: as also of all arraignments, and public trials at home. But before any of them might write on these subjects, the lord chancellor was to give them an oath, that they should do it truly, without respect of persons, or any other corrupt affection. This noble design miscarried; but if it had been well laid and regulated, it is easy to gather what great and public advantages might have flowed from it. Among which, it is not inconsiderable, that we should have been delivered from a rabble of ill-writers of history, who have without due care or inquiry delivered to us the transactions of that time so imperfectly, that there is still need of inquiring into registers and papers for these matters: which in such a house had been more certainly and clearly conveyed to posterity than can be now expected at such a distance of time; and after such a rasure of records, and other confusions, in which many of these papers have been lost. And this help was the more necessary, after the suppression of religious houses, in most of which

A project of a Seminary for Ministers of State.

In Biblioth. Nob. D. D. Guil. Pierpoint.

a chronicle of the times was kept, and still filled up as new transactions came to their knowledge. It is true, most of these were written by men of weak judgments, who were more punctual in delivering fables and trifles than in opening observable transactions. Yet some of them were men of better understandings, and it is like were directed by their abbots, who, being lords of parliament, understood affairs well: only an invincible humour of lying, when it might raise the credit of their religion, or order, or house, runs through all their manuscripts.

One thing was very remarkable, which was this year granted at Cranmer's intercession. There was nothing could so much recover reformation, that was declining so fast, as the free use of the Scriptures; and though these had been set up in the churches a year ago, yet he pressed, and now procured leave, for private persons to buy Bibles, and keep them in their houses. So this was granted by letters-patent directed to Cromwell, bearing date the 13th of November. The substance of which was, "That the king was desirous to have his subjects attain the knowledge of God's word, which could not be effected by any means so well as by granting them the free and liberal use of the Bible in the English tongue; which, to avoid dissension, he intended should pass among them only by one translation. Therefore Cromwell was charged to take care, that for the space of five years there should be no impression of the Bible, or any part of it, but only by such as should be assigned by him. But Gardiner opposed this all he could; and one day, in a conference before the king, he provoked Cranmer to show any difference between the authority of the Scriptures and of the apostolical canons, which he pretended were equal to the other writings of the apostles: upon which they disputed for some time. But the king perceived solid learning tempered with great modesty in what Cranmer said, and nothing but vanity and affectation in Gardiner's reasonings. So he took him up sharply, and told him that Cranmer was an old and experienced captain, and was not to be troubled by freshmen and novices.

A Proclamation about the free use of the Scriptures. Collect. Numb. 15.

The great matter of the king's marriage came on at this time. Many reports were brought the king of the beauty of Anne of Cleves, so that he inclined to ally himself with that family. Both the emperor and the king of France had courted him to matches which they had projected. The emperor proposed the duchess of Milan, his kinswoman, and daughter to the king of Denmark. He was then designing to break the league of Smalcald, and to make himself master of Germany: and therefore he took much pains with the king to divide him from the princes there, which was in great part effected by the statute for the six articles. Upon which the ambassadors of the princes had complained, and said, that whereas the king had been in so fair a way of union with them, he had now broke it off, and made so severe a law about communion in one kind, private masses, and the celibate of the clergy, which differed so much from their doctrine, that they could entertain no further correspondence with him if that law was not mitigated. But Gardiner wrought much on the king's vanity and passions, and told him that it was below his dignity and high learning to have a company of dull Germans and small princes dictate to him in matters of religion. There was also another thing which he oft made use of (though it argues somewhere a great ignorance of the constitution of the empire), that the king could not expect these princes would ever be for his supremacy; since, if they acknowledged that in him, they must likewise yield it to the emperor. This was a great mistake: for as the princes of Germany never acknowledged the emperor to have a sovereignty in their dominions, so they did acknowledge the diet, in which the sovereiguty of the empire lies, to have the power of making or changing what laws they pleased about religion. And in things that were not determined by the diet, every prince pretended to it as highly in his own dominions as the king could do in England. But as untrue as this allegation was, it served Gardiner's turn; for the king was sufficiently irritated with it against the princes, so that there was now a great coldness in their correspondence. Yet the project of a match with the duchess of Milan failing, and those proposed by France not being acceptable, Cromwell moved the king about an alliance with the duke of Cleves; who, as he was the emperor's neighbour in Flanders, had also a pretension to the duchy of Guelders, and his eldest daughter was married to the duke of Saxony. So that the king having then some

The King designs to marry Anne of Cleves.



apprehensions of a war with the emperor, this seemed a very proper alliance to give him a diversion.

There had been a treaty between her father and the duke of Lorrain, in order to a match between the duke of Lorrain's son and her. But they both being under age, it went no further than a contract between their fathers. Hans Holbein having taken her picture, sent it over to the king: but in that he bestowed the common compliment of his art somewhat too liberally on a lady that was in a way to be queen. The king liked the picture better than the original when he had the occasion afterwards to compare them. The duke of Saxony, who was very zealous for the Augsburg confession, finding the king had declined so much from it, dissuaded the match. But Cromwell set it on mightily, expecting a great support from a queen of his own making: whose friends being all Lutherans, it tended also to bring down the popish party at court, and again to recover the ground they had now lost. Those that had seen the lady did much commend her beauty and person; but she could speak no language but Dutch, to which the king was a stranger; nor was she bred to music, with which the king was much taken. So that except her person had charmed him, there was nothing left for her to gain upon him by. After some months' treaty, one of the counts palatine of the Rhine, with other ambassadors from the duke of Saxony, and her brother the duke of Cleves (for her father was lately dead), came over, and concluded the match.

In the end of December, she was brought over to England; and the king, being impatient to see her, went down incognito to Rochester. But when he had a sight of her, finding none of those charms which he was made believe were in her, he was so extremely surprised, that he not only did not like her, but took an aversion to her, which he could never after overcome. He swore they had brought over a Flanders mare to him, and was very sorry he had gone so far, but glad it had proceeded no further. And presently he resolved, if it were possible, to break off the matter, and never to yoke himself with her. But his affairs were not then in such a condition that he could safely put that affront on the dukes of Saxony and Cleves, which the sending back of this lady would have done. For the Germans being of all nations most sensible of everything in which the honour of their family is touched, he knew they would resent such an injury. And it was not safe for him to adventure that at such a time; for the emperor was then in Paris, whither he had gone to an interview with Francis. And his reception was not only as magnificent as could be, but there was all the evidence possible of hearty friendship and kindness. The king also understood that between them there was somewhat projected against himself. And now Francis, that had been as much obliged by him as possibly one prince could be by another, was not only forgetful of it, but intended to take advantage, from the distractions and discontents of the English, to drive them out of France if it were possible. And it is not to be doubted, but the emperor would gladly have embroiled these two kings, that he might have a better opportunity both to make himself master of Germany, and to force the king of England into an alliance by which the lady Mary should be legitimated, and the princes of Germany be left destitute of a support which made them insolent and intractable. The king apprehended the conjunction of those two great princes against himself, which was much set forward by the pope; and that they would set up the king of Scotland against him, who, with that foreign assistance, and the discontents at home, would have made war upon great advantages; especially those in the north of England being ill affected to him: and therefore he judged it necessary for his affairs not to lose the princes of Germany. Only he resolved, first, to try if any nullities or precontracts could excuse him fairly at their hands. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy. He much blamed the earl of Southampton, who, being sent over to receive her at Calais, had written a high commendation of her beauty. But he excused himself, that he thought the thing was so far gone that it was decent to write as he had done. The king lamented his condition in that marriage, and expressed great trouble both to the lord Russell, sir Anthony Brown, sir Anthony Denny, and others about him. The last of those told him, "this was one advantage that mean persons had over princes: that great princes must take such wives as are brought them, whereas meaner persons go and choose wives for themselves." But when the king saw Cromwell, he gave his grief a freer vent to him. He, finding the king

Who comes over to England.

But is much disliked by the King.

so much troubled, would have cast the chief blame on the earl of Southampton, for whom he had no great kindness: and said, when he found her so far short of what reports and pictures had made her, he should have stayed her at Calais till he had given the king notice of it. But the earl's commission being only to bring her over, he said, it had been too great a presumption in him to have interposed in such a manner. And the king was convinced he was in the right. So now, all they had to insist on was the clearing of that contract that had passed between her and the marquis of Lorrain: which the ambassadors, who had been with the king, had undertaken should be fully done, and brought over with her in due form of law. So after the lady was brought in great state to Greenwich, the council met, and sent for the ambassadors of the duke of Cleves that conducted her over; and desired to see what they had brought for clearing the breach of that contract with the marquis of Lorrain. But they had brought nothing, and made no account of it; saying, that the contract was in their minority, when they could give no consent; and that nothing had followed on it after they came to be of age. But this did not satisfy the king's council, who said these were but their words, and they must see better proofs. The king's marriage was annulled with Anne Boleyn upon a pre-contract; therefore he must not again run the like hazard. So Olisleger and Hogesden, the ambassadors from Cleves, did by a formal instrument protest before Cromwell, that in a peace made between their late master John duke of Cleves and Anthony duke of Lorraine one of the conditions was, that this lady, being then under age, should be given in marriage to Francis, son to the duke of Lorraine, who was likewise under age; which treaty they affirmed they saw and read. But that afterwards Henry de Groffe, ambassador of Charles duke of Guelders, upon whose mediation that peace had been concluded, declared in their hearing that the espousals were annulled and of no effect; and that this was registered in the chancery of Cleves, of which they promised to bring an authentical extract within three months to England. Some of the councillors, who knew the king's secret dislike of her person, would have insisted more on this; but the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Durham said, if there was no more than that, it could be no just hinderance to the solemnisation of the marriage. So the king, seeing there was no remedy, and being much pressed both by the ministers of Cleves and by the lord Cromwell, married her on the 6th of January: but expressed so much aversion and dislike of her, that everybody about him took notice of it. Next day the lord Cromwell asked him how he liked her then: he told him he was not every man, therefore he would be free with him: he liked her worse than he did. He suspected she was no maid, and had such ill smells about her, that he loathed her more than ever, and did not believe he should ever consummate the marriage. This was sad news to Cromwell, who knew well how delicate the king was in these matters; and that so great a misfortune must needs turn very heavy on him, that was the chief promoter of it. He knew his enemies would draw great advantages from this, and understood the king's temper too well to think his greatness would last long if he could not induce the king to like the queen better. But that was not to be done; for though the king lived five months with her in that state, and very oft lay in the bed with her, yet his aversion rather increased than abated. She seemed not much concerned at it; and as their conversation was not great, so she was of a heavy composition, and was not much displeased to be delivered from a marriage in which she had so little satisfaction. Yet one thing shows that she wanted not capacity; for she learned the English language very soon: and before her marriage was annulled, she spoke English freely, as appears by some of the depositions.

1540. But yet marries her.

And could never love her.

There was an instrument brought over from Cleves, taken out of the chancery there; by which it appeared, that Henry de Groffe, ambassador from the duke of Gueldres, had, on the 15th of February, in the year 1535, declared the nullity of the former contract in express words, which are set down in high Dutch, but thus put in Latin: "Sponsalia illa progressum suum non habitura (I will not answer for the Latin), ex quo dictus Dux Carolus admodum doleret, et propterea quædam fecisset, et amplius facturus esset." And Pallandus, that was ambassador from the duke of Cleves in the duke of Gueldres's court, wrote to his master, "Illustrissimum Ducem Gueldriæ certo scire prima illa Sponsalia inter Domicellam Annam fore inania et progressum suum non habitura." When this was showed the king, his council found great exceptions to it, upon the ambiguity of the word Sponsalia; it not being expressed whether they were espousals by the words of the present or of the future tense, and intended to make use of that when there should be a fit opportunity for it.



On the 12th of April, a session of parliament was held. The Journal shows that neither the abbot of Westminster nor any other abbot was present. After the lord chancellor had opened the reasons for the king's meeting them at that time, as they related to the civil government, Cromwell, as lord vicegerent, spake next in the king's name, and said: "There was nothing which the king so much desired as a firm union among all his subjects, in which he placed his chief security. He knew there were many incendiaries, and much cockle grew up with the wheat. The rashness and licentiousness of some, and the inveterate superstition and stiffness of others in the ancient corruptions, had raised great dissensions, to the sad regret of all good Christians. Some were called papists, other heretics; which bitterness of spirit seemed the more strange, since now the holy Scriptures, by the king's great care of his people, were in all their hands, in a language which they understood. But these were grossly perverted by both sides, who studied rather to justify their passions out of them than to direct their belief by them. The king leaned neither to the right nor to the left hand, neither to the one nor the other party, but set the pure and sincere doctrine of the Christian faith only before his eyes: and therefore was now resolved to have this set forth to his subjects without any corrupt mixtures; and to have such decent ceremonies continued, and the true use of them taught, by which all abuses might be cut off, and disputes about the exposition of the Scriptures cease; that so all his subjects might be well instructed in their faith, and directed in the reverent worship of God; and resolved to punish severely all transgressors, of what sort or side soever they were. The king was resolved, that Christ, that the gospel of Christ, and the truth, should have the victory; and therefore had appointed some bishops and divines to draw up an exposition of those things that were necessary for the institution of a Christian man: who were, the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Rochester, Hereford, and St. David's; and doctors Thirleby, Robertson, Cox, Day, Oglethorp, Redmayn, Edgeworth, Crayford, Symonds, Robins, and Tresham. He had also appointed others to examine what ceremonies should be retained, and what was the true use of them: who were, the bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum, Chichester, Worcester, and Llandaff. The king had also commanded the judges, and other justices of the peace, and persons commissioned for the execution of the act formerly passed, to proceed against all transgressors, and punish them according to law." And he concluded with a high commendation of the king, whose due praises, he said, a man of far greater eloquence than himself was, could not fully set forth. The lords approved of this nomination, and ordered that these committees should sit constantly on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays; and on other days they were to sit in the afternoon. But their proceedings will require so full a relation, that I shall first open the other affairs that passed in this session, and leave these to the last.

A Parliament called.

Where Cromwell speaks as Lord vicegerent.

On the 14th of April the king created Cromwell earl of Essex; the male line of the Bourchiers that had carried that title being extinguished. This shows that the true causes of Cromwell's fall must be found in some other thing than his making up the king's marriage, who had never thus raised his title if he had intended so soon to pull him down.

He is made Earl of Essex.

On the 22d of April a bill was brought in for suppressing the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Their first foundation was to be a guard to the pilgrims that went to the Holy Land. For some ages that was extolled as the highest expression of devotion and reverence to our Saviour, to go and view the places of his abode, and chiefly the places where he was crucified, buried, and ascended to heaven. Upon which many entered into a religious knighthood, who were to defend the Holy Land and conduct the pilgrims. Those were of two sorts; the knights-templars and hospitallers. The former were the greater and richer, but the other were also very considerable. The popes and their clergy did everywhere animate all princes and great persons to undertake expeditions into these parts; which were very costly and dangerous, and proved fatal to almost all the princes that made them. Yet the belief of the pains of

The Suppression of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

purgatory, from which all were delivered by the pope's power, who went on this expedition; such as died in it being also reckoned martyrs, wrought wonderfully on a blind and superstitious age. But such as could not go were persuaded, that if on their deathbeds they vowed to go upon their recovery, and left some lands to maintain a knight that should go thither and fight against the infidels, it would do as well. Upon this great and vast endowments were made. But there were many complaints made of the templars for betraying and robbing the pilgrims and other horrid abuses, which may reasonably be believed to have been true; though other writers of that age lay the blame rather on the covetousness of the king of France and the pope's malice to them: yet in a general council the whole order was condemned and suppressed, and such of them as could be taken were cruelly put to death. The order of the hospitallers stood, yet did not grow much after that. They were beaten out of the Holy Land by the Sultans, and lately out of the Isle of Rhodes, and were at this time in Malta. Their great master depended on the pope and the emperor: so it was not thought fit to let a house that was subject to a foreign power stand longer; and it seems they would not willingly surrender up their house as others had done. Therefore it was necessary to force them out of it by an act of parliament; which on the 22d of April was read the first time, and on the 26th the second time, and on the 29th the third time; by which both their house in England, and another they had in Kilmainham in Ireland, were suppressed; great pensions being reserved by the act to the priors, 1000*l.* to him of St. John's near London, and 500 marks to the other, with very considerable allowances for the knights, which in all amounted near to 3000*l.* yearly. But on the 14th of May the parliament was prorogued to the 25th, and a vote passed that their bills should remain in the state they were in.

Upon their next meeting, as they were going on their business, a great change of court broke out. For on the 13th of June, at the council table, the duke of Norfolk in the king's name challenged the lord Cromwell of high treason, and arresting him, sent him prisoner to the Tower. He had many enemies among all sorts of persons. The nobility despised him, and thought it lessened the greatness of their titles to see the son of a blacksmith raised so many degrees above them. His aspiring to the order of the garter was thought inexcusable vanity: and his having so many places heaped on him, as lord privy seal, lord chamberlain of England, and lord vicegerent, with the mastership of the Rolls, with which he had but lately parted, drew much envy on him. All the popish party hated him out of measure. The suppression of the abbeys was laid wholly at his door: the attainders and all other severe proceedings were imputed to his counsels. He was also thought to be the person that had kept the king and the emperor at such distance: and therefore the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, beside private animosities, hated him on that account. And they did not think it impossible, if he were out of the way, to bring on a treaty with the emperor, which they hoped would open the way for one with the pope. But other more secret reasons wrought his ruin with the king. The fear he was in of a conjunction between the emperor and France did now abate; for he understood that it went no further than compliments. And though he clearly discovered, having sent over the duke of Norfolk to Francis, that he was not to depend much on his friendship; yet at the same time he knew that the emperor would not yield up the duchy of Milan to him, upon which his heart was much set. So he saw they could come to no agreement; therefore he made no great account of the loss of France, since he knew the emperor would willingly make an alliance with him; the hopes of which made him more indifferent, whether the German princes were pleased with what he did or not; since he had now attained the end he had proposed to himself in all his negotiations with them, which was to secure himself from any trouble the emperor might give him. Therefore Cromwell's counsels were now disliked, for he had always inclined the king to favour those princes against the emperor. Another secret cause was, that as the king had an unconquerable aversion to his queen, so he was taken with the beauty and behaviour of Mistress Katharine Howard, daughter to the lord Edmond Howard, a brother of the duke of Norfolk's. And as this designed match raised the credit of her uncle, so the ill consequences of the former drew him down who had been the chief counsellor in it. The

Cromwell's fall.

The King in love with Mistress Katharine Howard.



king also found his government was grown uneasy, and therefore judged it was no ill policy to cast over all that had been done amiss upon a minister who had great power with him: and being now in disgrace, all the blame of these things would be taken off from the king and laid on him, and his ruin would much appease discontents, and make them more moderate in censuring the king on his proceedings. It is said that other particulars were charged on him, which lost him the king's favour. If this be true, it is like they related to the encouragement he was said to have given to some reformers, in the opposition they made to the six articles, upon the execution of which the king was now much set. His fall was so secretly carried, that though he had often before looked for it, knowing the king's uneasy and jealous temper; yet at that time he had no apprehensions of it, till the storm broke upon him. In his fall he had the common fate of all disgraced ministers, to be forsaken by his friends, and insulted over by his enemies. Only Cranmer retained still so much of his former simplicity that he could never learn these court arts; therefore he wrote to the king about him next day, "he much magnified his diligence in the king's service and preservation, and discovering all plots as soon as they were made; that he had always loved the king above all things and served him with great fidelity and success: that he thought no king of England had ever such a servant; upon that account he had loved him as one that loved the king above all others; but if he was a traitor he was glad it was discovered; but he prayed God earnestly to send the king such a counsellor in his stead, who could and would serve him as he had done." This shows both the firmness of Cranmer's friendship to him and that he had a great soul, not turned by the changes of men's fortunes to like or dislike them, as they stood or declined from their greatness; and had not the king's kindness for Cranmer been deeply rooted this letter had ruined him; for he was the most impatient of contradiction in such cases that could be. Cromwell's ruin was now decreed, and he who had so servilely complied with the king's pleasure in procuring some to be attainted the year before without being brought to make their answer, fell now under the same severity. For whether it was that his enemies knew, that if he were brought to the bar he would so justify himself that they would find great difficulties in the process; or whether it was that they blindly resolved to follow that unjustifiable precedent of passing over so necessary a rule to all courts of giving the party accused a hearing; the bill of attainder was brought into the house of lords, Cranmer being absent that day, as appears by the Journal on the 17th of June, and read the first time, and on the 19th was read the second and third time, and sent down to the commons; by which it appears how few friends he had in that house, when a bill of that nature went on so hastily. But it seems he found in the house of commons somewhat of the same measure, which ten years before he had dealt to the cardinal though not with the same success; for his matter stuck ten days there. At length a new bill of attainder was brought up, conceived in the house of commons with a proviso annexed to it. They also sent back the bill which the lords sent to them; but it is not clear from the journals what they meant by these two bills. It seems they rejected the lords' bill, and yet sent it up with their own, either in respect to the lords, or that they left it to their choice, which of the two bills they would offer to the royal assent. But though this be an unparliamentary way of proceeding, I know no other sense which the words of the journal can bear *; and that very day the king assented to it, as appears by the letter written the next day by Cromwell to the king.

Cranmer's friendship to Cromwell.

The act said, "that the king having raised Thomas Cromwell from a base degree to great dignities and high trusts, yet he had now by a great number of witnesses, persons of honour, found him to be the most corrupt traitor and deceiver of the king and the crown that had ever been known in his whole reign. He had taken upon him to set at liberty divers persons put in prison for misprision of treason, and others that were suspected of it. He had also received several bribes, and for

Cromwell's attainder. Collect. Numb. 16.

* Journal Procer. Parag. 58. Item Billa attincturæ Thomæ Cromwell Comitis Essex de crimine Heresis et Læsæ Majestatis, per Communes de novo concepta, et Assensa, et simul cum provisione eidem annexa. Quæ quidem Billa 1°, 2do, et 3tio, lecta est; et provisio ejusdem concernens Decanatum *Wellensem* terlecta est, *et communi omnium Procerum consensu nemine discrepante expedita*; et simul cum ea referebatur Billa Attincturæ quæ prius missa erat in Domum Communium.

them granted licences to carry money, corn, horses, and other things out of the kingdom contrary to the king's proclamations. He had also given out many commissions without the king's knowledge; and being but of a base birth, had said, 'that he was sure of the king.' He had granted many passports, both to the king's subjects and foreigners, for passing the seas without search. He being also an heretic had dispersed many erroneous books among the king's subjects, particularly some that were contrary to the belief of the sacrament. And when some had informed him of this, and had showed him these heresies in books printed in England, he said, 'they were good, and that he found no fault in them;' and said, 'It was as lawful for every Christian man to be the minister of that sacrament as a priest.' And whereas the king had constituted him vicegerent for the spiritual affairs of the church, he had under the seal of that office licensed many that were suspected of heresy to preach over the kingdom; and he had both by word and in writing suggested to several sheriffs, that it was the king's pleasure they should discharge many prisoners, of whom some were indicted, others apprehended for heresy. And when many particular complaints were brought to him of detestable heresies, with the names of the offenders, he not only defended the heretics, but severely checked the informers, and vexed some of them by imprisonment and other ways; the particulars of all which were too tedious to be recited. And he having entertained many of the king's subjects about himself, whom he had infected with heresy, and imagining he was by force able to defend his treasons and heresies, on the last of March in the thirtieth year of the king's reign, in the parish of St. Peter's the Poor in London, when some of them complained to him of the new preachers, such as Barnes and others, he said; 'their preaching was good;' and said also among other things, 'that if the king would turn from it, yet he would not turn: and if the king did turn, and all his people with him, he would fight in the field in his own person, with his sword in his hand, against him and all others:' and when he pulled out his dagger, and held it up, and said, 'or else this dagger thrust me to the heart, if I would not die in that quarrel against them all; and I trust if I live one year or two, it shall not be in the king's power to resist, or let it, if he would:' and swearing a great oath said, 'I would do so indeed.' He had also by oppression and bribery made a great estate to himself, and extorted much money from the king's subjects, and being greatly enriched, had treated the nobility with much contempt. And on the last of January in the thirty-first year of the king's reign, in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, when some had put him in mind to what the king had raised him, he said, 'if the lords would handle him so he would give them such a breakfast as was never made in England, and that the proudest of them should know it.' For all which treasons and heresies he was attainted to suffer the pains of death, for heresy and treason, as should please the king, and to forfeit all his estate and goods to the king's use, that he had on the last of March in the thirty-first year of the king's reign, or since that time." There was added to this bill a proviso, that this should not be hurtful to the bishop of Bath and Wells, and to the dean and chapter of Wells, with whom it seems he had made some exchanges of lands *.

Censures past upon it.

From these particulars the reader will clearly see why he was not brought to make his answer, most of them relating to orders and directions he had given, for which it is very probable he had the king's warrant. And for the matter of heresy, it has appeared how far the king had proceeded towards a reformation, so that what he did that way was most likely done by the king's orders; but the king now falling from these things, it was thought they intended to stifle him by such an attainder, that he might not discover the secret orders or directions given him for his own justification. For the particulars of bribery and extortion, they being mentioned in general expressions, seem only cast into the heap to defame him. But for those treasonable words it was generally thought that they were a contrivance of his enemies, since it seemed a thing very extravagant for a favourite in the height of his greatness to talk so rudely. And if he had been guilty of it, Bedlam was thought a fitter place for his restraint than the Tower. Nor was it judged likely that he having such great and watchful enemies at court, any such discourses could have lain so long secret; or if they had come to the king's knowledge, he was not a prince of such a temper as to have forgiven, much less employed and advanced a man after such discourses. And to think that during these fifteen months after the words were said to have been spoken, none would have had the zeal for the king or the malice to Cromwell as to repeat them were things that could not be believed. The formality of drawing his dagger made it the more suspected; for this was to affix an overt act to these words, which in the opinion of many lawyers was necessary to make words treasonable. But as if these words had not been ill enough, some writers since have made them worse: as if he had said, He would thrust his dagger in the king's heart: about which Fuller hath made another story to excuse these words, as if they had not been meant of the king, but of another. But all that is founded on a mistake, which, if he had looked in the record, he had corrected.

* Cromwell was then Dean of Wells, and that was the reason of the proviso.—FULMAN'S CORRECTION.



Cromwell's fall was the first step towards the king's divorce. For on the 25th of June he sent his queen to Richmond, pretending the country air would agree better with her. But on the 6th of July a motion was made and assented to in the house of lords that they should make an address to the king, desiring him to suffer his marriage with the queen to be tried. Upon which, the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Durham, were sent down to the commons, to represent the matter to them, and to desire their concurrence in the address. To which they agreed, and ordered twenty of their number to go along with the peers. So the whole house of lords with these commoners went to the king; and told him they had a matter of great consequence to propose to him, but it was of that importance that they first begged his leave to move it. That being obtained, they desired the king would order a trial to be made of the validity of his marriage. To which the king consented, and made a deep protestation as in the presence of God, that he should conceal nothing that related to it, and all its circumstances; and that there was nothing he held dearer than the glory of God, the good of the commonwealth, and the declaration of truth. So a commission was issued out to the convocation to try it.

The King designs a divorce from his Queen.

On the 7th of July it was brought before the convocation, of which the reader will see a fuller account in the collection at the end than is needful to be brought in here. The case was opened by the bishop of Winchester, and a committee was appointed to consider it; and they deputed the bishop of Durham and Winchester, and Thirleby, and Richard Leighton dean of York, to examine the witnesses that day. And the next day they received the king's own deposition, with a long declaration of the whole matter, under Cromwell's hand in a letter to the king, and the depositions of most of the privy councillors, of the earl of Southampton, the lord Russel then admiral, of sir Anthony Brown, sir Anthony Denny, doctor Chambers, and doctor Butts, the king's physicians, and of some ladies that had talked with the queen. All which amounted to this: that the king expected that the precontract with the marquis of Lorraine should have been more fully cleared. That the king always disliked her, and married her full sore against his heart; and since that time he had never consummated the marriage. So the substance of the whole evidence being considered, it amounted to these three particulars. First, that there had been a contract between the marquis of Lorraine and the queen, which was not sufficiently cleared: for it did not yet appear whether these espousals were made by the parties themselves, or in the words of the present tense. Then it was said, that the king having married her against his will, he had not given a pure, inward, and complete consent: and since a man's act is only what is inward, extorted or forced promises do not bind. And thirdly, that he had never consummated the marriage. To which it was added the great interest the whole nation had in the king's having more issue, which they saw he could never have by the queen. This was furiously driven on by the popish party. And Cranmer, whether overcome with these arguments, or rather with fear, for he knew it was contrived to send him quickly after Cromwell, consented with the rest. So that the whole convocation without one disagreeing vote, judged the marriage null and of no force, and that both the king and the lady were free from the bond of it.

It is referred to the convocation.

Collect. Numb. 17.

Collect. Numb. 18.

Reasons pretended for it.

Convocation agree to it.

Collect. Numb. 19.

This was the greatest piece of compliance that ever the king had from the clergy. For, as they all knew there was nothing of weight in that precontract, so they laid down a most pernicious precedent for invalidating all public treaties and agreements;

It is censured.

since if one of the parties being unwilling to it, so that his consent were not inward, he was not bound by it, there was no safety among men more. For no man can know whether another consents inwardly: and when a man does anything with great aversion, to infer from thence that he does not inwardly consent, may furnish every one with an excuse to break loose from all engagements: for he may pretend he did it unwillingly, and get his friends to declare that he privately signified that to them. And for that argument, which was taken from the want of consummation, they had forgotten what was pleaded on the king's behalf ten years before, That consent without consummation made a marriage complete; by which they concluded, that though prince Arthur had not consummated his marriage with queen Katharine, yet his consent did so complete it that the king could not afterwards lawfully marry her. But as the king was resolved on any terms to be rid of this queen, so the clergy were also resolved not to incur his displeasure: in which they rather sought for reasons to give some colour to their sentence, than pass their judgment upon the strength of them. This only can be said for their excuse, that these were as just and weighty reasons as used to be admitted by the court of Rome for a divorce; and most of them being canonists, and knowing how many precedents there were to be found for such divorces, they thought they might do it as well as the popes had formerly done.

On the 9th of July sentence was given, which was signed by both houses of convocation, and had the two archbishops' seals put to it; of which whole trial the record does yet remain, having escaped the fate of the other books of convocation. The original depositions are also yet extant.

Only I shall add here a reflection upon Cromwell's misfortune, which may justly abate the loftiness of haughty men. The day after he was attainted, being required to send to the king a full account under his hand of the business of his marriage, which account he sent, as will be found in the collection; he concludes it with these abject words:—"I a most woful prisoner, ready to take the death when it shall please God and your majesty; and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually to call to your grace for mercy and grace for mine offences. And thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you. Written at the Tower this Wednesday the last of June, with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your highness most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell." And a little below that, "Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy.

Collect. Numb. 17.

On the 10th of July the archbishop of Canterbury reported to the house of lords, that the convocation had judged the marriage null, both by the law of God, and the law of the land. The bishop of Winchester delivered the judgment in writing; which being read, he enlarged on all the reasons of it. This satisfied the lords, and they sent down Cranmer and him to the commons, to give them the same account. Next day the king sent the lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Winchester, to let the queen know what was done, who was not at all troubled at it, and seemed not ill-pleased. They told her, that the king would by letters patent declare her his adopted sister, and give her precedence before all the ladies of England, next his queen and daughters: and assign her an estate of 3000*l.* a year; and that she had her choice either to live in England or to return home again. She accepted the offer, and under her hand declared her consent and approbation of the sentence, and chose to live still in England, where she was in great honour, rather than return under that disgrace to her own country. She was also desired to write to her brother, and let him know that she approved of what was done in her matter, and that the king used her as a father, or a brother; and therefore to desire him and her other friends not to take this matter ill, or lessen their friendship to the king. She had no mind to do that, but said it would be time enough when her brother wrote to her, to send him such an answer. But it was answered, that much depended on the first impressions that are received of any matter. She in conclusion said, she would obey the king in every thing he desired her to do. So she wrote the letter as they desired it; and the day following, being the 12th of July, the bill was brought into the house for annulling the marriage, which went easily through both houses.

Report made to the Parliament.

The Queen assents to it.

Collect Numb. 20.

On the 16th of July, a bill was brought in for moderating the statute of the six articles in



the clauses that related to the marriage of the priests, or their incontinency with other women. On the 17th, it was agreed by the whole house without a contradictory vote, and sent down to the commons, who on the 21st sent it up again. By it the pains of death were turned to forfeitures of their goods and chattels, and the rents of their ecclesiastical promotions, to the king.

An Act about the Incontinence of Priests.

On the 20th of July a bill was brought in concerning a declaration of the Christian religion, and was then read the first, second, and third time, and passed without any opposition, and sent down to the commons, who agreeing to it sent it up again the next day. "It contained, that the king as supreme head of the church was taking much pains for a union among all his subjects in matters of religion: and for preventing the further progress of heresy had appointed many of the bishops and the most learned divines to declare the principal articles of the Christian belief, with the ceremonies and way of God's service to be observed. That therefore a thing of that weight might not be rashly done, or hasted through, in this session of parliament; but be done with that care which was requisite: therefore it was enacted, that whatsoever was determined by the archbishops, bishops, and the other divines, now commissionated for that effect, or by any others appointed by the king, or by the whole clergy of England, and published by the king's authority concerning the Christian faith, or the ceremonies of the church, should be believed and obeyed by all the king's subjects; as well as if the particulars so set forth had been enumerated in this act, any custom or law to the contrary notwithstanding." To this a strange proviso was added, which destroyed the former clause: "That nothing should be done or determined by the authority of this act which was contrary to the laws and statutes of the kingdom." But whether this proviso was added by the house of commons, or originally put into the bill, does not appear. It was more likely it was put in at the first by the king's council: for these contradictory clauses raised the prerogative higher, and left it in the judges' power to determine which of the two should be followed; by which all ecclesiastical matters were to be brought under trials at common law: for it was one of the great designs, both of the ministers and lawyers at this time, to bring all ecclesiastical matters to the cognizance of the secular judge.

Another about Religion.

But another bill passed, which seems a little odd, considering the circumstances of that time. "That whereas many marriages had been annulled in the time of popery, upon the pretence of precontracts, or other degrees of kindred, than those that were prohibited by the law of God: therefore, after a marriage was consummated, no pretence of any precontract, or any degrees of kindred or alliance, but those mentioned in the law of God, should be brought or made use of, to annul it; since these things had been oft pretended only to dissolve a marriage, when the parties grew weary of each other, which was contrary to God's law. Therefore it was enacted that no pretence of pre-contract, not consummated, should be made use of to annul a marriage duly solemnised and consummated; and that no degrees of kindred, not mentioned by the law of God, should be pleaded to annul a marriage." This act gave great occasion of censuring the king's former proceedings against queen Anne Boleyn, since that which was now condemned had been the pretence for dissolving his marriage with her. Others thought the king did it on design to remove that impediment out of the way of the lady Elizabeth's succeeding to the crown, since that judgment upon which she was illegitimated was now indirectly censured: and that other branch of the act, for taking away all prohibitions of marriages, within any degrees but those forbidden in Scripture, was to make way for the king's marriage with Katharine Howard, who was cousin-german to queen Anne Boleyn; for that was one of the prohibited degrees by the canon law.

The province of Canterbury offered a subsidy of four shillings in the pound of all ecclesiastical preferments, to be paid in two years, and in that acknowledgment of the great liberty they enjoyed by being delivered from the usurpations of the bishops of Rome; and in recompence of the great charges the king had been at, and was still to be at, in building havens, bulwarks, and other forts, for the defence of his coasts, and the security of his subjects. This was confirmed in parliament. But that did not satisfy the king, who had husbanded the money that came in by the sale of abbey lands so

Subsidies granted by the Clergy.

ill, that now he wanted money, and was forced to ask a subsidy for his marriage of the parliament. This was obtained with great difficulty: for it was said, that if the king was already in want, after so vast an income, especially being engaged in no war, there would be no end of his necessities, nor could it be possible for them to supply them. But it was answered, that the king had laid out a great treasure in fortifying the coast: and though he was then in no visible war, yet the charge he was at in keeping up the war beyond sea was equal to the expense of a war, and much more to the advantage of his people, who were kept in peace and plenty. This obtained a tenth and four-fifteenths. After the passing of all these bills, and many others that concerned the public, with several other bills of attainder, of some that favoured the pope's interests, or corresponded with cardinal Pole, which shall be mentioned in another place, the king sent in a general pardon, with the ordinary exceptions,—and in particular excepted Cromwell, the countess of Sarum, with many others, then in prison. Some of them were put in for opposing the king's supremacy, and others for transgressing the statute of the six articles. On the 24th of July the parliament was dissolved.

And Laity.

And now Cromwell, who had been six weeks a prisoner, was brought to his execution. He had used all the endeavours he could for his own preservation. Once he wrote to the king in such melting terms, that he made the letter to be thrice read, and seemed touched with it: but the charms of Katharine Howard, and the endeavours of the duke of Norfolk and the bishop of Winchester, at length prevailed; so a warrant was sent to cut off his head, on the 28th of July, at Tower-hill. When he was brought to the scaffold, his kindness to his son made him very cautious in what he said. He declined the purging of himself, but said, "he was by law condemned to die, and thanked God for bringing him to that death for his offences. He acknowledged his sins against God, and his offences against his prince, who had raised him from a base degree. He declared that he died in the catholic faith, not doubting of any article of faith, or of any sacrament of the church; and denied that he had been a supporter of those who believed ill opinions. He confessed he had been seduced, but now died in the catholic faith; and desired them to pray for the king, and for the prince, and for himself:" and then prayed very fervently for the remission of his past sins, and admittance into eternal glory; and having given the sign, the executioner cut off his head very barbarously.

Cromwell's Death.

Thus fell that great minister, that was raised merely upon the strength of his natural parts. For as his extraction was mean, so his education was low: all the learning he had was, that he had got the New Testament in Latin by heart. His great wisdom, and dexterity in business, raised him up through several steps, till he was become as great as a subject could be. He carried his greatness with wonderful temper and moderation; and fell under the weight of popular odium rather than guilt. The disorders in the suppression of abbeys were generally charged upon him. Yet when he fell, no bribery, nor cheating of the king, could be fastened on him; though such things came out in swarms on a disgraced favourite, when there is any ground for them. By what he spoke at his death, he left it much doubted of what religion he died: but it is certain he was a Lutheran. The term catholic faith used by him in his last speech seemed to make it doubtful, but that was then used in England in its true sense, in opposition to the novelties of the see of Rome, as will afterwards appear on another occasion: so that his profession of the catholic faith was strangely perverted, when some from thence concluded that he died in the communion of the church of Rome. But his praying in English, and that only to God through Christ, without any of those tricks that were used when those of that church died, showed he was none of theirs. With him the office of the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs died, as it rose first in his person: and as all the clergy opposed the setting up a new officer, whose interest should oblige him to oppose a reconciliation with Rome, so it seems none were found to succeed in an office that proved so fatal to him that had first carried it. The king was said to have lamented his death, after it was too late; but the fall of the new queen, that followed not long after, and the miseries which fell also on the duke of Norfolk and his family some years after, were looked on as the scourges of Heaven for their cruel prosecution of this unfortunate minister.

His Character.



THOMAS CROMWELL, EARL OF ESSEX.

OB. 1540

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

SIR THOMAS CONSTABLE, BART

With his fall, the progress of the Reformation, which had been by his endeavours so far advanced, was quite stopped; for all that Cranmer could do after this was to keep the ground they had gained: but he could never advance much further; and indeed every one expected to see him go next. For, as one Gostwick, knight for Bedfordshire, had named him in the house of commons as the supporter and promoter of all the heresy that was in England; so the popish party reckoned they had but half done their work by destroying Cromwell, and that it was not finished till Cranmer followed him. Therefore all possible endeavours were used to make discoveries of the encouragement which, as was believed, he gave to the preachers of the condemned doctrines: and it is very probable that, had not the incontinence of Katharine Howard (whom the king declared queen on the 8th of August) broken out not long after, he had been sacrificed the next session of parliament.

Designs against Cranmer.

But now I return to my proper business; to give an account of church matters for this year; with which these great changes in court had so great a relation that the reader will excuse the digression about them.

Upon Cromwell's fall, Gardiner, and those that followed him, made no doubt but they should quickly recover what they had lost of late years: so their greatest attempt was upon the translation of the Scriptures. The convocation books (as I have been forced often to lament) are lost; so that here I cannot stir, but as Fuller leads me; who assures the world that he copied out of the records with his own pen what he published. And yet I doubt he has mistaken himself in the year, and that which he calls the convocation of this year was the convocation of the year 1542: for he tells us that their seventh session was the 10th of March; now in this year the convocation did not sit down till the 13th of April, but that year it sat all March. So likewise he tells us of the bishops of Westminster, Gloucester, and Peterborough, bearing a share in this convocation: whereas these were not consecrated before winter, and could not sit as bishops in this synod. And besides, Thirleby sat at this time in the lower house, as was formerly shown in the process about Anne of Cleves' marriage. So that their attempt against the New Testament belongs to the year 1542.

A Commission sits about Religion.

But they were now much better employed, though not in the way of convocation: for a select number of them sat by virtue of a commission from the king confirmed in parliament. Their first work was to draw up a declaration of the Christian doctrine, for the necessary erudition of a Christian man. They thought that to speak of faith in general ought naturally to go before an exposition of the Christian belief, and therefore with that they began.

An Explanation of Faith.

The church of Rome, that designed to keep her children in ignorance, had made no great account of faith: which, they generally taught, consisted chiefly in an implicit believing whatever the church proposed, without any explicit knowledge of particulars. So that a Christian faith, as they had explained it, was a submission to the church. The reformers, finding that this was the spring of all their other errors, and that which gave them colour and authority, did on the other hand set up the strength of their whole cause on an explicit believing the truth of the Scriptures, because of the authority of God who had revealed them; and said, that as the great subject of the apostles' preaching was faith, so that which they everywhere taught was to read and believe the Scriptures. Upon which followed nice disputing what was that saving faith by which the Scriptures say we are justified. They could not say it was barely crediting the divine revelation, since in that sense the devils believed; therefore they generally placed it, at first, in their being assured that they should be saved by Christ's dying for them; in which their design was to make holiness and all other graces necessary requisites in the composition of faith, though they would not make them formally parts of it. For since Christ's death has its full virtue and effect upon none but those who are regenerate and live according to his gospel, none could be assured that he should be saved by Christ's death till he first found in himself these necessary qualifications which are delivered in the gospel. Having once settled on this phrase, their followers would needs defend it, but really made it worse by their explanations. The church of Rome thought they had them at great advantages in it, and called them

Solifidians, and said they were against good works; though, whatever unwary expressions some of them threw out, they always declared good works indispensably necessary to salvation. But they differed from the church of Rome in two things that were material. There was also a third, but there the difference was more in the manner of expression. The one was, what were good works. The church of Rome had generally delivered, that works which did an immediate honour to God or his saints were more valuable than works done to other men: and that the honour they did to saints in their images and relics, and to God in his priests that were dedicated to him, were the highest pieces of holiness, as having the best objects. This was the foundation of all that trade, which brought in both riches and glory to their church. On the other hand, the reformers taught that justice and mercy, with other good works done in obedience to God's commandments, were only necessary: and for those things so much magnified at Rome, they acknowledged there ought to be a decent splendour in the worship of God, and good provision to be made for the encouragement of those who dedicated themselves to his service in the church, and that what was beyond these was the effect of ignorance and superstition. The other main difference was about the merit of good works, which the friars had raised so high that people were come to think they bought and sold with Almighty God for heaven, and all other his blessings. This the reformers judged was the height of arrogance; and therefore taught that good works were indeed absolutely necessary to salvation, but that the purchase of heaven was only by the death and intercession of Jesus Christ. With these material differences they joined another that consisted more in words. Whether obedience was an essential part of faith. The reformers said it certainly accompanied and followed faith; but thought not fit to make it an ingredient in the nature of faith. These things had been now much canvassed in disputes; and it was thought by many that men of ill lives made no good use of some of the expressions of the reformers that separated faith from good works, and came to persuade themselves that if they could but attain to a firm assurance that they should be saved by Christ, all would be well with them. Therefore, now when they went about to state the true notion of faith, Cranmer commanded doctor Redmayn, who was esteemed the most learned and judicious divine of that time, to write a short treatise on these heads; which he did with that solidity and clearness, that it will sufficiently justify any advantageous character that can be given of the author; and according to the conclusions of that treatise they laid down the nature of faith thus: that it stands in two several senses in Scripture, "the one is a persuasion of the truths, both of natural and revealed religion, wrought in the mind by God's Holy Spirit; and the other is such a belief as begets a submission to the will of God, and hath hope, love, and obedience to God's commandments, joined to it; which was Abraham's faith, and that which, according to St. Paul, wrought by charity, and was so much commended in the epistle to the Hebrews. That this was the faith which in baptism is professed, from which Christians are called the faithful: and in those scriptures where it is said, that we are justified by faith, they declared we may not think that we be justified by faith, as it is a separate virtue from hope and charity, fear of God, and repentance; but by it is meant faith, neither only nor alone, but with the foresaid virtues coupled together, containing (as is aforesaid) the obedience to the whole doctrine and religion of Christ. But for the definition of faith, which some proposed, as if it were a certainty that one was predestinated, they found nothing of it either in the Scriptures or the doctors,—and thought that could not be known: for though God never failed in his promises to men, yet such was the frailty of men that they often failed in their promises to God, and so did forfeit their right to the promises, which are all made upon conditions that depend on us."

Upon this occasion I shall digress a little, to show with what care Cranmer considered so weighty a point. Among his other papers, I find a collection of a great many places out of the Scripture, concerning justification by faith, together with a vast number of quotations out of Origen, Basil, Jerome, Theodoret, Ambrose, Austin, Prosper, Chrysostom, Gennadius, Beda, Hesychius, Theophylact, and Œcumenius; together with many later writers, such as Anselm, Bernard, Peter Lombard, Hugo Cardinalis, Lyranus, and Bruno; in which the sense of those authors in this point did appear; all drawn out with his own hand. To this is added another collection of many places of the

Cranmer's opinion about it.



fathers, in which they speak of the merit of good works: and at the end of the whole collection he writes these words, "This proposition, that we be justified by Christ only, and not by our good works, is a very true and necessary doctrine of St. Paul's, and the other apostles, taught by them, to set forth thereby the glory of Christ, and the mercy of God through Christ." And after some further discourse to the same purpose, he concludes, "Although all that be justified must of necessity have charity, as well as faith; yet neither faith nor charity be the worthiness nor merits of our justification: but that is to be ascribed only to our Saviour Christ: who was offered upon the cross for our sins, and rose again for our justification." This I set down to let the world see that Cranmer was not at all concerned in those niceties, which have been so much inquired into since that time, about the instrumentality of faith in justification; all that he then considered being, that the glory of it might be ascribed only to the death and intercession of Jesus Christ.

After this was laid down there followed an explanation of the apostles' creed; full of excellent matters; being a large paraphrase on every article of the creed, with such serious and practical inferences, that I must acknowledge, after all the practical books that we have had, I find great edification in reading that over and over again. The style is strong, nervous, and well fitted for the weakest capacities. There is nothing in this that is controverted between the papists and the reformers, except the definition of the holy catholic church, which they give thus. "That it comprehends all assemblies of men over the whole world that receive the faith of Christ; who ought to hold an unity of love and brotherly agreement together, by which they become members of the catholic church." Upon which a long excursion is made, to show the unjustice and unreasonableness of the plea of the church of Rome; who place the unity of the catholic church in a submission to the bishop of their city, without any ground from Scripture or the ancient writers.

They explain the Apostles' Creed.

From that they proceeded to examine the seven sacraments: and here fell in stiff debates, which remain in some authentic writings, that give a great light to their proceedings. The method which they followed was this. First, the whole business they were to consider was divided into so many heads; which were proposed as queries, and these were given out to so many bishops and divines: and at a prefixed time every one brought his opinion in writing upon all the queries. So concerning the seven sacraments, the queries were given out to the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Rochester, and Carlile, (though the last was not in the commission,) and to the bishops of Durham, Hereford, and St. David's. For though the bishop of Winchester was in this commission, yet he did nothing in this particular; but I imagine that he was gone out of town, and that the bishop of Carlile was appointed to supply his absence. The queries were also given to doctor Thirleby, then bishop elect of Westminster, to doctor Robertson, Day, Redmayn, Cox, Leighton, (though not in the commission,) Symmonds, Tresham, Coren, (though not in the commission,) Edgeworth, Oglethorp, Crayford, Wilson, and Robins. When their answers were given in, two were appointed to compare them and draw an extract of the particulars in which they agreed or disagreed: which the one did in Latin and the other in English; only those who compared them, it seems, doing it for the archbishop of Canterbury, took no notice of his opinions in the extract they made. And of these, the original answers of the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Rochester, and Carlile, and these doctors, Day, Robertson, Redmayn, Cox, Leighton, Symmonds, Tresham, Coren, Edgeworth, and Oglethorp, are yet extant. But the papers given in by the bishops of Durham, Hereford, and St. David's, and the elect of Westminster, and doctors Crayford, Wilson, and Robins, though they are mentioned in the extracts made out of them, yet are lost. This the reader will find in the collection; which, though it be somewhat large, yet I thought such pieces were of too great importance not to be communicated to the world; since it is perhaps as great an evidence of the ripeness of their proceedings as can be showed in any church, or any age of it. And though other papers of this sort do not occur in this king's reign, yet I have reason to conclude from this instance, that they proceeded with the same maturity in the rest of their deliberations; in which I am the more confirmed,

The Seven Sacraments.

With great maturity.

Collect. Numb. 21.

because I find another instance like this in the reformation that was further carried on in the succeeding reign of Edward VI., of many bishops and divines giving in their opinions under their hands, upon some heads then examined and changed. In Cranmer's paper some singular opinions of his about the nature of ecclesiastical offices will be found; but as they are delivered by him with all possible modesty, so they were not established as the doctrine of the church, but laid aside as particular conceits of his own, and it seems that afterwards he changed his opinion. For he subscribed the book that was soon after set out; which is directly contrary to those opinions set down in these papers. Cranmer was for reducing the sacraments to two, but the popish party was then prevalent, so the old number of seven was agreed to.

Baptism was explained in the same manner that had been done three years before, in the articles then set out: only the matter of original sin was more enlarged on.

Secondly, Penance was formally placed in the absolution of the priest; which by the former articles was only declared a thing desirable, and not to be contemned if it might be had; yet all merit of good works was rejected, though they were declared necessary: and sinners were taught to depend wholly on the sufferings of Christ; with other good directions about repentance.

Thirdly, In the explanation of the eucharist, transubstantiation was fully asserted: as also the concomitancy of the blood with the flesh; so that communion in both kinds was not necessary. The use of hearing mass, though one did not communicate, was also asserted. To which were added very good rules about the disposition of mind that ought to accompany this sacrament.

Fourthly, Matrimony was said to be instituted of God, and sanctified by Christ: the degrees in the Mosaical law were declared obligatory, and none else: and the bond of marriage was declared not separable on any account.

Fifthly, Orders were to be administered in the church, according to the New Testament: but the particular forms of nominating, electing, presenting, or appointing ecclesiastical ministers, was left to the laws of every country, to be made by the assent of the prince. The office of churchmen was to preach, administer the sacraments, to bind and loose, and to pray for the whole flock: but they must execute these with such limitation as was allowed by the laws of every kingdom. The Scripture, they said, made express mention only of the two orders of priests and deacons. To these the primitive church had added some inferior degrees, which were also not to be contemned. But no bishop had any authority over other bishops by the law of God. Upon which followed a long digression, confuting the pretensions of the bishops of Rome; with an explanation of the king's authority in ecclesiastical matters; which was beforehand set down in another place, to show what they understood by the king's being supreme head of the church.

Sixthly, Confirmation was said to have been used in the primitive church, in imitation of the apostles; who by laying on their hands conferred the Holy Ghost in an extraordinary manner. And therefore was of great advantage, but not necessary to salvation.

Seventhly, Extreme unction was said to have been derived from the practice of the apostles, mentioned by St. James, for the health both of body and soul: and though the sick person was not always recovered of his bodily sickness by it, yet remission of sins was obtained by it; and that which God knew to be best for our bodily condition, to whose will we ought always to submit. But this sacrament was only fruitful to those who by penance were restored to the state of grace.

Then followed an explanation of the ten commandments, which contains many good rules of morality, drawn from every one of them. The second commandment was for setting it down as it was in the law of Moses. But a temper was found: it was placed as a distinct commandment, but not at full length; the word, for I the Lord thy God, &c., being left out, and only those that go before being set down. In the explanation of this commandment, images were said to be profitable for putting us in mind of the great blessings we have received by our Saviour, and of the virtues and holiness of the saints, by which we were to be stirred up to imitate

The ten Commandments.

Gardiner had a mind to have shortened, and to cast it into the first. Cranmer



them: so that they were not to be despised, though we be forbidden to do any godly honour to them. And therefore the superstition of preferring one image to another, as if they had any special virtue in them, or the adorning them richly, and making vows and pilgrimages to them, is condemned; yet the censing of images, and kneeling before them, are not condemned: but the people must be taught that these things were not to be done to the image itself, but to God and his honour. To the third commandment, they reduced the invocation of God's name for his gifts. And they condemned the invocation of saints, when such things were prayed for from them, which were only given by God. This was the giving his glory to creatures: yet to pray to saints as intercessors is declared lawful, and according to the doctrine of the catholic church. Upon the fourth commandment a rest from labour every seventh day is said to be ceremonial, and such as only obliged Jews: but the spiritual signification of rest among Christians, was to abstain from sin and other carnal pleasures. But besides that, we were also bound by this precept sometimes to cease from labour, that we may serve and worship God both in public and private: and that on the days appointed for this purpose people ought to examine their lives the past week, and set to amendment, and give themselves to prayer, reading, and meditation. Yet in cases of necessity, such as saving their corn, or cattle, men ought not superstitiously to think that it is a sin to work on that day; but to do their work without scruple. Then follow very profitable expositions of the other commandments, with many grave and weighty admonitions concerning the duties by them enjoined, and against those sins which are too common in all ages.

After that, an explanation of the Lord's Prayer was added. In the preface to which it is said, that it is meet and requisite that the unlearned people should make their prayers in their mother-tongue; whereby they may be the more stirred to devotion, and to mind the things they prayed for. Then followed an exposition of the angel's salutation of the blessed Virgin: in which the whole history of the incarnation of Christ was opened, and the Ave Maria explained, which hymn was chiefly to be used in commemoration of Christ's incarnation, and likewise to set forth the praises of the blessed Virgin. The next article is about free-will, which they say must be in man, otherwise all precepts and exhortations are to no purpose. They defined it "a power of the will joined with reason, whereby a reasonable creature without constraint in things of reason, discerneth and willeth good and evil; but chooseth good by the assistance of God's grace, and evil of itself." This was perfect in the state of innocency, but is much impaired by Adam's fall, and now by an especial grace (offered to all men, but enjoyed only by those who by their free-will do accept the same) it was restored, that with great watchfulness we may serve God acceptably. And as many places of Scripture show, that free-will is still in man, so there be many others which show that the grace of God is necessary, that doth both prevent us and assist us both to begin and perform every good work. Therefore all men ought most gratefully to receive and follow the motions of the Holy Ghost, and to beg God's grace with earnest devotion, and a steadfast faith: which he will grant to all that so ask it, both because he is naturally good, and he has promised to grant our desires. For he is not the author of sin nor the cause of man's damnation; but this men draw on themselves, who by vice have corrupted these natures which God made good. Therefore all preachers were warned so to moderate themselves in this high point, that they neither should so preach the grace of God as to take away free-will, nor so extol free-will, as injury might be done to the grace of God.

The Lord's Prayer.

The Ave Maria.

Free-will.

After this they handled justification. Having stated the miseries of man by nature, and the guilt of sin, with the unspeakable goodness of God in sending Christ to redeem us by his death, who was the mediator between God and man; they next show how men are made partakers of the blessings which he hath procured. Justification is the making of us righteous before God, whereby we are reconciled to him, and made heirs of eternal life: that by his grace we may walk in his ways, and be reputed just and righteous in the day of judgment, and so attain everlasting happiness. God is the chief cause of our justification: yet man prevented by grace is by his free-consent and obedience a worker toward the attaining his own justification. For though it is only procured through

Justification.

the merits of Christ's death, yet every one must do many things to attain a right and claim to that which, though it was offered to all, yet was applied but to a few. We must have a steadfast faith, true repentance, real purposes of amendment; committing sin no more, but serving God all our lives; which if we fall from, we must recover it, by penance, fasting, alms, prayer, with other good works, and a firm faith, going forward in mortification and obedience to the laws of God: it being certain that men might fall away from their justification. All curious reasonings about predestination were to be set apart; there being no certainty to be had of our election, but by feeling the motions of God's Spirit in us, by a good and virtuous life, and persevering in it to the end. Therefore it was to be taught, that at on the one hand we are justified freely by the free grace of God, so on the other hand, when it is said we are justified by faith, it must be understood of such a faith, in which the fear of God, repentance, hope, and charity, be included, all which must be joined together in our justification: and though these be imperfect, yet God accepteth of them freely through Christ.

Next, good works were explained, which were said to be absolutely necessary to salvation.

Good Works.

But these were not only outward corporal works, but inward spiritual works, as the love and fear of God, patience, humility, and the like. Nor were they superstitions, and men's inventions, such as those in which monks and friars exercised themselves: nor only moral works done by the power of natural reason: but the works of charity, flowing from a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith unfeigned; which were meritorious towards the attaining of everlasting life. Other works were of an inferior sort; such as fasting, almsdeeds, and other fruits of penance. And the merit of good works is reconciled with the freedom of God's mercies to us, since all our works are done by his grace; so that we have no cause of boasting, but must ascribe all to the grace and goodness of God. The last chapter is about prayers for souls departed, which is the same that was formerly set out in the articles three years before.

All this was finished and set forth this year, with a preface written by those of the clergy who had been employed in it; declaring with what care they had examined the Scriptures and the ancient doctors, out of whom they had faithfully gathered this exposition of the Christian faith. To this the king added another preface some years after, declaring that although he had cast out the darkness, by setting forth the Scriptures to his people, which had produced very good effects; yet, as hypocrisy and superstition were purged away, so a spirit of presumption, dissension, and carnal liberty, was breaking in: for repressing which he had, by the advice of his clergy, set forth a declaration of the true knowledge of God, for directing all men's belief and practice; which both houses of parliament had seen, and liked very well: so that he verily trusted it contained a true and sufficient doctrine for the attaining everlasting life. Therefore he required all his people to read and print in their hearts the doctrine of this book. He also willed them to remember, that as there were some teachers whose office it was to instruct the people, so the rest ought to be taught, and to those it was not necessary to read the Scriptures: and that therefore he had restrained it from a great many, esteeming it sufficient for such to hear the doctrine of the Scriptures taught by their preachers, which they should lay up in their hearts and practise in their lives. Lastly, he desired all his subjects to pray to God to grant them the spirit of humility, that they might read and carry in their hearts the doctrine set forth in this book. But though I have joined the account of this preface to the extract here made of the bishop's book, yet it was not prefixed to it till above two years after the other was set out.

All this set forth in a book, and published by the King's Authority.

When this was published, both parties found cause in it both to be glad and sorrowful.

It is variously censured.

The reformers rejoiced to see the doctrine of the gospel thus opened more and more; for they concluded that ignorance and prejudices, being the chief supports of the errors they complained of; the instructing people in divine matters, even though some particulars displeased them, yet would awaken and work upon an inquisitive humour that was then a-stirring; and they did not doubt but their doctrines were so clear, that inquiries into religion would do their business. They were also glad to see the morals of Christianity so well cleared, which they hoped would dispose people to a better taste of divine matters; since they had observed that purity of soul does mightily prepare people for



sound opinions. Most of the superstitious conceits and practices, which had for some ages embased the Christian faith, were now removed, and the great fundamental of Christianity, the covenant between God and man in Christ, with the conditions of it, was plainly and sincerely declared. There was also another principle laid down that was big with a further reformation: for every national church was declared a complete body within itself, with power to reform heresies, correct abuses, and do everything else that was necessary for keeping itself pure, or governing its members: by which there was a fair way opened for a full discussion of things afterwards, when a fitter opportunity should be offered: but on the other hand, the popish party thought they had gained much. The seven sacraments were again asserted, so that here much ground was recovered, and they hoped more would follow. There were many things laid down to which they knew the reformers would never consent; so that they who were resolved to comply with everything that the king had a mind to were pretty safe: but the others, who followed their persuasions and consciences, were brought into many snares; and the popish party was confident that their absolute compliance, which was joined with all possible submission and flattery, would gain the king at length, and the stiffness of others, who would not give that deference to the king's judgment and pleasure, would so alienate him from them, that he would in the end abandon them; for with the king's years his uneasiness and peevishness grew mightily on him.

The dissolution of the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves had so offended the princes of Germany, that though upon the lady's account they made no public noise of it, yet there was little more intercourse between the king and them, especially Cromwell falling, that had always carried on the correspondence with them. And as this intercourse went off, so a secret treaty was set on foot between the king and the emperor; yet it came not to a conclusion till two years after.

The other bishops that were appointed to examine the rites and ceremonies of the church drew up a rubric and *Rationale* of them; which I do not find was printed, but a very authentical MS. of a great part of it is extant. The alterations they made were inconsiderable, and so slight, that there was no need of reprinting either the missals, breviaries, or other offices; for a few rasures of those collects in which the pope was prayed for, of Thomas à Becket's office, and the offices of other saints, whose days were by the king's injunctions no more to be observed, with some other deletions, made that the old books did still serve: for whether it was, that the change of the mass-books and other public offices would have been too great a charge to the nation; or whether they thought it would have possessed the people with an opinion that the religion was altered, since the books of the ancient worship were changed; which remaining the same, they might be more easily persuaded that the religion was still the same; there was no new impression of the breviaries, missals, and other rituals, during this king's reign. Yet in queen Mary's time they took care that posterity should not know how much was dashed out or changed: for as all parishes were required to furnish themselves with new complete books of the offices, so the dashed books were everywhere brought in and destroyed. But it is likely that most of those scandalous hymns and prayers which are addressed to saints in the same style in which good Christians worship God, were all struck out; because they were now condemned, as appears from the extract of the other book set out by the bishops.

Corrections of the Mass Book and other Offices. Ex MSS. DD. Sillingfleet.

But as they went on in these things, the popish party, whose counsels were laid very close, and managed with great dexterity, chiefly by the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, pursued the ruin of those whom they called heretics; knowing well that if the king was once set against them, and they provoked against the government, he would be not only alienated from them, but forced, for securing himself against them, to gain the hearts of his other subjects by a conjunction with the emperor, and by his means with the pope. The first on whom this design took effect were, doctor Barnes, Mr. Gerrard, and Mr. Jerome, all priests; who had been among the earliest converts to Luther's doctrine. Barnes had in a sermon at Cambridge during the cardinal's greatness reflected on the pomp and state in which he lived so plainly, that everybody understood of whom he meant: so he was carried up to London; but by the

A Persecution of Protestants.

Of Barnes and others.

interposition of Gardiner and Fox, who were his friends, he was saved at that time, having abjured some opinions that were objected to him. But other accusations being afterwards brought against him, he was again imprisoned, and it was believed that he would have been burned: but he made his escape and went to Germany, where he gave himself to the study of the Scriptures and divinity; in which he became so considerable, that not only the German divines, but their princes, took great notice of him: and the king of Denmark sending over ambassadors to the king, he was sent with them; though perhaps Fox was ill informed, when he says he was one of them. Fox, bishop of Hereford, being at Smalcald in the year 1536, sent him over to England, where he was received and kindly entertained by Cromwell, and well used by the king; and by his means the correspondence with the Germans was chiefly kept up; for he was often sent over to the courts of the several princes. But, in particular, he had the misfortune to be first employed in the project of the king's marriage with the lady Anne of Cleves; for, that giving the king so little satisfaction, all who were the main promoters of it fell in disgrace upon it.

But other things concurred to destroy Barnes. In Lent this year Bonner had appointed him and Gerrard and Jerome turns in the course of sermons at St. Paul's Cross; they being in favour with Cromwell, on whom Bonner depended wholly: but Gardiner sent Bonner word, that he intended himself to preach on Sunday at St. Paul's Cross: and in his sermon he treated of justification and other points, with many reflections on the Lutherans. Barnes, when it came to his turn, made use of the same text, but preached contrary doctrine, not without some unhandsome reflections on Gardiner's person; and he played on his name, alluding to a gardener's setting ill plants in a garden. The other two preached the same doctrine, but made no reflections on any person. Gardiner seemed to bear it with a great appearance of neglect and indifferency: but his friends complained to the king of the unsufferable insolencies of these preachers, who did not spare so great a prelate, especially he being a privy councillor. So Barnes was questioned for it, and commanded to go and give the bishop of Winchester satisfaction: and the bishop carried the matter with a great show of moderation, and acted outwardly in it as became his function: though it was believed the matter stuck deeper in his heart, which the effects that followed seemed to demonstrate. The king concerned himself in the matter, and did argue with Barnes about the points in difference: but whether he was truly convinced, or overcome rather with the fear of the king than with the force of his reasonings, he and his two friends, William Jerome and Tho. Gerrard, signed a paper, (which will be found in the collection,) in which he acknowledged, "that having been brought before the king for things preached by him, his highness, being assisted by some of the clergy, had so disputed with him, that he was convinced of his rashness and oversight: and promised to abstain from such indiscretions for the future, and to submit to any orders the king should give for what was past.

Collect. Numb. 22.

"The articles were. First, That though we are redeemed only by the death of Christ, in which we participate by faith and baptism; yet by not following the commandments of Christ we lose the benefits of it, which we cannot recover but by penance.

"Secondly, That God is not the author of sin, or evil, which he only permits.

"Thirdly, That we ought to reconcile ourselves to our neighbours, and forgive before we can be forgiven.

"Fourthly, That good works, done sincerely according to the Scriptures, are profitable and helpful to salvation.

"Fifthly, That laws made by Christian rulers ought to be obeyed by their subjects, for conscience' sake: and that whosoever breaks them breaks God's commandments."

It's not likely that Barnes could say anything directly contrary to these articles: though having brought much of Luther's heat over with him, he might have said some things that sounded ill upon these heads. There were other points in difference between Gardiner and him about justification; but it seems the king thought these were of so subtle a nature that no article of faith was controverted in them; and therefore left the bishop and him to agree these among themselves, which they in a great measure did. So the king commanded Barnes and his friends to preach at the Spittle in the Easter-week, and openly to recant what they



had formerly said: and Barnes was in particular to ask the bishop of Winchester's pardon, which he did: and Gardiner being twice desired by him to give some sign that he forgave him, did lift up his finger: but in their sermons it was said they justified in one part what they recanted in another: of which complaints being brought to the king, he without hearing them sent them all to the Tower; and Cromwell's interest at court was then declining so fast, that either he could not protect them, or else would not prejudice himself by interposing in a matter which gave the king so great offence. They lay in the Tower till the parliament met, and then they were attainted of heresy, without ever being brought to make their answer. And it seems for the extraordinariness of the thing, they resolved to mix attainders for things that were very different from one another: for four others were by the same act attainted of treason, who were, Gregory Buttolph, Adam Damplip, Edmund Brindholme, and Clement Philpot, for assisting Reginald Pole, adhering to the bishop of Rome, denying the king to be the supreme head on earth of the church of England, and designing to surprise the town of Calais. One Derby Gunnings was also attainted of treason for assisting one Fitzgerald a traitor in Ireland: and after all these, Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, are attainted of heresy, being, as the act says, "detestable heretics, who had conspired together to set forth many heresies, and taking themselves to be men of learning, had expounded the Scriptures; perverting them to their heresies, the number of which was too long to be repeated; that having formerly abjured, they were now incorrigible heretics: and so were condemned to be burned, or suffer any other death, as should please the king." And two days after Cromwell's death, being the 30th of July, they were brought to Smithfield, where in their execution there was as odd a mixture as had been in their attainders: for Abel, Fetherston, and Powel, that were attainted by another act of the same parliament, for owning the pope's supremacy and denying the king's, were carried to the place of execution and coupled with the other three; so that one of each was put into a hurdle and carried together, which everybody condemned as an extravagant affectation of the show of impartial justice.

Who were condemned in Parliament.

When they were brought to the stake, Barnes spake thus to the people:—"Since he was to be burned as an heretic, he would declare what opinions he held. So he enlarged on all the articles of the creed, to show he believed them all. He expressed a particular abhorrence of an opinion which some anabaptists held, that the blessed Virgin was as a saffron bag (by which indecent simile they meant that our Saviour took no substance of her). He explained his opinion of good works, that they must of necessity be done, since without them none should ever enter into the kingdom of God. They were commanded of God, to show forth our profession by them; but he believed, as they were not pure nor perfect, so they did not avail to our justification, nor merit anything at the hands of God, for that was to be ascribed to the merits of the death and passion of Christ. He professed great reverence to the blessed Virgin and saints; but said, he saw no warrant in Scriptures for praying to them; nor was it certain whether they prayed for us or not; but if the saints did pray for those on earth, he trusted within half an hour to be praying for them all." Then he asked the sheriff if he had any articles against them for which they were condemned, who answered he had none. He next asked the people if they knew wherefore he died, or if they had been led into any errors by his preaching; but none made answer. Then he said, he heard he was condemned to die by an act of parliament; and it seemed it was for heresy, since they were to be burned. He prayed God to forgive those who had been the occasion of it. And in particular for the bishop of Winchester, if he had sought or procured his death, he prayed to God heartily to forgive him, as Christ forgave his murderers. He prayed earnestly for the king and the prince, and exhorted the people to pray for them. He said, some had reported that he had been a preacher of sedition and disobedience; but he declared to the people that they were bound by the law of God to obey their king's laws with all humility, not only for fear, but for conscience; adding, that if the king commanded anything against God's law, though it were in their power to resist him, yet they might not do it. Then he desired the sheriff to carry five requests from him to the king.

Their speeches at the stake.

"First, That since he had taken the abbey-lands into his hands, for which he did not

blame him, (as the sheriff fancied he was about to do, and thereupon stopped him,) but was glad that superstition was taken away; and that the king was then a complete king, obeyed by all his subjects, which had been done through the preaching of them, and such wretches as they were; yet he wished the king would bestow these goods or some of them to the comfort of his poor subjects who had great need of them.

"Secondly, That marriage might be had in greater esteem, and that men might not upon light pretences cast off their wives, and that those who were unmarried might not be suffered to live in whoredom.

"Thirdly, That abominable swearers might be punished.

"Fourthly, That since the king had begun to set forth Christian religion, he would go forward in it, and make an end: for though he had done a great deal, yet many things remained to be done, and he wished that the king might not be deceived with false teachers."

The fifth desire he said he had forgot.

Then he begged that they all would forgive him, if at any time he had said or done evil unadvisedly; and so turned about, and prepared himself for his death.

Jerome spake next, and declared his faith upon every article of the creed; and said that he believed all that was in the Holy Scriptures. He also prayed for the king and the prince, and concluded with a very pathetical exhortation to mutual love and charity; that they would propose to themselves the pattern of Christ's wonderful love, through whom only he hoped to be saved; and desired all their prayers for himself and his brethren. Then Gerrard declared his faith, and said, that if through ignorance or negligence he had taught any error, he was sorry for it, and asked God pardon, and them whom he had thereby offended. But he protested, that according to his learning and knowledge he had always set forth the honour of God and the obedience of the king's laws. Then they all prayed for the pardon of their sins, and constancy and patience in their sufferings: and so they embraced and kissed one another, and then the executioners tied them to the stake, and set fire to them.

Their death did rather encourage than dishearten their followers; who seeing such an extraordinary measure of patience in them, were the more confirmed in their resolutions of suffering for a good conscience and for his name who did not forsake his servants in these cruel agonies. One difference between their sufferings and the other three who were hanged for asserting the pope's spremacy was remarkable; that though the others demeaned themselves toward them with the most uncharitable and spiteful malice that was possible, (so that their own historian says, that their being carried with them to their execution was bitterer to them than death itself,) yet they declared their hearty forgiving of their enemies, and of Gardiner in particular, who was generally looked on as the person that procured their death,—which imputation stuck fast to him, though by a printed apology he studied to clear himself of any other concernment in it than by giving his vote for the act of their attainder.

Now Bonner began to show his nature. Hitherto he had acted another part. For being most extremely desirous of preferment, he had so complied with Cromwell and Cranmer, that they had great confidence in him; and he being a blustering and forward man, they thought he might do the Reformation good service, and therefore he was advanced so high by their means. But as soon as ever Cromwell fell, the very next day he showed his ingratitude, and how nimbly he turned with the wind. For Grafton the printer (whom Cromwell favoured much for his printing the Bible, and who was by that means very familiar with Bonner) meeting him, said, he was very sorry for the news he heard of Cromwell's being sent to the Tower. Bonner answered, it had been good he had been despatched long ago. So the other shrunk away, perceiving the change that was in him. And some days after that, Grafton being brought before the council for some verses which he was believed to have printed in commendation of Cromwell, Bonner informed the council of what Grafton had said to him upon Cromwell's being arrested, to make the other charge seem the more probable,—yet Audley the chancellor was Grafton's friend, and brought him off. But Bonner gave the city of London quickly cause to apprehend the utmost severities from him: for many were indicted by his procurement. Yet the king was loath to give too many instances of cruelty in this declination of his age, and therefore by an order from the star-

Bonner's cruelty.



chamber they were discharged. But upon what motives I cannot fancy, he picked out an instance, which, if the deeper stains of his following life had not dashed all particular spots, had been sufficient to have blemished him for ever. There was one Richard Mekins, a boy not above fifteen years of age, and both illiterate and very ignorant, who had said somewhat against the corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and in commendation of doctor Barnes. Upon this he was indicted. The words were proved by two witnesses, and a day was appointed for the juries to bring in their verdict. The day being come, the grand jury was called for; then the foreman said they had found nothing. This put Bonner in a fury, and he charged them with perjury; but they said they could find nothing, for the witnesses did not agree. The one deposed, that he had said the sacrament was nothing but a ceremony; and the other, that it was nothing but a signification. But Bonner still persisted and told them that he had said that Barnes died holy; but they could not find these words to be against the statute. Upon which Bonner cursed and was in a great rage, and caused them to go aside again: so they being overawed, returned and found the indictment. Then sate the jury upon life and death who found him guilty; and he was adjudged to be burnt. But when he was brought to the stake, he was taught to speak much good of Bonner, and to condemn all heretics, and Barnes in particular, saying he had learned heresy of him. Thus the boy was made to die with a lie in his mouth. For Barnes held not that opinion of the sacrament's being only a ceremony or signification, but was a zealous Lutheran; which appeared very signally on many occasions, chiefly in Lambert's case. Three others were also burned at Salisbury upon the same statute, one of whom was a priest. Two also were burned at Lincoln in one day. Besides, a great number of persons were brought in trouble, and kept long in prison upon the statute of the six articles; but more blood I find not spilt at this time.

In the end of this year were the new bishopries founded; for in December was the abbey of Westminster converted into a bishop's see, and a deanery and twelve prebends, with the officers for a cathedral and a quire. And in the year following, on the 4th of August, the king erected out of the monastery of St. Werburg at Chester, a bishopric, a deanery, and six prebends. In September out of the monastery at St. Peter's at Gloucester the king endowed a bishopric, a deanery, and six prebendaries; and in the same month, the abbey of Peterborough was converted to a bishop's seat, a deanery, and six prebendaries. And to lay this whole matter together, two years after this the abbey of Osney in Oxford was converted into a bishopric, a deanery, and six prebends; and the monastery of St. Austin in Bristol was changed into the same use. There are many other grants also in the rolls, both to the bishops and deans and chapters of these sees. But these foundations will be better understood by their charters, of which since the bishopric of Westminster is least known because long ago suppressed, I have chosen to set down the charter of that see, which the reader will find in the collection, and they running all in the same style one may serve for the rest. The substance of the preamble is, "that the king being moved by the grace of God, and intending nothing more than that true religion, and the sincere worship of God should not be abolished, but rather restored to the primitive sincerity and reformed from those abuses with which the profession and the lives of the monks had so long and so lamentably corrupted religion had, as far as human infirmity could foresee, designed that the word of God might be sincerely preached, the sacraments purely administered, good order kept up, the youth well instructed, and old people relieved, with other public almsdeeds. And therefore the king erected and endowed these sees." The day after these several grants, there followed a writ to the archbishop, containing, "that the king had appointed such a person to be bishop of that see, requiring him to consecrate and ordain him in due form." Then the priories at most cathedrals, such as Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Worcester, Carlisle, Rochester, and Ely, were also converted into deaneries and colleges of prebends, with many other officers, and an allowance of charity to be yearly distributed to the poor.

New Bishopries founded.

Collect. Numb. 23.

But as all this came far short of what the king had once intended, so Cranmer's design was quite disappointed; for he had projected that in every cathedral there should be provision made for readers of divinity, and of Greek and Hebrew, and a great number of students to be both exercised in the daily worship of God,

Cranmer's design miscarries.

and trained up in study and devotion, whom the bishop might transplant out of this nursery into all the parts of his diocese. And thus every bishop should have had a college of clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merit; he saw great disorders among some prebendaries, and in a long letter, the original of which I have seen, he expressed his regret that these endowments went in such a channel. Yet now his power was not great at court, and the other party ran down all his motions; but those who observed things narrowly, judged that a good mixture of prebendaries and of young clerks bred up about cathedrals, under the bishop's eye, and the conduct and direction of the dean and prebendaries, had been one of the greatest blessings that could have befallen the church, which not being sufficiently provided of houses for the forming of the minds and manners of those who are to be received into orders, has since felt the ill effects of it very sensibly. Against this Cranmer had projected a noble remedy, had not the popish party then at court, who very well apprehended the advantages such nurseries would have given to the Reformation, borne down this proposition, and turned all the king's bounty and foundations another way.

These new foundations gave some credit to the king's proceedings, and made the suppression of chantries and chapels go on more smoothly; but those of the Roman party beyond sea censured this as they had done all the rest of the king's actings. They said it was but a slight restitution of a small part of the goods of which he had robbed the church. And they complained of the king's encroaching on the spiritual jurisdiction of the church, by dismembering dioceses and removing churches from one jurisdiction to another. To this it was answered, that the necessities which their practices put on the king, both to fortify his coast and dominions, to send money beyond sea for keeping the war at a distance from himself, and to secure his quiet at home by easy grants of these lands, made him that he could not do all that he intended. And for the division of dioceses, many things were brought from the Roman law, to show that the division of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whether of patriarchs, primates, metropolitans, or bishops, was regulated by the emperors, of which the ancient councils always approved; and in England, when the bishopric of Lincoln being judged of too great an extent, the bishopric of Ely was taken out of it, it was done only by the king, with the consent of his clergy and nobles. Pope Nicolas indeed officiously intruded himself into that matter by sending afterwards a confirmation of that which was done. But that was one of the great arts of the papacy, to offer confirmations of things that were done without the popes. For these being easily received by them, that thought of nothing more than to give the better countenance to their own acts, the popes afterwards founded a right on these confirmations. The very receiving of them was pretended to be an acknowledgment of a title in the pope; and the matter was so artificially managed, that princes were noosed into some approbation of such a pretence before they were aware of it. And then the authority of the canon law prevailing, maxims were laid down in it, by which the most tacit and inconsiderate acts of princes were construed to such senses as still advanced the greatness of the papal pretensions.

These foundations censured.

This business of the new foundations being thus settled, the matters of the church were now put in a method, and the bishop's book was the standard of religion; so that whatsoever was not agreeable to that was judged heretical, whether it leaned to the one side or the other. But it seems that the king by some secret order had chained up the party which was going on in the execution of the statute of the six articles, that they should not proceed capitally.

Thus matters went this year, and with this the series of the history of the Reformation made by this king ends; for it was now digested and formed into a body. What followed was not in a thread, but now and then some remarkable things were done; sometimes in favour of the one, and sometimes of the other party. For after Cromwell fell the king did not go on so steadily in anything as he had done formerly. Cromwell had an ascendant over him, which after cardinal Wolsey's fall none besides himself ever had. They knew how to manage the king's uneasy and imperious humour, but now none had such a power over him. The duke of Norfolk was rich and brave, and made his court well, but had not so great a genius; so that the king did rather trust and fear than esteem him. Gardiner was only a tool, and being of an abject spirit was employed, but not

The State of the Court at this time.



at all reverenced by the king. Cranmer retained always his candour and simplicity, and was a great prelate, but neither a good courtier nor a statesman. And the king esteemed him more for his virtues than for his dexterity and cunning in business. So that now the king was left wholly to himself, and being extreme humorous and impatient, there were more errors committed in the last years of his government than had been for his whole reign before. France forsook him, Scotland made war upon him, which might have been fatal to him if their king had not died in the beginning of it, leaving an infant princess, but a few days old behind him; and though the emperor made peace with him, yet it was but a hollow agreement; of all which I shall give but slender hints in the rest of this book, and rather open some few particulars than pursue a continued narration, since the matter of my works fails me.

In May, the thirty-third year of the king's reign, a new impression of the Bible was finished, and the king by proclamation "required all curates and parishioners of every town and parish, to provide themselves a copy of it before All-Hallowtide, under the penalty of forfeiting forty shillings a month after that till they had one. He declared that he set it forth, to the end that his people might by reading it perceive the power, wisdom, and goodness of God; observe his commandments, obey the laws and their prince, and live in godly charity among themselves. But that the king did not thereby intend that his subjects should presume to expound or take arguments from Scripture, nor disturb divine service by reading it when mass was celebrating; but should read it meekly, humbly, and reverently, for their instruction, edification, and amendment." There was also care taken so to regulate the prices of the Bibles, that there should be no exacting on the subjects in the sale of them; and Bonner seeing the king's mind was set on this, ordered six of these great Bibles to be set up in several places of St. Paul's; that all persons who could read, might at all times have free access to them; and upon the pillars to which these Bibles were chained, an exhortation was set up, admonishing all that came thither to read "that they should lay aside vain glory, hypocrisy, and all other corrupt affections, and bring with them discretion, good intentions, charity, reverence, and a quiet behaviour, for the edification of their own souls, but not to draw multitudes about them, nor to make expositions of what they read, nor to read aloud, nor make noise in time of divine service, nor enter into disputes concerning it." But people came generally to hear the Scriptures read, and such as could read and had clear voices, came often thither with great crowds about them. And many set their children to school, that they might carry them with them to St. Paul's, and hear them read the Scriptures. Nor could the people be hindered from entering into disputes about some places, for who could hear the words of the institution of the sacrament, Drink ye all of it, or St. Paul's discourse against worship in an unknown tongue, and not from thence be led to consider that the people were deprived of the cup, which by Christ's express command was to be drunk by all, and that they were kept in a worship to which the unlearned could not say Amen, since they understood not what was said, either in the collects or hymns? So the king had many complaints brought him of the abuses that were said to have risen from the liberty given the people to read the Scriptures. Upon which Bonner (no doubt having obtained the king's leave) set up a new advertisement, in which he complained of these abuses, in the reading the Bible, for which he threatened the people that he would remove these Bibles out of the church, if they continued as they did to abuse so a high a favour. Yet these complaints produced no further severity at this time; but by them the popish party afterwards obtained what they desired. This summer the king turned the monastery of Burton-upon-Trent into a collegiate church for a dean and four prebends, and the monastery of Thornton in Lincolnshire into another for a dean and four prebends. In this year Cranmer took it into consideration to what excess the tables of the bishops had risen, whereby those revenues that ought to have been applied to better purposes were wasted on great entertainment, which though they passed under the decent name of hospitality, yet were in themselves both too high and expensive, and proved great hindrances to churchmen's charity in more necessary and profitable instances. He therefore set

The Bible in English set up in all Churches.

Collect. Numb. 24.

Collect. Numb. 25.

1541.

Antiq. Brit. in Reg. Polo.

A Rule about Churchmen's housekeeping.

out an order *, for regulating that expense, by which an archbishop's table was not to exceed six dishes of meat and four of † banquet; a bishop's, five dishes of meat and three of banquet; a dean's or archdeacon's table was not to exceed four dishes and two of banquet; and other clergymen might be served only with two dishes; but he that gives us the account of this laments that this regulation took no effect, and complains that the people expecting generally such splendid housekeeping from the dignified clergy, and not considering how short their revenues are of what they were anciently, they out of a weak compliance with the multitude have disabled themselves from keeping hospitality, as our Saviour ordered it, not for the rich, but the poor; not to mention the other ill effects that follow too sumptuous a table.

In the end of this year, the tragical fall of the queen put a stop to all other proceedings.

The King goes to York.

The king had invited his nephew the king of Scotland to meet him at York, who was resolved to come thither. The king intended to gain upon him all he could, and to engage him to follow the copy he had set him, in extirpating the pope's supremacy, and suppressing abbeys, and to establish a firm agreement in all other things. The clergy of Scotland feared the ill effects of that interview, especially their king being a prince of most extraordinary parts, who, had he not blemished his government with being so extremely addicted to his pleasures, was the greatest prince that nation had for several ages. He was a great patron of learning, and executor of justice: he used in person and *incognito* to go over his kingdom, and see how justice was everywhere done. He had no very good opinion of the religious orders, and had encouraged Buchanan to write a severe and witty libel against the Franciscan friars. So that they were very apprehensive that he might have been wrought on by his uncle. Therefore they used all their endeavours to divert his journey. But the French king, that had him fast engaged to his interests, falling then off from the king, wrought more on him. So instead of meeting the king at York, where magnificent preparations were made for his reception, he sent his excuse, which provoked his uncle, and gave occasion to a breach that followed not long after.

An account of the State of Scotland.

But here I shall crave the reader's leave to give a full representation of the state of religion at this time in Scotland, and of the footing the reformation had got there: its neighbourhood to England, and the union of these kingdoms, first in the same religion, and since under the same princes, together with the intercourse that was both in this and the next reign, between these nations, seem not only to justify this digression, but rather to challenge it as a part of the history, without which it should be defective. And it may be the rather expected from one who had his birth and education in that kingdom.

The beginnings of Learning there.

The correspondence between that crown and France was the cause that what learning they had came from Paris, where our kings generally kept some scholars, and from that great nursery they were brought over, and set in the universities of Scotland to propagate learning there. From the year 1412, in which Wardlaw, archbishop of St. Andrew's, first founded that university, learning had made such a progress, that more colleges were soon after founded in that city. Universities were also founded both at Glasgow and Aberdeen, which have since furnished that nation with many eminent scholars in all professions. But at the time that learning came into Scotland, the knowledge of true religion also followed it; and in that same archbishop's time, one John Resby, an Englishman, a follower of Wickliff's opinions, was charged with heresy. Forty articles were objected to him, of which two are only mentioned. The one was, that "the pope is not Christ's vicar." The other was, that "he was not to be esteemed a pope if he was a man of wicked life." For maintaining these he was burned, Anno 1407. Twenty-four years after that, one Paul Craw came out of Germany, and being a Bohemian and a Hussite, was infusing his doctrine into some at St. Andrews, which being discovered, he was judged an obstinate heretic, and burnt there, Anno 1432; and to encourage people to prosecute such persons, Fogo, who had discovered him, was rewarded with the abbey of Melross soon after.

And of the Reformation.

Archbishop Spotswood.

Lesley.

* This order I have seen printed (1541) amongst archbishop Parker's papers, but it was with the consent of the other archbishop and most of the bishops.—ANON. CORRECT.

† Bellaria.



It does not appear that those doctrines, which were called Lollardies in England, had gained many followers in Scotland, till near the end of that century. But then it was found that they were much spread over the western parts, which being in the neighbourhood of England, those who were persecuted there might perhaps fly into Scotland, and spread their doctrine in that kingdom. Several persons of quality were then charged with these articles, and brought to the archbishop of Glasgow's courts; but they answered him with such confidence, that he thought fit to discharge them, with an admonition to take heed of new doctrines, and to content themselves with the faith of the church.

Spotswood.

At this time the clergy in Scotland were both very ignorant and dissolute in their manners. The secular clergy minded nothing but their tithes, and did either hire some friars to preach, or some poor priests to sing masses to them at their churches. The abbots had possessed themselves of the best seats, and the greatest wealth of the nation; and by a profuse superstition almost the one-half of the kingdom fell into the hands of the churchmen. The bishops looked more after the affairs of the state than the concerns of the church; and were resolved to maintain by their cruelty what their predecessors had acquired by fraud and impostures; and, as Lesley himself confesses, there was no pains taken to instruct the people in the principles of religion; nor were the children at all catechised, but left in ignorance; and the ill lives of the clergy, who were both covetous and lewd, disposed the people to favour those that preached for a reformation. The first that suffered in this age was Patrick Hamilton, a person of very noble blood; his father was brother to the earl of Arran, and his mother sister to the duke of Albany: so nearly was he on both sides related to the king. He was provided of the abbey of Fern in his youth; and being designed for greater preferments, he was sent to travel; but as he went through Germany, he contracted a friendship with Luther, Melancthon, and others of their persuasion; by whose means he was instructed in the points about which they differed from the church of Rome. He returned to Scotland, that he might communicate that knowledge to others with which himself was so happily enlightened. And little considering either the hindrance of his further preferment, or the other dangers that might lie in his way, he spared not to lay open the corruptions of the Roman church, and to show the errors that had crept into the Christian religion. He was a man both of great learning and of a sweet and charming conversation, and came to be followed and esteemed by all sorts of people.

The Clergy are both ignorant and cruel.

Patrick Hamilton's Sufferings.

The clergy being enraged at this, invited him to St. Andrew's, that there might be conferences held with him about those points which he condemned. And one friar Campbell, prior of the Dominicans, who had the reputation of a learned man, was appointed to treat with him. They had many conferences together; and the prior seemed to be convinced in most points, and acknowledged there were many things in the church that required reformation. But all this while he was betraying him; so that, when the abbot looked for no such thing, he was in the night time made prisoner, and carried to the archbishop's castle. There several articles were objected to him about original sin, free-will, justification, good works, priestly absolution, auricular confession, purgatory, and the pope's being antichrist. Some of these he positively adhered to, the others he thought were disputable points; yet he said he would not condemn them, except he saw better reasons than any he had yet heard. The matter was referred to twelve divines of the university, of whom friar Campbell was one; and within a day or two they censured all his tenets as heretical, and contrary to the faith of the church. On the 1st of March judgment was given upon him by Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, with whom sate the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Dunkeld, Brichen and Dunblan, five abbots, and many of the inferior clergy. They also made the whole university, old and young, sign it. He was declared an obstinate heretic, and delivered to the secular power.

The king had at that time gone a pilgrimage to Ross; and the clergy, fearing lest nearness of blood, with the intercessions which might be made for him, should snatch this prey out of their hands, proceeded that same day to its execution. So in the afternoon he was brought to the stake before St. Salvator's college. He stripped himself of his garments, and gave them to his man; and said, "he had no more to leave him but the example of his

death,—that he prayed him to keep in mind; for though it was bitter and painful in man's judgment, yet it was the entrance to everlasting life, which none could inherit that denied Christ before such a congregation." Then was he tied to a stake, and a great deal of fuel was heaped about him, which he seemed not to fear, but continued lifting up his eyes to heaven, and recommending his soul to God. When the train of powder was kindled, it did not take hold of the fuel, but only scorched his hand and the side of his face. This occasioned some delay, till more powder was brought from the castle, during which time the friars were very troublesome, and called to him to turn, and pray to Our Lady, and say *Salve Regina*. None was more officious than friar Campbell. The abbot wished him often to let him alone, and give him no more trouble. But the friar continuing to importune him, he said to him, "Wicked man, thou knowest that I am not a heretic, and that it is the truth of God for which I now suffer. So much thou didst confess to me in private, and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ." By this time more powder was brought, and the fire was kindled. He cried out with a loud voice, "How long, O Lord, shall darkness oppress this realm? how long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?" and died repeating these words,—"Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." The patience and constancy he expressed in his sufferings made the spectators generally conclude that he was a true martyr of Christ, in which they were the more confirmed by friar Campbell's falling into great despair soon after, who from that turned frantic, and died within a year.

On this I have insisted the more fully, because it was indeed the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland, and raised there a humour of inquiring into points of religion which did always prove fatal to the church of Rome. In the university itself, many were wrought on, and particularly one Seaton, a Dominican friar, who was the king's confessor. He being appointed to preach the next Lent at St. Andrew's, insisted much on these points: "that the law of God was the only rule of righteousness, that sin was only committed when God's law was violated, that no man could satisfy for sin, and that pardon was to be obtained by unfeigned repentance and true faith." But he never mentioned purgatory, pilgrimages, merits, nor prayers to saints, which used to be the subjects on which the friars insisted most on these occasions. Being gone from St. Andrew's, he heard that another friar of his own order had refuted these doctrines. So he returned, and confirmed them in another sermon, in which he also made some reflections on bishops that were not teachers, calling them dumb dogs. For this he was carried before the archbishop; but he defended himself, saying that he had only, in St. Paul's words, said a bishop should teach; and in Isaiah's words, that such as did not teach were dumb dogs: but having said this in the general, he did not apply it to any bishop in particular. The archbishop was nettled at this answer, yet resolved to let him alone till he should be brought into disgrace with the king. And that was soon done; for the king being a licentious prince, and friar Seaton having often reproved him boldly for it, he grew weary of him. The clergy perceiving this, were resolved to fall upon him: so he withdrew to Berwick, but wrote to the king, that if he would hear him make his defence, he would return and justify all that he had taught. He taxed the cruelty of the clergy, and desired the king would restrain their tyranny, and consider that he was obliged to protect his subjects from their severity and malice. But receiving no satisfactory answer, he lived in England, where he was entertained by the duke of Suffolk as his chaplain. Not long after this, one Forrest, a simple Benedictine monk, was accused for having said that Patrick Hamilton had died a martyr: yet since there was no sufficient proof to convict him, a friar, one Walter Lainge, was sent to confess him, to whom in confession he acknowledged he thought Hamilton was a good man, and that the articles for which he was condemned might be defended. This being revealed by the friar, was taken for good evidence: so the poor man was condemned to be burnt as a heretic. As he was led out to his execution, he said, "Fy on falsehood, fy on friars, revealers of confession! Let never man trust them after me: they are despisers of God, and deceivers of men!" When they were considering in what place to burn him, a simple man, that attended the archbishop, advised to burn him in some low cellar; for, said he, "the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton has infected all those on whom it blew."

The King's Confessor favours the Reformation.

Forrest's Sufferings.



Soon after this, abbot Hamilton's brother and sister were brought into the bishops' courts: but the king, who favoured this brother, persuaded him to absent himself. His sister and six others being brought before the bishop of Ross, who was deputed by the archbishop to proceed against them, the king himself dealt with the woman to abjure, which she and the other six did. Two others were more resolute: the one was Normand Gowrlay, who was charged with denying the pope's authority in Scotland, and saying there was no purgatory: the other was David Straiton; he was charged with the same opinions. They also alleged that he had denied that tithes were due to churchmen; and that when the vicar came to take the tithe out of some fish-boats that belonged to him, he alleged the tithe was to be taken where the stock grew, and therefore ordered the tenth fish to be cast into the sea, and bade the vicar to seek them there. They were both judged obstinate heretics, and burnt at one stake the 27th of August 1534. Upon this persecution, some others who were cited to appear fled into England. Those were, Alexander Alesse, John Fife, John Mackbee, and one Mackdowgall. The first of these was received by Cromwell into his family, and grew into great favour with king Henry, and was commonly called his scholar; of whom see what was said, page 158. But after Cromwell's death, he took Fife with him, and they went into Saxony, and were both professors in Leipsic. Mackbee was at first entertained by Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury; but he went afterwards into Denmark, where he was known by the name of doctor Maccabeus, and was chaplain to king Christian II.

A further Persecution in Scotland.

But all these violent proceedings were not effectual enough to quench that light which was then shining there. Many, by searching the Scriptures, came to the knowledge of the truth; and the noise of what was then doing in England, awakened others to make further inquiries into matters of religion. Pope Clement VII. apprehending that king Henry might prevail on his nephew to follow his example, wrote letters full of earnest exhortations to him to continue in the catholic faith. Upon which king James called a parliament, and there, in the presence of the pope's nuncio, declared his zeal for that faith and the apostolic see. The parliament also concurred with him in it; and made acts against heretics, and for maintaining the pope's authority. That same pope did afterwards send to desire him to assist him in making war against the king of England; for he was resolved to divide that kingdom among those who would assist him in driving out king Henry. But the firm peace at that time between the king of England and the French king kept him quiet from any trouble, which otherwise the king of Scotland might have given him. Yet king Henry sent the bishop of St. David's, with the duke of Norfolk's brother lord William Howard, to him so unexpectedly, that they came to him at Stirling before he had heard of their being sent. The bishop brought with him some of the books that had been writ for the justifying king Henry's proceeding, and desired that the king would impartially examine them; but he put them into the hands of some about him that were addicted to the interests of Rome, who, without ever reading them, told him they were full of pestilent doctrine and heresy.

The Progress of the Reformation.

Lesley.

Buchanan.

The secret business they came for was, to persuade that king to concur with his uncle, and to agree to an interview between them: and they offered him in their master's name the lady Mary in marriage, and that he should be made duke of York and lord-lieutenant * of all England. But the clergy diverted him from it, and persuaded him rather to go on in his design of a match with France; and their counsels did so prevail, that he resolved to go in person and fetch a queen from thence. On the first of January 1537, he was married to Magdalen, daughter to Francis I.; but she being then gone far in a consumption, died soon after he had brought her home, on the 28th of May. She was much lamented by all persons, the clergy only excepted: for she had been bred in the queen of Navarre's court, and so they apprehended she might incline the king to a reformation. But he had seen another lady in France, Mary of Guise, whom he then liked so well, that after his queen's death he sent cardinal Beaton into France to treat for a match with her. This gave the clergy as much joy as the former marriage had raised fear; for no family in Christendom was more devoted to the interests of the papacy than that was. And now the king, though he had freer

* Regni Anglici Vicarius.

thoughts himself, yet was so engaged to the pretended old religion, that he became a violent persecutor of all who differed from it.

The king grew very expensive; he indulged himself much in his pleasures; he built four noble palaces, which, considering that kingdom and that age, were very extraordinary buildings; he had also many natural children: all which things concurred to make him very desirous of money. There were two different parties in the court. The nobility, on the one hand, represented to him the great wealth that the abbots had gathered; and that if he would do as his uncle had done, he would thereby raise his revenue to the triple of what it was, and provide plentifully for his children. The clergy, on the other hand, assured him, that if he would set up a strict inquisition of heretics, he would discover so many men of estates that were guilty, that by their forfeitures he might raise above a hundred thousand crowns a year: and for his children, the easiest way of providing for them was to give them good abbeys and priories. This they thought would engage both the king and his sons to maintain their rights more steadily, if their own interests were interwoven with them. They also persuaded the king, that if he maintained the established religion, it would give him a good interest in England, and make him be set up by foreign princes as the head of the league, which the pope and the emperor were then projecting against king Henry. These counsels being seconded by his queen, who was a wise and good lady, but wonderfully zealous for the papacy, did so prevail with him, that as he made four of his children abbots or priors, so he gave way to the persecuting humour of his priests; and gave sir James Hamilton (a natural brother of the earl of Arran, in whom the clergy put much confidence,) a commission to proceed against all that were suspected of heresy. In the year 1539, many were cited to appear before a meeting of the bishops at Edinburgh: of those, nine abjured, many were banished, and five were burnt. Forrester, a gentleman, Simpson, a secular priest, Killore and Beverage, two friars, and Forrest, a canon-regular, were burnt on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh. The last of these was a zealous constant preacher, which was a rare thing in those days. His diocesan, the bishop of Dunkeld, sent for him, and rebuked him for it; and bid him, "when he found a good epistle or good gospel that made for the liberties of the holy church, to preach on that, and let the rest alone." The good man answered, "he had read both the Old Testament and the New, and never found an ill epistle or ill gospel in any of them." The bishop replied, that "he thanked God he had lived well these many years, and never knew either the Old or New: he contented himself with his portuise and his pontifical; and if the other would trouble himself with these fantasies, he would repent it when he could not help it." Forrest said, "he was resolved to do what he conceived was his duty, whatever might be the danger of it." By this it appears how deliberately the clergy at that time delivered themselves up to ignorance and superstition.

The king wholly guided by the Clergy.

In the same year, Russel, a Franciscan friar, and one Kennedy, a young man of eighteen years of age, were brought before the archbishop of Glasgow. That bishop was a learned and moderate man, and was much against these cruel proceedings: he was also in great credit with the king, having been his tutor. Yet he was forced by the threatenings of his brethren to go on with the persecution. So those two, Russel and Kennedy, being brought before him, Kennedy, that was young and fearful, had resolved to submit and abjure. But being brought to the bar, and encouraged by Russel's discourses, he felt so high a measure of courage and joy in his heart, that he fell down on his knees, and broke forth in these words: "Wonderful, O God, is thy love and mercy towards me, a miserable wretch! for now, when I would have denied thee, and thy Son my Saviour, thou hast by thine own hand pulled me back from the bottom of hell, and given me most heavenly comfort, which hath removed the ungodly fear that before oppressed my mind. Now I defy death! do what you please, I thank God I am ready." There followed a long dispute between the friar and the divines that sate with the archbishop; but when he perceived they would hear nothing, and answered him only with revilings and jeers, he gave it over, and concluded in these words: "This is your hour and power of darkness: now you sit as judges, and we stand wrongfully condemned; but the day cometh which will show our innocence, and you shall see your own blindness to your everlasting confusion. Go on, and fulfil the

Two other Martyrs.



measure of your iniquity." This put the archbishop in great confusion, so that he said to those about him, that these rigorous executions did hurt the cause of the church more than could be well thought of; and he declared that his opinion was, that their lives should be spared, and some other course taken with them. But those that sate with him said, if he took a course different from what the other prelates had taken, he was not the church's friend. This, with other threatening expressions, prevailed so far on his fears, that he gave judgment. So they were burnt; but at their death they expressed so much constancy and joy, that the people were much wrought on by their behaviour. Russel encouraged Kennedy, his partner in sufferings, in these words: "Fear not, brother, for he is more mighty that is in us than he that is in the world; the pain which we shall suffer is short and light, but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Death cannot destroy us, for it is destroyed already by him for whose sake we suffer. Therefore let us strive to enter in by the same strait way which our Saviour hath taken before us." With the blood of such martyrs was the field of that church sown, which did quickly rise up in a plentiful harvest.

Among those that were at this time in hazard, George Buchanan was one. The clergy were resolved to be revenged on him for the sharpness of the poems he had written against them: and the king had so absolutely left all men to their mercy, that he had died with the rest if he had not made his escape out of prison: then he went beyond sea, and lived twenty years in that exile, and was forced to teach a school most part of the time; yet the greatness of his mind was not oppressed with that mean employment. In his writings there appears, not only all the beauty and graces of the Latin tongue, but a vigour of mind and quickness of thought far beyond Bembo, or the other Italians, who at that time affected to revive the purity of the Roman style. It was but a feeble imitation of Tully in them, but his style is so natural and nervous, and his reflections on things are so solid, (besides his immortal poems, in which he shows how well he could imitate all the Roman poets, in their several ways of writing, that he who compares them, will be often tempted to prefer the copy to the original,) that he is justly reckoned the greatest and best of our modern authors. This was the state of affairs at this time in Scotland: and so I shall leave this digression, on which if I have staid too long, my kindness to my native country must be my excuse; and now I return to the affairs of England.

The king went his progress with his fair and beloved queen, and when he came to York, he issued out a proclamation, "that all who had been aggrieved for want of justice by any whom he had formerly employed, should come to him and his counsel for redress." This was done to cast all past miscarriages on Cromwell, and to put the people in hopes of better times. But upon his return to London, he met with a new affliction. He was so much taken with his queen, that on All-Saints' day, when he received the sacrament, he openly gave God thanks for the good life he led and trusted still to lead with her: and desired his ghostly father to join with him in the same thanksgiving to God. But this joy lasted not long: for the next day the archbishop of Canterbury came to him, and gave him a doleful account of the queen's ill life, as it had been brought him by one John Lassels; who, when the king was in his progress, had told him that his sister, who had been an old servant of the duke of Norfolk's, under whose care the queen was brought up, said to him, that the queen was lewd, and that one Francis Deirham had enjoyed her often; as also one Mannock, with other foul circumstances not fit to be related. The archbishop communicated it to the lord chancellor, and the other privy councillors that were at London. They agreed, that the archbishop should open it to the king: but he not knowing how to do it in discourse, set it down in writing and put it in the king's hands. When the king read it he seemed much perplexed; but loved the queen so tenderly, that he looked on it as a forgery: and now the archbishop was in extreme danger, for if full evidence had not been brought, it had been certainly turned on him to his ruin. The king imparted it to some other councillors, and told them that he could not believe it, yet he would try it out, but with all possible secrecy: so the lord privy-seal was sent to London to examine Lassels, who stood to what he had informed. Then he sent that same lord into Sussex, where Lassels' sister lived, to try if she would justify what her brother had reported in her name: and she owning it, he ordered Deirham and Mannock to be arrested upon some other pretences; but

The Queen's ill life is discovered.

they being examined, not only confessed what was informed, but revealed some other circumstances that showed the queen had laid aside all sense of modesty as well as the fear of a discovery; three several women having been witnesses to these her lewd practices. The report of that struck the king into a most profound pensiveness, and he burst out into tears, and lamented his misfortune. The archbishop of Canterbury and some other councillors were sent to examine the queen. She at first denied everything, but when she perceived it was already known, she confessed all, and set it under her hand. There were also other evident presumptions that she had intended to continue that course of life: for as she had got Deirham into her service, so she had brought one of the women, who had been formerly privy to their familiarities, to serve about her bedchamber. One Culpepper was also charged upon vehement suspicion: for when the king was at Lincoln, by the lady Rochford's means he was brought into the queen's chamber at eleven o'clock in the night, and staid there till four the next morning: the queen also gave him a gold chain and a rich cap: he being examined confessed the crime; for which both Deirham and he suffered. Others were also indicted of misprision of treason, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. But this occasioned a new parliament to be summoned.

And confessed by herself and others.

On the 16th of January the parliament met; to which the bishops of Westminster, Chester, Peterborough, and Gloucester, had their writs: the lord Cromwell also had his writ*, though I do not find by any record that he was restored in blood. On the 28th of January, the lord chancellor moved the house of lords to consider the case the king was in by the queen's ill carriage: and that there might be no ground of suspicion or complaint, he proposed that some of their number should be sent to examine the queen: whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Westminster, were sent to her. How much she confessed to them is not very clear, neither by the journal nor the act of parliament: which only says that she confessed, without mentioning the particulars. Upon this, the processes of those that had been formerly attainted being also brought as an evidence, the act passed in both houses. In it they petitioned the king,

1542. A new Parliament called.

"First, Not to be troubled at the matter, since that might be a mean to shorten his life.

"Secondly, To pardon everything that had been spoken against the queen.

"Thirdly, That the queen and her accomplices might be attainted of high treason for her taking Deirham into her service, and another woman into her chamber, who had known their former ill life, by which it appeared what she intended to do; and then admitting Culpepper to be so long with her in a vile place so many hours in the night. Therefore it is desired that she and they, with the bawd, the lady Rochford, may be attainted of treason, and that the queen and the lady Rochford should suffer the pains of death.

The Act about the Queen.

"Fourthly, That the king would not trouble himself to give his assent to this act in his own person, but grant it by his letters patent under his hand and great seal.

"Fifthly, That the duchess dowager of Norfolk, countess of Bridgwater, the lord William Howard and his lady, and four other men and five women, who were already attainted by the course of common law (except the duchess of Norfolk and the countess of Bridgwater), that knew the queen's vicious life, and had concealed it, should be all attainted of misprision of treason.

"It was also enacted, that whosoever knew anything of the incontinence of the queen (for the time being) should reveal it with all possible speed under the pains of treason. And that if the king or his successors should intend to marry any woman whom they took to be a pure and clean maid,—if she, not being so, did not declare the same to the king, it should be high treason; and all who knew it, and did not reveal it, were guilty of misprision of treason. And if the queen, or the prince's wife, should procure any by messages or words

* He had his writ, not by virtue of any restoration in blood, but of his creation by patent: neither the day his father was created earl, as Mr. Fulman hath it, following Dr. Fuller, but five months after his father's death, viz. the 18th of December, in the 32d of Henry VIII., when he was created Baron of this realm, by the title only of Lord Cromwell, but not distinguished by any place. Vide Sir William Dugdale's "History of the Baronage."—GRANGER'S CORRECT.



to know her carnally, or any other by messages or words should solicit them, they, their councillors and abettors, are to be adjudged high traitors."

This act being assented to by the king's letters patent, the queen and the lady Rochford were beheaded on Tower-Hill the 12th of February. The queen confessed the miscarriages of her former life before the king married her, but stood absolutely to her denial as to anything after that; and protested to Dr. White, afterwards bishop of Winchester, that she took God and his angels to be her witnesses, upon the salvation of her soul, that she was guiltless of that act of defiling her sovereign's bed, for which she was condemned. Yet the lasciviousness of her former life made people incline to believe any ill thing that could be reported of her. But for the lady Rochford, everybody observed God's justice on her, who had the chief hand both in queen Anne Boleyn's and her own husband's death; and it now appearing so evidently what sort of woman she was, it tended much to raise their reputations again in whose fall her spite and other artifices had so great a hand. She had been a lady of the bedchamber to the last four queens, but now it was found how unworthy she was of that trust.

Censures passed upon it.

It was thought extreme cruelty to be so severe to the queen's kindred for not discovering her former ill life, since the making such a discovery had been inconsistent with the rules of justice or decency. The old duchess of Norfolk, being her grandmother, had bred her of a child; and it was said for her to have gone, and told the king that she was a whore, when he intended to marry her, as it was an unheard-of thing, so the not doing of it could not have drawn so severe a punishment from any but a prince of that king's temper. But the king pardoned her, and most of the rest, though some continued in prison after the rest were discharged.

But for the other part of this act, obliging a woman to reveal her own former incontinence, if the king intended to marry her (which by a mistake the lord Herbert says was passed in another act, taking it from Hall, and not looking into the Record), it was thought a piece of grievous tyranny, since if a king, especially one of so imperious a temper as this was, should design such an honour to any of his subjects who had failed in their former life; they must either defame themselves by publishing so disgraceful a secret, or run the hazard of being afterwards attainted of treason. Upon this, those that took an indiscreet liberty to rally that sex unjustly and severely, said, the king could induce none that was reputed a maid to marry him; so that, not so much choice as necessity put him on marrying a widow about two years after this. But this part of the act was afterwards repealed in the first parliament of king Edward VI.

There passed another act in this parliament that made way for the dissolution of colleges, hospitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practising with the presidents and governors of some of these, to make resignations of them to the king, which were conceived in the same style that most of the surrenders of monasteries did run in. Eight of these were already procured, which are enrolled; but they could not make any great progress, because it was provided by the local statutes of most of them, that no president, or any other fellows, could make any such deed, without the consent of all the fellows in the house, and this could not be so easily obtained. Therefore, all such statutes were annulled, and none were any more to be sworn to the observation of them.

Act about Hospitals, &c.

In the convocation that sate at that time, which, as was formerly observed, Fuller mistakes for the convocation in the thirty-first year of this king, the translation of the Bible was brought under examination, and many of the bishops were appointed to peruse it; for it seems complaints were brought against it. It was certainly the greatest eyesore of the popish party, and that which they knew would most effectually beat down all their projects: but there was no opposing it directly, for the king was fully resolved to go through with it; therefore, the way they took was once to load the translation then set out with as many faults as they could, and so to get it first condemned, and then to promise a new one, in the making and publishing of which it would be easy to breed many delays. But Gardiner had another singular conceit; he fancied there were many words in the New Testament of such majesty, that they were not to be

The Papists design to suppress the English Bible.

translated, but must stand in the English Bible as they were in the Latin. A hundred of these he put into writing, which was read in convocation. His design in this was visible—that if a translation must be made, it should be so daubed all through with Latin words, that the people should not understand it much the better for its being in English. A taste of this the reader may have by the first twenty of them:—Ecclesia, Penitentia, Pontifex, Ancilla, Contritus, Olocausta, Justitia, Justificatio, Idiota, Elementa, Baptizare, Martyr, Adorare, Sandalium, Simplex, Tetrarcha, Sacramentum, Simulachrum, Gloria. The design he had of keeping some of these, particularly the last save one, is plain enough:—that the people might not discover that visible opposition which was between the Scriptures and the Roman church, in the matter of images. This could not be better palliated than by disguising these places with words that the people understood not. How this was received Fuller has not told us. But it seems Cranmer found that the bishops were resolved either to condemn the translation of the Bible, or to proceed so slowly in it that it should come to nothing. Therefore he moved the king to refer the perusing of it to the two universities. The bishops took this very ill when Cranmer intimated it to them in the king's name, and objected that the learning of the universities was much decayed of late, and that the two houses of convocation were the more proper judges of that, where the learning of the land was chiefly gathered together. But the archbishop said he would stick close to the king's pleasure, and that the universities should examine it. Upon which all the bishops of his province, except Ely and St. David's, protested against it; and soon after the convocation was dissolved.

Not long after this, I find Bonner made some injunctions for his clergy, which have a strain in them so far different from the rest of his life, that it is more probable they were drawn by another pen, and imposed on Bonner by an order from the king. They were set out in the thirty-fourth year of the king's reign; but the time of the year is not expressed. The reader will find them in the collection at their full length. The substance of them is—

Bonner's Injunctions.

"First, That all should observe the king's injunctions.

"Secondly, That every clergyman should read and study a chapter of the Bible every day, with the exposition of the gloss, or some approved doctor, which having once studied, they should retain it in their memories, and be ready to give an account of it, to him, or any whom he should appoint.

Coll. Numb. 26.

"Thirdly, That they should study the book set forth by the bishops of the Institution of a Christian Man.

"Fourthly, That such as did not reside in their benefices should bring their curates to him, or his officers, to be tried.

"Fifthly, That they should often exhort their parishioners to make no private contracts of marriage.

"Sixthly, That they should marry none who were married before, till they were sufficiently assured that the former husband or wife were dead.

"Seventhly, That they should instruct the children of their several parishes, and teach them to read English, that they might know how to believe, and pray, and live according to the will of God.

"Eighthly, That they should reconcile all that were in enmity, and in that be a good example to others.

"Ninthly, That none should receive the communion who did not confess to their own curates.

"Tenthly, That none should be suffered to go to taverns or ale-houses, and use unlawful games on Sundays or holydays, in time of divine service.

"Eleventhly, That twice every quarter they should declare the seven deadly sins and the Ten Commandments.

"Twelfthly, That no priest should go but in his habit.

"Thirteenthly, That no priest should be admitted to say mass without showing his letters of orders to the bishop or his officers.

"Fourteenthly, That they should instruct the people to beware of blasphemy, or swearing by any part of Christ's body; and to abstain from scolding and slandering, adultery, fornication, gluttony, or drunkenness; and that they should present at the next visitation those who were guilty of these sins.



"Fifteenthly, That no priest should use unlawful games, or go to ale-houses or taverns, but upon an urgent necessity.

"Sixteenthly, No plays or interludes to be acted in the churches.

"Seventeenthly, That there should be no sermons preached that had been made within these two hundred or three hundred years; but when they preached, they should explain the whole gospel and epistle for the day, according to the mind of some good doctor allowed by the church of England; and chiefly to insist on those places that might stir up the people to good works and to prayer; and to explain the use of the ceremonies of the church. That there should be no railing in sermons; but the preacher should calmly and discreetly set forth the excellences of virtue and the vileness of sin; and should also explain the prayers for that day, that so the people might pray with one heart; and should teach them the use of the sacraments, particularly of the mass; but should avoid the reciting of fables, or stories for which no good writer could be vouched; and that when the sermon was ended, the preacher should in few words resume the substance of it.

"Eighteenthly, That none be suffered to preach under the degree of a bishop, who had not obtained a licence, either from the king, or him their ordinary."

These injunctions, especially when they are considered at their full length, will give great light into the temper of men at that time, and particularly inform us of the design and method of preaching, as it was then set forward, concerning which the reader will not be ill pleased to receive some information. In the time of popery there had been few sermons but in Lent, for their discourses on the holydays were rather panegyrics on the saint, or the vain magnifying of some of their relics, which were laid up in such or such places. In Lent there was a more solemn and serious way of preaching; and the friars, who chiefly maintained their credit by their performances at that time, used all the force of their skill and industry to raise the people into heats by passionate and affecting discourses. Yet these generally tended to raise the value of some of the laws of the church, such as abstinence at that time, confession, with other corporal severities, or some of the little devices, that both inflamed a blind devotion and drew money—such as indulgences, pilgrimages, or the enriching the shrines and relics of the saints. But there was not that pains taken to inform the people of the hatefulness of vice and the excellency of holiness, or of the wonderful love of Christ, by which men might be engaged to acknowledge and obey him; and the design of their sermons was rather to raise a present heat, which they knew afterwards how to manage, than to work a real reformation on their hearers. They had also intermixed with all divine truths so many fables, that they were become very extravagant; and that alloy had so embased the whole, that there was great need of a good discerning to deliver people from those prejudices which these mixtures brought upon the whole Christian doctrine. Therefore the reformers studied with all possible care to instruct the people in the fundamentals of Christianity, with which they had been so little acquainted. From hence it came, that the people ran after those new preachers with wonderful zeal. It is true there seem to be very foul and indiscreet reflections on the other party, in some of their sermons. But if any have applied themselves much to observe what sort of men the friars and the rest of the popish clergy were at that time, they shall find great excuses for those heats; and as our Saviour laid open the hypocrisies and impostures of the Scribes and Pharisees in a style which such corruptions extorted, so there was great cause given to treat them very roughly, though it is not to be denied but those preachers had some mixtures of their own resentments for the cruelties and ill usage which they received from them. But now that the Reformation made a greater progress, much pains was taken to send eminent preachers over the nation, not confining them to particular charges, but sending them with the king's licence up and down to many places. Many of these licences are enrolled, and it is likely that many were granted that were not so carefully preserved: but provision was also made for people's daily instruction; and because in that ignorant time there could not be found a sufficient number of good preachers, and in a time of so much juggling they would not trust

The manner of Preaching at that time.

the instruction of the people to every one, therefore none was to preach except he had gotten a particular licence for it from the king or his diocesan. But to qualify this a book of homilies was printed, in which the gospels and epistles of all the Sundays and holidays of the year were set down, with a homily to every one of these, which is a plain and practical paraphrase on those parcels of Scripture. To these are added many serious exhortations, and some short explanations of the most obvious difficulties, that show the compiler of them was a man both of good judgment and learning. To these were also added sermons upon several occasions, as for weddings, christenings, and funerals; and these were to be read to the people by such as were not licensed to preach. But those who were licensed to preach being oft accused for their sermons, and complaints being made to the king by hot men on both sides, they came generally to write and read their sermons. From thence the reading of sermons grew into a practice in this church, in which, if there was not that heat and fire which the friars had showed in their declamations, so that the passions of the hearers were not so much wrought on by it, yet it has produced the greatest treasure of weighty, grave, and solid sermons that ever the church of God had, which does in a great measure compensate that seeming flatness to vulgar ears that is in the delivery of them.

The injunctions take notice of another thing, which the sincerity of an historian obliges me to give an account of, though it was indeed the greatest blemish of that time. These were the stage-plays and interludes that were then generally acted, and often in churches. They were representations of the corruptions of the monks, and some other feats of the popish clergy. The poems were ill contrived, and worse expressed, if there lies not some hidden wit in these ballads (for verses they were not), which at this distance is lost: but from the representing the immoralities and disorders of the clergy, they proceeded to act the pageantry of their worship. This took with the people much, who being provoked by the miscarriages and cruelties of some of the clergy, were not ill pleased to see them and their religion exposed to public scorn. The clergy complained much of this, and said it was an introduction to atheism and all sort of irreligion: for if once they began to mock sacred things, no stop could be put to that petulant humour*. The grave and learned sort of reformers disliked and condemned these courses, as not suitable to the genius of true religion; but the political men of that party made great use of them, encouraging them all they could: for they said, contempt being the most operative and lasting affection of the mind, nothing would more effectually drive out many of those abuses which yet remained, than to expose them to the contempt and scorn of the people.

Plays and Interludes then acted.

In the end of this year, a war broke out between England and Scotland, set on by the instigation of the French king, who was also beginning to be an uneasy neighbour to those of the English pale about Calais. The king set out a long declaration, in which he very largely laid out the pretensions the crown of England had to an homage from the kings of Scotland. In this I am no fit person to interpose, the matter being disputed by the learned men of both nations. The Scots said it was only for some lands their kings had in England that they did homage: as the kings of England did for Normandy and Guienne to the kings of France. But the English writers cited many records, to show that the homage was done for the crown of Scotland. To this the Scots replied, that in the invasion of Edward I. he had carried away all their ancient records; so these being lost, they could only appeal to the chronicles that lay up and down the nation in their monasteries: that all these affirmed the contrary, and that they were a free kingdom till Edward I., taking advantage of their disputes about the succession to their crown upon the death of Alexander III., got some of the competitors to lay down their pretensions at his feet, and to promise homage: that this was also performed by John Balliol, whom he preferred to the crown of Scotland; but by these means he lost the hearts of the nation, and it was said that his act of homage could not give away the rights of a free crown and people. And they said, that whatsoever submissions had been made since that time, they were only

War between England and Scotland.

* Interludes were not then brought in first to churches, but had been used in the times of popery, the greatest part of their religion being placed in outward shows, so that these did well enough agree with it; and such representations are yet in use sometimes in the Roman church, so that, by which they had formerly entertained the people, was now turned on themselves.—FULMAN'S CORRECT.



extorted by force, as the effects of victory and conquest, but gave no good right nor just title. To all this the English writers answered, that these submissions by their records (which were the solemn instruments of a nation, that ought never to be called in question) were sometimes freely made, and not by their kings only, but by the consent of their states. In this uncertainty I must leave it with the reader.

But after the king had opened this pretension, "he complained of the disorders committed by the Scots; of the unkind returns he had met with from their king for his care of him while he was an infant; taking no advantage of the confusions in which that kingdom then was, but on the contrary protecting the crown and quieting the kingdom. But that of late many depredations and acts of hostility had been committed by the Scots: and though some treaties had been begun, they were managed with so much shuffling and inconstancy, that the king must now try it by a war." Yet he concluded his declaration ambiguously, neither keeping up nor laying down his pretensions to that crown; but expressing them in such a manner, that which way soever the success of the war turned, he might be bound up to nothing by what he now declared.

But whatsoever justice might be in the king's title or quarrel, his sword was much the sharper. He ordered the duke of Norfolk to march into Scotland, about the end of October, with an army of 20,000 men. Hall tells us they burnt many towns, and names them. But these were only single houses, or little villages; and the best town he names is Kelso, which is a little open market-town. Soon after, they returned back into England; whether after they had spoiled the neighbouring country they felt the inconveniences of the season of the year, or whether hearing the Scots were gathering they had no mind to go too far, I cannot determine; for the writers of both nations disagree as to the reason of their speedy return. But any that knows the country they spoiled, and where they stopped, must conclude that either they had secret orders only to make an inroad, and destroy some places that lay along the river of Tweed and upon the border, which done, without driving the breach too far, to retire back; or they must have had apprehensions of the Scottish armies coming to lie in these moors and hills of Sautrey, or Lammer-Moor, which they were to pass if they had gone farther: and there were about 10,000 men brought thither, but he that commanded them was much blamed for doing nothing; his excuse was, that his number did not equal theirs. About the end of November, the lord Maxwell brought an army of 15,000 men together, with a train of artillery of 24 pieces of ordnance. And since the duke of Norfolk had retired towards Berwick, they resolved to enter England on the western side by Solway Frith. The king went thither himself, but fatally left the army, and yet was not many miles from them when they were defeated. The truth of it was, that king, who had hitherto raised the greatest expectation, was about that time disturbed in his fancy, thinking that he saw apparitions, particularly of one whom it was said he had unjustly put to death; so that he could not rest, nor be at quiet. But as his leaving the army was ill advised, so his giving a commission to Oliver Sinclair, that was his minion, to command in chief, did extremely disgust the nobility. They loved not to be commanded by any but their king, and were already weary of the insolence of that favourite, who being but of ordinary birth was despised by them; so that they were beginning to separate. And when they were upon that occasion in great disorder, a small body of English, not above 500 horse, appeared: but they apprehending it was the duke of Norfolk's army, refused to fight, and fell in confusion. Many prisoners were taken; the chief of whom were, the earls of Glencairn and Cassillis, the lords Maxwell, Sommervell, Oliphant, Gray, and Oliver Sinclair; and about 200 gentlemen and 800 soldiers; and all the ordnance and baggage was also taken. The news of this being brought to the king of Scotland, increased his former disorders, and some few days after he died, leaving an infant daughter but newly born to succeed him.

Duke of Norfolk's inroad into Scotland.

The Scottish Army defeated.

The lords that were taken prisoners were brought to London, where after they had been charged in council how unkindly they had used the king, they were put in the keeping of some of the greatest quality about court. But the earl of Cassillis had the best luck of them all; for being sent to Lambeth, where he was a

Many Prisoners taken.

prisoner upon his parole, Cranmer studied to free him from the darkness and fetters of popery; in which he was so successful, that the other was afterwards a great promoter of the Reformation in Scotland. The Scots had been hitherto possessed with most extraordinary prejudices against the changes that had been made in England, which concurring with the ancient animosities between the two nations, had raised a wonderful ill opinion of the king's proceedings; and though the bishop of St. David's (Barlow) had been sent into Scotland with the book of the Institution of a Christian Man to clear these ill impressions, yet his endeavours were unsuccessful. The pope, at the instance of the French king, and to make that kingdom sure, made David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, a cardinal; which gave him great authority in the kingdom; so he with the rest of the clergy diverted the king from any correspondence with England, and assured him of victory if he would make war on such an heretical prince. The clergy also offered the king 50,000 crowns a year towards a war with England, and possessed all the nation with very ill thoughts of the court and clergy there. But the lords that were now prisoners (chiefly the earl of Cassillis, who was best instructed by his religious host) conceived a better opinion of the Reformation, and carried home with them those seeds of knowledge which produced afterwards a very fruitful harvest. On all these things I have dwelt the longer, that it might appear whence the inclination of the Scottish nobility to reform did take its first rise, though there was afterwards in the methods by which it was advanced, too great a mixture of the heat and forwardness that is natural to the genius of that country.

When the news of the king of Scotland's death and of the young queen's birth that succeeded him came to the court, the king thought this a very favourable conjuncture to unite and settle the whole island. But that unfortunate princess was not born under such happy stars, though she was mother to him in whom this long-desired union took effect. The lords that were then prisoners began the motion, and that being told the king, he called for them to Hampton-court, in the Christmas-time, and said, now an opportunity was put in their hands to quiet all troubles that had been between these two crowns, by the marriage of the prince of Wales to their young queen; in which he desired their assistance, and gave them their liberty, they leaving hostages for the performance of what was then offered by them. They all promised their concurrence, and seemed much taken with the greatness of the English court, which the king always kept up not without affectation; they also said, they thought God was better served there than in their own country. So on New-year's-day they took their journey towards Scotland, but the sequel of this will appear afterwards.

A parliament was summoned to meet the 22d of January, which sat to the 12th of May. So the session begun in the thirty-fourth and ended in the thirty-fifth year of the king's reign, from whence it is called in the records, the parliament of the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth year. Here both the temporality and spirituality gave great subsidies to the king, of six shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. They set forth in their preambles "the expense the king had been at in his war with Scotland, and for his other great and urgent occasions," by which was meant a war with France, which broke out the following summer. But with these there passed other two acts of great importance to religion. The title of the first was, "An act for the advancement of true religion, and abolishment of the contrary." The king was now entering upon a war; so it seemed reasonable to qualify the severity of the late acts about religion, that all might be quiet at home. Cranmer moved it first, and was faintly seconded by the bishops of Worcester, Hereford, Chichester, and Rochester, who had promised to stick to him in it. At this time a league was almost finished between the king and the emperor, which did again raise the spirits of the popish faction. They had been much cast down ever since the last queen's fall. But now that the emperor was like to have an interest in English councils, they took heart again, and Gardiner opposed the archbishop's motion with all possible earnestness; and that whole faction fell so upon it, that the timorous bishops not only forsook Cranmer, but Heath of Rochester and Skip of Hereford were very earnest with him to stay for a better opportunity; but he generously preferred his conscience to those arts of policy which he would never practise; and said, he would push it as far as

1543. A new Parliament.

Cranmer promotes a Reformation.



it would go. So he plied the king and the other lords so earnestly, that at length the bill passed, though clogged with many provisoes, and very much short of what he had designed.

The preamble set forth, "that there being many dissensions about religion, the Scriptures, which the king had put into the hands of his people, were abused by many seditious persons, in their sermons, books, plays, rhymes, and songs, from which great inconveniences were like to arise. For preventing these it was necessary to establish a form of sincere doctrine, conformable to that which was taught by the apostles. Therefore all the books of the Old and New Testament, of Tindal's translation (which is called crafty, false, and untrue), are forbidden to be kept or used in the king's dominions, with all other books contrary to the doctrine set forth in the year 1540, with punishments, and fines and imprisonment upon such as sold or kept such books. But Bibles that were not of Tindal's translation were still to be kept, only the annotations, or preambles, that were in any of them, were to be cut out or dashed; and the king's proclamations and injunctions, with the primmers and other books printed in English, for the instruction of the people before the year 1540, were still to be in force; and among these, Chaucer's books are by name mentioned. No books were to be printed about religion without the king's allowance. In no plays nor interludes they might make any expositions of Scripture, but only reproach vice and set forth virtue in them. None might read the Scripture in any open assembly, or expound it, but he who was licensed by the king or his ordinary, with a proviso, that the chancellors in parliament, judges, recorders, or any others, who were wont in public occasions to make speeches, and commonly took a place of Scripture for their text, might still do as they had done formerly. Every nobleman or gentleman might cause the Bible to be read to him, in or about his house, quietly and without disturbance. Every merchant that was a householder might also read it; but no woman, nor artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen, under the degree of yeomen; nor no husbandmen, or labourers, might read it. Yet every noblewoman or gentlewoman might read it for herself: and so might all other persons but those who were excepted. Every person might read and teach in their houses the book set out in the year 1540, with the psalter, primmer, paternoster, the ave, and the creed, in English. All spiritual persons, who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine set forth in that book, were to be admitted, for the first conviction, to renounce their errors; for the second to abjure and carry a faggot; which if they refused to do, or fell into a third offence, they were to be burnt. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be liable to perpetual imprisonment. But these offences were to be objected to them within a year after they were committed; and whereas before, the party accused was not allowed to bring witnesses for his own purgation; this was now granted him. But to this a severe proviso was added, which seemed to overthrow all the former favour, that the act of the Six Articles was still in the same force in which it was before the making of this act. Yet that was moderated by the next proviso, that the king might at any time hereafter at his pleasure change this act or any provision in it."

An Act about it.

This last proviso was made stronger by another act, made for the due execution of proclamations, in pursuance of a former act to the same effect, of which mention was made in the thirty-first year of the king's reign. By that former act there was so great a number of officers of state, and of the king's household, of judges, and other persons, to sit on these trials, that those not being easily brought together, the act had never taken any effect. Therefore it was now appointed that nine counsellors should be a sufficient number for these trials. At the passing of that act the lord Montjoy protested against it, which is the single instance of a protestation against any public bill through this king's whole reign.

The act about religion freed the subjects from the fears under which they were before; for now the laity were delivered from the hazard of burning; and the spirituality were not in danger but upon the third conviction. They might also bring their own witnesses, which was a great favour to them. Yet that high power which was given the king of altering the act or any parts of it, made, that they were not absolutely secured from their fears, of which some instances afterwards appeared. But as this act was some mitigation of former severities, so it brought the reformers to depend wholly on the king's mercy for their lives; since he could now chain up or let loose the act of the Six Articles upon them at his pleasure.

Soon after the end of this parliament, a league was sworn between the king and the emperor on Trinity Sunday; offensive and defensive for England, Calais, and the places about it, and for all Flanders; with many other particulars, to be found in the treaty set down at large by the lord Herbert. There is no mention made of the legitimation of the lady Mary; but it seems it was promised, that she should be declared next in the succession of the crown to prince Edward, if the king had no other children; which was done in the next parliament, without any reflections on her birth; and the emperor was content to accept of that, there being no other terms to be obtained. The popish party, who had set up their rest on bringing the king and emperor to a league, and putting the lady Mary into the succession, no doubt pressed the emperor much to accept of this: which we may reasonably believe was vigorously driven on by Bonner, who was sent to Spain an ambassador for concluding this peace, by which also the emperor gained much; for having engaged the crowns of England and France in a war, and drawn off the king of England from his league with the princes of Germany, he was now at more leisure to prosecute his designs in Germany.

A League between the King and Emperor.

But the negotiation in Scotland succeeded not to the king's mind, though at first there were very good appearances. The cardinal, by forging a will for the dead king, got himself and some of his party to be put into the government. But the earl of Arran (Hamilton) being the nearest in blood to the young queen, and being generally beloved for his probity, was invited to assume the government; which he managed with great moderation, and an universal applause. He summoned a parliament which confirmed him in his power during the minority of the queen. The king sent sir Ralph Sadler to him to agree the marriage, and to desire him to send the young queen into England: and if private ends wrought much on him, Sadler was empowered to offer another marriage of the king's second daughter, the lady Elizabeth, to his son. The earl of Arran was himself inclinable to reformation, and very much hated the cardinal: so he was easily brought to consent to a treaty for the match, which was concluded in August: by which the young queen was to be bred in Scotland till she was ten years of age; but the king might send a nobleman and his wife, with other persons, not exceeding twenty, to wait on her. And for performance of this, six noblemen were to be sent from Scotland for hostages. The earl of Arran being then governor, kept the cardinal under restraint till this treaty was concluded: but he, corrupting his keepers, made his escape, and joining with the queen-mother, they made a strong faction against the governor; all the clergy joined with the cardinal to oppose the match with England, since they looked for ruin if it succeeded. The queen, being a sister of Guise, and bred in the French court, was wholly for their interests; and all that had been obliged by that court, or depended on it, were quickly drawn into the party. It was also said to everybody that it was much more the interest of Scotland to match with France than with England. If they were united to France they might expect an easy government: for the French being at such distance from them, and knowing how easily they might throw themselves into the arms of England, would certainly rule them gently, and avoid giving them great provocations. But if they were united to England, they had no remedy but must look for an heavier yoke to be laid on them. This meeting with the rooted antipathy that by a long continuance of war was grown up among them to a savage hatred of the English nation; and being inflamed by the considerations of religion, raised an universal dislike of the match with England, in the greatest part of the whole nation; only a few men of greater probity, who were weary of the depredations and wars in the borders, and had a liking to the reformation of the church, were still for it.

A Treaty for a Match with the Queen of Scotland.

The different Interests there.

The French court struck in vigorously with their party in Scotland, and sent over the earl of Lenox; who as he was next in blood to the crown after the earl of Arran, so was of the same family of the Stewarts, which had endeared him to the late king. He was to lead the queen's party against the Hamiltons. Yet they employed another tool, which was John Hamilton, base brother to the governor, who was afterwards archbishop of St. Andrew's. He had great power over his brother, who being then not above four-and-twenty years of age, and having been the only lawful son of his father in his

The French Party prevails.



JAMES HAMILTON, EARL OF ARRAN.

DUKE OF CHATELHERAULT.

OB. 1574.

FROM THE [illegible] COLLECTION

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON

old age, was never bred abroad: and so understood not the policies and arts of courts, and was easily abused by his base brother: he assured him, that if he went about to destroy religion, by matching the queen to an heretical prince, they would depose him from his government, and declare him illegitimate. There could be indeed nothing clearer than his father's divorce from his first wife: for it had been formerly proved, that she had been married to the lord Yester's son before he married her, who claimed her as his wife; upon which, her marriage with the earl of Arran was declared null in the year 1507: and it was ten years after that the earl of Arran did marry the governor's mother: of which things the original instruments are yet extant. Yet it was now said that that precontract with the lord Yester's son was but a forgery to dissolve that marriage: and if the earl of Lenox (who was next to the crown, in case the earl of Arran was illegitimated) should by the assistance of France procure a review of that process from Rome, and obtain a revocation of that sentence, by which his father's first marriage was annulled; then it was plain that the second marriage, with the issue by it, would be of no force. All this wrought on the governor much, and at length drew him off from the match with England and brought him over to the French interests: which being effected, there was no further use of the earl of Lenox; so he finding himself neglected by the queen and the cardinal, and abandoned by the crown of France, fled into England; where he was very kindly received by the king, who gave him in marriage his niece, lady Margaret Douglass, whom the queen of Scotland had born to the earl of Angus, her second husband: from which marriage issued the lord Darnley, father to king James.

When the lords of the French faction had carried things to their mind in Scotland, it was next considered what they should do to redeem the hostages whom the lords, who were prisoners in England, had left behind them: and for this no other remedy could be found but to let them take their hazard, and leave them to the king of England's mercy: to this they all agreed, only the earl of Cassillis had too much honour and virtue to do so mean a thing. Therefore, after he had done all he could for maintaining the treaty about the match, he went into England, and offered himself again to be a prisoner. But as generous actions are a reward to themselves, so they often meet with that entertainment which they deserve. And upon this occasion the king was not wanting to express a very great value for that lord. He called him another Regulus, but used him better: for he both gave him his liberty and made him noble presents, and sent him and his hostages back, being resolved to have a severer reparation for the injury done him: all which I have opened more fully, because this will give a great light to the affairs of that kingdom, which will be found in the reigns of the succeeding princes to have a great intermixture with the affairs of this kingdom. Nor are they justly represented by any who write of these times; and having seen some original papers relating to Scotland at that time, I have done it upon more certain information.

A War with France.

The king of England made war next upon France: the grounds of this war are recited by the lord Herbert. One of these is proper for me to repeat; "that the French king had not deserted the bishop of Rome, and consented to a reformation, as he had once promised. The rest related to other things, such as the seizing our ships; the detaining the yearly pension due to the king; the fortifying Ardres to the prejudice of the English pale; the revealing the king's secrets to the emperor; the having given, first his daughter, and then the duke of Guise's sister, in marriage to his enemy the king of Scotland; and his confederating himself with the Turk. And satisfaction not being given in these particulars, a war is declared."

A new Persecution of Protestants.

In July the king married Katharine Parr, who had formerly been married to Nevil, lord Latimer. She was a secret favourer of the Reformation, yet could not divert a storm which at this time fell on some in Windsor; for that being a place to which the king did oft retire, it was thought fit to make some examples there; and now the league with the emperor gave the popish faction a greater interest in the king's councils. There was at this time a society at Windsor that favoured the Reformation; Anthony Person a priest, Robert Testwood and John Marbeck singing-men, and Henry Filmer of the town of Windsor, were the chief of them; but those were much favoured by sir Philip Hobby and his lady, and several others of the king's family. During Cromwell's

power none questioned them; but after his fall they were looked on with an ill eye. Doctor London, who had by the most servile flatteries insinuated himself into Cromwell, and was much employed in the suppression of monasteries, and expressed a particular zeal in removing all images and relics which had been abused to superstition, did now, upon Cromwell's fall apply himself to Gardiner, by whose means he was made a prebendary there; and, to show how dexterously he could make his court both ways, or to make compensation for what he had formerly done, he took care to gather a whole book of informations against those in Windsor who favoured the "new learning" (which was the modest phrase by which they termed the Reformation). He carried this book to Gardiner, who moved the king in council, that a commission might be granted for searching suspected houses at Windsor, in which it was informed there were many books against the six articles. The king granted the warrant for the town, but not for the castle; so, those before-named were seized on, and some of these books were found in their houses. Dr. Hains, dean of Exeter and prebendary of Windsor, being informed against, was also put in prison; so was likewise sir Philip Hobby. But there were likewise some papers of notes on the Bible, and of a concordance in English, found in Marbeck's house, written with his own hand: and he being an illiterate man, they did not doubt but these were other men's works, which he was writing out: so they began with him, and hoped to draw discoveries from him. He was frequently examined, but would tell nothing that might do hurt to any other person; but, being examined who wrote these notes, he said they were his own: for he read all the books he could light on, and wrote out what every man had written on any place of Scripture. And, for his concordance, he told them that, being a poor man, he could not buy one of the Bibles when they came first out in English, but set himself to write one out: by which another, perceiving his industry, suggested to him that he would do well to write a concordance in English; but he said, he knew not what that was; so the other person explaining it to him, he got a Latin concordance and an English Bible; and, having learned a little Latin when he was young, he, by comparing the English with the Latin, had drawn out a concordance, which he had brought to the letter L. This seemed so extravagant a thing to Gardiner, and the other bishops that examined him, that they could by no means believe it. But he desired they would draw out any words of the letter M and give him the Latin concordance, with the English Bible, and after a little time they should see whether he had not done the rest. So the trial was made, and, in a day's time, he had drawn out three sheets of paper upon those words that were given him. This both satisfied and astonished the bishops, wondering at the ingeniousness and diligence of so poor a man. It was much talked of, and, being told the king, he said, "Marbeck employed his time better than those that examined him." For the others, they were kept in prison at London till the 24th of July, that the king gave orders to try them at Windsor.

Marbeck's great ingeniousness.

There was a court held there on the 27th of July, where Capon bishop of Sarum, and Franklin dean of Windsor, and Fachel parson of Reading, and three of the judges, sate on those four men. They were indicted for some words spoken against the mass. Marbeck only for writing out an epistle of Calvin's against it: which, he said, he copied before the act of the Six Articles was made. The jury was not called out of the town, for they would not trust it to them, but out of the farms of the chapel. They were all found guilty, and so condemned to be burnt, which was executed on three of them the next day: only Marbeck was recommended to the bishop of Winchester's care, to procure his pardon, which was obtained. The other three expressed great composure of mind in their sufferings, and died with much Christian resolution and patience; forgiving their persecutors, and committing themselves to the mercies of God through Jesus Christ.

Three burnt at Windsor.

But in their trial, doctor London, and Symonds, a lawyer and an informer, had studied to fish out accusations against many of the king's servants, as sir Philip Hobby, and sir Thomas Cawardine, with their ladies, and several others, who had favoured those men. With these informations, Okam, that had been the clerk of the court, was sent to Gardiner: but one of the queen's servants, who had discovered the design, was before him at court. Upon the advertisement which he had brought, Okam was seized on at his coming to court, and all his papers were examined; in which

Their Persecutors are perjured.



they discovered a conspiracy against those gentlemen, with other plots, that gave the king great offence; but the particulars are not mentioned. So doctor London and Symonds were sent for, and examined upon this discovery; but they, not knowing that their letters were intercepted, denied there was any such plot; and, being put to their oaths, swore it. Then their own hand-writing was produced against them. Upon which, they being thus perjured, were ordered to be carried on horseback, with their faces to the horses' tails, and papers on their foreheads, for their perjury; and then to be set in the pillory both in Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, where the king was at that time. This was accordingly executed on them; but sunk so deep in doctor London's heart, that he died soon after. From all this it will appear what sort of men the persecutors at that time were.

But this was a small part of what Gardiner had projected: for he looked on these as persons unworthy of his displeasure. Cranmer was chiefly aimed at by him; and therefore all that party were still infusing it into the king's mind, that it was great injustice to prosecute poor men with so much severity, and let the chief supporter of heresy stand in so eminent a degree, and in such favour about him. At length the king, to discover the bottom of their designs, seemed to give ear to their accusations, and desired to hear what particulars could be objected against him. This gave them great encouragement; for till that time the king would let nothing be said against Cranmer: so they concluded he would be quickly ruined, since the king had opened his ear to their informations. Therefore many particulars were quickly laid together, and put into the king's hands; who a little after that, going to divert himself on the river, ordered his bargemen to row towards Lambeth, which being perceived by some of the archbishop's servants, they acquainted him with it, who hasted down to his stairs to do his duty to the king. When the king saw him, he called him into the barge; and they being alone, the king lamented the growth of heresy, and the dissensions and confusions that were like to follow upon it; and said, he intended to find out the chief encourager and favourer of these heresies, and make him an example to the rest. And he asked the archbishop's opinion about it: who answered him, that it was a good resolution; but entreated the king to consider well what heresy was, and not to condemn those as heretics who stood for the word of God against human inventions. But after some discourse, the king told him he was the man, who, as he was informed, was the chief encourager of heresy; and then gave him the articles that were brought against him, and his chaplains, both by some prebendaries of Canterbury, and the justices of peace in Kent. When he read them, he kneeled down, and desired the king would put the matter to a trial. He acknowledged he was still of the same mind he was of when he opposed the Six Articles; but that he had done nothing against them. Then the king asked him about his wife. He frankly confessed he had a wife, but said that he had sent her to Germany upon the passing the act against priests having wives. His candour and simplicity wrought so on the king, that he discovered to him the whole plot that was laid against him; and said, that instead of bringing him to any trial about it, he would have him try it out, and proceed against those his accusers. But he excused himself, and said it would not be decent for him to sit judge in his own cause; but the king said to him, he was resolved none other should judge it but those he should name. So he named his chancellor, and his register, to whom the king added another; and a commission being given them, they went into Kent, and sat three weeks, to find out the first contrivers of this accusation. And now every one disowned it, since they saw he was still firmly rooted in the king's esteem and favour. But it being observed, that the commissioners proceeded faintly, Cranmer's friends moved that some man of courage and authority might be sent thither to canvass this accusation more carefully. So doctor Leighton, dean of York, was brought up about All-hallowtide, and sent into Kent. And he who had been well acquainted with the arts of discovering secrets when he was one of the visiters of the abbeys, managed it more vigorously. He ordered a search to be made of all suspected persons; among whose papers letters were found, both from the bishop of Winchester and doctor London, and some of those whom Cranmer had treated with the greatest freedom and kindness, in which the whole plot against him was discovered. But it was now near the session of parliament: and the king was satisfied with the discovery, but thought it not fit to make much noise

A Conspiracy against Cranmer.

Antiq. Brit.

His Christian temper of mind.

of it: and he received no addresses from the archbishop to prosecute it further; who was so noted for his clemency, and following our Saviour's rule, of "doing good for evil," that it was commonly said, the way to get his favour was to do him an injury. These were the only instances in which he expressed his resentments. Two of the conspirators against him, had been persons signally obliged by him: the one was the bishop's suffragan, of Dover; the other was a civilian, whom he had employed much in his business. But all the notice he took of it was to show them their letters, and to admonish them to be more faithful and honest for the future. Upon which he freely forgave them, and carried it so to them afterwards as if he had absolutely forgotten what they had contrived against him. And a person of quality coming to him about that time, to obtain his favour and assistance in a suit in which he was to move the king, he went about it, and had almost procured it; but the king calling to mind that he had been one of his secret accusers, asked him whether he took him for his friend; he answered, that he did so. Then the king said, the other was a knave, and was his mortal enemy; and bid him, when he should see him next, call him a knave to his face. Cranmer answered, that such language did not become a bishop. But the king sullenly commanded him to do it; yet his modesty was such, that he could not obey so harsh a command. And so he passed the matter over. When these things came to be known, all persons that were not unjustly prejudiced against him, acknowledged that his behaviour was suitable to the example and doctrine of the meek and lowly Saviour of the world; and very well became so great a bishop, and such a reformer of the Christian religion; who in those sublime and extraordinary instances practised that which he taught others to do. The year in which this fell out is not expressed by those who have recorded it; but by the concurring circumstances, I judge it likeliest to have been done this year.

Soon after this the parliament met, that was summoned to meet the 14th of January, in the thirty-fifth year of the king's reign, in which the act of the succession of the crown passed; which contains, "that the king being now to pass the seas, to make war upon his ancient enemy the French king, and being desirous to settle the succession to the crown, it is enacted that in default of heirs of prince Edward's body, or of heirs by the king's present marriage, the crown shall go to the lady Mary, the king's eldest daughter; and in default of heirs of her body, or if she do not observe such limitations or conditions as shall be declared by the king's letters patent under his great seal, or by his last will under his hand, it shall next fall to the lady Elizabeth, and her heirs; or if she have none, or shall not keep the conditions declared by the king, it shall fall to any other that shall be declared by the king's letters patent, or his last will signed with his hand." There was also an oath devised instead of those formerly sworn, both against the pope's supremacy, and for maintaining the succession in all points according to this act, which "whosoever refused to take, was to be adjudged a traitor; and whosoever should, either in words or by writing, say anything contrary to this act, or to the peril and slander of the king's heirs limited in the act, was to be adjudged a traitor." This was done, no doubt, upon a secret article of the treaty with the emperor; and did put new life into the popish party, all whose hopes depended on the lady Mary. But how much this lessened the prerogative, and the right of succession, will be easily discerned; the king in this affecting an unusual extent of his own power, though with the diminution of the rights of his successors.

1544.

A new Parliament.

Act about the Succession.

There was another bill about the qualifying of the act of the Six Articles that was sent divers times from the one house to the other. It was brought to the lords the 1st of March, and read the first time; and stuck till the 4th, when it was read the second time; on the 5th it was read the third time and passed, and was sent down to the commons, with words to be put in, or put out of it. On the 6th, the commons sent it up with some alterations: and on the 8th, the lords sent it down again to the commons: where it lay till the 17th, and then it was sent up with their agreement. And the king's assent was given by his letters patent on the 29th of March. The preamble was, "that whereas untrue accusations and presentments might be maliciously contrived against the king's subjects, and kept secret till a time were espied to have them by malice convicted:

Act against Conspiracies.



therefore it was enacted, that none should be indicted, but upon a presentment by the oaths of twelve men to at least three of the commissioners appointed by the king: and that none should be imprisoned but upon an indictment, except by a special warrant from the king, and that all presentments should be made within one year after the offences were committed; and if words were uttered in a sermon contrary to the statute, they must be complained of within forty days, unless a just cause were given why it could not be so soon: admitting also the parties indicted to all such challenges as they might have in any other case of felony." This act has clearly a relation to the conspiracies mentioned the former year, both against the archbishop and some of the king's servants.

Another act passed, continuing some former acts for revising the canon-law, and for drawing up such a body of ecclesiastical laws as should have authority in England. This Cranmer pressed often with great vehemence; and to show the necessity of it, drew out a short extract of some passages in the canon-law, (which the reader will find in the collection,) to show how undecent a thing it was, to let a volume, in which such laws were, be studied or considered any longer in England. Therefore he was earnest to have such a collection of ecclesiastical laws made, as might regulate the spiritual courts. But it was found more for the greatness of the prerogative, and the authority of the civil courts, to keep that undetermined; so he could never obtain his desire during this king's reign.

Collect. Numb. 27.

Another act passed in this parliament for the remission of a loan of money which the king had raised. This is almost copied out of an act to the same effect, that passed in the twenty-first year of the king's reign: with this addition, that by this act those who had got payment, either in whole or in part, of the sums so lent the king, were to repay it back to the Exchequer. All business being finished, and a general pardon passed, with the ordinary exceptions of some crimes, among which heresy is one, the parliament was prorogued on the 29th of March to the 4th of November.

The king had now a war both with France and Scotland upon him. And therefore to prepare for it, he both enhanced the value of money, and embased it: for which, he that writes his vindication gives this for the reason; that the coin being generally embased all over Europe, he was forced to do it, lest otherwise all the money should have gone out of the kingdom. He resolved to begin the war with Scotland, and sent an army by sea thither under the command of the earl of Hartford, (afterwards duke of Somerset,) who landing at Grantham, a little above Leith, burnt and spoiled Leith and Edinburgh; in which they found more riches than they thought could possibly have been there; and they went through the country burning and spoiling it everywhere, till they came to Berwick. But they did too much if they intended to gain the hearts of that people, and too little if they intended to subdue them. For as they besieged not the Castle of Edinburgh, which would have cost them more time and trouble; so they did not fortify Leith, nor leave a garrison in it, which was such an inexcusable omission, that it seems their counsels were very weak and ill laid. For Leith being fortified, and a fleet kept going between it and Berwick or Tinmouth, the trade of the kingdom must have been quite stopped, Edinburgh ruined, the intercourse between France and them cut off, and the whole kingdom forced to submit to the king. But the spoils this army made had no other effect but to enrage the kingdom, and unite them so entirely to the French interests, that when the earl of Lennox was sent down by the king, to the western parts of Scotland, where his power lay, he could get none to follow him. And the governor of Dunbritton castle, though his own lieutenant, would not deliver that castle to him, when he understood he was to put it in the king of England's hands, but drove him out; others say, he fled away of himself, else he had been taken prisoner.

The Wars against Scotland successful.

The king was now to cross the seas: but, before he went, he studied to settle the matters of religion, so that both parties might have some content. Audley the chancellor dying, he made the lord Wriothesley, that had been secretary, and was of the popish party, lord chancellor; but made sir William Petre, that was Cranmer's great friend, secretary of state. He also committed the government of the kingdom in his absence to the queen, to whom he joined the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the earl of Hartford, and secretary

Petre. And if there was need of any force to be raised, he appointed the earl of Hartford his lieutenant; under whose government the reformers needed not fear anything. But he did another act, that did wonderfully please that whole party, which was, the translating of the prayers, for the processions and litanies, into the English tongue. This was sent to the archbishop of Canterbury on the 11th of June, with an order that it should be used over all his province, as the reader will find in the collection. This was not only very acceptable to that party, because of the thing itself; but it gave them hope that the king was again opening his ears to motions for reformation, to which they had been shut now about six years: and therefore they looked that more things of that nature would quickly follow. And as these prayers were now set out in English, so they doubted not but there being the same reason to put all the other offices in the vulgar tongue, they would prevail for that too.

Collect. Numb. 28.

Things being thus settled at home, the king having sent his forces over before him, crossed the seas, with much pomp, the sails of his ship being of cloth of gold. He landed at Calais the 14th of July. The emperor pressed his marching straight to Paris. But he thought it of more importance to take Boulogne, and after two months' siege it was surrendered to him; into which he made his entry with great triumph on the 18th of September. But the emperor having thus engaged those two crowns in a war; and designing, while they should fight it out, to make himself master of Germany, concluded a treaty with the French king the very next day, being the 19th of September; which is set down at large by the lord Herbert. On the 30th of September the king returned into England: in October following Boulogne was very near lost by a surprise, but the garrison put themselves in order, and beat back the French. Several inroads were made into Scotland, but not with the same success that the former expedition had. For the Scots, animated with supplies sent from France, and inflamed with a desire of revenge, resumed their wonted courage, and beat back the English with considerable loss.

Boulogne taken.

Next year the French king, resolving to recover Boulogne and to take Calais, that so he might drive the English out of France, intended first to make himself master of the sea: and he set out a great fleet of an hundred and fifty greater ships, and sixty lesser ones, besides many gallies brought from the straits. The king set out about a hundred ships. On both sides these were only merchant ships that were hired for this war. But after the French fleet had looked on England, and attempted to land with ill success, both in the Isle of Wight and in Sussex, and had engaged in a sea-fight for some hours, they returned back without any considerable action: nor did they anything at land. But the king's fleet went to Normandy, where they made a descent and burnt the country; so that this year was likewise glorious to the king. The emperor had now done what he long designed; and, therefore, being courted by both crowns, he undertook a mediation, that under the colour of mediating a peace he might the more effectually keep up the war.

1545.

The princes of Germany saw what mischief was designed against them. The council of Trent was now opened, and was condemning their doctrine. A league was also concluded between the pope and the emperor for procuring obedience to their canons and decrees; and an army was raising. The emperor was also setting on foot old quarrels with some of the princes; a firm peace was concluded with the Turk: so that if the crowns of England and France were not brought to an agreement, they were undone. They sent ambassadors to both courts to mediate a peace. With them Cranmer joined his endeavours, but he had not a Cromwell in the court to manage the king's temper, who was so provoked with the ill-treatment he had received from France, that he would not come to an agreement; nor would he restore Boulogne, without which the French would hear of no peace. Cranmer had at this time almost prevailed with the king to make some further steps in a Reformation; but Gardiner, who was then ambassador in the emperor's court, being advertised of it, wrote to the king, that the emperor would certainly join with France against him if he made any further innovation in religion. This diverted the king from it; and in August this year the only great friend that Cranmer had in the court died, Charles duke of Suffolk, who had long continued in the height of favour,—which was always kept up, not only by an agreement of humours between the king and him, but by the constant

The German Princes mediate a peace.



success which followed him in all his exploits. He was a favourer of the Reformation, as far as could consist with his interest at court, which he never endangered upon any account.

Now Cranmer was left alone, without friend or support: yet he had gained one great preferment in the church to a man of his own mind. The archbishopric of York falling void by Lee's death, Robert Holgate, that was bishop of Llandaff, was promoted to that see in January; Kitchin being made bishop of Llandaff, who turned with every change that was made under the three succeeding princes. The archbishop of York set about the reforming of things in his province, which had lain in great confusion all his predecessor's time; so on the 3d of March he took out a license for the king from making a metropolitical visitation. Dell, that was bishop of Worcester, had resigned his bishopric the former year (the reason of which is not set down). The bishop of Rochester, Heath, was translated to that see; and Henry Holbeach, that favoured the Reformation, was made bishop of Rochester; and upon the translation of Sampson from Chichester to Coventry and Lichfield, Day, that was a moderate man, and inclinable to Reformation, was made bishop of that see. So that now Cranmer had a greater party among the bishops than at any time before.

Church presentments given to informers.

But though there were no great transactions about religion in England this year, there were very remarkable things done in Scotland, though of a different nature; which were the burning of Wishart, and some months after that the killing of Cardinal Beaton; the account of both which will not, I hope, be ungrateful to the reader.

Mr. George Wishart was descended of a noble family; he went to finish his studies in the university of Cambridge, where he was so well instructed in the principles of true religion, that returning to Scotland, Anno 1544, he preached over the country against the corruptions which did then so generally prevail. He stayed most at Dundee, which was the chief town in these parts. But the cardinal, offended at this, sent a threatening message to the magistrates; upon which one of them, as Wishart ended one of his sermons, was so obsequious as to forbid him to preach any more among them, or give them any further trouble: to whom he answered, "That God knew he had no design to trouble them, but for them to reject the messengers of God was not the way to escape trouble; when he was gone, God would send messengers of another sort among them. He had, to the hazard of his life, preached the word of salvation to them, and they had now rejected him: but if it was long well with them, he was not led by the spirit of truth; and if unlooked-for trouble fell on them, he bade them remember this was the cause of it, and turn to God by repentance." From thence he went to the western parts, where he was also much followed: but the archbishop of Glasgow giving order that he should not be admitted to preach in churches, he preached often in the fields; and when in some places his followers would have forced the churches, he checked them and said, it was the word of peace that he preached, and therefore no blood should be shed about it. But after he had staid a month there, he heard that there was a great plague in Dundee, which broke out the fourth day after he had left it; upon which he presently returned thither and preached oft to them, standing over one of the gates, having taken care that the infected persons should stand without, and those that were clean within the gate. He continued among them, and took care to supply the poor and to visit the sick, and do all the offices of a faithful pastor in that extremity. Once as he ended his sermon, a priest coming to have killed him, was taken with the weapon in his hand; but when the people were rushing furiously on him, Wishart got him in his arms and saved him from their rage, for he said he had done no harm, only they saw what they might look for. He became a little after this more than ordinary serious and apprehensive of his end: he was seen sometimes to rise in the night, and spend the greatest part of it in prayer; and he often warned his hearers that his sufferings were at hand, but that few should suffer after him, and that the light of true religion should be spread over the whole land. He went to a great many places, where his sermons were well received, and came last to Lothian, where he found a greater neglect of the gospel than in other parts, for which he threatened them, "That strangers should chase them from their dwellings and possess them." He was lodged in a gentleman of quality's house, Cockburn of Ormeston, when in the night the house was beset

Wishart's sufferings in Scotland.

Spotswood.

by some horsemen, who were sent by the cardinal's means to take him. The earl of Bothwell, that had the chief jurisdiction in the county, was with them, who promising that no hurt should be done him, he caused the gate to be opened, saying, "the blessed will of God be done." When he presented himself to the earl of Bothwell, he desired to be proceeded with according to law, for he said he feared less to die openly than to be murdered in secret. The earl promised upon his honour that no harm should be done him; and for some time seemed resolved to have made his words good, but the queen-mother and cardinal in end prevailed with him to put Wishart in their hands, and they sent him to St. Andrews, where it was agreed to make a sacrifice of him. Upon this the cardinal called a meeting of the bishops to St. Andrews against the 27th of February, to destroy him with the more ceremony, but the archbishop of Glasgow moved that there should be a warrant procured from the lord governor for their proceedings. To this the cardinal consented, thinking the governor was then so linked to their interests that he would deny them nothing; but the governor, bearing in his heart a secret love to religion, and being plainly dealt with by a noble gentleman of his name, Hamilton of Preston, who laid before him the just and terrible judgments of God he might look for if he suffered poor innocents to be so murdered at the appetite of the clergy, sent the cardinal word not to proceed till he himself came, and that he would not consent to his death till the cause was well examined; and that if the cardinal proceeded against him, his blood should be required at his hands. But the cardinal resolved to go on at his peril, for he apprehended, if he delayed it, there might be either a legal or a violent rescue made: so he ordered a mock citation of Wishart to appear; who being brought the next day to the Abbey-church, the process was opened with a sermon, in which the preacher delivered a great deal of good doctrine concerning the scriptures, being the only touchstone by which heresy was to be tried. After sermon, the prisoner was brought to the bar: he first fell down on his knees, and after a short prayer he stood up and gave a long account of his sermons,—that he had preached nothing but what was contained in the ten commandments, the Apostles' creed, and the Lord's prayer; but was interrupted with reproachful words, and required to answer plainly to the articles objected to him. Upon which he appealed to an indifferent judge: he desired to be tried by the word of God, and before my lord governor, whose prisoner he was; but the indictment being read, he confessing and offering to justify most of the articles objected against, was judged an obstinate heretic, and condemned to be burnt. All the next night he spent in prayer: in the morning, two friars came to confess him, but he said he would have nothing to do with them, yet if he could he would gladly speak with the learned man that preached the day before. So he being sent to him, after much conference he asked him if he would receive the sacrament? Wishart answered, he would most gladly do it if he might have it as Christ had instituted it, under both kinds; but the cardinal would not suffer the sacrament to be given him. And so breakfast being brought, he discoursed to those that were present of the death of Christ, and the ends of the sacrament, and then having blessed and consecrated the elements, he took the sacrament himself, and gave it to those that were with him. That being done, he would taste no other thing, but retired to his devotion. Two hours after, the executioners came, and put on him a coat of black linen, full of bags of powder, and carried him out to the place of execution, which was before the cardinal's castle. He spake a little to the people, desiring them not to be offended at the good word of God, for the sufferings that followed it; it was the true gospel of Christ that he had preached, and for which, with a most glad heart and mind, he now offered up his life. The cardinal was set in state in a great window of his castle, looking on this sad spectacle. When Wishart was tied to the stake, he cried aloud,—"O Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of Heaven, I recommend my spirit into thy holy hands." So the executioners kindled the fire, but one perceiving after some time that he was yet alive, encouraged him to call still on God, to whom he answered, "The flame hath scorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my spirit, but he who from yonder high place (looking up to the cardinal) beholdeth us with such pride, shall within few days lie in the same as ignominiously as now he is seen proudly to rest himself." The executioner drawing the cord that was about his neck straiter, stopped his breath so, that he could speak no more, and his body was soon consumed by the fire.



CARDINAL BEATOUN.

OB. 1546

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH

Thus died this eminent servant and witness of Christ, on whose sufferings I have enlarged the more, because they proved so fatal to the interests of the popish clergy, for not any one thing hastened forward the Reformation more than this did, and since he had both his education and ordination in England, a full account of him seems no impertinent digression.

The clergy rejoiced much at his death, and thought (according to the constant maxim of all persecutors) that they should live more at ease, now when Wishart was out of the way. They magnified the cardinal for proceeding so vigorously, without, or rather against, the governor's orders: but the people did universally look on him as a martyr, and believed an extraordinary measure of God's spirit had rested on him, since besides great innocency and purity of life his predictions came so oft to pass, that he was believed a prophet as well as a saint; and the Reformation was now so much opened by his preaching, and that was so confirmed by his death, that the nation was generally possessed with the love of it. The nobility were mightily offended with the cardinal, and said Wishart's death was no less than murder, since the clergy, without a warrant from the secular power, could dispose of no man's life: so it came universally to be said, that he now deserved to die by the law; yet since he was too great for a legal trial, the kingdom being under the feeble government of a regency, it was fit private persons should undertake it; and it was given out, that the killing an usurper was always esteemed a commendable action, and so in that state of things they thought secret practices might be justified. This agreeing so much with the temper of some in that nation, who had too much of the heat and forwardness of their country, a few gentlemen of quality, who had been ill used by the cardinal, conspired his death. He was become generally hateful to the whole nation, and the marriage of his bastard daughter to the earl of Crawford's eldest son enraged the nobility the more against him; and his carriage towards them all was insolent and provoking. These offended gentlemen came to St. Andrews the 29th of May, and the next morning they and their attendants, being but twelve in all, first attempted the gate of his castle, which they found open, and made it sure; and though there were no fewer than an hundred reckoned to be within the castle, yet they, knowing the passages of the house, went with very little noise to the servants' chambers, and turned them almost all out of doors; and, having thus made the castle sure, they went to the cardinal's door. He who till then was fast asleep, suspecting nothing, perceived at last by their rudeness that they were not his friends, and made his door fast against them. So they sent for fire to set to it, upon which he treated with them, and upon assurance of life he opened the door; but they rushing in, did most cruelly and treacherously murder him. A tumult was raised in the town, and many of his friends came to rescue him, but the conspirators carried the dead body and exposed it to their view in the same window out of which he had not long before looked on when Wishart was burnt, which had been universally censured as a most indecent thing in a churchman to delight in such a spectacle. But those who condemned this action, yet acknowledged God's justice in so exemplary a punishment, and reflecting on Wishart's last words, were the more confirmed in the opinion they had of his sanctity. This fact was differently censured; some justified it, and said it was only the killing of a mighty robber; others that were glad he was out of the way, yet condemned the manner of it as treacherous and inhuman. And though some of the preachers did afterwards fly to that castle as a sanctuary, yet none of them were either actors or consenters to it: it is true they did generally extenuate it, yet I do not find that any of them justified it. The exemplary and signal ends of almost all the conspirators, scarce any of them dying an ordinary death, made all people the more inclined to condemn it. The day after the cardinal was killed, about one hundred and forty came into the castle, and prepared for a siege. The house was well furnished in all things necessary, and it lying so near the sea, they expected help from king Henry, to whom they sent a messenger for his assistance, and declared for him. So a siege following, they were so well supplied from England, that after five months the governor was glad to treat with them, apprehending much the footing the English might have, if those within, being driven to extremities, should receive a garrison from king Henry: they had the governor also more at their mercy, for, as the cardinal had taken his eldest son into his house, under the pretence of educating him, but really as his father's hostage, designing likewise to infuse in him a violent hatred of the new preachers;

so the conspirators, finding him in the castle, kept him still to help them to better terms. A treaty being agreed on, they demanded their pardon for what they had done, together with an absolution to be procured from Rome for the killing of the cardinal; and that the castle and the governor's son should remain in their hands till the absolution was brought over. Some of the preachers, apprehending the clergy might revenge the cardinal's death on them, were forced to fly into the castle; but one of them, John Rough, (who was afterwards burnt in England in queen Mary's time,) being so offended at the licentiousness of the soldiers that were in the castle, who were a reproach to that which they pretended to favour, left them, and went away in one of the ships that brought provisions out of England. When the absolution came from Rome, they excepted to it for some words in it, that called the killing of the cardinal *crimen irremissibile*, an unpardonable crime, by which they said the absolution gave them no security, since it was null if the fact could not be pardoned. The truth was, they were encouraged from England, so they refused to stand to the capitulation and rejected the absolution. But some ships and soldiers being sent from France, the castle was besieged at land, and shut up also by sea, and, which was worst of all, a plague broke out within it, of which many died. Upon this, no help coming suddenly from England, they were forced to deliver up the place on no better terms, than that their lives should be spared, but they were to be banished Scotland, and never to return to it. The castle was demolished according to the canon law, that appoints all places where any cardinal is killed to be razed. This was not completed this year, and not till two years after, only I thought it best to join the whole matter together and set it down all at once.

A Parliament sits.

In November following, a new parliament was held; where toward the expense of the king's wars the convocation of the province of Canterbury granted a continuation of the former subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be paid in two years. But for the temporality, a subsidy was demanded from them of another kind. There were in the kingdom several colleges, chapels, chantries, hospitals, and fraternities, consisting of secular priests, who enjoyed pensions for saying mass for the souls of those who had endowed them. Now the belief of purgatory being left indifferent, by the doctrine set out by the bishops, and the trade of redeeming souls being condemned, it was thought needless to keep up so many endowments to no purpose. Those priests were also generally ill-affected to the king's proceedings, since their trade was so much lessened by them; therefore many of them had been dealt with to make resignations,—and four-and-twenty of them had surrendered to the king. It was found also that many of the founders of these houses had taken them into their own hands, and that the master, wardens, and governors of them had made agreements for them, and given leases of them; therefore now a subsidy being demanded, all these were given to the king by act of parliament,—which also confirmed the deeds that any had made to the king; empowering him in any time of his life to issue out commissions for seizing on these foundations, and taking them into his own possession; which being so seized on, should belong to the king and his successors for ever. They also granted another subsidy for the war. When all their business was done, the king came to the house and made a long speech, of which I cannot sufficiently wonder that no entry is made in the journals of the house of lords; yet it is not to be doubted but he made it, for it was published by Hall soon after.

Chapters and Chantries given to the King.

When the speaker of the house of commons had presented the bills, with a speech full of respect and compliment, as is usual upon these occasions, the king answered, "Thanking them for the subsidy, and the bill about the colleges and chantries; and assured them that he should take care both for supplying the ministers, for encouraging learning, and relieving the poor; and they should quickly perceive that in these things their expectations should be answered beyond what they either wished or desired. And after he had expressed his affection to them, and the assurance he had of their duty and fidelity to him, he advised them to amend one thing, which was, that instead of charity and concord discord and division ruled everywhere. He cited St. Paul's words, 'That charity was gentle, and not envious, nor proud.' But when one called another heretic, and the other called him papist and pharisee, were these the signs of charity? The fault of this he charged chiefly on the fathers and teachers of the spiritualty, who preached one against

The King's speech to the Houses.



another, without charity or discretion; some being too stiff in their old Mumpsimus, others too busy and curious in their new Sumpsimus; and few preached the word of God truly and sincerely. And how could the poor people live in concord, when they sowed debate among them? Therefore he exhorted them to set forth God's word by true preaching, and giving a good example, or else he, as God's vicar and high minister, would see these enormities corrected, which if he did not do, he was an unprofitable servant and an untrue officer. He next reproved them of the temporality, who railed at their bishops and priests; whereas, if they had anything to lay to their charge, they ought to declare it to the king or his council, and not take upon them to judge such high points. For though they had the Scriptures given them in their mother tongue, yet that was only to inform their own consciences, and instruct their children and families, but not to dispute, nor from thence to rail against priests and preachers, as some vain persons did. He was sorry that such a jewel as the word of God was so ill used, that rhymes and songs were taken out of it; but much more sorry that men followed it so little, for charity was never fainter, a godly life never less appeared, and God was never less reverenced and worshipped. Therefore he exhorted them to live as brethren in charity together, to love, dread, and serve God, and then the love and union between him and them should never be dissolved." And so exhorting them to look to the execution of the laws which themselves had desired, he gave his royal assent to the bills, and dismissed the parliament.

The king gave at this time a commission to the bishops of Westminster, Worcester, and Chichester, and the chancellor of the court of augmentation, sir Edward North, containing, "that whereas the king had founded many cathedrals, in which he had given large allowances, both to be distributed to the poor and to be laid out for the mending of the highways; to Canterbury one hundred pounds for the poor, and forty pounds for the highways: to Rochester twenty pounds for the poor, and twenty pounds for the highways: to Westminster, one hundred pounds for the poor, and forty pounds for the highways: to Winchester, one hundred marks for the poor, and fifty for the highways: to Bristol, Gloucester, Chester, Burton upon Trent, Thornton, Peterborough, and Ely, twenty pounds a-piece for the poor, and as much for the highways: to Worcester forty pounds for the poor, and forty pounds for the highways: to Durham one hundred marks for the poor, and forty pounds for the highways: and to Carlisle fifteen pounds for the poor, and as much for the highways: in all about five hundred and fifty pounds a year to the poor, and about four hundred pounds a year for the highways: they were to inquire how this money was distributed; and, if they saw cause, they might order it to be applied to any other use which they should judge more charitable and convenient, But what followed upon this, does not appear by the records.

After the parliament was dissolved, the universities made their applications to the king, that they might not be included within the general words in the act of dissolution of colleges, and fraternities; and Dr. Cox, tutor to the prince, wrote to secretary Paget to "represent to the king the great want of schools, preachers, and houses for orphans; that beggary would drive the clergy to flattery, superstition, and the old idolatry: there were ravenous wolves about the king that would devour universities, cathedrals, and chantries, and a thousand times as much. Posterity would wonder at such things, therefore he desired the universities might be secured from their spoils." But the king did quickly free them from these fears.

The King confirms the Rights of the Universities.

Now I enter into the last year of this king's reign. The war in France was managed with doubtful success, yet the losses were greater on the English side. And the forces being commanded by the earl of Surrey, who was brave but unsuccessful, he was not only blamed but recalled, and the earl of Hertford sent to command in his room. But he being a man of a high spirit, and disdaining the earl of Hertford, who was now preferred before him, let fall some words of high resentment and bitter contempt, which not long after wrought his ruin. The king was now alone in the war, which was very chargeable to him; and observing the progress that the council of Trent was making, where cardinal Pole being one of the legates, he had reason to look for some severe decree to be made against himself, since none of the heretics of Germany were so much hated by the court of Rome as he was: therefore he listened to the counsels of peace. And though he was not old, yet he felt such decays in

his strength, that being extremely corpulent, he had no reason to think he could live very long: therefore, that he might not leave his young son involved in a war of such consequence, peace was concluded in June, which was much to the king's honour, though the taking and keeping of Boulogne (which by this peace the king was to keep for eight years,) cost him above 1,300,000 pounds.

Peace with France.

Upon the peace, the French admiral Annebault came over to England. And now again a resolution of going on with a reformation was set on foot: for it was agreed between the king and the admiral, that in both kingdoms the mass should be changed into a communion, and Cranmer was ordered to draw a form of it. They also resolved to press the emperor to do the like in his dominions, otherwise to make war upon him. But how this project failed, does not appear. The animosities which the former war had raised between the two kings were converted into a firm friendship, which grew so strong on Francis's part, that he never was seen glad at anything after he had the news of the king's death.

A new design for Reformation.

But now one of the king's angry fits took him at the reformers, so that there was a new prosecution of them. Nicholas Shaxton, that was bishop of Salisbury, had been long a prisoner; but this year he had said in his imprisonment, in the counter in Bread-street, "That Christ's natural body was not in the sacrament, but that it was a sign and memorial of his body that was crucified for us." Upon this he was indicted, and condemned to be burnt. But the king sent the bishops of London and Worcester to deal with him to recant; which on the 9th of July he did, acknowledging, "That that year he had fallen in his old age in the heresy of the sacramentaries. But that he was now convinced of that error by their endeavours whom the king had sent to him. And therefore he thanked the king for delivering him both 'from temporal and eternal fire,' and subscribed a paper of articles, which will be found in the collection. Upon this he had his pardon and discharge sent him the 13th of July, and soon after preached a sermon at the burning of Anne Askew; and wrote a book in defence of the articles he had subscribed. What became of him all Edward VI.'s time, I cannot tell; but I find he was a cruel persecutor and burner of protestants in queen Mary's days. Yet it seems those to whom he went over did not consider him much, for they never raised him higher than to be suffragan to the bishop of Ely. Others were also indicted upon the same statute, who got off by recantation, and were pardoned; but Anne Askew's trial had a more bloody conclusion.

Shaxton's Apostasy.

Collect. Numb. 28.

She was nobly descended, and educated beyond what was ordinary in that age to those of her sex; but she was unfortunately married to one Kyme, who, being a violent papist, drove her out of his house when he found she favoured the Reformation. So she came to London, where information being given of some words that she had spoken against the corporal presence in the sacrament, she was put in prison; upon which great applications were made by many of her friends to have her let out upon bail. The bishop of London examined her, and, after much pains, she was brought to set her hand to a recantation, by which she acknowledged, "that the natural body of Christ was present in the sacrament after the consecration, whether the priest were a good or an ill man; and that, whether it was presently consumed or reserved in the pix, it was the true body of Christ." Yet she added to her subscription, that she believed all things according to the catholic faith, and not otherwise. With this the bishop was not satisfied; but after much ado, and many importunate addresses, she was bailed in the end of March this year. But, not long after that, she was again apprehended, and examined before the king's council then at Greenwich, where she seemed very indifferent what they did with her. She answered them in general words, upon which they could fix nothing, and made some sharp repartees upon the bishop of Winchester. Some liked the wit and freedom of her discourse, but others thought she was too forward. From thence she was sent to Newgate, where she wrote some devotions and letters that show her to have been a woman of most extraordinary parts. She wrote to the king, "That as to the Lord's supper she believed as much as Christ had said in it, and as much as the catholic church from him did teach." Upon Shaxton's recantation they sent him to her to prevail with her; but she, instead of yielding to him, charged his inconstancy home upon him. She had been oft at court, and was much

The troubles of Anne Askew.



favoured by many great ladies there; and it was believed the queen had showed kindness to her. So the lord-chancellor examined her of what favour or encouragement she had from any in the court, particularly from the duchess of Suffolk, the countess of Hertford, and some other ladies. But he could draw nothing from her, save that one in livery had brought her some money, which he said came from two ladies in the court. But they resolved to extort further confessions from her; and therefore carrying her to the Tower, they caused her to be laid on the rack, and gave her a taste of it. Yet she confessed nothing. That she was racked is very certain, for I find it in an original journal of the transactions in the Tower, written by Anthony Anthony; but Fox adds a passage that seems scarce credible, the thing is so extraordinary and so unlike the character of the lord chancellor, who, though he was fiercely zealous for the old superstition, yet was otherwise a great person: it is, that he commanded the lieutenant of the Tower to stretch her more; but he refused to do it, and, being further pressed, told him plainly he would not do it. The other threatened him, but to no purpose; so the lord chancellor, throwing off his gown, drew the rack so severely, that he almost tore her body asunder: yet could draw nothing from her, for she endured it with unusual patience and courage. When the king heard this, he blamed the lord chancellor for his cruelty, and excused the lieutenant of the Tower. Fox does not vouch any warrant for this, so that, though I have set it down, yet I give no entire credit to it *: if it was true, it shows the strange influence of that religion, and that it corrupts the noblest natures; yet the poor gentlewoman's being racked wrought no pity in the king towards her, for he left her to be proceeded against according to the sentence. She was carried to the stake in Smithfield a little after that in a chair, not being able to stand through the torments of the rack. There were brought with her at the same time one Nicholas Belenian, a priest, John Adams, a tailor, and John Lassels, one of the king's servants (it is likely he was the same person that had discovered queen Catherine Howard's incontinency, for which all the popish party, to be sure, bore him no good-will). They were all convicted upon the statute of the Six Articles, for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. When they were brought thither, Shaxton, to complete his apostasy, made a sermon of the sacrament, and inveighed against their errors. That being ended, they were tied to the stake, and then the lord chancellor sent and offered them their pardon, which was ready passed under the seal, if they would recant. But they loved not their lives so well as to redeem them by the loss of a good conscience, and therefore encouraging one another to suffer patiently for the testimony of the truth: so they endured to the last, and were made sacrifices by fire unto God. There were also two in Suffolk, and one in Norfolk, burnt on the same account a little before this.

She endures the rack.

And is burnt with some others.

But that party at court, having incensed the king much against those heretics, resolved to drive it further, and to work the ruin both of the archbishop of Canterbury and of the queen; concluding that if these attempts were successful, they should carry everything else. They therefore renewed their complaints of the archbishop of Canterbury, and told the king, that though there were evident proofs ready to be brought against him, yet, because of his greatness, and the king's carriage upon the former complaints, none durst appear against him; but if he were once put in the Tower, that men might hope to be heard, they undertook to bring full and clear evidences of his being a heretic. So the king consented that he should be the next day called before the council, and sent to the Tower if they saw cause for it. And now they concluded him ruined: but in the night the king sent sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth, to bring the archbishop to speak with him; and when he came, the king told him what informations had been brought against him, and how far he had yielded to them that he should be sent to the Tower next day; and therefore desired to hear from himself what he had to say upon it. Cranmer thanked him that he had not left him in the dark, to be surprised in a matter that concerned him so nearly. He acknowledged the equity of the king's proceedings; and all that he desired was, that he

A new design against Cranmer.

* Fox sets down a confession of Anne Askew's, (perhaps Ascough was the right name, for so is the name of the family in Lincolnshire written) in which she herself relates this passage of the Lord Chancellor's racking her with his own hands; so there is no reason to question the truth of it; and Parsons, who detracts as much from Fox's credit as he can, does not question this particular.—FULLMAN'S CORRECT.

might be brought to make his answer: and that since he was to be questioned for some of his opinions, judges might be assigned who understood those matters. The king heard this with astonishment, wondering to see a man so little concerned in his own preservation; but pleasantly told him, "he was a fool that looked to his own safety so little. For did he think, that if he were once put in prison, abundance of false witnesses would not be suborned to ruin him; therefore, since he did not take care of himself, he would look to it." And so he ordered him to appear next day before the council, upon their summons; and when things were objected to him, to say, that since he was a privy councillor, he desired they would use him as they would look to be used in the like case: and therefore to move that his accusers might be brought face to face, and things be a little better considered before he was sent to the Tower. And if they refused to grant that, then he was to appeal personally to the king (who intended to be absent that day), and in token of it should show them the king's seal-ring which he wore on his finger, and was well known to them all. So the king, giving him his ring, sent him privately home again. Next morning, a messenger of the council came early, and summoned him to appear that day before the council. So he went over, but was long kept waiting in the lobby before he was called in. At this unusual sight many were astonished; but doctor Butts, the king's physician, that loved Cranmer, and presumed more on a diseased king than others durst do, went and told the king what a strange thing he had seen: "The primate of all England waiting at the council-door, among the footmen and servants." So the king sent them word that he should be presently brought in; which being done, they said, that there were many informations against him; that all the heresies that were in England came from him and his chaplains. To which he answered as the king had directed him; but they insisting on what was before projected, he said he was sorry to be thus used by those with whom he had sate so long at that board, so that he must appeal from them to the king; and with that took out the king's ring, and showed it. This put them in a wonderful confusion; but they all rose up and went to the king, who checked them severely for using the archbishop so unhandsomely. He said, "he thought he had a wiser council than now he found they were. He protested, by the faith he owed to God, laying his hand on his breast, that if a prince could be obliged by his subject, he was by the archbishop, and that he took him to be the most faithful subject he had, and the person to whom he was most beholden." The duke of Norfolk made a trifling excuse, and said, they meant no harm to the archbishop, but only to vindicate his innocency by such a trial, which would have freed him from the aspersions that were cast on him. But the king answered, he would not suffer men that were so dear to him to be handled in that fashion. He knew the factions that were among them, and the malice that some of them bore to others, which he would either extinguish or punish very speedily. So he commanded them all to be reconciled to Cranmer; which was done with the outward ceremony of taking him by the hand, and was most real on his part, though the other party did not so easily lay down the hatred they bore him. This I place at this time; though Parker, who related it, names no year nor time in which it was done; but he leads us very near it, by saying it was after the duke of Suffolk's death; and this being the only time after that, in which the king was in an ill humour against the reformers, I conclude it fell out at this time *.

The King's great care of him.

Antiq. Brit. in vita Cranmer.

That party finding that it was in vain to push at Cranmer any more did never again endeavour it; yet one design failing, they set on another against the queen. She was a great favourer of the reformers, and had frequently sermons in her privy-chamber by some of those preachers, which were not secretly carried, but became generally known; when it came to the king's ears he took no notice of it; and the queen carried herself, in all other things, not only with an exact conduct, but with that wonderful care about the king's person which became a wife that was raised by him to so great an honour, he was much taken with her, so that none durst adventure on making any com-

Another design against the Queen.

* The story concerning Cranmer must belong to the former year, for Butts, that bore a share in it, died on the 17th of November, 1545, as appears by the inscription on his tomb in Fulham Church, so this passage being after the Duke of Suffolk's death, which was in August that year, must be placed between August and November, 1545. —FULMAN'S CORRECT.



plaints against her. Yet the king's distempers increasing, and his peevishness growing with them, he became more uneasy, and whereas she had frequently used to talk to him of religion, and defend the opinions of the reformers, in which he would sometimes pleasantly maintain the argument; now becoming more and more impatient, he took it ill at her hands; and she had sometimes in the heat of discourse gone very far. So one night, after she had left him, the king being displeased vented it to the bishop of Winchester that stood by: and he craftily and maliciously struck in with the king's anger, and said all that he could devise against the queen, to drive his resentments higher; and took in the lord chancellor into the design, to assist him. They filled the king's head with many stories of the queen, and some of her ladies: and said, they had favoured Anne Askew, and had heretical books amongst them; and he persuaded the king that they were traitors as well as heretics. The matter went so far, that articles were drawn against her, which the king signed; for without that it was not safe for any to impeach the queen. But the lord chancellor putting up that paper carelessly it dropped from him; and being taken up by one of the queen's party was carried to her. Whether the king had really designed her ruin or not, is differently represented by the writers who lived near that time. But she seeing his hand to such a paper, had reason to conclude herself lost. Yet by advice of one of her friends, she went to see the king, who receiving her kindly, set on a discourse about religion. But she answered, that women, by their first creation, were made subject to men; and they being made after the image of God, as the women were after their image, ought to instruct their wives, who were to learn of them: and she much more was to be taught by his majesty, who was a prince of such excellent learning and wisdom. "Not so, by St. Mary," said the king, "you are become a doctor, able to instruct us, and not to be instructed by us." To which she answered, that it seemed he had much mistaken the freedom she had taken to argue with him, since she did it partly to engage him in discourse, and so put over the time, and make him forget his pain; and partly to receive instructions from him, by which she had profited much. "And is it even so?" said the king; "then we are friends again." So he embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with very tender assurances of his constant love to her. But the next day had been appointed for carrying her and some of her ladies to the Tower. The day being fair, the king went to take a little air in the garden, and sent for her to bear him company. As they were together, the lord chancellor came in, having about forty of the guard with him, to have arrested the queen. But the king stepped aside to him, and after a little discourse he was heard to call him knave, fool, and beast, and he bade him get out of his sight. The innocent queen, who understood not that her danger was so near, studied to mitigate the king's displeasure, and interceded for the lord chancellor. But the king told her, she had no reason to plead for him.

So this design miscarried, which as it absolutely disheartened the papists, so it did totally alienate the king from them; and in particular from the bishop of Winchester, whose sight he could never after this endure. But he made an humble submission to the king, which though it preserved him from further punishment, yet could not restore him to the king's favour. But the duke of Norfolk, and his son the earl of Surrey*, fell under a deeper misfortune. The duke of Norfolk had been long lord treasurer of England; he had done great services to the crown on many signal occasions, and success had always accompanied him. His son the earl of Surrey was also a brave and noble person, witty and learned to an high degree, but did not command armies with

The causes of the Duke of Norfolk's disgrace.

* The earl of Surrey was one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his time, and the specimens we possess of his poetical genius give him a high rank among our English bards. "Surrey," says Mr. Warton, "for his justness of thought, correctness of style, and purity of expression, may justly be pronounced the first English classical poet. He unquestionably is the first polite writer of love verses in the language." He was possessed of considerable military skill, though one unfortunate reverse drew on him the personal dislike of the irascible Henry; and in romantic chivalry he emulated the most renowned of the champions of old. He was bred up with Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, the natural son of Henry VIII., and the warmest friendship subsisted between them. Their union was rendered closer by the marriage of Richmond with Surrey's sister, but was early terminated by the duke's death when only seventeen.—In 1536, he is said to have made a tour on the continent, and to have maintained in arms at Florence the superior beauty of that fair Geraldine he celebrates in his verses, and whom some suppose he first met there, while others imagine that he had known her from his childhood, that is, if the conjecture of Horace Walpole, that she was the daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, be correct.

such success. He was much provoked at the earl of Hertford's being sent over to France in his room, and upon that had said, "That within a little while they should smart for it;" with some other expressions that savoured of revenge, and a dislike of the king, and a hatred of the counsellors. The duke of Norfolk had endeavoured to ally himself to the earl of Hertford, and to his brother sir Thomas Seymour, perceiving how much they were in the king's favour, and how great an interest they were like to have under the succeeding prince. And therefore would have engaged his son, being then a widower, to marry that earl's daughter; and pressed his daughter, the duchess of Richmond, widow to the king's natural son, to marry sir Thomas Seymour. But though the earl of Surrey advised his sister to the marriage projected to her, yet he would not consent to that designed for himself, nor did the proposition about his sister take effect. The Seymours could not but see the enmity the earl of Surrey bore them, and they might well be jealous of the greatness of that family; which was not only too big for a subject of itself, but was raised so high by the dependence of the whole popish party, both at home and abroad, that they were like to be very dangerous competitors for the chief government of affairs, if the king were once out of the way; whose disease was now growing so fast upon him, that he could not live many weeks. Nor is it unlikely that they persuaded the king, that if the earl of Surrey should marry the lady Mary, it might embroil his son's government, and perhaps ruin him. And it was suggested, that he had some such high project in his thoughts, both by his continuing unmarried*, and by his using the arms of Edward the Confessor, which of late he had given in his coat without a diminution. But to complete the duke of Norfolk's ruin, his duchess, who had complained of his using her ill, and had been separated from him about four years, turned informer against him. His son and daughter were also in ill terms together. So the sister informed all that she could against her brother. And one Mrs. Holland, for whom the duke was believed to have an unlawful affection, discovered all she knew; but all amounted to no more than some passionate expressions of the son, and some complaints of the father, who thought he was not beloved by the king and his councillors, and that he was ill-used in not being trusted with the secret of affairs. And all persons being encouraged to bring informations against them, sir Richard Southwell charged the earl of Surrey in some points that were of a higher nature, which the earl denied, and desired to be admitted, according to the martial law, to fight in his shirt with Southwell. But that not being granted, he and his father were committed to the Tower. That which was most insisted on, was their giving the arms of Edward the Confessor, which were only to be given by the kings of England. This the earl of Surrey justified, and said, they gave their arms according to the opinion of the king's heralds. But all excuses availing nothing, for his father and he were designed to be destroyed, upon reasons of state, for which some colours were to be found out.

Doubts have been entertained whether this romantic journey ever took place, since he was a married man at the time assigned to it, and Elizabeth Fitzgerald (the fair Geraldine) was then only twelve years old. These apparent difficulties seem to us rather to confirm the story than to render it doubtful, and afford a very satisfactory reason why his romantic adoration was not rewarded by the hand of the fair object, a circumstance that excited Mr. Warton's wonder. Surrey, although married, was still a young and ardent cavalier, filled with the spirit of chivalry which was then fast declining. Every gallant knight, married or unmarried, delighted to celebrate the charms of some chosen fair, but we never heard of a husband celebrating his wife's charms by his prowess, although it was frequent to pay this homage to the wives of others, and this without the supposition of any impropriety or exciting any jealousy in the husband. Surrey being desirous of displaying his valour and skill in arms, and being but newly married, chose, with a delicacy that peculiarly marked his character, a young girl of twelve years old for his chivalric mistress, to avoid exciting any fears of rivalry in the bosom of his wife. He addressed his verses to a creation of his fancy, and it is worthy of remark that some of those sonnets usually attributed to the inspiration of Geraldine, are equally applicable to his wife, especially one in which allusion is made to his "little son" who was born in 1536, probably during his father's absence.

Surrey, who had obtained considerable reputation as a military commander, and had been created a knight of the Garter, was made governor of Boulogne after the siege in 1544. Sometime afterwards he made an attack on a French convoy, but was repulsed with loss, and this affair so enraged Henry, that, although he repaired the disaster by a very successful rencounter with a superior body of the enemy, the king never restored him to favour, but taking advantage of a pretence that his presence was necessary before the council, to explain in person some alterations he had recommended in the defences of the town, he sent over the Earl of Hertford to supersede him. The rest of his story is related in the text.

Surrey is said to have been only twenty-seven at the time of his death, but as his birth cannot be fixed with more precision than as having taken place between 1515 and 1520, his exact age is left uncertain.—ED.

* The earl of Surrey continued not long a widower, for his youngest son, afterwards earl of Northampton, is said to have been at nurse at his father's death.—FULLMAN'S CORRECT.




HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY.

OB 1547

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORFOLK

The earl of Surrey being but a commoner, was brought to his trial at Guildhall; and put upon an inquest of commoners consisting of nine knights and three esquires, by whom he was found guilty of high treason, and had sentence of death passed upon him, which was executed on the 19th of January at Tower-hill. It was generally condemned as an act of high injustice and severity, which loaded the Seymours with a popular odium that they could never overcome. He was much pitied, being a man of great parts and high courage, with many other noble qualities.

1547.

The Earl of Surrey executed.

But the king, who never hated nor ruined anybody by halves, resolved to complete the misfortunes of that family, by the attainder of the father. And as all his eminent services were now forgotten, so the submissions he made could not allay a displeasure that was only to be satisfied with his life and fortune. He wrote to the king, protesting his innocency; "That he had never a thought to his prejudice, and could not imagine what could be laid to his charge: he had spent his whole life in his service, and did not know that ever he had offended any person; or that any were displeased with him, except for prosecuting the breakers of an act about the sacrament of the altar. But in that, and in everything else, as he had been always obedient to the king's laws, so he was resolved still to obey any laws he should make. He desired he might be examined with his accusers face to face, before the king, or at least before his council; and if it did not appear that he was wrongfully accused, let him be punished as he deserved. In conclusion, he begged the king would have pity on him, and restore him to his favour, taking all his lands or goods from him, or as much of them as he pleased." Yet all this had no effect on the king. So he was desired to make a more formal submission; which he did on the 12th of January under his hand, ten privy councillors being witnesses. In it he confessed, "First, his discovering the secret of the king's council. Secondly, his concealing his son's treason in using to give the arms of St. Edward the Confessor, which did only belong to the king, and to which his son had no right. Thirdly, that he had ever since his father's death borne in the first quarter of his arms the arms of England, with a difference of the labels of silver, that are the proper arms of the prince, which was done in prejudice of the king and the prince, and gave occasion for disturbing or interrupting the succession to the crown of the realm. This he acknowledged was high treason; he confessed he deserved to be attainted of high treason, and humbly begged the king's mercy and compassion." He yielded to all this, hoping by such a submission and compliance to have overcome the king's displeasure, but his expectations failed him.

The Duke's submission to the King.

A parliament was called, the reason whereof was pretended to be the coronation of the prince of Wales. But it was thought the true cause of calling it was to attaint the duke of Norfolk; for which they had not colour enough to do it in a trial by his peers. Therefore an attainder by act of parliament was thought the better way: so it was moved, that the king intending to crown his son, prince of Wales, desired they would go on with all possible haste in the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, that so those places which he held by patent might be disposed of by the king to such as he thought fit, who should assist at the coronation. And upon this slight pretence, since a better could not be found, the bill of attainder was read the first time on the 18th of January; and on the 19th and 20th it was read the second and third time: and so passed in the house of lords; and was sent down to the commons,—who on the 24th sent it up also passed. On the 27th the lords were ordered to be in their robes, that the royal assent might be given to it; which the lord chancellor, with some others joined in commission, did give by virtue of the king's letters patent. And it had been executed the next morning, if the king's death had not prevented it. Upon what grounds this attainder was founded I can only give this account from the thirty-fourth act of the first parliament of queen Mary, in which this act is declared null and void by the common law of the land; for I cannot find the act itself upon record. In the act of repeal it is said, "That there was no special matter in the act of attainder, but only general words of treasons and conspiracies; and that out of their care of the preservation of the king and the prince, they passed it. But the act of repeal says also, that the only thing with which he was charged was, for bearing of arms, which he and his ancestors had borne both within and without the kingdom:

The Parliament meets.

The Duke of Norfolk attainted.

both in the king's presence, and in the sight of his progenitors; which they might lawfully bear and give, as by good and substantial matter of record it did appear. It is also added, that the king died after the date of the commission; that the king only empowered them to give his assent, but did not give it himself; and that it did not appear by any record that they gave it. That the king did not sign the commission with his own hand, his stamp being only set to it,—and that not to the upper, but the nether part of it, contrary to the king's custom." All these particulars, though cleared afterwards, I mention now, because they give light to this matter.

His death prevented by the King's.

As soon as the act was passed, a warrant was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower to cut off his head the next morning; but the king dying in the night, the lieutenant could do nothing on that warrant. And it seems it was not thought advisable to begin the new king's reign with such an odious execution: and thus the duke of Norfolk escaped very narrowly. Both parties descanted on this differently. The conscientious papists said it was God's just judgment on him (who had in all things followed the king's pleasure, oftentimes against his own conscience); that he should smart under that power which himself had helped so considerably to make it be raised so high. The protestants could not but observe a hand of God in measuring out such a hard measure to him, that was so heavy on all those poor people that were questioned for heresy. But Cranmer's carriage in this matter was suitable to the other parts of his life, for he withdrew to Croydon, and would not so much as be present in parliament when so unjust an act was passed; and his absence at this time was the more considerable, since the king was so dangerously ill that it must be concluded it could be no slight cause that made him withdraw at such a time. But the duke of Norfolk had been his constant enemy, therefore he would not so much as be near the public councils, when so strange an act was passing. But at the same time the bishop of Winchester was officiously hanging on in the court; and though he was forbid to come to council, yet always when the councillors went into the king's bedchamber, he went with them to the door, to make the world believe he was still one of the number, and staying at the door till the rest came out, he returned with them. But he was absolutely lost in the king's opinion.

Fox.

The Emperor's designs against the Protestants.

There is but one other step of foreign business in this reign, which was an embassy sent over by the duke of Saxony, to let the king know of the league between the pope and the emperor for the extirpation of heresy,—and that the emperor was making war on him, and the other princes, in pursuance of that league; therefore he desired the king's assistance. But at the same time, the emperor did by his agents everywhere disown that the war was made upon a religious account; and said it was only to maintain the rights of the empire, which those princes had affronted. So the king answered, that as soon as it did appear to him that religion was the cause of the war, he would assist them. But that which made this so involved was, that though at Rome the pope declared it was a holy war, and ordered prayers and processions to be made for success; yet the emperor in all his declarations took no notice of religion. He had also divided the protestant party, so that some of them joined with him, and others were neutrals. And when in Germany itself this matter was so little understood, it was easy to abuse strangers by giving them a wrong account of it.

The King's sickness.

The king was now overgrown with corpulency and fatness, so that he became more and more unwieldy. He could not go up or down stairs, but as he was raised up, or let down by an engine; and an old sore in his leg became very uneasy to him; so that all the humours in his body sinking down into his leg, he was much pained, and became exceeding froward and intractable, to which his inexcusable severity to the duke of Norfolk and his son may be in a great measure imputed. His servants durst scarce speak to him to put him in mind of his approaching end: and an act of parliament which was made for the security of the king's life, had some words in it against the foretelling of his death; which made every one afraid to speak to him of it, lest he in his angry and imperious humours should have ordered them to be indicted upon that statute. But he felt nature declining apace, and so made the will that he had left behind him at his last going into France, be written over again; with this only difference, that Gardiner bishop of Winchester,



SIR WILLIAM MAITLAND.

OF LETHINGTON

OB. 1573

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE

whom he had appointed one of the executors of his will, and of the councillors to his son, till he came of age, was now left out: of which, when sir Anthony Brown put the king in mind, apprehending it was only an omission, he answered, "That he knew Gardiner's temper well enough, and though he could govern him, yet none of them would be able to do it; and that he would give them much trouble." And when Brown at another time repeated the motion to the king, he told him, if he spake more of that he would strike him out of his will too. The will was said to be signed the 30th of December. It is printed at large by Fuller; and the most material parts of it by Heylin. So I need say little of it, only the most signal clause in it was, that he excluded the line of Scotland out of the succession, and preferred the two daughters of the French queen by Charles Brandon to them: and this leads me to discover several things concerning this will, which have been hitherto unknown. I draw them from a letter written to sir William Cecil, then secretary of state to queen Elizabeth, (afterwards lord Burleigh,) by William Maitland of Leithingtoun, secretary of state to the queen of Scotland. This Maitland was accounted a man of the greatest parts of any in his nation at that time; though his treachery in turning over to the party that was against the queen very much blemished his other qualities: but he expiated his fault by a real repentance; which appeared in his returning to his duty, and losing all afterwards in her quarrel. His letter will be found in the collection. The substance and design of it is, to clear the right his mistress had to the crown of England, in case the queen should die without heirs of her body. Therein after he had answered other objections, he comes to this of the will. To it he says, "That according to the act of parliament, the king's will was to be signed with his own hand; but this will was only signed by the stamp. Then the king never ordered the stamp to be put to it: he had been oft desired to sign it, but had always put it off; but when they saw his death approaching, one William Clark servant to Thomas Hennage put the stamp to it, and some gentlemen that were waiting without, were called in to sign it as a witness. For this he appealed to the deposition of the lord Paget, and desired the marquis of Winchester, and Northampton, the earl of Pembroke, sir William Petre, sir Henry Nevil, sir Maurice Berkeley, sir Anthony Denny, doctor Rutts, and some others, might be examined; and that their depositions might be entered in the chancery. He also appealed to the original will, by which it would appear, that it was not signed but only stamped; and that not being according to the act of parliament, which in such extraordinary things must be taken, the will was of no force." Thus it appears what vulgar errors pass upon the world: and though for seventy-five years the Scottish race has enjoyed the crown of England, and after so long a possession it is very superfluous to clear a title which is universally acknowledged; yet the reader will not be ill pleased to see how ill-grounded that pretence was, which some managed very seditiously during the reign of queen Elizabeth, for excluding that line.

Collect. Numb. 30.

His latter will a forgery.

But if this will was not signed by the king, other grants were certainly made by him on his death-bed: one was to the city of London of 500 marks a year, for endowing an hospital which was called Christ's hospital; and he ordered the church of the Franciscans a little within Newgate to be opened, which he gave to the hospital. This was done on the 3d of January. Another was of Trinity College in Cambridge, one of the noblest foundations in Christendom. He continued in a decay till the 27th of the month; and then many signs of his approaching end appearing, few would adventure on so unwelcome a thing as to put him in mind of his change then imminent: but sir Anthony Denny had the honesty and courage to do it, and desired him to prepare for death, and remember his former life, and to call on God for mercy through Jesus Christ. Upon which the king expressed his grief for the sins of his past life, yet he said he trusted in the mercies of Christ, which were greater than they were. Then Denny asked him if any churchman should be sent for; and he said if any it should be archbishop Cranmer: and after he had rested a little, finding his spirits decay apace, he ordered him to be sent for to Croydon, where he was then. But before he could come the king was speechless: so Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ, upon which he squeezed his hand, and soon after died; after he had reigned thirty-seven years and nine months, in the six-and fiftieth year of his age. His death was kept up three days, for the journals of the house of lords show, that they continued reading

bills and going on in business till the 31st, and no sooner did the lord chancellor signify to them that the king was dead, and that the parliament was thereby dissolved. It is certain the parliament had no being after the king's breath was out; so their sitting till the 31st shows that the king's death was not generally known all those three days. The reasons of concealing it so long might either be, that they were considering what to do with the duke of Norfolk, or that the Seymours were laying their matters so as to be secure in the government before they published the king's death. I shall not adventure on adding any further character of him to that which is done with so much wit and judgment by the lord Herbert, but shall refer the reader wholly to him; only adding an account of the blackest part of it, the attainders that passed the last thirteen years of his life: which are comprehended within this book, of which I have cast over the relation to the conclusion of it.

An account of the King's severities against the Popish Party.

In the latter part of his reign there were many things that seem great severities, especially as they are represented by the writers of the Roman party, whose relations are not a little strengthened by the faint excuses and the mistaken accounts that most of the Protestant historians have made. The king was naturally impetuous and could not bear provocation; the times were very ticklish; his subjects were generally addicted to the old superstition, especially in the northern parts; the monks and friars were both numerous and wealthy; the pope was his implacable enemy, the emperor was a formidable prince, and being then master of the Netherlands had many advantages for the war he designed against England. Cardinal Pole, his kinsman, was going over all the courts of Christendom, to persuade a league against England, as being a thing of greater necessity and merit than a war against the Turk. This being without the least aggravation the state of affairs at that time, it must be confessed that he was sore put to it. A superstition that was so blind and headstrong, and enemies that were both so powerful, so spiteful, and so industrious, made rigour necessary; nor is any general of an army more concerned to deal severely with spies and intelligencers, than he was to proceed against all the pope's adherents, or such as kept correspondence with Pole. He had observed in history, that upon much less provocation than himself had given not only several emperors and foreign princes had been dispossessed of their dominions, but two of his own ancestors Henry II. and King John had been driven to great extremities, and forced to unusual and most indecent submissions by the means of the popes and their clergy.

The pope's power over the clergy was so absolute, and their dependence and obedience to him was so implicit, and the popish clergy had so great an interest in the superstitious multitude, whose consciences they governed, that nothing but a stronger passion could either tame the clergy or quiet the people. If there had been the least hope of impunity, the last part of his reign would have been one continued rebellion; therefore to prevent a more profuse effusion of blood it seemed necessary to execute laws severely in some particular instances.

There is one calumny that runs in a thread through all the historians of the popish side, which not a few of our own have ignorantly taken up, that many were put to death for not swearing the king's supremacy. It is an impudent falsehood, for not so much as one person suffered on that account; nor was there any law for any such oath before the parliament in the twenty-eighth year of the king's reign, when the unsufferable bull of pope Paul III. engaged him to look a little more to his own safety. Then indeed in the oath for maintaining the succession of the crown, the subjects were required, under the pains of treason, to swear that the king was supreme head of the church of England, but that was not mentioned in the former oath that was made in the twenty-fifth and enacted in the twenty-sixth year of his reign. It cannot but be confessed, that to enact under pain of death that none should deny the king's titles, and to proceed upon that against offenders, is a very different thing from forcing them to swear the king to be the supreme head of the church.

Some Carthusians executed for denying the King's supremacy.

The first instance of these capital proceedings was in Easter Term, in the beginning of the twenty-seventh year of his reign. Three priors and a monk of the Carthusian order, were then indicted of treason, for saying that the king was not supreme head under Christ of the church of England. These were John Houghton prior of the Charter-house near London, Augustin Webster prior of Axholme, Robert Laurence prior of Bevoll, and Richard Reynolds a monk of Sion: this last was



esteemed a learned man for that time and that order. They were tried in Westminster-hall by a commission of Oyer and Terminer; they pleaded not guilty, but the jury found them guilty, and judgment was given that they should suffer as traitors. The record mentions no other particulars; but the writers of the popish side make a splendid recital of the courage and constancy they expressed both in their trial and at their death. It was no difficult thing for men so used to the legend, and the making of fine stories for the saints and martyrs of their orders, to dress up such narratives with much pomp; but as their pleading not guilty to the indictment shows no extraordinary resolution, so the account that is given by them of one Hall, a secular priest that died with them, is so false, that there is good reason to suspect all. He is said to have suffered on the same account, but the record of his attainder gives a very different relation of it.

And Hall a Priest for conspiring against the King.

He and Robert Feron were indicted at the same time "for having said many spiteful and treasonable things, as that the king was a tyrant, an heretic, a robber, and an adulterer; that they hoped he should die such a death as king John, and Richard III. died; that they looked when those in Ireland and Wales should invade England, and they were assured that three parts of four in England would be against the king; they also said that they should never live merrily till the king and the rulers were plucked by the pates and brought to the pot, and that it would never be well with the church till that was done." Hall had not only said this, but had also written it to Feron the 10th of March that year. When they were brought to the bar, they at first pleaded not guilty; but full proof being brought, they themselves confessed the indictment before the jury went aside, and put themselves on the king's mercy; upon which, this being an imagining and contriving both war against the king, and the king's death, judgment was given as in cases of treason; but no mention being made of Feron's death, it seems he had his pardon. Hall suffered with the four Carthusians, who were hanged in their habits.

Three other Monks executed.

They proceeded no further in Easter-term; but in Trinity-term there was another commission of Oyer and Terminer, by which Humphrey Middlemore, William Exmew, and Sebastian Nudigate, three monks of the Charter-house near London, were indicted of treason, for having said on the 25th of May, "that they neither could nor would consent to be obedient to the king's highness, as true, lawful, and obedient subjects, to take him to be supreme head on earth of the church of England." They all pleaded not guilty, but were found guilty by the jury; and judgment was given. When they were condemned, they desired that they might receive the body of Christ before their death. But (as Judge Spelman writ) the court would not grant it, since that was never done in such cases, but by order from the king. Two days after that they were executed. Two other monks of that same order, John Rochester and James Wolver, suffered on the same account at York, in May this year. Ten other Carthusian monks were shut up within their cells, where nine of them died: the tenth was hanged in the beginning of August. Concerning those persons, I find this said in some original letters, that they had brought over into England, and vended in it, some books that were written beyond sea, against the king's marriage, and his other proceedings, which being found in their house, they were pressed to peruse the books that were written for the king, but obstinately refused to do it; they had also been involved in the business of the Maid of Kent; for which, though all the accomplices in it, except those who suffered for it, were pardoned by act of parliament, yet such as had been concerned in it were still under jealousy, and it is no wonder that upon new provocations they met with the uttermost rigour of the law.

Fisher's Trial and Death.

These trials made way for two others that were more signal: of the bishop of Rochester and sir Thomas More. The first of these had been a prisoner above a year, and was very severely used; he complained in his letters to Cromwell that he had neither clothes nor fire, being then about fourscore. This was understood at Rome; and upon it pope Clement, by an officious kindness to him, or rather in spite to king Henry, declared him a cardinal, and sent him a red hat. When the king knew this, he sent to examine him about it; but he protested he had used no endeavours to procure it, and valued it so little, that if the hat were lying at his feet, he would not take it up. It never came nearer him than Picardy: yet this did precipitate his ruin; but if he had kept his

opinion of the king's supremacy to himself, they could not have proceeded further. He would not do that, but did upon several occasions speak against it; so he was brought to his trial on the 17th of June. The lord chancellor, the duke of Suffolk, and some other lords, together with the judges, sate upon him by a commission of oyer and terminer. He pleaded not guilty; but being found guilty, judgment was passed on him to die as a traitor; but he was by a warrant from the king beheaded. Upon the 22nd of June, being the day of his execution, he dressed himself with more than ordinary care; and when his man took notice of it, he told him he was to be that day a bridegroom. As he was led to the place of execution, being stopped in the way by the crowd, he opened his New Testament, and prayed to this purpose; that as that book had been his companion and chief comfort in his imprisonment, so then some place might turn up to him that might comfort him in his last passage. This being said, he opened the book at a venture, in which these words of St. John's Gospel turned up: "This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent." So he shut the book with much satisfaction, and all the way was repeating and meditating on them. When he came to the scaffold he pronounced the "Te Deum;" and after some other devotions, his head was cut off.

His Character.

Thus died John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, in the 80th year of his age. He was a learned and devout man, but much addicted to the superstitions in which he had been bred up, and that led him to great severities against all that opposed them. He had been for many years confessor to the king's grandmother, the countess of Richmond; and it was believed that he persuaded her to those noble designs for the advancement of learning, of founding two colleges in Cambridge, St. John's and Christ's college, and divinity professors in both universities. And in acknowledgment of this, he was chosen chancellor of the university of Cambridge. Henry VII. gave him the bishopric of Rochester, which he, following the rule of the primitive church, would never change for a better: he used to say his church was his wife, and he would never part with her, because she was poor. He continued in great favour with the king till the business of the divorce, was set on foot; and then he adhered so firmly to the queen's cause and the pope's supremacy that he was carried by that headlong into great errors, as appears by the business of the Maid of Kent. Many thought the king ought to have proceeded against him rather upon that, which was a point of state, than upon the supremacy, which was matter of conscience. But the king was resolved to let all his subjects see there was no mercy to be expected by any that denied his being supreme head of the church, and therefore made him and More two examples for terrifying the rest. This being much censured beyond sea, Gardiner, that was never wanting in the most servile compliances, wrote a vindication of the king's proceedings. The lord Herbert had it in his hands, and tells us it was written in elegant Latin, but that he thought it too long, and others judged it was too vehement, to be inserted in his history.

More's Trial and Death

On the 1st of July, sir Thomas More was brought to his trial. The special matter in his indictment is, that on the 7th of May preceding, before Cromwell, Bedyll, and some others that were pressing him concerning the king's supremacy, he said he would not meddle with any such matter, and was fully resolved to serve God, and think upon his passion, and his own passage out of this world. He had also sent divers messages by one George Gold to Fisher, to encourage him in his obstinacy; and said, "The act of parliament is like a sword with two edges, for if a man answer one way, it will confound his soul, and if he answer another way, it will confound his body." He had said the same thing on the 3rd of June, in the hearing of the lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, and others; and that he would not be the occasion of the shortening his own life. And when Rich, the king's solicitor, came to deal with him further about it, but protested that he came not with any authority to examine him, they discoursed the matter fully; Rich pressed him, "that since the parliament had enacted that the king was supreme head, the subjects ought to agree to it; and said Rich, what if the parliament should declare me king, would you not acknowledge me? I would, said More, *Quia* (as it is in the indictment) *Rex per Parliamentum fieri potest, et per Parliamentum deprivari;* but More turned the argument on Rich, and said, what if the parliament made an act that God was not God? Rich acknowledged



it could not bind: but replied to More, that since he would acknowledge him king, if he were made so by act of parliament, why would he not acknowledge the king supreme head, since it was enacted by parliament. To that More answered, that the parliament had power to make a king, and the people were bound to acknowledge him, whom they made; but for the supremacy, though the parliament had enacted it, yet those in foreign parts had never assented to it." This was carried by Rich to the king, and all these particulars were laid together, and judged to amount to a denial of the supremacy. Judge Spelman writ, that More being on his trial, pleaded strongly against the statute that made it treason to deny the supremacy, and argued that the king could not be supreme head of the church: when he was brought to the bar, he pleaded not guilty, but being found guilty, judgment was given against him as a traitor. He received it with that equal temper of mind, which he had showed in both conditions of life, and then set himself wholly to prepare for death; he expressed great contempt of the world, and that he was weary of life, and longed for death; which was so little terrible to him, that his ordinary facetiousness remained with him even on the scaffold. It was censured by many as light and undecent; but others said, that way having been so natural to him on all other occasions, it was not at all affected; but showed that death did no way discompose him, and could not so much as put him out of his ordinary humour. Yet his rallying everything on the scaffold, was thought to have more of the Stoic than the Christian in it. After some time spent in secret devotions, he was beheaded on the 6th of July.

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But there is one thing unjustly added to the praise of these two great men, or rather feigned, on design to lessen the king's honour; that Fisher and he penned the book which the king wrote against Luther. This Sanders first published, and Bellarmin and others since have taken it up upon his authority. Strangers may be pardoned such errors, but they are inexcusable in an Englishman. For in More's printed works there is a letter written by him out of the Tower to Cromwell, in which he gives an account of his behaviour concerning the king's divorce and supremacy: among other particulars one is, "that when the king showed him his book against Luther, in which he had asserted the pope's primacy to be of divine right, More desired him to leave it out; since as there had been many contests between popes and other princes, so there might fall in some between the pope and the king; therefore he thought it was not fit for the king to publish anything which might be afterwards made use of against himself: and advised him either to leave out that point, or

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to touch it very tenderly; but the king would not follow his counsel, being perhaps so fond of what he had writ, that he would rather run himself upon a great inconvenience, than leave out anything that he fancied so well written." This shows that More knew that book was written by the king's own pen *; and either Sanders never read this, or maliciously concealed it, lest it should discover his foul dealing.

These executions so terrified all people, that there were no further provocations given; and all persons either took the oaths, or did so dexterously conceal their opinions, that till the rebellions of Lincolnshire, and the north, broke out, none suffered after this upon a public account. But when these were quieted, then the king resolved to make the chief authors and leaders of those commotions public examples to the rest. The duke of Norfolk proceeded against many of them by martial law; there were also trials at common law of a great many more that were taken prisoners, and sent up to London. The lords Darcy and Hussey were tried by their peers, the marquis of Exeter sitting steward. And a commission of oyer and terminer being issued out for the trial of the rest, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer and his lady, Sir Francis Pigot, Sir Stephen Hamilton, and Sir Thomas Piercy, and Ask, that had been their captain; with the abbots of Whalley, Jerveux, Bridlington, Lenton, Woburn, and Kingstead, and Mackrall the monk, that first raised the Lincolnshire rebellion, with sixteen more, were indicted of high treason, for the late rebellions. And after all the steps of the rebellion were reckoned up, it is added in the indictment, that they had met together on the 17th of January, and consulted how to renew it, and prosecute it further, being encouraged by the new risings that were then in the north; by which they had forfeited all the favour, to which they could have pretended, by virtue of the indemnity that was granted in the end of December, and of the pardons which they had taken out. They were all found guilty, and had judgment as in cases of treason; divers of them were carried down into Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and executed in the places where their treasons were committed; but most of them suffered at London, and among others the lady Bulmer, (whom others† call Sir John Bulmer's harlot) was burnt for it in Smithfield.

Attainders after the Rebellion was quieted.

The only censure that passed on this was, that advantages were taken on too slight grounds to break the king's indemnity and pardon; since it does not appear that after their pardon they did anything more than meet and consult. But the kingdom was so shaken with that rebellion, that if it had not been for the great conduct of the duke of Norfolk, the king had by all appearance lost his crown. And it will not seem strange that a king, (especially so tempered as this was,) had a mind to strike terror into the rest of his subjects, by some signal examples, and to put out of the way the chief leaders of that design: nor was it to be wondered at, that the abbots and other clergymen who had been so active in that commotion, were severely handled. It was by their means that the discontents were chiefly fomented; they had taken all the oaths that were enjoined them, and yet continued to be still practising against the state; which, as it was highly contrary to the peaceable doctrines of the Christian religion, so it was in a special manner contrary to the rules which they professed; that obliged them to forsake the world, and to follow a religious and spiritual course of life.

Censures past upon it.

The next example of justice was a year after this, of one Forrest, an Observant friar. He had been, as Sanders says, confessor to queen Katharine, but it seems departed from her interests; for he insinuated himself so into the king, that he recovered his good opinion. Being an ignorant and lewd man, he was accounted by the better sort of that house to which he belonged, in Greenwich, a reproach to their order. (Concerning this, I have seen a large account in an original letter, written by a brother of the same house.) Having regained the king's good opinion, he put all those who had favoured the divorce under great fears, for he proceeded cruelly against them. And one Rainscroft, being suspected to have given secret intelligence of what was done among them, was shut up, and so hardly used that he died in their hands, which was (as that letter relates) done by friar Forrest's means. This friar was found to have denied the king's

Forrest's equivocation and heresy.

* But see the note above, page 24, where, upon the authority of sir Thomas More himself, it appears that it was the work of others, and that, at the utmost, the king only superintended its execution.—Ed. † Hall.



supremacy; for, though he himself had sworn it, yet he had infused it into many in confession, that the king was not the supreme head of the church. Being questioned for these practices, which were so contrary to the oath that he had taken, he answered, "that he took that oath with his outward man, but his inward man had never consented to it."—(Hall.) Being brought to his trial, and accused of several heretical opinions that he held, he submitted himself to the church. Upon this he had more freedom allowed him in the prison; but some coming to him, diverted him from the submission he had offered; so that when the paper of abjuration was brought him, he refused to set his hand to it: upon which he was judged an obstinate heretic. The records of these proceedings are lost; but the books of that time say, that he denied the gospel: it is like it was upon that pretence, that without the determination of the church it had no authority, upon which several writers of the Roman communion have said undecent and scandalous things of the Holy Scriptures. He was brought to Smithfield, where were present the lords of the council, to offer him his pardon if he would abjure. Latimer made a sermon against his errors, and studied to persuade him to recant; but he continued in his former opinions, so he was put to death in a most severe manner. He was hanged in a chain about his middle, and the great image that was brought out of Wales was broken to pieces, and served for fuel to burn him. He showed great unquietness of mind, and ended his life in an ungodly manner, as Hall says, who adds this character of him: "that he had little knowledge of God and his sincere truth, and less trust in him at his ending."

In winter that year a correspondence was discovered with cardinal Pole, who was barefaced in his treasonable designs against the king. His brother, sir Geoffrey Pole, discovered the whole plot. For which the marquis of Exeter, (that was the king's cousin-german by his mother, who was Edward IV.'s daughter,) the lord Montacute, the cardinal's brother, sir Geoffrey Pole, and sir Edward Nevill, were sent to the Tower in the beginning of November. They were accused for having maintained a correspondence with the cardinal, and for expressing a hatred of the king, with a dislike of his proceedings, and a readiness to rise upon any good opportunity that might offer itself.

The proceedings against Cardinal Pole's friends.

The special matter brought against the lord Montacute, and the marquis of Exeter, who were tried by their peers on the 2nd and 3rd of December, in the thirtieth year of this reign, is, "that whereas Cardinal Pole, and others, had cast off their allegiance to the king, and gone and submitted themselves to the pope, the king's mortal enemy, the lord Montacute did, on the 24th of July, in the twenty-eighth year of the king's reign, a few months before the rebellion broke out, say that he liked well the proceedings of his brother the cardinal, but did not like the proceedings of the realm; and said, I trust to see a change of this world; I trust to have a fair day upon those knaves that rule about the king; and I trust to see a merry world one day." Words to the same purpose were also charged on the marquis. The lord Montacute further said, "I would I were over the sea with my brother, for this world will one day come to stripes: it must needs so come to pass, and I fear we shall lack nothing so much as honest men." He also said, "he had dreamed that the king was dead, and though he was not yet dead, he would die suddenly; one day his leg will kill him, and then we shall have jolly stirring; saying also, that he never had loved him from his childhood, and that cardinal Wolsey would have been an honest man, if he had had an honest master." And the king having said to the lords he would leave them one day, having some apprehensions he might shortly die, that lord said, "if he will serve us so, we shall be happily rid; a time will come, I fear, we shall not tarry the time, we shall do well enough." He had also said, "he was sorry the lord Abergaveny was dead, for he could have made ten thousand men; and for his part he would go and live in the west, where the marquis of Exeter was strong;" and had also said, upon the breaking of the northern rebellion, "that the lord Darcy played the fool, for he went to pluck away the council, but he should have begun with the head first, but I beshrew him for leaving off so soon." These were the words charged on those lords, as clear discoveries of their treasonable designs; and that they knew of the rebellion that brake out, and only intended to have kept it off to a fitter opportunity. They were also accused of correspondence with cardinal Pole, that was

the king's declared enemy. Upon these points the lords pleaded not guilty, but were found guilty by their peers, and so judgment was given.

On the 4th of December were indicted sir Geoffrey Pole, for holding correspondence with his brother the cardinal, and saying that he approved of his proceedings, but not of the king's; sir Edward Nevill, brother to the lord Abergaveny, for saying the king was a beast, and worse than a beast; George Crofts, chancellor of the cathedral of Chichester, for saying the king was not, but the pope was, supreme head of the church; and John Collins, for saying, the king would hang in hell one day for the plucking down of abbeys. All those, sir Edward Nevill only excepted, pleaded guilty, and so they were condemned; but sir Geoffrey Pole was the only person of the number that was not executed, for he had discovered the matter. At the same time also, cardinal Pole, Michael Throgmorton, gentleman, John Hilliard and Thomas Goldwell, clerks, and William Peyto,* a Franciscan of the Observance, were attainted in absence; because they had cast off their duty to the king, and had subjected themselves to the bishop of Rome, Pole being made cardinal by him; and for writing treasonable letters, and sending them into England. On the 4th of February following, sir Nicholas Carew,† that was both master of the horse and knight of the garter, was arraigned for being an adherent to the marquis of Exeter, and having spoken of his attainder as unjust and cruel, he was also attainted and executed upon the 3d of March. When he was brought to the scaffold, he openly acknowledged the errors and superstition in which he had formerly lived; and blessed God for his imprisonment; "for he then began to relish the life and sweetness of God's holy word, which was brought him by his keeper, one Phillips, who followed the Reformation, and had formerly suffered for it."

Some attainders without hearing the parties.

After these executions, followed the parliament in the year 1539, in which not only these attainders that were already passed were confirmed, but new ones, of a strange and unheard-of nature, were enacted. It is a blemish never to be washed off, and which cannot be enough condemned, and was a breach of the most sacred and unalterable rules of justice, which is capable of no excuse; it was the attainting of some persons whom they held in custody, without bringing them to a trial; concerning which, I shall add what the great lord chief-justice Coke writes (4 Instit. 37, 38): "Although I question not the power of the parliament, for without question the attainder stands of force in law, yet this I say of the manner of proceeding, '*Auferat oblivio si potest, si non utrumque silentium tegat.*' For the more high and absolute the jurisdiction of the court is, the more just and honourable it ought to be in the proceedings, and to give example of justice to inferior courts." The chief of these were the marchioness of Exeter and the countess of Sarum. The special matter charged on the former is, her confederating herself to sir Nicholas Carew in his treasons: to which is added, "that she had committed divers other abominable treasons. The latter is said to have confederated herself with her son the cardinal, with other aggravating words." It does not appear by the journal that any witnesses were examined; only that day that the bills were read the third time in the house of lords, Cromwell showed them a coat of white silk, which the lord admiral had found among the countess of Sarum's clothes, in which the arms of England were wrought on the one side, and the standard that was carried before the rebels was on the other side. This was brought as an evidence that she approved of the rebellion. Three Irish priests were also attainted for carrying letters out of Ireland to the pope and cardinal Pole, as also sir Adrian Fortescue, for endeavouring to raise a rebellion; Thomas Dingley, a knight of St.

* Thuanus calls him William, and says he was *loci ignobilis*; but his true name by which he was made cardinal was Petro; whether he was so christened, or assumed it when he became a friar, is not certain. He was descended from an ancient and eminent family in Warwickshire, yet remaining.—FULLMAN'S CORRECT.

† Sir Nicholas Carew, of the Carews of Beddington, in Surrey, was the son of Sir Richard Carew, Knight Banneret, and Magdalen, daughter of Sir Robert Oxenbridge. At an early age he was introduced to the court of Henry VIII., where he soon became a favourite, and was made one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber. At one period he fell under the king's displeasure, owing to his inordinate predilection for French fashions, and was sentenced to a kind of honourable banishment, as governor of Ruysbank in Picardy. He was, however, soon recalled, and continued in high favour with the king, who made him master of the horse, and created him knight of the garter, until the accusation mentioned in the text was brought against him. Fuller mentions a tradition that a quarrel had happened between him and the king at a game at bowls, and that this was the cause of his ruin. He was buried in the church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, in the same tomb with Thomas lord D'Arcy, and others of his family.—ED.



SIR NICHOLAS CAREW

OB. 1539

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH

John of Jerusalem, and Robert Granceter, merchant, for going to several foreign princes, and persuading them to make war upon the king, and assist the lords Darcy and Hussey in the rebellion they had raised. Two gentlemen, a Dominican friar, and a yeoman, were by the same act attainted, for saying, that that venomous serpent the bishop of Rome was supreme head of the church of England; another gentleman, two priests, and a yeoman, are attainted for treason in general, no particular crime being specified. Thus sixteen persons were in this manner attainted, and if there was any examination of witnesses for convicting them, it was either in the star-chamber, or before the privy-council; for there is no mention of any evidence that was brought in the journals. There was also much haste made in the passing this bill; it being brought in the 10th of May, was read that day for the first and second time, and the 11th of May for the third time. The commons kept it five days before they sent it back, and added some more to those that were in the bill at first; but how many were named in the bill originally, and how many were afterwards added, cannot be known. Fortescue and Dingley suffered the 10th of July. As for the countess of Sarum, the lord Herbert saw in a record, that bulls from the pope were found in her house, "that she kept correspondence with her son, and that she forbade her tenants to have the New Testament in English, or any other of the books that had been published by the king's authority." She was then about seventy years of age, but showed by the answers she made that she had a vigorous and masculine mind. She was kept two years prisoner in the Tower after the act had passed, the king by that reprieve designing to oblige her son to a better behaviour; but upon a fresh provocation, by a new rebellion in the north, she was beheaded, and in her the name and line of Plantagenet determined. The marchioness of Exeter died a natural death. In November this year, were the abbots of Reading, Glastonbury, and Colchester, attainted of treason, of which mention was made formerly.

In the parliament that sat in the year 1540 they went on to follow that strange precedent which they had made the former year. By the 56th act Giles Heron was attainted of treason, no special matter being mentioned.

By the 57th act, Richard Fetherstoun, Thomas Abell, and Edward Powel, priests, and William Horn, a yeoman, were attainted for denying the king's supremacy, and adhering to the bishop of Rome: by the same act the wife of one Tirrell, Esq., was attainted for refusing her duty of allegiance, and denying Prince Edward to be prince and heir of the crown; and one Laurence Cook of Doncaster was also attainted for contriving the king's death.

By the 58th act, Gregory Buttolph, Adam Damplip, and Edward Brindeholm, clerks, and Clement Philpot, gentleman, were attainted for adhering to the bishop of Rome, for corresponding with cardinal Pole, and endeavouring to surprise the town of Calais. By the same act, Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome were attainted, of whose sufferings an account has been already given.

By the 59th act, William Bird, a priest, and chaplain to the lord Hungerford, was attainted for having said to one that was going to assist the king against the rebels in the north —"I am sorry thou goest; seest thou not how the king plucketh down images and abbeys every day? and if the king go thither himself, he will never come home again, nor any of them all which go with him; and in truth it were pity he should ever come home again:" and at another time, upon one's saying, "O good Lord, I ween all the world will be heretics in a little time;" Bird said, "Doest thou marvel at that? I tell thee it is no marvel, for the great Master of all is an heretic, and such a one as there is not his like in the world."

By the same act the lord Hungerford was likewise attainted. The crimes specified are, "that he, knowing Bird to be a traitor, did entertain him in his house as his chaplain; that he ordered another of his chaplains, sir Hugh Wood, and one doctor Maudlin, to use conjuring that they might know how long the king should live, and whether he should be victorious over his enemies or not; and that these three years last past he had frequently committed the detestable sin of sodomy with several of his servants." All these were attainted by that parliament. The lord Hungerford was executed the same day with Cromwell; he died in such disorder that some thought he was frantic, for he called often to the executioner to despatch him, and said he was weary of life and longed to be dead, which seemed strange in a man

that had so little cause to hope in his death. For Powel, Fetherstoun, and Abell, they suffered the same day with Barnes and his friends, as hath been already shown.

This year Sampson, bishop of Chichester, and one doctor Wilson, were put in the Tower upon suspicion of correspondence with the pope; but upon their submission they had their pardon and liberty. In the year 1541, five priests and ten secular persons, some of them being gentlemen of quality, were raising a new rebellion in Yorkshire; which was suppressed in time, and the promoters of it, being apprehended, were attainted and executed; and this occasioned the death of the countess of Sarum, after the execution of the sentence had been delayed almost two years.

The last instance of the king's severity was in the year 1543, in which one Gardiner, that was the bishop of Winchester's kinsman and secretary, and three other priests, were tried for denying the king's supremacy, and soon after executed*. But what special matter was laid to their charge cannot be known, for the record of their attainder is lost.

The Conclusion.

These were the proceedings of this king against those that adhered to the interests of Rome: in which, though there is great ground for just censure, for as the laws were rigorous, so the execution of them was raised to the highest that the law could admit; yet there is nothing in them to justify all the clamours which that party have raised against king Henry, and by which they pursue his memory to this day; and are far short, both in number and degrees, of the cruelties of queen Mary's reign, which yet they endeavour all that is possible to extenuate or deny.

To conclude, we have now gone through the reign of king Henry VIII., who is rather to be reckoned among the great than the good princes. He exercised so much severity on men of both persuasions, that the writers of both sides have laid open his faults and taxed his cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, so none have taken so much care to set forth his good qualities as his enemies have done to enlarge on his vices. I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the ill princes, yet I cannot rank him with the worst.

* Gardiner was executed, the other three were pardoned, according to an account I have seen, MS. Their names are said to have been Master More, Master Heyhode, and Master Roper.—ANON. CORRECT.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK, AND OF THE FIRST PART.



# ADDENDA.

*After some of the sheets of this history were wrought off, I met with manuscripts of great authority, out of which I have collected several particulars that give a clear light to the proceedings in those times, which since they came too late to my knowledge to be put in their proper places, I shall here add them with references to the places to which they belong.*

*Ad Page* 150, *line* 10.

THERE it is said, that the earl of Wiltshire, father to queen Anne Boleyn, was one of the peers that judged her.

In this I too implicitly followed doctor Heylin, he seeming to write with more than ordinary care for the vindication of that queen, and with such assurance, as if he had seen the records concerning her, so that I took this upon trust from him. The reason of it was, that in the search I made of attainders, I did not find the record of her trial; so I concluded, that either it was destroyed by order during her daughter's reign, or was accidentally lost since that time: and thus having no record to direct me, I too easily followed the printed books in that particular. But after that part of this history was wrought off, I by chance met with it in another place where it was mislaid; and there I discovered the error I had committed. The earl of Wiltshire was not one of her judges; those by whom she was tried were the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earls of Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Sussex, and Huntington, and the lords Audley, Delaware, Mountague, Morley, Dacres, Cobham, Maltravers, Powis, Mounteagle, Clinton, Sands, Windsor, Wentworth, Burgh, and Mordaunt: in all twenty-six, and not twenty-eight as I reckoned them upon a vulgar error. The record mentions one particular concerning the earl of Northumberland, that he was taken with a sudden fit of sickness, and was forced to leave the court before the lord Rochford was tried. This might have been only casual: but since he was once in love with the queen, and had designed to marry her (see page 34), it is no wonder if so sad a change in her condition did raise an unusual disorder in him.

When I had discovered the mistake I had made, as I resolved to publish this free confession of it; so I set myself not without some indignation to examine upon what authority doctor Heylin had led me into it. I could find no author that went before him in it, but Sanders; the chief design of whose writing was to defame queen Elizabeth, and to blast her title to the crown. To that end it was no ill piece of his skill, to persuade the world of her mother's lewdness, to say, that her own father was convinced of it, and condemned her for it. And doctor Heylin took this, as he has done many other things, too easily upon Sanders's testimony.

*Ad Page* 161, *line* 3.

The articles of religion of which an abstract is there set down, are indeed published by Fuller: but he saw not the original, with all the subscriptions to it; which I have had in my hands, and therefore I have put it in the collection with three other papers, which were soon after offered to the king by Cranmer.

Collect. Addenda, Numb. 1.

The one is in the form of fifteen queries, concerning some abuses by which the people had been deceived; as namely, by these doctrines, that without contrition sinners may be reconciled to God; that it is in the power of the priest to pardon or not to pardon sin at his pleasure; and that God's pardon cannot be obtained without priestly absolution. Also he complained that the people trusted to outward ceremonies; and their curates for their own gain encouraged them in it. It was observed that the opinion of clergymen's being exempted from the secular judge was ill grounded; that bishops did ordain without due care and trial: that the dignified clergy misapplied their revenues, did not follow their first institution, and did not reside upon their benefices.

Collect. Addenda, Numb. 2.

And in fine he moves that the four sacraments, which had been left undetermined by the former articles, might be examined: the outward signs and actions, the promises made upon them, and the efficacy that was in them, being well considered.

Collect. Addenda, Numb. 3.

The second paper consists of two resolutions, made concerning confirmation by the archbishop of Canterbury, and Stokesley, bishop of London, there are several other papers concerning confirmation, but these are only subscribed: and the rest do generally follow these two prelates, who were then the heads of two different parties. The archbishop went on this ground, that all things were to be tried by the Scripture; but Stokesley and almost the whole clergy were for receiving the tradition of the church, as not much inferior to the Scriptures, which he asserts in his subscription.

The third paper was offered to the king by Cranmer, to persuade him to proceed to a further reformation: that things might be long and well considered before they were determined, that nothing might be declared a part of God's faith, without good proofs from scripture: the departing from which rule had been the occasion of all the errors that had been in the church: that now men would not be led as they had been, but would examine matters: that many things were now acknowledged to be truths, such as the unlawfulness of the pope's usurped power, for which many had formerly suffered death. Whereupon he desires that some points might be examined by scripture: as, whether there is a purgatory, whether departed souls ought to be invocated, whether tradition ought to be believed; whether there be any satisfaction besides the satisfaction of Christ, whether freewill may dispose itself to grace, and whether images ought to be kissed, or used to any other end but as representations of a piece of history? In all these he desired the king would suspend his judgment: and in particular, that he would not determine against the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy, but would for some time silence both parties. He also proposed that this point might, by order from the king, be examined in the universities before indifferent judges: that all the arguments against it might be given to the defenders twelve days before the public disputation; and he offered, that if those who should defend the lawfulness of priests' marriage, were in the opinion of indifferent judges overcome, they should willingly suffer death for it; but if otherwise, all they desired was, that in that point the king might leave them in the liberty to which the word of God left them.

Collect. Addenda, Numb. 4.

*Ad Page* 183, *line* 23.

I have seen a much fuller paper concerning orders and ecclesiastical functions (which the reader will find in the collection) signed by Cromwell, the two archbishops and eleven bishops, and twenty divines and canonists, declaring that the power of the keys and other church functions is formally distinct from the power of the sword. That this power is not absolute, but to be limited by the rules that are in the scripture, and is ordained only for the edification and good of the church; that this power ought to be still preserved, since it was given by Christ as the means of reconciling sinners to God. Orders were also declared a sacrament, since they consisted of an outward action instituted by Christ, and an inward grace conferred with them; but that all inferior orders, janitors, lectors, &c., were brought into the church to beautify and adorn it, and were taken from the temple of the Jews. And that in the New Testament there is no mention made but of deacons or ministers, and priests or bishops; nor is there belonging to orders any other ceremony mentioned in the Scripture, but prayer and imposition of hands.

Collect. Addenda, Numb. 5.



This was signed either in the year 1537 or 1538, since it is subscribed both by John Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, and Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford; for the one was consecrated in 1537, and the other died in May, 1538.

On this paper I will add two remarks: the one is, that after this I do never find the inferior degrees under a deacon mentioned in this church; so it seems at this time they were laid aside. They were first set up in the church about the end of the second or the beginning of the third century, in the middle of which we find both Cornelius, bishop of Rome, and St. Cyprian, mentioning them as orders that were then established; and it seems they were designed as previous steps to the sacred functions, that none might be ordained to these but such as had been long before separated from a secular state of life, and had given good proofs of themselves in these lower degrees. But it turned in the church of Rome to be only a matter of form; and many took the first tonsure, that they might be exempted from the secular power, and be qualified for commendams, and some other worldly advantages to which these lower orders were sufficient, by those rules which the canonists had brought in.

Another thing is, that both in this writing and in the "Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man," bishops and priests are spoken of as one and the same office. In the ancient church they knew none of those subtleties which were found out in the latter ages. It was then thought enough that a bishop was to be dedicated to his function by a new imposition of hands, and that several offices could not be performed without bishops, such as ordination, confirmation, &c.; but they did not refine in these matters, so much as to inquire whether bishops and priests differed in order and office, or only in degree. But after the schoolmen fell to examine matters of divinity with logical and unintelligible niceties, and the canonists began to comment upon the rules of the ancient church, they studied to make bishops and priests seem very near one another, so that the difference was but small: * they did it with different designs. The schoolmen having set up the grand mystery of transubstantiation, were to exalt the priestly office as much as was possible; for the turning the host into God was so great an action, that they reckoned there could be no office higher than that which qualified a man to so mighty a performance; therefore, as they changed the form of ordination from what it was anciently believed to consist in, to a delivering of the sacred vessels, and held that a priest had his orders by that rite, and not by the imposition of hands; so they raised their order or office so high as to make it equal with the order of a bishop; but as they designed to extol the order of priesthood, so the canonists had as great a mind to depress the episcopal order. They generally wrote for preferment, and the way to it was to exalt the papacy. Nothing could do that so effectually as to bring down the power of bishops. This only could justify the exemptions of the monks and friars, the pope setting up legantine courts, and receiving at first appeals, and then original causes before them, together with many other encroachments on their jurisdiction; all which were unlawful, if the bishops had by divine right jurisdiction in their dioceses; therefore, it was necessary to lay them as low as could be, and to make them think that the power they held was rather as delegates of the apostolic see, than by a commission from Christ or his apostles: so that they looked on the declaring episcopal authority to be of divine right, as a blow that would be fatal to the court of Rome; and, therefore, they did after this at Trent use all possible endeavours to hinder any such decision. It having been then the common style of that age to reckon bishops and priests as the same office, it is no wonder if at this time the clergy of this church, the greatest part of them being still leavened with the old superstition, and the rest of them not having enough of spare time to examine lesser matters, retained still the former phrases in this particular.

On this I have insisted the more, that it may appear how little they have considered things, who are so far carried with their zeal against the established government of this church, as to make much use of some passages of the schoolmen and canonists that deny them

* Though most of the schoolmen asserted bishops and priests to be of the same order, for the reason here specified, their being equally appointed to the consecration of the eucharist, which they thought to be the highest and most perfect function; yet they allowed the bishops a superiority of jurisdiction, which some of them were content to call a superior order; as the canonists did also generally, notwithstanding their endeavours to depress the episcopal authority for the advancement of the papal.—Granger's Correct.

to be distinct offices; for these are the very dregs of popery, the one raising the priests higher for the sake of transubstantiation, the other pulling the bishops lower for the sake of the pope's supremacy, and by such means bringing them almost to an equality. So partial are some men to their particular conceits, that they make use of the most mischievous topics when they can serve their turn, not considering how much further these arguments will run if they ever admit them.

*Ad Page* 187, *line* 50.

The princes of Germany did always press the king to enter into a religious league with them: the first league that was made in the year 1536, was conceived in general terms against the pope as the common enemy, and for setting up true religion according to the gospel; but they did afterwards send over ambassadors to treat about particulars; and they having presented a memorial of these, there were conferences appointed between them and some bishops and divines of this church. I find no divines were sent over hither but Frederick Miconius, minister of Gotha, by whom Melancthon, who could not be spared out of Germany, sent several letters to the king; the fullest and longest of them will be found in the collection. It is to all this purpose, to persuade the king to go on vigorously in the reforming of abuses according to the word of God. The king sent over the particulars which they proposed in order to a perfect agreement, to Gardiner, who was then at Paris: upon which he sent back his opinion touching them all, the original of which, under his own hand, I have seen, but it relates so much to the other paper that was sent him, which I never saw, that without it his meaning can hardly be understood, and therefore I have not put it in the collection. The main thing in it, at which it chiefly drives, is to press the king to finish first a civil league with them, and to leave those particulars concerning religion to be afterwards treated of. The king followed his advice so far as to write to the German princes to that effect: but when the king declared his resolution to have the Six Articles established, all that favoured the reformation were much alarmed at it, and pressed their friends in Germany to interpose with the king for preventing it. I have seen an original letter of Hains, Dean of Exeter, in which he laments the sad effects that would follow on that act, which was then preparing; that all the corruptions in the church rose from the establishing some points without clear proofs from scripture: he wished the Germans would consider of it, for if the king and parliament should make such a law, this was a precedent for the emperor to make the like in the diet of the empire. Neither were the German ambassadors backward in doing their friends in England all the service they could; for after they had held several conferences with those that were appointed by the king to treat with them, they, finding they could not prevail with them, wrote a long and learned letter to the king, against the taking away the chalice in the sacrament, and against private masses and the celibate of the clergy, with some other abuses which the reader will find in the collection, as it is copied from the original, which I have seen: to this I have added the answer which the king wrote to it. He employed Tonstall, bishop of Durham, to draw it, for I have seen a rude draught of a great part of it written with his hand. By both these compared together, every indifferent reader will clearly see the force and simplicity of the arguments on the one hand, and the art and shuffling that was used on the other side. As soon as the act was passed, notwithstanding all their endeavours to the contrary, they, in an audience before the king, represented the great concern their masters would have, when the king, on whom they had relied so much, as the defender of the faith, should proceed with the severity expressed in that act against those that agreed with them in doctrine, and pressed the king earnestly to put a stop to the execution of it. The king promised he would see to it, and that though he judged the act necessary to restrain the insolence of some of his subjects, yet it should not be executed but upon great provocation; he also proposed the renewing a civil league with them, without mentioning matters of religion. To this the princes made answer that the league, as it was at first projected, was chiefly upon a design of religion, and therefore without a common consent of all that were in their league, they could not alter it: they lamented this passing of the late act, but writ their thanks to the king for stopping the execution of it, and warned

Collect. Addenda, Numb. 6.

Collect. Addenda, Numb. 7.

Collect. Addenda, Numb. 8.



him that some of his bishops, who set him on to these courses, were in their hearts still for all the old abuses, and for the pope's supremacy; and were pressing on the king to be severe against his best subjects, that they might thereby bring on a design which they could not hope to effect any other way: they advised the king to beware of such counsels. They also proposed that there might be a conference agreed on between such divines as the king would name, and such as they should depute, to meet either in Gueldres, Hamburgh, Bremen, or any other place that should be appointed by the king, to examine the lawfulness of private masses, of denying the chalice, and the prohibiting the marriage of the clergy. On these things they continued treating till the divorce of Anne of Cleves and Cromwell's fall, after which I find little correspondence between the king and them.

*Ad Page* 188, *line* 17.

When I mentioned the king's letters, directing the bishops how to proceed in a reformation, I had not seen them, but I have since seen an original of them subscribed by the king's hand. In these he challenged the clergy as guilty of great indiscretions; that the late rebellion had been occasioned by them; therefore, he required the bishops to take care, that the articles formerly published should be exactly obeyed; and to go over their dioceses in person, and preach obedience to the laws, and the good ends of those ceremonies that were then retained, that the people might neither despise them, nor put too much trust in them, and to silence all disputes and contentions concerning things indifferent; and to signify to the king's council if there were any priests in their dioceses that were married, and yet did discharge any part of the priestly office. All which will be better understood by the letter itself, that I have put into the collection.

Collect. Addenda, Numb. 9.

*Ad page* 189, *line* 42.

I do there acknowledge that I knew not what arguments were used against the necessity of auricular confession. But I have made since that time a considerable discovery in this particular, from an original letter written all with the king's own hand to Tonstall; by which it appears there had been conferences in the house, and that the archbishop of York, the bishop of Winchester and Durham, had pleaded much for it, as necessary by a divine institution; and that both the king and the archbishop of Canterbury had maintained, that though it was good and profitable, yet it was not necessary by any precept of the gospel; and that though the bishops brought several texts out of Scripture and ancient doctors, yet these were so clearly answered by the king and the archbishop, that the whole house was satisfied with it; yet Tonstall drew up in a writing all the reasons he had made use of in that debate, and brought them to the king, which will be found in the collection, with the annotations and reflections which the king wrote on the margin with his own hand, taken from the original; together with the king's letter, written in answer to them. By this it will appear that the king did set himself much to study points of divinity, and examined matters with a scrupulous exactness. The issue of the debate was, that though the popish party endeavoured to have got auricular confession declared to be commanded by Christ, as a part of the sacrament of penance, yet the king overruled that; so it was enacted that auricular confession was necessary and expedient to be retained in the church of God. These debates were in the house of lords, which appears not only by the king's letter that speaks of the house, but by the act of parliament; in the preamble of which it is said, that the king had come himself to the parliament, and had opened several points of high learning to them.

Collect. Addenda, Numb. 10.

Collect. Addenda, Numb. 11.

*Ad page* 192, *line* 39.

There I mention the king's diligence in drawing an act of parliament with his own hand; but since that was printed I have seen many other acts and papers, if not originally penned by the king, yet so much altered by his corrections, that in some sort they may be esteemed his draughts. There are two draughts of the act of the Six Articles, both corrected in many places by the king, and in some of these the correction is three lines long. There is another act concerning precontracts of marriage, likewise corrected very much by his pen. Many

draughts of proclamations, particularly those about the use of the Bible in English, are yet extant, interlined and altered with his pen. There is a large paper written by Tonstall, of arguments for purgatory, with copious animadversions on it, likewise written by the king; which show that then he did not believe there was a purgatory. I have also seen the draught of that part of the Necessary Erudition for a Christian Man, which explains the Creed, full of corrections with the king's own pen; as also the queries concerning the sacraments mentioned page 211, with large annotations written with his hand on the margin; likewise an extract, all written with his own hand, of passages out of the Fathers against the marriage of the clergy; and to conclude there is a paper with which the collection ends, containing The True Notion of the Catholic Church, which has large emendations added with the king's hand: those I have set by themselves on the margin of the paper.

Collect. Addenda, Number 12.

# THE HISTORY

OF THE

# REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

## PART II.

OF THE PROGRESS MADE IN IT TILL THE SETTLEMENT OF IT IN THE BEGINNING OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

# THE PREFACE.

The favourable reception which the former part of this work had, together with the new materials that were sent me from noble and worthy hands, have encouraged me to prosecute it, and to carry down the History of the Reformation of this Church till it was brought to a complete settlement in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, which I now offer to the world.

The great zeal of this age for what was done in that, about religion, has made the history of it to be received and read with more than ordinary attention and care; and many have expressed their satisfaction in what was formerly published, by contributing several papers of great consequence to what remained: and since I found no part of the first volume was more universally acceptable than that wherein I was only a transcriber, I mean the collection of records and authentic papers, which I had set down in confirmation of the more remarkable and doubtful parts of the history: I continue the same method now. I shall repeat nothing here that was in my former preface, but refer the reader to such things as concern this History in general, and my encouragement in the undertaking and prosecution of it, to what is there premised to the whole work; and therefore I shall now enlarge on such things as do more particularly relate to this volume.

The papers that were conveyed to me from several hands are referred to, as the occasion to mention them occurs in the History, with such acknowledgments as I thought best became this way of writing, though far short of the merits of those who furnished me with them. But the store-house from whence I drew the greatest part both of the History and Collection, is the often-celebrated Cotton Library, out of which, by the noble favour of its truly learned owner, Sir John Cotton, I gathered all that was necessary for composing this Part, together with some few things which had escaped me in my former search, and belong to the first Part; and those I have mixed in the Collection added to this volume upon such occasions as I thought most pertinent. But among all the remains of the last age, that are with great industry and order laid up in that treasury, none pleased me better, nor were of more use to me, than the "Journal of King Edward's Reign," written all with his own hand, with some other papers of his, which I have put by themselves in the beginning of the Collection. Of these I shall say nothing here, having given a full account of them in the history of his reign, to which I refer the reader. I find most of our writers have taken parcels out of them, and Sir John Heyward has transcribed from them the greatest part of his book; therefore I thought this a thing of such consequence, that, upon good advice, I have published them all faithfully copied from the originals.

But as others assisted me towards the perfecting this part, so that learned divine and most exact inquirer into historical learning, Mr. Fulman, rector of Hamton-Meysey in Gloucestershire, did most signally oblige me by a collection of some mistakes I had made in the former work. He had for many years applied his thoughts with a very searching care to the same subject, and so was able to judge more critically of it than other readers. Some of those had escaped me, others had not come within my view, in some particulars my vouchers were not good, and in others I had mistaken my authors. These I publish at the

end of this volume, being neither ashamed to confess my faults nor unwilling to acknowledge from what hand I received better information. My design in writing is to discover truth, and to deliver it down impartially to the next age; so I should think it both a mean and criminal piece of vanity to suppress this discovery of my errors; and though the number and consequence of them had been greater than it is, I should rather have submitted to a much severer penance, than have left the world in the mistakes I had led them into: yet I was not a little pleased to find that they were neither many, nor of importance to the main parts of the History; and were chiefly about dates or small variations in the order of time. I hope this Part has fewer faults, since that worthy person did pursue his former kindness so far, as to review it beforehand, and with great judgment to correct such errors as he found in it: those I had formerly fallen into made me more careful in examining even the smallest matters. Yet if, after all my care and the kind censures of those who have revised this work, there is anything left that may require a further retractation, I shall not decline to make it, so soon as I see there is need of it, being, I hope, raised above the poor vanity of seeking my own reputation by sacrificing truth to it.

Those to whose censure I submitted this whole History in both its Parts, were chiefly three great divines, whose lives are such examples, their sermons such instructions, their writings such unanswerable vindications of our church, and their whole deportment so suitable to their profession, that as I reckon my being admitted into some measure of friendship with them among the chief blessings of my life, so I know nothing can more effectually recommend this work than to say that it passed with their hearty approbation, after they had examined it with that care which their great zeal for the cause concerned in it, and their goodness to the author and freedom with him, obliged them to use. They are so well known, that without naming them, those of this age will easily guess who they are; and they will be so well known to posterity, by their excellent writings, that the naming them is so high an advantage to my book, that I much doubt whether it is decent for me to do it. One of them, Dr. Lloyd, is now, while I am writing, by his Majesty's favour promoted to the bishopric of St. Asaph; a dignity to which, how deservedly soever his great learning, piety, and merit, has advanced him, yet I particularly know how far he was from any aspirings to it. It was he I described in my former preface, that engaged me first to this design, and for that reason he has been more than ordinary careful to examine it, with that exactness that is peculiar to him. The other two are the reverend, learned, and judicious deans of Canterbury and St. Paul's, Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Stillingfleet, too well known to receive any addition from the characters I can give of them.

Others gave me supplies of another sort, to enable me to go through with an undertaking that put me to no small expense. I am not ashamed to acknowledge, that the straitness of my condition made this uneasy to me, being destitute of all public provision: but I should be much ashamed of my ingratitude, if I did not celebrate their bounty who have taken such care of me, as not to leave this addition of charge on one who lives not without difficulties. I must again repeat my thanks, for the generous kindness, protection, and liberal supplies of Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Master of the Rolls, this being the sixth year of my subsistence under him, to whom I must ever acknowledge that I am more beholden than to all men living. The noble Mr. Boyle, as he employs both his time and wealth for the good of mankind, (for which he considers himself as chiefly born, and which he has promoted not only in his own excellent writings, that have made him so famous over all the world, but in many other designs that have been chiefly carried on at his cost,) so hath he renewed his kindness to me in largesses suitable to so great a mind. Others were also pleased to join their help. The right honourable the Lord Finch, now lord high chancellor of England, whose great parts and greater virtues are so conspicuous, that it were a high presumption in me to say anything in his commendation, being in nothing more eminent than in his zeal for and care of this church, thought it might be of some importance to have its history well digested, and therefore as he bore a large share of my expense, so he took it more particularly under his care, and under all the burdens of that high employment which he now bears, yet found time for reading it in manuscript, of which he must have robbed himself, since he never denies it to those who have a right to it on any public account; and hath added such remarks



and corrections as are no small part of any finishing it may be judged to have. The lord Russell, the inheritor of that zeal for true religion, and the other virtues that have from the first beginnings of the Reformation, in a continued entail, adorned that noble family of Bedford, beyond most others of the kingdom, did espouse the interests of the Protestant religion in this particular, as he has done on all other more public occasions; and by a most liberal supply encouraged me to prosecute this undertaking. That worthy counsellor, whose celebrated integrity and clear judgment have raised him so high in his profession, Anthony Keck, Esquire, did also concur in easing me of the charge that searching, copying and gathering materials put me to: and having received as much from these my noble benefactors, as did enable me to carry on my design, I did excuse myself at other persons' hands, who very generously offered to supply me in the expense which this work brought with it. That was done in a most extraordinary manner, by the right honourable the earl of Halifax, whom, if I reckon among the greatest persons this age has produced, I am sure all that know him will allow, that I speak modestly of him: he indeed offered me the yearly continuance of a bounty, that would not only have defrayed all this expense, but have been an entire and honourable subsistence to me; and though my necessities were not so pressing as to persuade me to accept it, yet so unusual a generosity doth certainly merit the highest acknowledgments I can make for it.

But I now turn to that which ought to be the chief subject of this preface, to remove the prejudices, by which weak and unwary persons have been prepossessed in their judgments concerning the Reformation, during that period of it that falls within this volume. I know the duty of an historian leads him to write as one that is of neither party, and I have endeavoured to follow it as carefully as I could, neither concealing the faults of the one party, nor denying the just praises that were due to any of the other side, and have delivered things as I found them, making them neither better nor worse than indeed they were: but now that I am not yet entered into that province, and am here writing my own thoughts, and not relating the actions of other men, I hope it will be judged no indecent thing to clear the reader's mind of those impressions, which may either have already biassed him too much, or may upon a slight reading of what follows, arise in his thoughts: unless he were prepared and armed with some necessary reflections, which every one that may possibly read this history, has not had the leisure, or other opportunities, to make to such a degree as were needful.

It is certainly an unjust way of proceeding, in any that is to be a judge, to let himself be secretly possessed with such impressions of persons and things, as may bias his thoughts: for where the scales are not well adjusted, the weight cannot be truly reckoned. So that it is an indirect method to load men's minds with prejudices, and not to let them into the trial of truth, till their inclinations are first swayed such a way. I deny not but in matters of religion most commonly men receive such notions, before they can well examine them, as do much determine them in the inquiries they make afterwards, when their understandings grow up to a fuller ripeness: but those pre-occupations, if rightly infused, are rather such as give them general notions of what is good and honest in the abstracted ideas, than concerning matters of fact: for every wise and pious man must avoid all such methods of instruction, as are founded on falsehood and craft: and he that will breed a man to love truth, must form in him such a liking of it, that he may clearly see he would bribe him into no opinion or party by false or indirect arts: but since men are generally so apt to let some easy notions enter into their minds, which will pre-engage their affections, and for most part those who set themselves to gain proselytes do begin with such arts, it will not be amiss to give the reader such an account of these, as may prepare him against them, that so he may with a clearer mind consider what is now to be delivered to him, concerning the reformation of religion among us.

I shall begin with that which is most commonly urged; that the whole church being one body, the changes that were made in religion, did break that unity, and dissolve the bond by which the catholic church is to be knit together, and that therefore the first reformers began, and we still continue, a schism in the church.

In answer to this, it is to be considered that the bishops and pastors of the church are

obliged to instruct their people in the true faith of Christ, according to the Scriptures: the nature of their function being a sacred trust, binds them to this; they were also at their consecration engaged to it, by a formal sponsion, according to the questions and answers that are in the Roman Pontifical to this day. Pastors owe it as a debt to their people to teach them according to the Scriptures: they owe a charity to their brethren, and are to live with them in the terms of brotherly love, and friendly correspondence; but if that cannot be had on easier terms, than the concealing necessary truths, and the delivering gross errors to those committed to their charge, it is certain that they ought not to purchase it at so dear a rate. When the pastors of this church saw it overrun with errors and corruptions, they were obliged by the duty they owed to God and to their people, to discover them; and to undeceive their misled flocks. It is of great importance to maintain peace and unity, but if a party in the church does set up some doctrines and practices, that do much endanger the salvation of souls, and makes advantages by these, so that there is no hope left to gain them by rational and softer methods, then as St. Peter was to be withstood to his face, in a lesser matter, much more are those, who pretend no higher than to be his successors, to be withstood, when the things are of great moment and consequence. When heresies sprung up in the primitive church, we find the neighbouring bishops condemned them, without staying for the concurrence of other churches; as in the case of Samosatenus, Arius, and Pelagius: and even when the greatest part of the church was become Semi-Arian, and many great councils, chiefly that at Ariminum, consisting of above eight hundred bishops, as some say, had through ignorance and fear complied, the orthodox bishops did not forbear to instruct those committed to their care according to the true faith. A general concurrence is a thing much to be laboured for; but when it cannot be had, every bishop must then do his duty so as to be answerable to the chief Bishop of Souls.

So that instead of being led away by so slight a prejudice, we must turn our inquiries to this, whether there were really such abuses in the church as did require a reformation? and whether there was any reason to hope for a more general concurrence in it? In the following History the reader will see what corruptions were found to be both in the doctrine and worship of this church: from whence he may infer what need there was of reformation. And it is very plain that they had no reason to expect the concurrence of other churches; for the council of Trent had already made a great progress, and it was very visible that, as the court of Rome governed all things there, so they were resolved to admit of no effectual reformation of any considerable matters; but to establish, by a more formal decision, those errors and abuses that had given so much scandal to the Christian world for so many ages.

This being the true state of the case, it is certain that if there were really great corruptions either in belief or manners in this church, then the bishops were bound to reform them: since the backwardness of others in their duty could not excuse them from doing theirs, when they were clearly convinced of it. So that the reader is to shake off this prejudice, and only to examine, whether there was really such need of a reformation; since, if that be true, it is certain the bishops of this, as well as of other churches, were bound to set about it; and the faultiness of some could be no excuse to the rest.

The second prejudice is, that the Reformation was begun and carried on, not by the major part of the bishops and clergy, but by a few selected bishops and divines, who, being supported by the name of the king's authority, did frame things as they pleased; and, by their interest at court, got them to be enacted in parliament: and after they had removed such bishops as opposed them, then they procured the Convocation to consent to what was done. So that, upon the matter, the Reformation was the work of Cranmer, with a few more of his party, and not of this church, which never agreed wholly to it till the bishops were so modelled as to be compliant to the designs of the court. In short, the resolution of this is to be taken from a common case; when the major part of a church is, according to the conscience of the supreme civil magistrate, in an error, and the lesser part is in the right. The case is not hard if well understood: for in the whole Scripture there is no promise made to the major part of the pastors of the church; and, there being no divine promise



made about it, it is certain that the nature of man is such that truth, separated from interest, hath few votaries; but, when it is opposite to it, it must have a very small party. So that most of those things which needed reformation, being such as added much to the wealth and power of the clergy, it had been a wonder, indeed, if the greater part had not opposed it. In that case, as the smaller part were not to depart from their sentiments, because opposed in them by a more numerous party that was too deeply concerned in the matter: so it was both natural for them, and very reasonable, to take sanctuary in the authority and protection of the prince and the law. That princes have an authority in things sacred was so universally agreed to in king Henry's reign, and was made out upon such clear evidence of reason and precedents, both in the Jewish state and in the Roman empire, when it turned Christian, that this ground was already gained. It is the first law in Justinian's code, made by Theodosius when he came to the empire,—that all should everywhere, under severe pains, follow that faith which was received by Damasus bishop of Rome, and Peter of Alexandria.—And why might not the king and laws of England give the like authority to the archbishops of Canterbury and York?

When the Empire, and especially the eastern part of it, had been during the reign of Constantius, and Valens succeeding him after a short interval, so overspread with Arianism, it is scarce to be imagined how it could have been reformed in any other manner: for they durst not at first trust it to the discretion of a synod; and yet the question then on foot was not so linked with interest, being a speculative point of divinity, as those about which the contests were in the beginnings of the Reformation.

It is not to be imagined how any changes in religion can be made by sovereign princes, unless an authority be lodged with them of giving the sanction of a law to the sounder, though the lesser part of a church; for as princes and lawgivers are not tied to an implicit obedience to clergymen, but are left to the freedom of their own discerning, so they must have a power to choose what side to be of where things are much inquired into. The jurisdiction of synods, or councils, is founded either on the rules of expediency and brotherly correspondence, or on the force of civil laws: for when the Christian belief had not the support of law, every bishop taught his own flock the best he could, and gave his neighbours such an account of his faith at, or soon after, his consecration as satisfied them, and so maintained the unity of the church. The formality of synods grew up in the church from the division of the Roman empire, and the dignity of the several cities; which is a thing so well known, and so plainly acknowledged by the writers of all sides, that it were a needless imposing on the reader's patience to spend time to prove it. Such as would understand it more perfectly will find it in "De Marca;" the late archbishop of Paris's books, "De Concordia Imperii" and "Sacerdotii;" and in Blondell's works, "De la Primauté de l'Eglise." None can imagine there is a divine authority in that which sprang from such a beginning. The major part of synods cannot be supposed to be, in matters of faith, so assisted from Heaven, that the lesser part must necessarily acquiesce in their decrees, or that the civil powers must always measure their laws by their votes; especially where interest does visibly turn the scales. And this may satisfy any reasonable man as to this prejudice; that if archbishop Cranmer and Holgate, the two primates and metropolitans of this church, were in the right, in the things that they procured to be reformed, though the greater part of the bishops being biassed by base ends, and generally both superstitious and little conversant in the true theological learning, did oppose them; and they were thereby forced to order matters so, that at first they were prepared by some selected bishops and divines, and afterwards enacted by king and parliament, this is no just exception to what was so managed. And such a Reformation can no more be blasted by being called a parliament-religion than the reformations made by the kings of Israel without or against the majority of the priests, could be blemished by being called the kings' religion.

A third prejudice is, that the persons who governed the affairs at court were weak or ill men: that the king being under age, things were carried by those who had him in their power. And for the two great ministers of that reign, or rather the administrators of it, the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland, as their violent and untimely deaths may seem to be effects of the indignation of Heaven for what they did; so they were both eminently

faulty in their administration, and are supposed to have sought too much their own ends. This seems to cast a blemish on their actions, and to give some reason to suspect the things were not good which had such instruments to advance them.

But this prejudice, compounded of many particulars, when taken to pieces will appear of no force to blast the credit of what they did. By our law the king never dies, and is never young nor old; so that the authority of the king is the same, whether administered by himself or by his governors, when he is under age. Nor are we to judge of men by the events that befal them. These are the deepest secrets of Divine Providence, into which it is impossible for men of limited understandings to penetrate; and if we make judgments of persons and things by accidents, we shall very often most certainly conclude falsely. Solomon made the observation, which the series of human affairs ever since hath fully justified, that there are just men to whom it happens according to the work of the wicked, and wicked men to whom it happens according to the work of the righteous; and the inquiring into these seemingly unequal steps of God's governing the world, is a vanity. As for the duke of Northumberland, the Reformation is not at all concerned in him, for if we believe what he said, when there was the least reason to suspect him, on the scaffold, he was all the while a papist in his heart: and so no wonder if such a man, striking in for his own ambitious ends, with that which was popular, even against the persuasions of his conscience, did very ill things. The duke of Somerset was indeed more sincere, and though he was not without his faults (which we may safely acknowledge, since the Man of Infallibility is not pretended to be without sin), yet these were not such heinous transgressions, but rather such as human infirmity exposes most men to when they are raised to a high condition. He was too vain, too much addicted to his own notions, and being a man of no extraordinary parts, he was too much at the disposal of those who by flatteries and submissions insinuated themselves into him, and he made too great haste to raise a vast estate to be altogether innocent; but I never find him charged with any personal disorders, nor was he ever guilty of falsehood, of perverting justice, of cruelty, or of oppression. He was so much against the last of these, that he lost the affections of the nobility for being so careful of the commons, and covering them from the oppression of their landlords. The business of his brother, though it has a very ill appearance, and is made to look worse by the lame account our books give of it, seems to have been forced on him: for the admiral was a man of most incurable ambition, and so inclined to raise disturbance, that after so many relapses and such frequent reconciliations, he still breaking out into new disorders, it became almost necessary to put him out of a capacity of doing more mischief. But if we compare the duke of Somerset with the great ministers even in the best courts, we shall find him better than most of them; and if some few have carried their prosperity better, many more even of those who are otherwise recorded for extraordinary persons, have been guilty of far greater faults. He who is but a little acquainted with history, or with the courts of princes, must needs know so much of this argument, that he will easily cure himself of any ill effects which this prejudice may have on him.

A fourth prejudice is raised from the great invasions which were then made upon the church lands, and things dedicated to pious uses, which is a thing hated by men of all religions, and branded with the odious names of sacrilege, and robbing of God; so that the spoils of religious houses and churches seem to have been the secret motives that at first drew in, and still engage so many, to the Reformation. This has more weight in it than the former, and therefore deserves to be more fully considered.

The light of nature teaches that those who are dedicated to the service of God and for instructing the people, ought to be so well provided for that they may be delivered from the distractions of secular cares, and secured from the contempt which follows poverty, and be furnished with such means as may both enable them to know that well wherein they are to instruct others, and to gain such an interest in the affections of those among whom they labour, as modest hospitality and liberal almsgiving may procure. In this all nations and religions have so generally agreed, that it may be well called a law of nations, if not of nature. Had churchmen been contented with this measure, it is very probable things had never run to the other extreme so much as they have done. But as the pope got



to himself a great principality, so the rest of his clergy designed to imitate him in that as much as was possible: they spared no pains, nor thought they any methods too bad, that could set forward these projects. The belief of purgatory, and the redeeming of souls out of it by masses, with many other public cheats imposed on the world, had brought the wealth of this and other nations into their hands. Upon the discovery of this imposture, it was but a reasonable and just proceeding of the government to re-assume those lands, and dispose otherwise of them, which had been for most part fraudulently drawn from the former ages; for indeed the best part of the soil of England being in such ill hands, it was the interest of the whole kingdom to have it put to better uses: so that the abbeys being generally raised and endowed by the efficacy of those false opinions, which were infused into the people, I can see no just exception against the dissolution of them, with the chantries, and other foundations of like superstition; and the fault was not in taking them away, but in not applying a greater part of them to uses truly religious.

But most of these monasteries had been enriched by that, which was indeed the spoil of the church, for in many places the tithes which belonged to the secular clergy were taken from them, and by the authority of papal bulls were given to the monasteries. This was the original of the greatest mischief that came on this church at the Reformation; the abbots having possessed themselves of the tithes, and having left to those who served the cure either some small donative or stipend, and at best the small tithes or vicarage, those who purchased the abbey-lands from the crown in the former reign, had them with no other charge reserved for the incumbents, but that small pittance that the abbots had formerly given them; and this is now a much less allowance than the curates had in the times of popery; for though they have now the same right by their incumbency that they then had, yet in the time of superstition, the fees of obits, exequies, soul-masses, and such other perquisites did furnish them so plentifully, that considering their obligation to remain unmarried, they lived well, though their certain maintenance was but small; but these things falling off by the Reformation, which likewise leaves the clergy at liberty in the matter of marriage, this has occasioned much ignorance and scandal among the clergy. I shall not enter into the debate about the divine right of tithes; this I am sure of, a decent maintenance of the clergy is of natural right, and that it is not better looked to is a public reproach to the whole nation; when in all other religions and nations, those who serve at the altar live by it. The ancient allowances for the curates in market-towns being generally so small, because the number and wealth of the people made the perquisites so considerable, has made those places to be too often but ill supplied: and what way this makes for the seducers of all hands, when the minister is of so mean a condition, and hath so incompetent a maintenance that he can scarce secure himself from extreme want, and great contempt, I leave it to every man to judge.

This is as high a contempt of religion and the gospel as any can be, and is one of those things for which this nation has much to answer to God; that now in one hundred and twenty years' time, so little has been done by public authority for the redress of such a crying oppression. Some private persons have done great things this way, but the public has yet done nothing suitable to the occasion: though their neighbour nation of Scotland has set them a very good example, where, by the great zeal and care of king James, and the late blessed king, acts and orders of parliament have been made, for examining the whole state of the clergy, and for supplying all poor livings so plentifully, that in glebe and tithes all benefices are now raised, to at least fifty pounds sterling yearly. What greater scorn can be put upon religion than to provide so scantly for those that are trusted with the care of souls, that some hundreds of parishes in England pay not ten pounds a year to their pastors, and perhaps some thousands not fifty? This is to be numbered among those crying sins that are bringing down vengeance on us, since by this many souls are left to perish, because it is not possible to provide them with able and faithful shepherds. I shall not examine all the particular reasons that have obstructed the redress of this mischief, but those concerned in it may soon find some of them out in themselves. And here I acknowledge a great and just prejudice lies against our Reformation, which no man can fully answer. But how

faulty soever we may be in this particular, they of the church of Rome have little reason to object it to us, since the first and true occasion of it was of their own doing. Our fault is, that at the dissolution of the monasteries, restitution was not made to the parish priests of what the popes had sacrilegiously taken from them. And now that we are upon the utter extirpation of popery, let us not retain this relic of it. And I pray God to inspire and direct his majesty and his two houses of parliament effectually to remove this just, and, for ought I know, only great scandal of our English Reformation.

A fifth prejudice, which seems to give ill impressions of our Reformation, is, that the clergy have now no interest in the consciences of the people, nor any inspection into their manners, but they are without yoke or restraint. All the ancient canons for the public penance of scandalous offenders are laid aside, and our clergy are so little admitted to know or direct the lives and manners of their flocks, that many will scarce bear a reproof patiently from them; our ecclesiastical courts are not in the hands of the bishops and their clergy, but put over to the civilians, where too often fees are more strictly looked after, than the correction of manners. I hope there is not cause for so great a cry, but so it is, these courts are much complained of: and public vice and scandal is but little enquired after or punished: excommunication is become a kind of secular sentence, and is hardly now considered as a spiritual censure, being judged and given out by laymen, and, often upon grounds, which, to speak moderately, do not merit so severe and dreadful a sentence. There are besides this a great many other abuses, brought in in the worst times, and now purged out of some of the churches of the Roman communion, which yet continue, and are too much in use among us, such as pluralities, non-residences, and other things of that nature; so that it may be said, that some of the manifest corruptions of popery, where they are recommended by the advantages that accompany them, are not yet thoroughly purged out, notwithstanding all the noise we have made about reformation in matters much more disputable, and of far less consequence.

This whole objection, when all acknowledged, as the greatest part of it cannot be denied, amounts indeed to this, that our reformation is not yet arrived at that full perfection, that is to be desired. The want of public penance and penitentiary canons is indeed a very great defect; our church does not deny it, but acknowledges it in the preface to the office of Commination. It was one of the greatest glories of the primitive church, that they were so governed, that none of their number could sin openly without public censure, and a long separation from the holy communion; which they judged was defiled by a promiscuous admitting of all persons to it. Had they consulted the arts of policy, they would not have held in converts by so strict a way of proceeding, lest their discontent might have driven them away, at a time when to be a Christian was attended with so many discouragements, that it might seem dangerous, by so severe a discipline, to frighten the world out of their communion. But the pastors of that time resolved to follow the rules delivered them by the apostles, and trusted God with the success, which answered and exceeded all their expectations: for nothing convinced the world more of the truth of that religion, than to see those trusted with the care of souls, watch so effectually over their manners, that for some sins which, in these loose ages in which we live, pass but for common effects of human frailty, men were made to abstain from the communion for many years, and did cheerfully submit to such rules as might be truly medicinal for curing those diseases in their minds.

But alas! the churchmen of the latter ages being once vested with this authority, to which the world submitted, as long as it saw the good effects of it, did soon learn to abuse it; and to bring the people to a blind subjection to them. It was one of the chief arts by which the papacy swelled to its height: for confessors, instead of bringing their penitents to open penance, set up other things in the room of it; pretending they could commute it, and in the name of God accept of one thing for another: and they accepted of a penitent's going, either to the holy war, or which was more holy of the two, to one of the pope's wars against heretics, or deposed princes; and gave full pardons to those who thus engaged in their designs. Afterwards (when the pope had no great occasion to kill men, or the people no great mind to be killed in his service) they accepted of money, as an alms to God: and



so all public penance was laid down, and murder or merchandise was set up in its room. This being the state of things at the Reformation, it is no wonder if the people could not be easily brought to submit to public penance; which had been for some ages entirely laid aside: and there was reason why they should not be forward to come under the yoke of their priests, lest they should have raised upon that foundation such a tyrannical dominion over them as others had formerly exercised. This made some Reformed churches beyond sea bring in the laity with them, into their courts, which if they had done merely as a good expedient, for removing the jealousy which the world then had of ecclesiastical tyranny, there was no great objection to have been made to it; but they made the thing liable to very great exception, when they pretended a divine institution for those lay elders. Here in England, it is plain the nation would not bear such authority to be lodged with the clergy at first; but it will appear in the following work, that a platform was made of an ecclesiastical discipline, though the bishops had no hopes of reducing it into practice, till the king should come to be of age, and pass a law for the authorising of it: but he dying before this was effected, it was not prosecuted with that zeal that the thing required in queen Elizabeth's time: and then those who in their exile were taken with the models beyond seas, contending more to get it put in the method of other churches, than to have it set up in any other form, that contention begat such heat, that it took men off from this and many other excellent designs: and whereas the presbyters were found to have had anciently a share in the government of the churches, as the bishop's council and assistants, some of them that were of hot tempers demanding more than their share, they were by the immoderate use of the counterpoise kept out of any part of ecclesiastical discipline; and all went into those courts commonly called the spiritual courts; without making distinction between those causes of testaments, marriages, and such other suits, that require some learning in the civil and canon law, and the other causes of the censures of the clergy and laity, which are of a more spiritual nature, and ought indeed to be tried only by the bishops and clergy; for they are no small part of the care of souls, which is incumbent on them: and by them only excommunications ought to be made, as being a suspension from the sacred rites of Christians, of which none can be the competent judges but those to whom the charge of souls is committed. The worst that can be said of all these abuses is, that they are relics of popery, and we owe it to the unhappy contests among ourselves, that a due correction has not been yet given to them.

From hence one evil has followed, not inferior to these from whence it flows, that the pastoral charge is now looked on by too many, rather as a device only for instructing people, to which they may submit as much as they think fit, than as a care of souls, as indeed it is: and it is not to be denied but the practice of not a few of us of the clergy has confirmed the people in this mistake, who consider our function as a method of living, by performing divine offices, and making sermons; rather than as a watching over the souls of the flocks committed to us, visiting the sick, reproving scandalous persons, reconciling differences, and being strict at least in governing the poor, whose necessities will oblige them to submit to any good rules, we shall set them for the better conduct of their lives. In these things does the pastoral care chiefly consist, and not only in the bare performing of offices, or pronouncing sermons, which every one almost may learn to do after some tolerable fashion. If men had a just notion of this holy function, and a right sense of it before they were initiated into it, those scandalous abuses of plurality of benefices with cure, (except where they are so poor and contiguous, that both can scarce maintain one incumbent, and one man can discharge the duty of both very well) non-residences, and the hiring out that sacred trust to pitiful mercenaries at the cheapest rates, would soon fall off. These are things of so crying a nature, that no wonder if the wrath of God is ready to break out upon us. These are abuses that even the church of Rome, after all her impudence, is ashamed of, and are at this day generally discountenanced all France over. Queen Mary here in England, in the time of popery, set herself effectually to root them out. And that they should be still found among Protestants, and in so reformed a church, is a scandal that may justly make us blush. All the honest prelates at the council of Trent endeavoured to get residence declared to be of divine right, and so not to be dispensed with upon any

consideration whatsoever: and there is nothing more apparently contrary to the most common impressions, which all men have about matters of religion, than that benefices are given for the office to which they are annexed: and if in matters of men's estates, or of their health, it would be a thing of high scandal, for one to receive the fees, and commit the work to the care of some inferior or raw practitioner, how much worse is it to turn over so important a concernment, as the care of souls must be confessed to be, to mean hands? And to conclude, those who are guilty of such disorders, have much to answer for, both to God, for the neglect of those souls for which they are to give an account, and to the world, for the reproach they have brought on this church and on the sacred functions, by their ill practices; nor could the divisions of this age ever have risen to such a height, if the people had not been possessed with ill impressions of some of the clergy, from those inexcusable faults, that are so conspicuous in too many that are called shepherds: "Who clothe themselves with the wool, but have not fed the flock, that have not strengthened the diseased, nor healed the sick, nor bound up that which was broken, nor brought again that which was driven away, nor sought that which was lost, but have ruled them with force and cruelty:" and if we would look up to God who is visibly angry with us, and has made us base and contemptible among the people, we should find great reason to reflect on those words of Jeremy: "The pastors are become brutish, and have not sought the Lord, therefore they shall not prosper, and all their flocks shall be scattered."

But I were very unjust, if, having ventured on so plain and necessary a reprehension, I should not add, that God has not so left this age and church, but there is in it a great number in both the holy functions, who are perhaps as eminent in the exemplariness of their lives, and as diligent in their labours, as has been in any one church in any age since miracles ceased. The humility and strictness of life in many of our prelates and some that were highly born, and yet have far outgone some others from whom more might have been expected, raises them far above censure, though perhaps not above envy. And when such think not the daily instructing their neighbours a thing below them, but do it with as constant a care, as if they were to earn their bread by it, when they are so affable to the meanest clergymen that come to them, when they are so nicely scrupulous about those whom they admit into holy orders, and so large in their charities, that one would think they were furnished with some unseen ways, these things must raise great esteem for such bishops, and seem to give some hopes of better times. Of all this I may be allowed to speak the more freely, since I am led to it by none of those bribes, either of gratitude, or fear, or hope, which are wont to corrupt men to say what they do not think: but I were much to blame, if in a work that may perhaps live some time in the world, I should only find fault with what is amiss, and not also acknowledge what is so very commendable and praiseworthy. And when I look into the inferior clergy, there are, chiefly about this great city of London, so many so eminent, both for the strictness of their lives, the constancy of their labours, their excellent and plain way of preaching, (which is now perhaps brought to as great a perfection, as ever was since men spoke as they received it immediately from the Holy Ghost) the great gentleness of their deportment to such as differ from them, their mutual love and charity, and in a word for all the qualities that can adorn ministers or Christians, that if such a number of such men cannot prevail with this debauched age, this one thing to me looks more dismally than all the other affrighting symptoms of our condition; that God having sent so many faithful teachers, their labours are still so ineffectual.

I have now examined all the prejudices that either occur to my thoughts, or that I have met with in books or discourses, against our Reformation; and I hope upon a free inquiry into them, it will be found that some of them are of no force at all, and that the other, which are better grounded, can amount to no more than this, that things were not managed with that care, or brought to that perfection that were to be desired: so that all the use we ought to make of these objections, is to be directed by them to do those things which may complete and adorn that work, which was managed by men subject to infirmities, who neither could see everything, nor were able to accomplish all that they had projected, and saw fit to be done.



But from the matter of the following history, another objection of another sort may arise, which though it has no relation to the Reformation, yet leaves no small imputation on the nation, as too apt to change, and be carried about with every religion in vogue, since in little more than twenty years' time, there were four great changes made in religion; and in all these the main body of the nation turned with the stream: and it was but a small number that stood firm and suffered for their consciences. But if the state of the nation be well considered, there will be nothing in all this so strange as at first view it may perhaps appear: for in the times of popery the people were kept in such profound ignorance, that they knowing nothing of religion beyond the outward forms and pageantry, and being highly dissatisfied with the ill lives of the clergy, and offended with their cruelty against those that contradicted their opinions, it is no wonder that they were inclined to hear preachers of any sort, who laid out to them the reasons of the doctrine they delivered, and did not impose it on them in gross, as the others had done. These teachers being also men of innocent tempers and good lives, and being recommended to the compassion of the nation, by their sufferings, and to their esteem, by their zeal and readiness to run all hazards for their consciences, had great advantages to gain on the belief and affections of the people. And to speak freely, I make no doubt, but if the Reformation had been longer a hatching under the heat of persecution, it had come forth perfecter than it was. This disposition of the people, and king Henry's quarreling with the pope, made the way easy for the first change; but then the severities about the Supremacy on one hand, and the Six Articles on the other, made people to stagger and reel between the two religions. And all people being fond of new things, and the discoveries of the impostures of the priests and lewdness of the monks increasing their dislike of them, it was no wonder the Reformation went on with so little tumult and precipitation till king Edward's time. But though there were then very learned and zealous divines, who managed and carried on the changes that were made, yet still the greater part of the clergy was very ignorant, and very corrupt; which was occasioned by the pensions that were reserved out of the rents of the suppressed monasteries to the monks during their lives, or till they were provided with livings. The abbey lands, that were sold with the charge of these annexed to them, coming into the hands of persons who had no mind to have that burden lie longer on them, they got these monks provided with benefices, that so they might be eased of that charge. And for the other abbeys that still remained with the crown, the same course was taken; for the monks were put into all the small benefices that were in the king's gift. So that the greatest part of the clergy were such as had been formerly monks or friars, very ignorant for most part, and generally addicted to their former superstition, though otherwise men that would comply with anything rather than forfeit their livings. Under such incumbents nothing but ignorance and unconcernedness in religion could prevail. By this means it was that the greater part of the nation was not well instructed, nor possessed with any warmth and sincere love to the Reformation, which made the following change under queen Mary more easily effected. The proceedings in king Edward's time were likewise so gentle and moderate, flowing from the calm temper of archbishop Cranmer, and the policy of others, who were willing to accept of anything they could obtain, hoping that time would do the business, if the over-driving it did not precipitate the whole affair: that it was an easy thing for a concealed papist to weather the difficulties of that reign. There were also great scandals given by the indiscretion of many of the new preachers. The misgovernment of affairs under the duke of Somerset, with the restless ambition of the duke of Northumberland, did alienate the nation much from them; and a great aversion commonly begets a universal dislike of everything that is done by those whom we hate.

All these things concurred to prepare the minds of the people to the change made by queen Mary; but in her reign popery did more plainly discover itself in the many repeated burnings, and the other cruelties then openly exercised. The nation was also in such danger of being brought under the uneasy yoke of Spanish government, and they were many of them in fear of losing their new-gotten church lands; these things, together with the loss of Calais in the end of her reign, which was universally much resented as a lasting dishonour to the nation, raised in them a far greater aversion to her government, and to every thing that had been

done in it, than they had to the former. The genius of the English leads them to hate cruelty and tyranny; and when they saw these were the necessary concomitants of popery, no wonder it was thrown out with so general an agreement, that there was scarce any considerable opposition made to it, except by some few of their clergy, who, having changed so oft, were ashamed of such repeated recantations, and so resolved at last to stand their ground: which was the more easy to resolve on under so merciful a prince, who punished them only by a forfeiture of their benefices, and that being done, took care of their subsistence for the rest of their lives; Bonner himself not being excepted, though so deeply dyed in the blood of so many innocents.

All these things laid together, it will not seem strange that such great alterations were so easily brought about in so short a time. But from the days of queen Elizabeth, that the old monks were worn out, and new men better educated were placed in churches, things did generally put on a new visage; and this church has since that time continued to be the sanctuary and shelter of all foreigners, and the chief object of the envy and hatred of the popish church, and the great glory of the Reformation; and has wisely avoided the splitting asunder, on the high points of the divine decrees, which have broken so many of the Reformed beyond sea; but in these has left divines to the freedom of their several opinions; nor did she run on that other rock, of desiring at first so peremptorily the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament, which divided the German and the Helvetian churches, but in that did also leave a latitude to men of different persuasions. From this great temper it might have reasonably been expected, that we should have continued united at home, and then, for things sacred as well as civil, we had been out of the danger of what all our foreign enemies could have contrived or done against us.

But the enemy, while the watchman slept, sowed his tares even in this fruitful field; of which it may be expected I should give some account here, and the rather because I end this work at the time when those unhappy differences first arose, so that I give them no part in this History; and yet I have in the search I made seen some things of great importance, which are very little known, that give me a clearer light into the beginnings of these differences than is commonly to be had; of which I shall discourse so as becomes one who has not blindly given himself up to any party, and is not afraid to speak the truth even in the most critical matters.

There were many learned and pious divines in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, who being driven beyond sea, had observed the new models set up in Geneva and other places, for the censuring of scandalous persons, of mixed judicatories of the ministers and laity: and these reflecting on the great looseness of life which had been universally complained of in king Edward's time, thought such a platform might be an effectual way for keeping out a return of the like disorders. There were also some few rites reserved in this church, that had been either used in the primitive church, or, though brought in of latter time, yet seemed of excellent use to beget reverence in holy performances; which had also this to be said for them, that the keeping these still, was done in imitation of what Christ and his apostles did in symbolising with the Jewish rites, to gain the Jews thereby as much as could be; so it was judged necessary to preserve these, to let the world see that though corruptions were thrown out, yet the reformers did not love to change only for change sake, when it was not otherwise needful, and this they hoped might draw in many, who otherwise would not so easily have forsaken the Roman communion. Yet these divines excepted to those, as compliances with popery, and though they professed no great dislike to the ceremonies themselves, or doubt of their lawfulness, yet were they against their continuance, upon that single account, which was indeed the chief reason why they were continued. But all this debate was modestly managed, and without violent heat or separation: afterwards some of the queen's courtiers had an eye to the fair manors of some of the greater sees, and being otherwise men of ill tempers and lives, and probably of no religion, would have persuaded the queen that nothing could unite all the Reformed churches so effectually, as to bring the English church to the model beyond sea, and that it would much enrich the crown, if she took the revenues of bishoprics and cathedrals into her own hands. This made those, on the other hand, who laid to heart the true interest of the Protestant religion, and therefore



endeavoured to preserve this church in that strong and well-modelled frame to which it was brought (particularly the Lord Burleigh, the wisest statesman of that age, and perhaps of any other), study how to engage the queen out of interest to support it, and they demonstrated to her that these new models would certainly bring with them a great abatement of her prerogative; since if the concerns of religion came into popular hands, there would be a power set up distinct from hers, over which she could have no authority.

This she perceived well, and therefore resolved to maintain the ancient government of the church: but by this means it became a matter of interest, and so these differences, which might have been more easily reconciled before, grew now into formal factions; so that all expedients were left unattempted which might have made up the breach; and, it becoming the interest of some to put it past reconciling, this was too easily effected. Those of the division finding they could not carry their main design, raised all the clamours they could against the churchmen, and put in bills into the parliament against the abuses of pluralities, non-residences, and the excesses of the spiritual courts. But the queen being possessed with this, that the parliament's meddling in these matters tended to the lessening of her authority, of which she was extremely sensible, got all these bills to be thrown out. If the abuses that gave such occasion to the mal-contented to complain, had been effectually redressed, that party must have had little to work on, but these things furnished them with new complaints still: the market-towns being also ill-provided for, there were voluntary contributions made for lectures in these places. The lecturers were generally men that overtopped the incumbents in diligent and zealous preaching, and they depending on the bounty of the people for their subsistence, were engaged to follow the humours of those who governed those voluntary contributions. All these things tended to the increase of the party, which owed its chief growth to the scandalous maintenance of the ministers of great towns, for which reason they were seldom of great abilities, and to the scandals given by the pluralities and non-residences of others, that were over-provided. Yet the government in civil matters was so steady all the queen's reign, that they could do no great thing, after she once declared herself so openly and resolutely against them.

But upon king James's coming to the crown, and the divisions that came to be afterwards in parliaments, between the two too often-named parties, for the court and country; and clergymen being linked to the interests of the crown, all those who in civil matters opposed the designs of the court, resolved to cherish those of the division, under the colour of their being hearty protestants, and that it was the interest of the reformed religion to use them well, and that all protestants should unite; and indeed the differences between them were then so small, that if great art had not been used to keep them asunder, they had certainly united of their own accord. But the late unhappy wars engaged those, who before only complained of abuses, into a formal separation which still continues, to the great danger and disgrace of the protestant religion. I shall not make any observations on later transactions, which fall within all men's view; but it is plain that from the beginning there have been laboured designs to make tools of the several parties, and to make a great breach between them, which lays us now so open to our common enemy. And it looks like a sad forerunner of ruin when we cannot, after so long experience of the mischievous effects of these contests, learn to be so wise as to avoid the running on those rocks, on which our fathers did so unfortunately split; but, on the contrary, many steer as steadily towards them, as if they were the only safe harbours, where they may securely weather every storm.

But being now to lead the reader into so agreeable a prospect, as I hope the Reformation of the Church will be to him, I will hold him yet a little longer before I open it, and desire him for his better preparation to it to reflect on the nature of religion in general, and of the Christian in particular. That religion is chiefly designed for perfecting the nature of man, for improving his faculties, governing his actions, and securing the peace of every man's conscience, and of the societies of mankind in common, is a truth so plain, that without further arguing about it all will agree to it. Every part of religion is then to be judged by its relation to the main ends of it; and since the Christian doctrine was revealed from heaven, as the most perfect and proper way that ever was, for the advancing the good of mankind, nothing can be a part of this holy faith but what is proportioned to the end for which it was

designed. And all the additions that have been made to it, since it was first delivered to the world, are justly to be suspected; especially where it is manifest, at first view, that they were intended to serve carnal and secular ends. What can be reasonably supposed in the papacy, where the popes are chosen by such intrigues, either of the two crowns, the nephews of the former pope, or the craft of some aspiring men, to entitle them to infallibility or universal jurisdiction? What can we think of redeeming souls out of purgatory, or preserving them from it by tricks, or some mean pageantry; but that it is a foul piece of merchandise? What is to be said of implicit obedience, the priestly dominion over consciences, the keeping the Scriptures out of the people's hands, and the worship of God in a strange tongue? but that these are so many arts to hoodwink the world, and to deliver it up into the hands of the ambitious clergy? What can we think of the superstition and idolatry of images, and all the other pomp of the Roman worship; but that by these things the people are to be kept up in a gross notion of religion, as a splendid business, and that the priests have a trick of saving them, if they will but take care to humour them, and leave that matter wholly in their hands? And to sum up all, what can we think of that constellation of prodigies in the sacrament of the altar, as they pretend to explain it, and all really to no purpose; but that it is an art to bring the world by wholesale to renounce their reason and sense, and to have a most wonderful veneration for a sort of men who can with a word perform the most astonishing thing that ever was?

I should grow too large for a preface, if I would pursue this argument as far as it will go. But if on the other hand we reflect on the true ends of this holy religion, we must needs be convinced that we need go nowhere else out of this church to find them; but are completely instructed in all parts of it, and furnished with all the helps to advance us to that which is indeed the end of our faith, the salvation of our souls. Here we have the rules of holy obedience, and the methods of repentance and reconciliation for past sins, clearly set before us; we believe all that doctrine which Christ and his apostles delivered, and the primitive church received; we have the comfort of all those sacraments which Christ instituted, and in the same manner that he appointed them: all the helps to devotion that the gospel offers are in every one's hand. So what can it be that should so extravagantly seduce any who have been bred up in a church so well constituted, unless a blind superstition in their temper, or a desire to get heaven in some easier method than Christ has appointed, do strangely impose on their understandings, or corrupt their minds. Indeed the thing is so unaccountable, that it looks like a curse from Heaven on those who are given up to it, for their other sins; for an ordinary measure of infatuation cannot carry any one so far in folly. And it may be laid down for a certain maxim, that such as leave us have never had a true and well-formed notion of religion, or of Christianity in its main and chief design, but take things in parcels, and without examining them suffer themselves to be carried away by some prejudices which only darken weaker judgments.

But if it is a high and unaccountable folly for any to forsake our communion, and go over to those of Rome, it is at the same time an inexcusable weakness in others who seem full of zeal against popery, and yet upon some inconsiderable objections do depart from the unity of this body, and form separate assemblies and communions; though they cannot object anything material either to our doctrine or worship. But the most astonishing part of the wonder is, that in such differences there should be so little mutual forbearance or gentleness to be found; and that these should raise such heats as if the substance of religion were concerned in them. This is of God, and is a stroke from Heaven on both sides for their other sins. We of the church communion have trusted too much to the supports we receive from the law; we have done our duties too slightly, and have minded the care of souls too little; therefore God, to punish and awaken us, has suffered so many of our people to be wrested out of our hands: and those of the Separation have been too forward to blood and war, and thereby have drawn much guilt on themselves, and have been too compliant with the leaders of their several factions, or rather apt to outrun them. It is plain God is offended with us all; and therefore we are punished with this fatal blindness, not to see at this time the things that belong to our peace.

And this leads me to reflections of another sort, with which I shall conclude this preface,



which I have now drawn out to a greater length than at first I intended. It is apparent the wrath of God hangs over our heads, and is ready to break out upon us. The symptoms of our ill condition are as sad as they are visible; and one of the worst is, that each sort and party is very ready to throw the guilt of it off themselves, and cast it on others with whom they are displeased: but no man says, What have I done? The clergy accuse the laity, and the laity condemn the clergy. Those in the city charge the country, and the country complains of the city: every one finds out somewhat wherein he thinks he is least concerned, and is willing to fix on that all the indignation of Heaven, which, God knows, we ourselves have kindled against ourselves. It cannot be denied, since it is so visible, that universally the whole nation is corrupted, and that the Gospel has not had those effects among us which might have been expected after so long and so free a course as it has had in this island. Our wise and worthy progenitors reformed our doctrine and worship, but we have not reformed our lives and manners: what will it avail us to understand the right methods of worshipping God if we are without true devotion, and coldly perform public offices, without sense and affection, which is as bad as a bead-roll of prayers in whatever language they be pronounced? What signifies our having the sacraments purely administered among us, if we either contemptuously neglect them, or irreverently handle them, more perhaps in compliance with law than out of a sense of the holy duties incumbent on us? for what end are the Scriptures put in our hands, if we do not read them with great attention, and order our lives according to them? and what does all preaching signify, if men go to church merely for form, and hear sermons only as set discourses, which they will censure or commend as they think they see cause, but are resolved never to be the better for them? If to all these sad considerations we add the gross sensuality and impurity, that is so avowedly practised that it is become a fashion, so far it is from being a reproach; the oppression, injustice, intemperance, and many other immoralities among us, what can be expected but that these abominations receiving the highest aggravation they are capable of, from the clear light of the Gospel which we have so long enjoyed, the just judgments of Heaven should fall on us so signally as to make us a reproach to all our neighbours? But, as if all this were not enough to fill up the measure of our iniquities, many have arrived at a new pitch of impiety, by defying Heaven itself with their avowed blasphemies and atheism: and if they are driven out of their atheistical tenets, which are indeed the most ridiculous of any in the world, they set up their rest on some general notions of morality and natural religion, and do boldly reject all that is revealed: and where they dare vent it, (alas! where dare they not do it?) they reject Christianity and the Scriptures with open and impudent scorn, and are absolutely insensible of any obligation of conscience in anything whatsoever: and even in that morality, which they for decency's sake magnify so much, none are more barefacedly and grossly faulty. This is a direct attempt against God himself, and can we think that he will not visit for such things, nor be avenged on such a nation? And yet the hypocrisy of those who disguise their flagitious lives with a mask of religion is, perhaps, a degree above all; though not so scandalous till the mask falls of, and that they appear to be what they truly are. When we are all so guilty, and when we are so alarmed by the black clouds that threaten such terrible and lasting storms, what may be expected but that we should be generally struck with a deep sense of our crying sins, and turn to God with our whole souls? But if, after all the loud awakenings from Heaven, we will not hearken to that voice, but will still go on in our sins, we may justly look for unheard-of calamities, and such miseries as shall be proportioned to our offences; and then we are sure they will be great and wonderful.

Yet if, on the other hand, there were a general turning to God, or, at least, if so many were rightly sensible of this, as, according to the proportion that the mercies of God allow, did some way balance the wickedness of the rest; and if these were as zealous in the true methods of imploring God's favour as others are in procuring his displeasure; and were not only mourning for their own sins, but for the sins of others; the prayers and sighs of many such might dissipate that dismal cloud which our sins have gathered, and we might yet hope to see the Gospel take root among us: since that God who is the Author of it is merciful, and full of compassion, and ready to forgive; and this holy religion, which by his

grace is planted among us, is still so dear to him, that if we by our own unworthiness do not render ourselves incapable of so great a blessing, we may reasonably hope that he will continue that which at first was by so many happy concurring providences brought in, and was by a continued series of the same indulgent care advanced by degrees, and at last raised to that pitch of perfection which few things attain in this world. But this will best appear in the ensuing History, from which I fear I may have too long detained the reader.

10*th September*, 1680.

# THE HISTORY

OF THE

# REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

## PART II.—BOOK I.

### OF THE LIFE AND REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

EDWARD, the Sixth King of England of that name, was the only son of King Henry VIII., by his best beloved queen Jane Seymour, or St. Maur, daughter to Sir John Seymour, who was descended from Roger St. Maur, that married one of the daughters and heirs of the lord Beauchamp of Hacche. Their ancestors came into England with William the Conqueror, and had at several times made themselves considerable by the noble acts they did in the wars. He was born at Hampton-court on the 12th day of October, being St. Edward's eve, in the year 1537,* and lost his mother the day after he was born, who died, not by the cruelty of the chirurgeons ripping up her belly to make way for the prince's birth, (as some writers gave out, to represent king Henry barbarous and cruel in all his actions, whose report has been since too easily followed); but as the original letters that are yet extant show, she was well delivered of him, and the day following was taken with a distemper incident to women in that condition, of which she died.

1537. Oct. 12. Edward VI. born;

He was soon after christened, the archbishop of Canterbury and the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk being his godfathers, according to his own journal, though Hall says the last was only his godfather when he was bishopped; he continued under the charge and care of the women till he was six years old, and then he was put under the government of Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheek; the one was to be his preceptor for his manners, and the knowledge of philosophy and divinity; the other for the tongues and mathematics; and he was also provided with masters for the French, and all other things becoming a prince, the heir of so great a crown.

and Christened.

He gave very early many indications of a good disposition to learning, and of a most wonderful probity of mind, and above all, of great respect to religion, and everything relating to it. So that when he was once in one of his childish diversions, somewhat being to be reached at, that he and his companions were too low for, one of them laid on the floor a great Bible that was in the room to step on, which he beholding with indignation, took up the Bible himself, and gave over his play for that time. He was in all

His Disposition.

* The queen died on the 14th, say Hall, Stow, Speed, and Herbert; on the 15th, saith Hennings; on the 17th, if the letter of the physicians be true in Fuller's Church Hist. p. 422, Cott. lib. [The king's journal says "within few days after her son died." George Lilly, who lived at the same time and near the place, says *Duodecem post die moritur—Chron.* And so the continuation of Fabian. These seem to be the best authorities.—ANON CORRECT. Queen Jane died on the 24th October, according to a journal written by Cecil, that was in twelve days after king Edward's birth: so it is in the Heralds' office.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.]

things subject to the orders laid down for his education, and profited so much in learning, that all about him conceived great hopes of extraordinary things from him, if he should live. But such unusual beginnings seemed rather to threaten the too early end of a life, that by all appearance was likely to have produced such astonishing things. He was so forward in his learning, that before he was eight years old he wrote Latin letters to his father, who was a prince of that stern severity, that one can hardly think those about his son durst cheat him by making letters for him. He used also at that age to write both to his godfather the archbishop of Canterbury, and to his uncle, who was first made viscount Beauchamp, as descended from that family, and soon after earl of Hartford. It seems queen Catherine Parr understood Latin, for he wrote to her also in the same language. But the full character of this young prince is given us by Cardan, who wrote it after his death, and in Italy, where this prince was accounted an heretic, so that there was nothing to be got or expected by flattering him; and yet it is so great, and withal so agreeing in all things to truth, that as I shall begin my collection of papers at the end of this volume with his words in Latin, so it will be very fit to give them here in English.

Collection. Numb. 1.

Cardan's Character of him.

"All the graces were in him: he had many tongues when he was yet but a child; together with the English, his natural tongue, he had both Latin and French; nor was he ignorant, as I hear, of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish, and perhaps some more. But for the English, French, and Latin, he was exact in them, and apt to learn every thing. Nor was he ignorant of logic, of the principles of natural philosophy, nor of music. The sweetness of his temper was such as became a mortal, his gravity becoming the majesty of a king, and his disposition suitable to his high degree. In sum, that child was so bred, had such parts, was of such expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man. These things are not spoken rhetorically, and beyond the truth, but are indeed short of it." And afterwards he adds:—"He was a marvellous boy; when I was with him, he was in the 15th year of his age, in which he spoke Latin as politely and as promptly as I did. He asked me what was the subject of my books, *de rerum varietate*, which I had dedicated to him? I answered, that in the first chapter I gave the true cause of comets, which had been long inquired into, but was never found out before. 'What is it?' said he. I said, it was the concourse of the light of wandering stars. He answered, 'How can that be, since the stars move in different motions? How comes it that the comets are not soon dissipated, or do not move after them according to their motions?' To this I answered, They do move after them, but much quicker than they, by reason of the different aspect, as we see in a crystal, or when a rainbow rebounds from the wall; for a little change makes a great difference of place. But the king said, 'How can that be, where there is no subject to receive that light, as the wall is the subject for the rainbow?' To this I answered, that this was as in the Milky-way, or where many candles were lighted, the middle place where their shining met was white and clear.—From this little taste it may be imagined what he was; and indeed the ingenuity and sweetness of his disposition had raised in all good and learned men the greatest expectation of him possible. He began to love the liberal arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them: and in him there was such an attempt of nature, that not only England, but the world, has reason to lament his being so early snatched away. How truly was it said of such extraordinary persons, that their lives are short, and seldom do they come to be old? He gave us an essay of virtue, though he did not live to give a pattern of it. When the gravity of a king was needful, he carried himself like an old man; and yet he was always affable and gentle, as became his age. He played on the lute; he meddled in affairs of state, and for bounty, he did in that emulate his father; though he even, when he endeavoured to be too good, might appear to have been bad; but there was no ground of suspecting any such thing in the son, whose mind was cultivated by the study of philosophy.

It has been said in the end of his father's life, that he then designed to create him Prince of Wales; for, though he was called so, as the heirs of this crown are, yet he was not by a formal creation invested with that dignity. This pretence was made use of to hasten forward the attainder of the duke of Norfolk; since he had many offices for life, which the king intended to dispose of, and desired to

A design to create him Prince of Wales.



KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

OB. 1553.

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

have them speedily filled, in order to the creating of his son Prince of Wales. In the mean time his father died, and the earl of Hartford, and sir Anthony Brown, were sent by the council to give him notice of it, being then at Hartford, and to bring him to the Tower of London; and having brought him to Enfield, with his sister the lady Elizabeth, they let him know of his father's death, and that he was now their king. On the 31st of January the king's death was published in London, and he proclaimed king.

King Henry dies.

Jan. 31.

At the Tower, his father's executors, with the rest of the privy-council, received him with the respects due to their king; so, tempering their sorrow for the death of their late master, with their joy for his son's happy succeeding him; that by an excess of joy they might not seem to have forgot the one so soon, nor to bode ill to the other by an extreme grief. The first thing they did was the opening king Henry's will, by which they found he had nominated sixteen persons to be his executors and governors to his son, and to the kingdom, till his son was eighteen years of age. These were the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Wriothesley, lord chancellor, the lord St. John, great master of the household, the lord Russell, lord privy-seal, the earl of Hartford, lord great-chamberlain, the viscount Lisle, lord-admiral, Tonstall, bishop of Durham, sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse, sir William Paget, secretary of state, sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations, sir Edward Montague, lord chief-justice of the common pleas, judge Bromley, sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy-chamber, sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais, and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York. These, or the major part of them, were to execute his will, and to administer the affairs of the kingdom: by their consent were the king and his sisters to be disposed of in marriage; but with this difference, that it was only ordered, that the king should marry by their advice, but the two sisters were so limited in their marriage, that they were to forfeit their right of succession if they married without their consent, it being of far greater importance to the peace and interest of the nation who should be their husbands, if the crown did devolve on them, than who should be the king's wife. And by the act passed in the 35th year of king Henry, he was empowered to leave the crown to them, with what limitations he should think fit. To the executors the king added by his will, a privy-council who should be assisting to them. These were, the earls of Arundel and Essex, sir Thomas Cheyney, treasurer of the household, sir John Gage, comptroller, sir Anthony Wingfield, vice chamberlain, sir William Petre, secretary of state, sir Richard Rich, sir John Baker, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Thomas Seymour, sir Richard Southwell, and sir Edmund Peckham. The king also ordered, that if any of the executors should die, the survivors, without giving them a power of substituting others, should continue to administer affairs. He also charged them to pay all his debts and the legacies he left, and to perfect any grants he had begun, and to make good everything that he had promised. The will being opened and read, all the executors, judge Bromley and the two Wottons only excepted, were present, and did resolve to execute the will in all points, and to take an oath for their faithful discharge of that trust.

King Edward came to the Tower.

King Henry's Will opened.

But it was also proposed, that for the speedier despatch of things, and for a more certain order and direction of all affairs, there should be one chosen to be head of the rest, to whom ambassadors and others might address themselves. It was added, to caution this, that the person to be raised to that dignity should do nothing of any sort without the advice and consent of the greater part of the rest. But this was opposed by the lord chancellor, who thought that the dignity of his office, setting him next the archbishop of Canterbury, who did not much follow secular affairs, he should have the chief stroke in the government; therefore he pressed, that they might not depart from the king's will in any particular, neither by adding to it, nor taking from it. It was plain the late king intended they should be all alike in the administration, and the raising one to a title or degree above the rest, was a great change from what he had ordered. And whereas it was now said, that the person to be thus nominated was to have no manner of power over the rest, that was only to exalt him into a high dignity with the less envy or apprehension of danger; for it was certain great titles always make way for high power. But the earl of

Debate about choosing a Protector.

Hartford had so great a party among them, that it was agreed to; the lord chancellor himself consenting, when he saw his opposition was without effect, that one should be raised over the rest in title, to be called the protector of the king's realms, and governor of his person. The next point held no long debate, who should be nominated to this high trust, for they unanimously agreed that the earl of Hartford, by reason of his nearness of blood to the king, and the great experience he had in affairs, was the fittest person. So he was declared "protector of the realm, and governor to the king's person; but with that special and express condition, that he should not do any act but by the advice and consent of the other executors, according to the will of the late king." Then they all went to take their oaths, but it was proposed that it should be delayed till the next day, that so they might do it upon better consideration. More was not done that day, save that the lord chancellor was ordered to deliver up the seals to the king, and to receive them again from his hands; for king Henry's seal was to be made use of, either till a new one was made, or till the king was crowned. He was also ordered to renew the commissions of the judges, the justices of peace, the presidents of the north, and of Wales, and of some other officers. This was the issue of the first council-day under this king; in which the so easy advancement of the earl of Hartford to so high a dignity gave great occasion to censure, it seeming to be a change of what king Henry had designed. But the king's great kindness to his uncle made it pass so smoothly; for the rest of the executors, not being of the ancient nobility, but courtiers, were drawn in easily to comply with that which was so acceptable to their young king. Only the lord chancellor, who had chiefly opposed it, was to expect small favour at the new protector's hands. It was soon apparent what emulation there was between them; and the nation being then divided, between those who loved the old superstition, and those who desired a more complete reformation, the protector set himself at the head of the one, and the lord chancellor at the head of the other party.

The Earl of Hartford chosen.

The next day the executors met again, and first took their oaths most solemnly for their faithful executing the will. They also ordered all those who were by the late king named privy-councillors to come into the king's presence, and there they declared to the king the choice they had made of his uncle, who gave his assent to it. It was also signified to the lords of the council, who likewise with one voice gave their consent to it; and despatches were ordered to be sent to the emperor, the French king, and the regent of Flanders, giving notice of the king's death, and of the constitution of the council, and the nomination of the protector during the minority of their young king. All despatches were ordered to be signed only by the protector; and all the temporal lords, with all the bishops about the town, were commanded to come and swear allegiance to the king. On the 2nd of February the protector was declared lord treasurer and earl marshal, these places having been designed for him by the late king upon the duke of Norfolk's attainder. Letters were also sent to Calais, Boulogne, Ireland, the marches of Scotland, and most of the counties of England, giving notice of the king's succession, and of the order now settled. The will was also ordered to be enrolled, and every of the executors was to have an exemplification of it under the great seal; and the clerks of the council were also ordered to give to every of them an account of all things done in council under their hands and seals; and the bishops were required to take out new commissions of the same form with those they had taken out in king Henry's time (for which see page 196 of the former Part), only with this difference, that there is no mention made of a vicar-general in these commissions, as was in the former, there being none after Cromwell advanced to that dignity. Two of these commissions are yet extant, one taken out by Cranmer, the other taken out by Bonner. But this was only done by reason of the present juncture, because the bishops being generally addicted to the former superstition, it was thought necessary to keep them under so arbitrary a power as that subjected them to; for they hereby held their bishoprics only during the king's pleasure, and were to exercise them as his delegates in his name, and by his authority. Cranmer set an example to the rest, and took out his commission, which is in the Collection. But this was afterwards judged too heavy a yoke, and therefore the new bishops that were made by this

Which is declared in Council.

Feb. 2.

The Bishops take out Commissions for their Bishoprics.

Collection Number 2.



king were not put under it (and so Ridley, when made bishop of London in Bonner's room, was not required to take out any such commission); but they were to hold their bishopries during life.

There was a clause in the king's will, requiring his executors to make good all that he had promised in any manner of ways. Whereupon, sir William Paget, sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, were required to declare what they knew of the king's intentions and promises; the former being the secretary whom he had trusted most, and the other two, those that attended on him in his bedchamber during his sickness; though they were called gentlemen of the privy-chamber, for the service of the gentlemen of the bedchamber was not then set up. Paget declared, that when the evidence appeared against the duke of Norfolk, and his son the earl of Surrey, the king, who used to talk oft in private with him alone, told him that he intended to bestow their lands liberally; and since by attainders and otherwise the nobility were much decayed, he intended to create some peers, and ordered him to write a book of such as he thought meetest: who thereupon proposed the earl of Hartford to be a duke; the earl of Essex to be a marquis; the viscount Lisle to be an earl; the lords St. John, Russell, and Wriothesley, to be earls; and sir Tho. Seymour, sir Thom. Cheyney, sir Richard Rich, sir William Willoughby, sir Tho. Arundel, sir Edmund Sheffield, sir Jo. St. Leiger, sir —— Wymbish, sir —— Vernon of the Peak, and sir Christopher Danby, to be barons. Paget also proposed a distribution of the duke of Norfolk's estate. But the king liked it not, and made Mr. Gates bring him the books of that estate; which being done, he ordered Paget to tot upon the earl of Hartford (these are the words of his deposition) a thousand marks; on the lords Lisle, St. John, and Russell, 200*l.* a year; to the lord Wriothesley, 100*l.*; and for sir Tho. Seymour, 300*l.* a year; but Paget said it was too little, and stood long arguing it with him, yet the king ordered him to propose it to the persons concerned, and see how they liked it; and he putting the king in mind of Denny, who had been oft a suitor for him, but he had never yet in lieu of that obtained anything for Denny, the king ordered 200*l.* for him, and 400 marks for sir William Herbert, and remembered some others likewise. But Paget having, according to the king's commands, spoken to those who were to be advanced, found that many of them desired to continue in their former ranks, and thought the lands the king intended to give were not sufficient for the maintenance of the honour to be conferred on them, which he reported to the best advantage he could for every man, and endeavoured to raise the king's favour to them as high as he could. But while this was in consultation, the duke of Norfolk very prudently apprehending the ruin of his posterity, if his lands were divided into many hands, out of which he could not so easily recover them, whereas, if they continued in the crown, some turn of affairs might again establish his family, and intending also to oblige the king by so unusual a compliment, sent a desire to him that he would be pleased to settle all his lands on the prince (the now king), and not give them away; "for," said he, according to the phrase of that time, "they are good and stately gear." This wrought so far on the king, that he resolved to reserve them for himself, and to reward his servants some other way. Whereupon Paget pressed him once to resolve on the honours he would bestow, and what he would give with them, and they should afterwards consider of the way how to give it. The king growing still worse, said to him, "That if ought came to him but good, as he thought he could not long endure, he intended to place them all about his son, as men whom he trusted and loved above all other, and that therefore he would consider them the more." So, after many consultations, he ordered the book to be thus filled up: "The earl of Hartford to be earl marshal and lord treasurer, and to be duke of Somerset, Exeter, or Hartford, and his son to be earl of Wiltshire, with 800*l.* a year of land, and 300*l.* a year out of the next bishop's land that fell void; the earl of Essex to be marquis of Essex; the viscount Lisle to be earl of Coventry; the lord Wriothesley to be earl of Winchester; sir Tho. Seymour to be a baron and lord admiral; sir Richard Rich, sir Jo. St. Leiger, sir William Willoughby, sir Ed. Sheffield, and sir Christopher Danby, to be barons, with yearly revenues to them, and several other persons." And having at the suit of sir Edward North, promised to give the earl of Hartford six of the best prebends that should fall in any cathedral, except deaneries and treasurerships; at his suit he agreed

The Reason of the new Creation of many Noblemen.

that a deanery and a treasurership should be instead of two of the six prebendaries. And thus all this being written as the king had ordered it, the king took the book and put it in his pocket, and gave the secretary order to let every one know what he had determined for them. But before these things took effect the king died: yet being on his deathbed, put in mind of what he had promised, he ordered it to be put in his will, that his executors should perform everything that should appear to have been promised by him. All this Denny and Herbert confirmed; for they then waited in his chamber; and when the secretary went out, the king told them the substance of what had passed between them, and made Denny read the book over again to him; whereupon Herbert observed that the secretary had remembered all but himself; to which the king answered, he should not forget him, and ordered Denny to write 400*l.* a year for him. All these things being thus declared upon oath, and the greatest part of them having been formerly signified to some of them, and the whole matter being well known and spread abroad, the executors, both out of conscience to the king's will and for their own honours, resolved to fulfil what the king had intended but was hindered by death to accomplish. But being apprehensive both of wars with the emperor and French king, they resolved not to lessen the king's treasure nor revenue, nor to sell his jewels or plate, but to find some other ways to pay them; and this put them afterwards on selling the chantry lands.

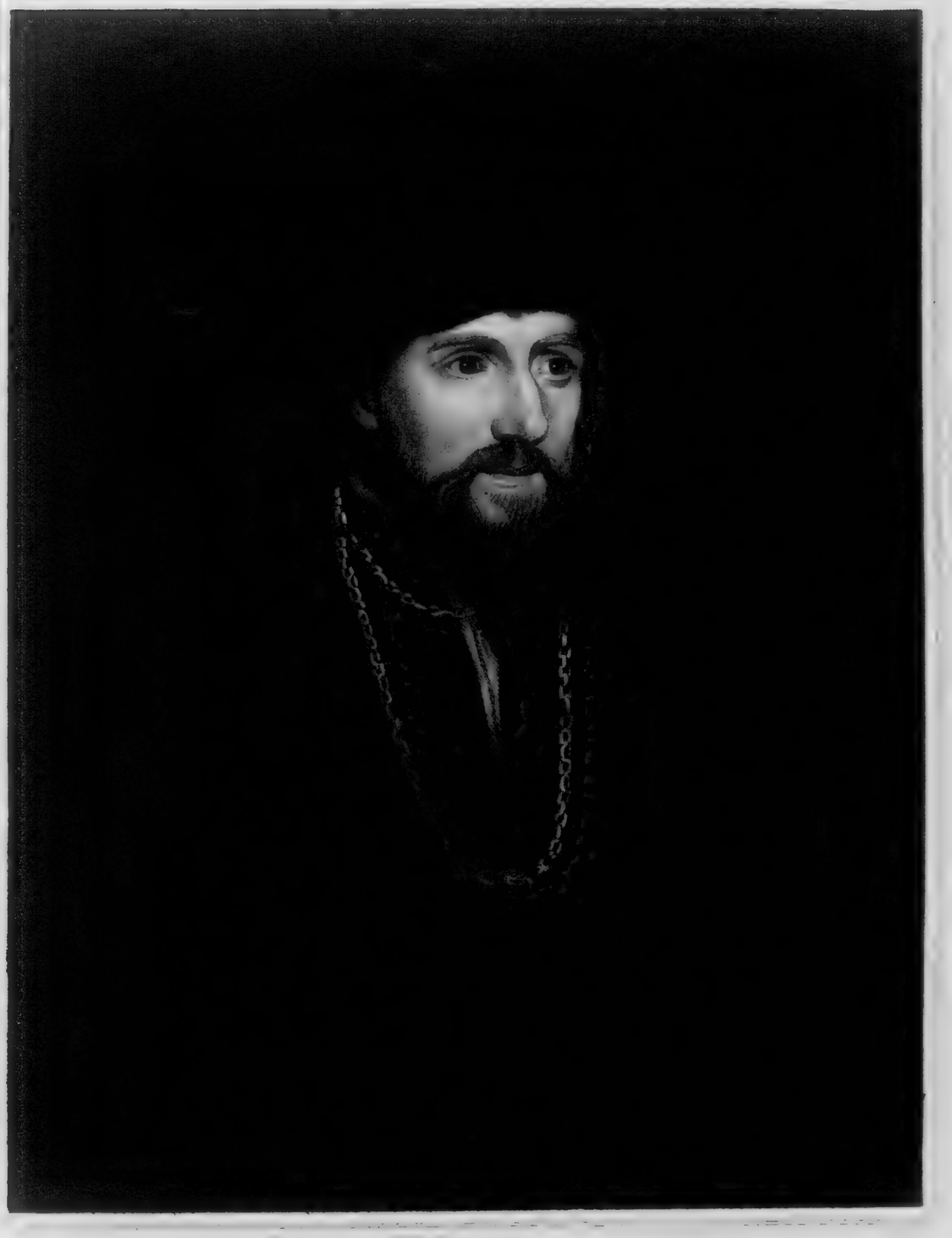
The Affairs of Scotland.

The business of Scotland was then so pressing, that Balnaves, who was agent for those that had shut themselves within the castle of St. Andrews, had this day 1180*l.* ordered to be carried to them for a half year's pay to the soldiers of that garrison. There were also pensions appointed for the most leading men in that business. The earl of Rothes' eldest son had 280*l.*; sir James Kircaldy had 200*l.*; and many others had smaller pensions allowed them, "for their amity," as it is expressed in the council books. That day the lord protector knighted the king, being authorised to do it by letters patents. So it seems, that as the laws of chivalry required that the king should receive knighthood from the hand of some other knight, so it was judged too great a presumption for his own subject to give it, without a warrant under the great seal. The king at the same time knighted sir John Hublethorn, the lord mayor of London. When it was known abroad what a distribution of honour and wealth the council had resolved on, it was much censured: many saying that it was not enough for them to have drained the dead king of all his treasure, but that the first step of their proceedings in their new trust was to provide honour and estates for themselves; whereas it had been a more decent way for them to have reserved their pretensions till the king had come to be of age. Another thing in the attestations seemed much to lessen the credit of the king's will, which was said to be signed the 30th of December, and so did bear date: whereas this narration insinuates that it was made a very little while before he died, not being able to accomplish his design in these things which he had projected: but it was well known that he was not so ill on the 30th of December.

1547. Feb. 6. The King Knighted.

Secular Men had their Ecclesiastical Dignities.

It may perhaps seem strange that the earl of Hartford had six good prebends promised him; two of these being afterwards converted into a deanery and a treasurership. But it was ordinary at that time. The lord Cromwell had been dean of Wells: and many other secular men had these ecclesiastical benefices without cure conferred on them. For which, there being no charge of souls annexed to them, this might seem to be an excuse. Yet even those had a sacred charge incumbent on them in the cathedrals; and were just and necessary encouragements, either for such as by age or other defects were not fit for a parochial charge, and yet might be otherwise capable to do eminent service in the church; or for the support of such as in their parochial labours did serve so well as to merit preferment, and yet perhaps were so meanly provided for as to need some farther help for their subsistence. But certainly they were never intended for the enriching of such lazy and sensual men, who having given themselves up to a secular course of life, had little of a churchman but the habit and name, and yet used to rail against sacrilege in others, not considering how guilty themselves were of the same crime, enriching their families with the spoils of the church, or with the goods of it, which were put into their hands for better uses. And it was no wonder that when clergymen had thus abused



SIR ANTHONY DENNY.

OB 1549

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THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF RADNOR

these endowments, secular men broke in upon them, observing plainly that the clergy who enjoyed them made no better use of them than laics might do; though instead of reforming an abuse that was so generally spread, they, like men that minded nothing more than the enriching of themselves, took a certain course to make the mischief perpetual, by robbing the church of those endowments and helps it had received from the munificence of the founders of its cathedrals, who were generally the first Christian kings of this nation, which had it been done by law, would have been a thing of very bad consequence; but as it was done, was directly contrary to the Magna Charta, and to the king's coronation oath.

But now they that were weary of the popish superstitions observing that archbishop Cranmer had so great a share of the young king's affection, and that the protector and he were in the same interests, began to call for a further reformation of religion; and some were so full of zeal for it, that they would not wait on the slow motions of the state. So the curate and churchwardens of St. Martin's, in Ironmonger-lane in London, took down the images and pictures of the saints, and the crucifix out of their church, and painted many texts of Scripture upon the walls; some of them "according to a perverse translation," as the complaint has it; and in the place where the crucifix was, they set up the king's arms with some texts of Scripture about it. Upon this the bishop and lord mayor of London complained to the council. And the curate and churchwardens being cited to appear, answered for themselves, that the roof of their church being bad, they had taken it down, and that the crucifix and images were so rotten, that when they removed them they fell to powder: that the charge they had been at in repairing their church was such, that they could not buy new images: that they had taken down the images in the chancel, because some had been guilty of idolatry towards them. In conclusion, they said, what they had done was with a good intention; and if they had in anything done amiss, they asked pardon, and submitted themselves. Some were for punishing them severely; for all the papists reckoned that this would be a leading case to all the rest of this reign: and if this was easily passed over, others would be from that remissness animated to attempt such things everywhere. But on the other hand, those at court who had designed to set forward a reformation, had a mind only so far to check the heat of the people, as to keep it within compass, but not to dishearten their friends too much. Cranmer and his party were for a general removing of all images; and said that in the late king's time order being given to remove such as were abused to superstition; upon that there were great contests in many places what images had been so abused, and what not; and that these disputes would be endless unless all were taken away.

Images removed without Authority out of one Church in London.

In the purest times of Christianity they had no images at all in their churches. One of the first councils, namely that at Elvira in Spain, made a canon against the painting what they worshipped on the walls. Epiphanius was highly offended when he saw a veil hanging before the door of a church with a picture on it, which he considered so little as not to know well whose picture it was, but thought it might be Christ's, or some other saint's; yet he tore it, and gave them of that place money to buy a new veil in its room. Afterwards, with the rest of the pomp of heathenism, images came to be set up in churches; yet so as that there was no sort of worship paid to them. But in the time of pope Gregory the First, many went into extremes about them; some were for breaking them, and others worshipped them; that pope thought the middle way best, neither to break, nor to worship them, but to keep them only to put the people in mind of the saints. Afterwards there being subtle questions started about the unity of Christ's person and will, the Greek emperors generally inclined to have the animosities raised by these, removed by some comprehensive words to which all might consent: which the interest of state as well as religion seemed to require; for their empire every day declining, all methods for uniting it were thought good and prudent. But the bishops were stiff and peremptory: so in the sixth general council they condemned all who differed from them. Upon this the emperors that succeeded would not receive that council, but the bishops of Rome ordered the pictures of all the bishops who had been at that council to be set up in the churches: upon which the emperors contended against these or any pictures whatsoever in churches. And herein that happened which is not

An Account of the Progress of Image-worship.

unusual, that one controversy rising occasionally out of another, the parties forsake the first contest, and fall into sharp conflicts about the occasional differences. For now the emperors and popes quarrelled most violently about the use of images, and ill names going a great way towards the defaming an opinion, the popes and their party accused all that were against images, as favouring Judaism, or Mahometanism, which was then much spread in Asia and Africa: the emperors and their party accusing the others of gentilism and heathenish idolatry. Upon this occasion Gregory the Third first assumed the rebellious pretension to a power to depose Leo the emperor from all his dominions in Italy. There was one general council at Constantinople that condemned the use or worship of images; and soon after another at Nice did establish it: and yet at the same time Charles the Great, though not a little linked in interest to the bishops of Rome, holding both the French and imperial crowns by the favour of the popes, wrote or employed Alcuinus (a most learned countryman of ours as those times went) to write in his name against the worship of images. And in a council at Frankfort it was condemned, which was also done afterwards in another council at Paris. But in such ages of ignorance and superstition, anything that wrought so much on the senses and imaginations of the people was sure to prevail in conclusion. And this had in a course of seven more ages been improved, by the craft and impostures of the monks, so wonderfully, that there was no sign of divine adoration that could be invented that was not applied to these images. So in king Henry's time that temper was found that such images as had been abused to superstition should be removed; and for other images external worship, such as kneeling, censing, and praying before them, was kept up, but the people were to be taught that these were not at all intended to the image, but to that which was represented by it. And upon this there was much subtle arguing. Among Cranmer's papers I have seen several arguments for a moderate use of images. But to all these they opposed the second commandment, as plainly forbidding all visible objects of adoration; together with what was in the Scriptures against the idolatry of the heathens, and what the fathers had written against the gentiles. And they added, that how excusable soever that practice might have been in such dark and barbarous ages, in which the people knew little more of divine matters than what they learned from their images, yet the horrible abuses that followed on the bringing them into churches, made it necessary now to throw them all out. It was notorious that the people everywhere doted on them, and gave them divine honour: nor did the clergy, who were generally too guilty themselves of such abuses, teach them how to distinguish aright: and the acts of worship that were allowed, were such, that besides the scandal such worship had in it, and the danger of drawing people into idolatry, it was in itself inexcusable to offer up such external parts of religious adoration to gold or silver, wood or stone. So Cranmer and others, being resolved to purge the church of this abuse, got the worst part of the sentence, that some had designed against the curate and churchwardens, to be mitigated into a reprimand; and as it is entered in the council books, "In respect of their submission, and of some other reasons which did mitigate their offence, (these were Cranmer's arguments against images) they did pardon their imprisonment, which was at first determined, and ordered them to provide a crucifix, or at least some painting of it till one were ready, and to beware of such rashness for the future." But no mention is made of the other images.

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But finding his letters had no effect on the protector, he wrote to Ridley: "That by the law of Moses we were no more bound not to have images than not to eat blood-puddings. Image and Idol might have been used promiscuously in former times, as King and Tyrant were; yet there was a great difference between these, according to the notions we now have. He cites pope Gregory, who was against both adoring and breaking them: and says the worship is not given to the image, so there is no idolatry but to him represented by it: and as the sound of speech did by the ear beget notions in us, so he did not see but the sight of an image might stir up devotion. He confessed there had been abuses, as there is in everything that is in men's hands: he thinks imagery, and graving, to be of as good use for instruction, as writing or printing: and because Ridley had also preached against the superstition of holy water to drive away devils, he added, that a virtue might be in water, as well as in Christ's garment, St. Peter's shadow, or Elisha's staff. Pope Marcellus ordered Equitius to use it, and the late king used to bless cramp-rings both of gold and silver, which were much esteemed everywhere; and when he was abroad they were often desired from him. This gift he hoped the young king would not neglect. He believed the invocation of the name of God might give such a virtue to holy water as well as to the water of baptism." For Ridley's answer to this, I never saw it; so these things must here pass without any reply: though it is very probable an ordinary reader will with a very small measure of common sense and learning, see how they might have been answered. The thing most remarkable here is about these cramp-rings which king Henry used to bless, of which I never met with anything before I saw this letter: but since I understand the office of blessing of these rings is extant, as it was prepared for queen Mary's use, as shall be told in her reign: it must be left to conjecture whether he did it as a practice of former kings, or whether, upon his being made supreme head, he thought fit to take on him, as the pope did, to consecrate such things, and send them about. Where to be sure fancy and flattery would raise many stories of the wonderful effects of what he had so blessed; and perhaps these might have been as true as the reports made of the virtues of Agnus Dei's, touched beads, blessed pebbles, with such other goodly ware which the friars were wont to carry about and distribute to their benefactors as things highly sanctified. This I set down more fully, and have laid some things together that fell not out till some months after this, being the first step that was made towards a reformation in this reign.

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justices of peace of England, on the 12th of February, letting them know that they
1547. Feb. 12. The Commission of the Justices of the Peace. had sent down new commissions to them for keeping the peace; ordering them to assemble together, and first to call earnestly on God for his grace to discharge their duties faithfully according to the oaths which they were to take, and that they should impartially, without corruption or sinister affection, execute their office, so that it might appear that they had God and the good of their king and country before their eyes, and that they should divide themselves into the several hundreds, and see to the public peace, and that all vagabonds and disturbers of the peace should be duly punished; and that once every six weeks they should write to the lord protector and council the state in which the county was, till they were otherwise commanded. That which was sent into the county of Norfolk will be found in the Collection.
Collection Number 3.

But now the funeral of the deceased king, and the coronation of his son, were to be dispatched. In the coronation-ceremonies that had been formerly used, there were some things that did not agree with the present laws of the land; as the promise made to the abbots for maintaining their lands and dignities. They were also so tedious, that a new form was ordered to be drawn, which the reader will find in the Collection. The most material thing in it is the first ceremony, whereby the king being showed to the people at the four corners of the stage, the archbishop was to demand their consent to it, and yet in such terms as should demonstrate that he was no elective prince; "for he being declared the rightful and undoubted heir both by the laws of God and man, they were desired to give their good wills and assents to the same, as by their duty of allegiance they were bound to do." This being agreed on the 13th of February, on the
Collection Number 4.
1547. Feb. 13. King Henry buried. day following king Henry's body was with all the pomp of a royal funeral removed to Syon in the way to Windsor. There great observation was made on a thing that was no extraordinary matter; he had been extremely corpulent, and dying of a dropsy, or something like it, it was no wonder if a fortnight after, upon so long a motion, some putrid matter might run through the coffin. But Syon having been a house of religious women, it was called a signal mark of the displeasure of Heaven, that some of his blood and fat dropped through the lead in the night; and to make this work mightily on weak people, it was said that the dogs licked it next morning. This was much magnified in commendation of friar Peto, afterwards made cardinal, who (as was told at page 114 of the former Part) had threatened him, in a sermon at Greenwich, that the dogs should lick his blood: though to consider things more equally, it had been a wonder indeed if it had been otherwise; but having met with this observation in a MS. written near that time, I would not envy the world the pleasure of it. Next day he was brought to Windsor, and interred in St. George's chapel; and he having by his will left that church 600*l.* a year for ever, for two priests to say mass at his tomb daily, for four obits yearly, and a sermon at every obit, with 10*l.* to the poor, and for a sermon every Sunday, together with the maintenance of thirteen poor knights, the judges were consulted how this should be well settled in law; who advised that the lands which the king had given should be made over to that college by indentures tripartite, the king being one party, the protector and the other executors a second, and the dean and chapter of Windsor a third party. These were to be signed with the king's hand, and the great seal put to them, with the hands and seals of all the rest; and then patents were to be given for the lands founded on the king's testament, and the indentures tripartite.

But the pomp of this business ministered an occasion of inquiring into the use and
Soul-Masses examined. lawfulness of soul-masses and obits, which came to be among the first things that were reformed. Christ had instituted the sacrament to be celebrated in remembrance of his death, and it was a sacrament only to those who did participate in it; but that the consecrating the sacrament could be of any use to departed souls, seemed a thing not easy to be conceived: for if they are the prayers of the living that profit the dead, then these would have done as well without a mass. But the people would not have esteemed bare prayers so much, nor have paid so dear for them; so that the true original of soul-masses was thought to have been only to increase the esteem and wealth of the clergy. It is



true, in the primitive church there was a commemoration of the saints departed in "the daily sacrifice," so they termed the communion, and such as had given any offence at their death were not remembered in it: so that for so slight an offence as the leaving a priest tutor to one's children, which might distract them from their spiritual care, one's name was to be left out of that commemoration in Cyprian's time: which was a very disproportioned punishment to that offence, if such commemorations had been thought useful or necessary to the souls departed. But all this was nothing to the private masses for them, and was indeed nothing at first but an honourable mention of such as had died in the faith; and they believing then generally that there was a glorious thousand years to be on earth, and that the saints should rise, some sooner and some later, to have their part in it, they prayed in general for their quiet rest, and their speedy resurrection. Yet these prayers growing, as all superstitious devices do, to be more considered, some began to frame an hypothesis to justify them by; that of the thousand years being generally exploded. And in St. Austin's time they began to fancy there was a state of punishment even for the good in another life, out of which some were sooner and some later freed, according to the measure of their repentance for their sins in this life. But he tells us, this was taken up without any sure ground, and that it was no way certain. Yet by visions, dreams, and tales, the belief of it was so far promoted, that it came to be generally received in the next age after him; and then as the people were told that the saints interceded for them, so it was added that they might intercede for their departed friends; and this was the foundation of all that trade of soul-masses and obits. Now the deceased king had acted like one who did not believe that these things signified much; otherwise he was to have but ill reception in purgatory, having by the subversion of the monasteries deprived the departed souls of the benefit of the many masses that were said for them in these houses; yet it seems at his death he would make the matter sure, and to show he intended as much benefit to the living, as to himself being dead, he took care that there should be not only masses and obits, but so many sermons at Windsor, and a frequent distribution of alms for the relief of the poor. But upon this occasion it came to be examined what value there was in such things; yet the archbishop plainly saw that the lord chancellor would give great opposition to every motion that should be made for any further alteration; for which he and all that party had this specious pretence always in their mouths, that their late glorious king was not only the most learned prince, but the most learned divine in the world, (for the flattering him did not end with his life,) and that therefore they were at least to keep all things in the condition wherein he had left them, till the king were of age. And this seemed also necessary on considerations of state; for changes in matter of religion might bring on commotions and disorders, which they as faithful executors ought to avoid. But to this it was answered, that as their late king was infinitely learned, (for both parties flattered him dead, as well as living) so he had resolved to make great alterations, and was contriving how to change the mass into a communion: that therefore they were not to put off a thing of such consequence, wherein the salvation of people's souls was so much concerned, but were immediately to set about it. But the lord chancellor gave quickly great advantage against himself to his enemies, who were resolved to make use of any error he might be guilty of, so far as to ease themselves of the trouble he was like to give them.

The king's funeral being over, order was given for the creation of peers. The protector
The Creation of Peers. was to be duke of Somerset, the earl of Essex to be marquis of Northampton, the viscount Lisle to be earl of Warwick, the lord Wriothesley earl of Southampton; besides the new creation of the lords Seymour, Rich, Willoughby of Parham, and Sheffield; and the rest it seems excusing themselves from new honours, as it appeared from the deposition of Paget, that many of those on whom the late king had intended to confer titles of honour had declined it formerly. On the 20th of
1547. Feb. 20. Coronation. February, being Shrove-Sunday, the king was crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury, according to the form that was agreed to; the protector serving in it as lord steward, the marquis of Dorset as lord constable, and the earl of Arundel as earl marshal, deputed by the protector. A pardon was proclaimed, out of which the duke of Norfolk, cardinal Pole, and some others, were excepted.

The first business of importance after the coronation was the lord chancellor's fall, who, resolving to give himself wholly to matters of state, had on the 18th of February put the great seal to a commission, directed to sir Robert Southwell, master of the rolls, John Tregonnel, esq., master of chancery, and to John Oliver and Anthony Bellasis, clerks, masters of chancery; setting forth, "that the lord chancellor being so employed in the affairs of state that he could not attend on the hearing of causes in the court of chancery, these three masters, or any two of them, were empowered to execute the lord chancellor's office in that court, in as ample manner as if he himself were present; only their decrees were to be brought to the lord chancellor to be signed by him before they were enrolled." This being done without any warrant from the lord protector and the other executors, it was judged a high presumption in the lord chancellor thus to devolve on others that power which the law had trusted in his hands. The persons named by him increased the offence which this gave, two of them being canonists, so that the common lawyers looked upon this as a precedent of very high and ill consequence; and being encouraged by those who had no goodwill to the chancellor, they petitioned the council in this matter, and complained of the evil consequences of such a commission, and set forth the fears that all the students of the law were under, of a change that was intended to be made of the laws of England. The council remembered well they had given no warrant at all to the lord chancellor for the issuing out any such commission; so they sent it to the judges, and required them to examine the commission with the petition grounded upon it, who delivered their opinions on the last of February:—That the lord chancellor ought not without warrant from the council to have set the seal to it; and that by his so doing he had by the common law forfeited his place to the king, and was liable to fine and imprisonment at the king's pleasure. This lay sleeping till the 6th of March, and then the judges' answer being brought to the council, signed by all their hands, they entered into a debate how far it ought to be punished. The lord chancellor carried it very high; and as he had used many menaces to those who had petitioned against him, and to the judges for giving their opinions as they did, so he carried himself insolently to the protector, and told him he held his place by a better authority than he held his: that the late king, being empowered to it by act of parliament, had made him not only chancellor, but one of the governors of the realm during his son's minority, and had by his will given none of them power over the rest to throw them out at pleasure; and that, therefore, they might declare the commission void if they pleased, to which he should consent, but they could not for such an error turn him out of his office, nor out of his share of the government. To this it was answered, that by the late king's will they, or the major part of them, were to administer till the king was of age; that this subjected every one of them in particular to the rest; that otherwise if any of them broke out into rebellion, he might pretend he could not be attainted nor put from the government; therefore, it was agreed on, that every of them in particular was subject to the greater part. Then the lord chancellor was required to show what warrant he had for that he had done. Being now driven from that which he chiefly relied on, he answered for himself, that he had no warrant, yet he thought by his office he had power to do it; that he had no ill intention in it, and therefore submitted himself to the king's mercy, and to the gracious consideration of the protector and the council; and desired that in respect of his past services, he might forego his office with as little slander as might be, and that as to his fine and imprisonment they would use moderation. So he was made to withdraw—"The counsellors (as it is entered into the council book) considering in their consciences his abuses sundry ways in his office, to the great prejudice and utter decay of the common laws, and the prejudice that might follow by the seals continuing in the hands of so stout and arrogant a person, who would as he pleased put the seals to such commissions without warrant, did agree that the seal should be taken from him, and he be deprived of his office, and be further fined as should be afterwards thought fitting—only they excused him from imprisonment." So he being called in, and heard say all he could think of for his own justification, they did not judge it of such importance as might move them to change their mind. Sentence was therefore given, that he should stay in the council chamber and closet till the sermon was ended; that then he should go home with the seal to Ely-house,

The Lord Chancellor is removed from his Office.

Feb. 28.

March 6.



where he lived; but that after supper the lord Seymour, sir Anthony Brown, and sir Edward North, should be sent to him, and that he should deliver the seal into their hands, and be from that time deprived of his office and confined to his house during pleasure, and pay what fine should be laid on him. To all which he submitted, and acknowledged the justice of their sentence. So the next day the seal was put into the lord St. John's hands*, till they should agree on a fit man to be lord chancellor, and it continued with him several months. On the day following, the late king's will being in his hands for the granting of exemplifications of it under the great seal, it was sent for, and ordered to be laid up in the treasury of the exchequer; and the earl of Southampton continued in his confinement till the 29th of June, but then he entered into a recognisance of 4,000*l.* to pay what fine they should impose on him, and upon that he was discharged of his imprisonment. But in all this sentence, they made no mention of his forfeiting his being one of the late king's executors, and of the present king's governors; either judging that, being put in these trusts as he was lord chancellor, the discharging him of his office did by consequence put an end to them, or perhaps they were not willing to do anything that might seem to change the late king's will; and therefore by keeping him under the fear of a severe fine, they chose rather to oblige him to be absent, and to carry himself quietly, than by any sentence to exclude him from his share in that trust; which I incline the rather to believe, because I find him afterwards brought to council without any order entered about it: so that he seems to have come thither rather on a former right than on a new choice made of him. Thus fell the lord chancellor, and in him the popish party lost their chief support, and the protector his most emulous rival. The reader will find the commission with the opinion of the judges about it in the Collection, from which he will be better able to judge of these proceedings against him, which were summary and severe, beyond the usage of the privy council, and without the common forms of legal processes; but the council's authority had been raised so high by the act mentioned (page 193 of the former Part), that they were empowered sufficiently for matters of that nature.

Collection Number 5.

That which followed a few days after made this be the more censured, since the lord protector, who hitherto held his office but by the choice of the rest, and under great restrictions, was now resolved to hold it by patent, to which the late chancellor had been unwilling to consent. The pretence for it was, that the foreign ministers, the French ambassador in particular, desired to be satisfied concerning his power, and how far they might treat with him, and depend on the assurances and promises he gave. So the protector and council did on the 13th of March petition the king that they might act by a commission under the great seal, which might empower and justify them in what they were to do. And that was to be done in this manner. The king and the lords were to sign the warrant for it, upon which the lord St. John (who though he had the keeping of the great seal, was never designed to be lord keeper, nor was empowered to hear causes) should set the seal to it. The original warrant was to be kept by the protector, and exemplifications of it were to be given to foreign ministers. To this order sir Thom. Cheyney set his hand, upon what authority I do not so clearly see, since he was none of the executors. By this commission, (which will be found in the Collection) it is set forth, "That the king being under age, was desired by divers of the nobles and prelates of the realm, to name and authorise one above all others, to have the charge of the kingdom, with the government of his person; whereupon he had formerly by word of mouth named his uncle to be protector and governor of his person; yet for a more perfect declaration of that, he did now ratify and approve all he had done since that nomination, and constituted him his governor and the protector of his kingdom till he should attain the full age of eighteen years; giving him the full authority that belonged to that office, to do everything as he by his wisdom should think for the honour, good, and prosperity of the king and kingdoms; and that he might be furnished with a council for his aid and assistance, he did by the advice of his uncle and

The Protector holds his Office by Patent.

March 13.

Collection Number 6.

* 29 Junii sigillum magnum Will. Pawlet Militi Domino S. Jo. de Basing, liberatum fuit, Pat. 1, Edw. 6, p. 4.—Dugdale Orig. Jurid.

others, nobles, prelates, and wise men, accept of these persons for his counsellors:—the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord St. John president, the lord Russell, lord privy-seal, the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, the lord Seymour, the bishop of Durham, the lord Rich, sir Thomas Cheyney, sir Joh. Gage, sir Anthony Brown, sir Anthony Wingfield, sir William Paget, sir William Petre, sir Ralph Sadler, sir John Baker, doctor Wotton, sir Anth. Denny, sir William Herbert, sir Edw. North, sir Ed. Montague, sir Ed. Wotton, sir Edm. Peckham, sir Tho. Bromley, and sir Richard Southwell; giving the protector power to swear such other commissioners as he should think fit; and that he with so many of the council as he should think meet, might annul and change what they thought fitting; restraining the council to act only by his advice and consent." And thus was the protector fully settled in his power, and no more under the curb of the co-executors, who were now mixed with the other counsellors, that by the late king's will were only to be consulted with as they saw cause. But as he depressed them to an equality with the rest of the counsellors, so he highly obliged the others who had been formerly under them, by bringing these equally with them into a share of the government. He had also obtained to himself a high authority over them, since they could do nothing without his consent, but he was only bound to call for so many of them as he thought meet, and was not limited to act as they advised, but clothed with the full regal power; and had it in his hands to oblige whom he would, and to make his party greater by calling into the council such as he should nominate. How far this was legal I shall not enquire. It was certainly contrary to king Henry's will. And that being made upon an act of parliament, which empowered him to limit the crown and the government of it at his pleasure, this commission, that did change the whole government during the king's minority, seems capable of no other defence, but that it being made by the consent of the major part of the executors, it was still warrantable even by the will, which devolved the government on them, or the major part of them.

All this I have opened the more largely, both because none of our historians have taken any notice of the first constitution of the government during this reign, and being ignorant of the true account of it, they have committed great errors: and because having obtained, by the favour of that most industrious collector of the transactions of this age, Mr. Rushworth, the original council-book, for the two first years of this reign, I had a certain authority to follow in it: the exactness of that book being beyond anything I ever met with in all our records. For every council-day the privy-counsellors that were present set their hands to all that was ordered; judging so great caution necessary when the king was under age. And therefore I thought this a book of too great consequence to lie in private hands: so the owner having made a present of it to me, I delivered it to that noble and virtuous gentleman, sir John Nicolas, one of the clerks of the council, to be kept with the rest of their books.

The state of Affairs in Germany.

And having now given the reader a clear prospect of the state of the court, I shall next turn to the affairs that were under their consideration. That which was first brought before them was concerning the state of Germany. Francis Burgartus, chancellor to the duke of Saxe, with others from the other princes and cities of the empire, were sent over upon the news of the former king's death to solicit for aids from the new king toward the carrying on the war with the emperor. In order to the clearing of this, and to give a just account of our councils in reference to foreign affairs, especially the cause being about religion, I shall give a short view of the state of Germany at this time. The emperor, having formed a design of a universal monarchy, laid hold on the differences of religion in Germany, as a good mean to cover what he did, with the specious pretence of punishing heresy, and protecting the catholics. But before he had formed this design, he procured his brother to be chosen king of the Romans, and so declared his successor in the empire; which he was forced to do, being obliged to be much in Spain and his other hereditary dominions; and being then so young as not to enter into such deep counsels as he afterwards laid. But his wars in Italy put him oft in ill terms with the pope; and being likewise watched over in all his motions by Francis I. and Henry VIII., and the Turk often breaking into Hungary and Germany, he was forced to great compliances with the princes of the empire: who being animated by

1531. Jan. 11. Ferdinand crowned King of the Romans.



the two great crowns, did enter into a league for their mutual defence against all aggressors.

1544. Feb. 20. Diet began at Spires.

And at last in the year 1544, in the Diet held at Spires, the emperor, being engaged in war with France, and the Turk, both to secure Germany, and to obtain money of the princes, was willing to agree to the edict made there; which was, that till there was a free council in Germany, or such an assembly in which matters of religion might be settled, there should be a general peace, and none was to be troubled for religion; the free exercise of both religions being allowed; and all things were to continue in the state they were then in. And the imperial chamber at Spires was to be reformed: for the judges of that court being all papists, there were many processes depending at the suit of the ecclesiastics against the Protestant princes, who had driven them out of their lands: and the princes expecting no fair dealing from them, all these processes were now suspended, and the chamber was to be filled up with new judges, that should be more favourable to them. They obtaining this decree, contributed very liberally to the wars the emperor seemed to be engaged in. Who having his treasure thus filled, presently made peace both with France and the Grand Seignior, and resolved to turn his wars upon the empire, and to make use of that treasure and force they had contributed, to invade their liberties, and to subdue them entirely to himself. Upon this he entered into a treaty with the pope, that a council should be opened in Trent; upon which he should require the princes to submit to it, which if they refused to do, he should make war on them. The pope was to assist him with ten thousand men, besides heavy taxes laid on his clergy; to which he willingly consented. But the emperor knowing, that if religion were declared to be the ground of the war, all the protestants would unite against him, who were the much greater number of the empire; resolved to divide them among themselves, and to pretend somewhat else than religion as the cause of the war. There were then four of the electors of that religion; the count Palatine, the duke of Saxe, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the archbishop of Cologne; besides the landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Wittemburg, and many lesser princes: and almost all the cities of the empire. Bohemia and the other hereditary dominions of the house of Austria were also generally of the same religion. The northern kings and the Swiss cantons were firmly united to them: the two crowns of England and France were likewise concerned in interest to support them against the Austrian family. But the emperor got France and England engaged in a war between themselves. So that he was now at leisure to accomplish his designs on the empire, where some of the princes being extremely old, as the count Palatine, and Herman, archbishop of Cologne; others being of soft and inactive tempers, as the marquis of Brandenburg; and others discontented and ambitious, as Maurice of Saxony, and the brothers of Brandenburg: he had indeed none of the first rank to deal with, but the duke of Saxe and the landgrave of Hesse, who were both great captains, but of such different tempers, that where they were in equal command, there was no great probability of success. The former was a prince of the best composition of any in that age, he was sincerely religious, and one of the most equal-tempered men that was then alive, neither lifted up with success, nor cast down with misfortunes: he had a great capacity, but was slow in his resolutions. The landgrave on the other hand had much more heat, was a quicker man, and of an impatient temper, on which the accidents of life made deep impressions.

1544. Sept. 24. Emperor has Peace with France.

1545. Oct. Peace with Turkey.

When the emperor began to engage in this design, the pope, being jealous of his greatness, and desirous to entangle him in a long and expenseful war, published the secret ends of the league; and opened the council in Trent in November 1545, where a few bishops and abbots, with his legates presiding over them, usurped the most glorious title of "The most Holy Oecumenical Council representing the Catholic Church." They entered by such slow steps, as were directed from Rome, into the discussion of articles of doctrine; which were, as they were pleased to call it, explained to them by some divines, for most part friars, who amused the more ignorant bishops with the nice speculations with which they had been exercised in the schools; where hard and barbarous words served in good stead to conceal some things not so fit to be proposed barefaced, and in plain terms. The emperor having done enough towards his design, that a council was opened in Germany,

endeavoured to keep them from determining points of doctrine, and pressed them to examine some abuses in the government of the church, which had, at least given occasion to that great alienation of so many from the see of Rome and the clergy. There were also divers wise and learned prelates, chiefly of Spain, who came thither, full of hopes of getting these abuses redressed. Some of them had observed, that in all times, heresies and schisms did owe their chief growth to the scandals, the ignorance, and negligence of the clergy, which made the laity conceive an ill opinion of them, and so disposed them both in inclination and interest to cherish such as opposed them; and therefore they designed to have many great corruptions cast out; and observing that bishops' non-residence was a chief occasion of all those evils, they endeavoured to have residence declared to be of divine right; intending thereby to lessen the power of the papacy, which was grown to that height, that they were slaves to that see, taxed by it at pleasure, and the care of their dioceses extorted out of their hands by the several ranks of exempted priests; and also to raise the episcopal authority to what it was anciently, and to cut off all those encroachments which the see of Rome had made on them at first by craft, and which they still maintained by their power; but the court of Rome was to lose much by all reformations, and some cardinals openly declared, that every reformation gave the heretics great advantages, and was a confession that the church had erred, and that these very things so much complained of were the chief nerves of the popedom, which being cut, the greatness of their court must needs fall; and therefore they did oppose all these motions, and were still for proceeding in establishing the doctrine. And though the opposing a decree to oblige all to residence was so grossly scandalous that they were ashamed of it, yet they intended to secure the greatness of the court by a salvo for the pope's privilege and dignity in granting dispensations. These proceedings at Trent discovered what was to be expected from that council, and alarmed all the protestants to think what they were to look for, if the emperor should force them to submit to the decrees of such an assembly, where those whom they called heretics could expect little, since the emperor himself could not prevail so far as to obtain or hinder delays, or to give preference for matters of discipline to points of doctrine. So the protestants met at Frankfort, and entered into councils for their common safety, in case any of them should be disturbed about religion; chiefly for preserving the elector of Cologne, whom the pope had cited to Rome for heresy. They wrote to the emperor's ministers, that they heard from all hands that the emperor was raising great forces, and designing a war against them; who thought themselves secured by the edict of Spires, and desired nothing but the confirmation of that, and the regulation of the imperial chamber, as was then agreed on. A meeting being proposed between the emperor and the landgrave, the landgrave went to him to Spires, where the emperor denied he had any design of a war, with which the other charged him: only he said he had with great difficulty obtained a council in Germany, and therefore he hoped they would submit to it. But after some expostulations on both hands, the landgrave left him; and now the thing was generally understood, though the emperor did still deny it, and said he would make no war about religion, but only against the disturbers of the peace of the empire. By this means he got the elector Palatine to give little or no aid to the other princes. The marquis of Brandenburg was become jealous of the greatness of Saxe, and so was at first neuter, but afterwards openly declared for the emperor. But Maurice the duke of Saxe's near kinsman, who by that duke's means was settled in a fair principality, which his uncle George had left him only on condition that he turned papist, notwithstanding which he got him to be possessed of it; was made use of by the emperor as the best instrument to work his ends. To him therefore he promised the electoral dignity with the dominions belonging to the duke of Saxe, if he would assist him in the war against his kinsman the present elector; and gave him assurance under his hand and seal, that he would make no change in religion, but leave the princes of the Augsburg confession the free exercise of their religion. And thus the emperor singled out the duke of Saxe and the landgrave from the rest, reckoning wisely, that if he once mastered them, he should more easily overcome all the rest. He pretended some other quarrels against them, as that of the duke of Brunswick, who having begun a war with his neighbours was taken

1546. January, Princes meet at Frankfort.



prisoner, and his dominions possessed by the landgrave. That with some old quarrels was pretended the ground of the war. Upon which the princes published a writing to show that it was religion only, and a secret design to subdue Germany, that was the true cause of the war; and those alleged were sought pretences to excuse so infamous a breach of faith, and of the public decrees: that the pope who designed the destruction of all of that confession, had set on the emperor to this; who easily laid hold on it, that he might master the liberty of Germany. Therefore they warned all the princes of their danger. The emperor's forces being to be drawn together out of several places in Italy, Flanders, Burgundy, and Bohemia, they whose forces lay nearer had a great advantage if they had known how to use it: for in June they brought into the field seventy thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, and might have driven the emperor out of Germany, had they proceeded vigorously at first. But the divided command was fatal to them, for when one was for action, the other was against it. So they lost their opportunity, and gave the emperor time to gather all his forces about him, which were far inferior to theirs in strength; but the emperor gained by time, whereas they who had no great treasure lost much. All the summer and a great deal of the winter was spent without any considerable action, though the two armies were oft in view one of another. But in the beginning of the winter, the emperor having proscribed the duke of Saxe, and promised to bestow the principality on Maurice, he fell into Saxony, and carried a great many of the cities which were not prepared for any such impression. This made the duke separate his army, and return to the defence of his own country; which he quickly recovered, and drove Maurice almost out of all his own principality. The states of Bohemia also declared for the elector of Saxony.

1546. June, The Elector and Landgrave arm.

1546. July 20. Duke of Saxe and Landgrave proscribed.

Nov. 23. The Elector returns into Saxony.

This was the state of the affairs there. The princes thought they had a good prospect for the next year, having mediated a peace between the crowns of England and France, whose forces falling into Flanders, must needs have bred a great distraction in the emperor's councils. But king Henry's death gave them great apprehensions, and not without cause. For when they sent hither for an aid in money to carry on the war, the protector and council saw great danger on both hands: if they left the Germans to perish, the emperor would be then so lifted up, that they might expect to have an uneasy neighbour of him: on the other hand it was a thing of great consequence to engage an infant king in such a war. Therefore their succours from hence were like to be weak and very slow. Howsoever, the council ordered Paget to assure them that within three or four months they should send fifty thousand crowns to their assistance: which was to be covered thus; the merchants of the Still-yard were to borrow so much of the king, and to engage to bring home stores to that value; they having the money, should send it to Hamburg, and so to the duke of Saxe. But the princes received a second blow in the loss of Francis I. of France; who having lived long in a familiarity and friendship with king Henry, not ordinary for crowned heads, was so much affected with the news of his death, that he was never seen cheerful after it. He made royal funeral rites to be performed to his memory in the church of Notre-Dame: to which the clergy (who one would have thought should have been glad to have seen his funerals celebrated in any fashion) were very averse: but that king had emancipated himself to a good degree from a servile subjection to them, and would be obeyed. He outlived the other not long, for he died the last of March. He was the chief patron of learned men and advancer of learning that had been for many ages. He was generally unsuccessful in his wars, and yet a great commander. At his death he left his son an advice to beware of the brethren of Lorraine, and to depend much on the counsellors whom he had employed. But his son, upon his coming to the crown, did so deliver himself up to the charms of his mistress Diana, that all things were ordered as men made their court to her; which the ministers that had served the former king scorning to do, and the brothers of the house of Lorraine doing very submissively, the one were discharged of their employments, and the other governed all the councils. Francis had been oft fluctuating in the business of religion. Sometimes he had resolved to shake

1546. Peace concluded between England and France.

1547. Mar. 31. Francis I. died.

off the pope's obedience, and set up a patriarch in France; and had agreed with Henry VIII. to go on in the same councils with him. But he was first diverted by his alliance with Clement VII., and afterwards by the ascendant which the cardinal of Tournon had over him, who engaged him at several times into severities against those that received the Reformation. Yet he had such a close eye upon the emperor's motions, that he kept a constant good understanding with the protestant princes, and had no doubt assisted them if he had lived. But upon his death new counsels were taken; the brothers of Lorraine were furiously addicted to the interests of the papacy, one of them being a cardinal, who persuaded the king rather to begin his reign with the recovery of Boulogne out of the hands of the English. So that the state of Germany was almost desperate before he was aware of it. And indeed the Germans lost so much in the death of these two kings, upon whose assistance they had depended, that it was no wonder they were easily overrun by the emperor. Some of their allies, the cities of Ulm and Frankfort, and the duke of Wirtemburg, submitting themselves to the emperor's mercy, the rest were much disheartened: which is a constant forerunner of the ruin of a confederacy. Such was the state of religion abroad.

The design laid for a further Reformation at home.

At home men's minds were much distracted. The people, especially in market-towns and places of trade, began generally to see into many of the corruptions of the doctrine and worship, and were weary of them; some preached against some abuses: Glasier at Paul's Cross taught, that the observance of Lent was only a positive law; others went further, and plainly condemned most of the former abuses; but the clergy were as much engaged to defend them. They were for the most part such as had been bred in monasteries and religious houses. For there being pensions reserved for the monks, when their houses were surrendered and dissolved, till they should be otherwise provided; the court of Augmentations took care to ease the king of that charge, by recommending them to such small benefices as were at the king's disposal; and such as purchased those lands of the crown, with that charge of paying the pensions to the monks, were also careful to ease themselves by procuring benefices for them. The benefices were generally very small, so that in many places three or four benefices could hardly afford enough for the maintenance of one man. And this gave some colour for that abuse of one man's having many benefices that have a care of souls annexed to them; and that not only where they are so contiguous that the duty can be discharged by one, and so poor that the maintenance of both will scarce serve for the encouragement of one person, but even where they are very remote, and of considerable value. This corruption that crept in in the dark ages of the church, was now practised in England out of necessity. By an act made in king Henry VIII.'s time, none might hold two benefices without a dispensation, but no dispensation could enable one to hold three; yet that was not at this time much considered. The excuses made for this were, that in some places they could not find good men for the benefices, but in most places the livings were brought to nothing. For while the abbeys stood, the abbots allowed those whom they appointed to serve the cure in the churches that belonged to them (which were in value above the half of England) a small stipend, or some little part of the vicarage tithes; and they were to raise their subsistence out of the fees they had by the sacraments, and other sacramentals; and chiefly by the singing masses for the poor that died; for the abbeys had the profit of it from the rich. And masses went generally for two-pence; a groat was thought a great bounty. So they all concluded themselves undone if these things were withdrawn. This engaged them against any reformation, since every step that was made in it took their bread out of their mouths. But they being generally very ignorant, could oppose nothing with the force of reason or learning. So although they were resolved to comply with anything rather than forfeit their benefices, yet in their hearts they abhorred all reformation, and murmured against it where they thought they might do it safely; some preached as much for the old abuses, as others did against them. Dr. Peru at St. Andrews Undershaft justified the worship of images on the 23d of April; yet on the 19th of June he preached a recantation of that sermon. Besides these, there were great prelates, as Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstall, whose long experience in affairs, they being oft employed in foreign



embassies, together with their high preferment, gave them great authority; and they were against all alterations in religion. But that was not so decent to profess, therefore they set upon this pretence, that till the king their supreme head were of age, so as to consider things himself, all should continue in the state in which king Henry had left them: and these depended on the lady Mary the king's eldest sister as their head, who now professed herself to be in all points for what her father had done; and was very earnest to have everything enacted by him, but chiefly the Six Articles, to continue in force.

On the other hand Cranmer, being now delivered from that too awful subjection that he had been held under by king Henry, resolved to go on more vigorously in purging out abuses. He had the protector firmly united to him in this design. Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheek, who were about the young king, were also very careful to infuse right principles of religion into him; and as he was very capable of understanding what was laid before him, so he had an early liking to all good and generous principles; and was of so excellent a temper of mind, that as he naturally loved truth, so the great probity of his manners made him very inclinable to love and cherish true religion. Cranmer had also several bishops of his side; Holgate of York, Holbeach of Lincoln, Goodrick of Ely, and, above all, Ridley, elect of Rochester, designed for that see by king Henry, but not consecrated till September this year. Old Latimer was now discharged of his imprisonment, but had no mind to return to a more public station, and did choose rather to live private, and employ himself in preaching. He was kept by Cranmer at Lambeth, where he spent the rest of his days, till he was imprisoned in queen Mary's time, and attained the glorious end of his innocent and pious life. But the apprehensions of his being restored again to his old bishopric put Heath, then bishop of Worcester, into great anxieties; sometimes he thought if he consented to the Reformation, then Latimer, who left his bishopric on the account of the Six Articles, must be restored, and this made him join with the popish party: at other times, when he saw the House of Commons moved to have Latimer put in again, then he joined in the counsels for the Reformation, to secure friends to himself by that compliance. Others of the bishops were ignorant and weak men, who understood religion little, and valued it less; and so, although they liked the old superstition best, because it encouraged ignorance most, and that was the only sure support of their power and wealth, yet they resolved to swim with the stream. It was designed by Cranmer and his friends to carry on the Reformation but by slow and safe degrees, not hazarding too much at once. They trusted in the providence of God, that he would assist them in so good a work. They knew the corruptions they were to throw out to be such, that they should easily satisfy the people with what they did, and they had many learned men among them, who had now for divers years been examining these matters. There were also many that declared they had heard the late king express his great regret for leaving the state of religion in so unsettled a condition; and that he had resolved to have changed the mass into a communion, beside many other things. And in the act of parliament which he had procured, (see page 193, Part I.) for giving force and authority to his proclamations, a proviso was added, that his son's counsellors, while he should be under age, might set out proclamations of the same authority with those which were made by the king himself. This gave them a full power to proceed in that work; in which they resolved to follow the method begun by the late king of sending visitors over England, with injunctions and articles. They ordered them six several circuits or precincts; the first was London, Westminster, Norwich, and Ely; the second Rochester, Canterbury, Chichester, and Winchester; the third, Sarum, Exeter, Bath, Bristol, and Gloucester; the fourth, York, Durham, Carlisle, and Chester; the fifth, Peterborough, Lincoln, Oxford, Coventry, and Litchfield; and the sixth, Wales, Worcester, and Hereford. For every circuit there were two gentlemen, a civilian, a divine, and a registrar;* they were designed to be sent out in the beginning of May, as appears by a letter to be found in the Collection, written the 4th of May to the archbishop of York. (There is also in the registers of London another of the same strain.) Yet the visitation

Journal of the House of Commons.

A Visitation is made over England.

Collection Number 7.

* This rule was not observed; in some circuits there were four visitors; in others six; in some no civilians; in some two divines; in some one gentleman; and in some three. See Cranmer's Mem. p. 146.—Strype's Correct.

being put off for some months, this inhibition was suspended on the 16th of May, till it should be again renewed. The letter sets forth, that the king being speedily to order a visitation over his whole kingdom, therefore neither the archbishop nor any other should exercise any jurisdiction while that visitation lasted. And since the minds of the people were held in great suspense by the controversies they heard so variously tossed in the pulpits, that for quieting these the king did require all bishops to preach nowhere but in their cathedrals, and that all other clergymen should not preach but in their collegiate or parochial churches, unless they obtained a special license from the king to that effect. The design of this was to make a distinction between such as preached for the reformation of abuses, and such as did it not. The one were to be encouraged by licenses to preach wherever they desired to do it, but the others were restrained to the places where they were incumbents. But that which of all other things did most damp those who designed the Reformation, was the misery to which they saw the clergy reduced, and the great want of able men to propagate it over England. For the rents of the church were either so swallowed up by the suppression of religious houses, to whom the tithes were generally appropriated, or so basely alienated by some lewd or superstitious incumbents, who, to preserve themselves, being otherwise obnoxious, or to purchase friends, had given away the best part of their revenues and benefices; that there was very little encouragement left for those that should labour in the work of the gospel. And though many projects were thought on for remedying this great abuse, yet those were all so powerfully opposed, that there was no hope left of getting it remedied, till the king should come to be of age, and be able by his authority to procure the churchmen a more proportioned maintenance.

Two things only remained to be done at present. The one was to draw up some homilies for the instruction of the people, which might supply the defects of their incumbents, together with the providing them with such books as might lead them into the understanding of the Scripture. The other was to select the most eminent preachers they could find, and send them over England with the visitors, who should with more authority instruct the nation in the principles of religion. Therefore some were appointed to compile those homilies; and twelve were at first agreed on, being about those arguments which were in themselves of the greatest importance. The 1st was about the use of the Scriptures*. The 2d. Of the Misery of Mankind by Sin. 3d. Of their Salvation by Christ. 4th. Of True and Lively Faith. 5th. Of Good Works. 6th. Of Christian Love and Charity. 7th. Against Swearing, and chiefly Perjury. 8th. Against Apostacy, or declining from God. 9th. Against the Fear of Death. 10th. An exhortation to Obedience. 11th. Against Whoredom and Adultery, setting forth the state of Marriage how necessary and honourable it was. And the 12th, Against Contention, chiefly about matters of Religion. They intended to set out more afterwards, but these were all that were at this time finished. The chief design in them was to acquaint the people with the method of salvation according to the gospel; in which there were two dangerous extremes at that time that had divided the world. The greatest part of the ignorant commons seemed to consider their priests as a sort of a people who had such a secret trick of saving their souls, as mountebanks pretend in the curing of diseases; and that there was nothing to be done but to leave themselves in their hands, and the business could not miscarry. This was the chief basis and support of all that superstition which was so prevalent over the nation. The other extreme was of some corrupt gospellers, who thought if they magnified Christ much, and depended on his merits and intercession, they could not perish, which way soever they led their lives. In these homilies, therefore, special care was taken to rectify these errors; and the salvation of mankind was on the one hand wholly ascribed to the death and sufferings of Christ, to which sinners were taught to fly, and to trust to it only, and to no other devices for the pardon of sin. They were at the same time taught that there was no salvation through Christ but to such as truly repented, and lived according to the rules of the gospel. The whole matter was so ordered to teach them, that avoiding the hurtful errors on both hands, they might all know the true and certain way of attaining eternal happiness. For the understanding the New Testament, Erasmus's Paraphrase, which was translated into English,

Some Homilies compiled.

* These titles are not as they are in the original book. They are only abridged.—STRYPE's CORRECT.



was thought the most profitable and easiest book. Therefore it was resolved, that together with the Bible there should be one of these in every parish-church over England. They next considered the articles and injunctions that should be given to the visitors. The greatest part of them were only the renewing what had been ordered by king Henry during Cromwell's being vicegerent, which had been much neglected since his fall. For as there was no vicegerent, so there was few visitations appointed after his death by the king's authority; but the executing former injunctions was left to the several bishops, who were for the most part more careful about the Six Articles than about the injunctions.

So now all the orders about renouncing the pope's power, and asserting the king's supremacy, about preaching, teaching the elements of religion in the vulgar tongue, about the benefices of the clergy, and the taxes on them for the poor, for scholars, and their mansion-houses, with the other injunctions for the strictness of churchmen's lives, and against superstitions, pilgrimages, images, or other rites of that kind, and for register-books, were renewed. And to these many others were added, as, "That curates should take down such images as they knew were abused by pilgrimages or offerings to them, but that private persons should not do it. That in the confessions in Lent they should examine all people whether they could recite the elements of religion in the English tongue. That at high mass they should read the Epistle and Gospel in English, and every Sunday and holy-day they should read at matins one chapter out of the New Testament, and at even-song another out of the Old, in English. That the curates should often visit the sick, and have many places of the Scripture in English in readiness wherewith to comfort them. That there should be no more processions about churches, for avoiding contention for precedence in them. And that the Litany formerly said in the processions, should be said thereafter in the choir in English, as had been ordered by the late king. That the holy-day had been instituted at first that men should give themselves wholly to God; yet God was generally more dishonoured upon it than on the other days, by idleness, drunkenness, and quarrelling; the people thinking that they sufficiently honoured God by hearing mass and matins, though they understood nothing of it to their edifying; therefore, thereafter the holy-day should be spent according to God's holy will, in hearing and reading his holy word, in public and private prayers, in amending their lives, receiving the communion, visiting the sick, and reconciling themselves to their neighbours: yet the curates were to declare to their people, that in harvest-time they might upon the holy and festival days labour in their harvest. That curates were to admit none to the communion who were not reconciled to their neighbours. That all dignified clergymen should preach personally twice a year. That the people should be taught not to despise any of the ceremonies not yet abrogated, but to beware of the superstition of sprinkling their beds with holy water, or the ringing of bells, or using of blessed candles for driving away devils. That all monuments of idolatry should be removed out of the walls or windows of churches, and that there should be a pulpit in every church for preaching. That there should be a chest with a hole in it for the receiving the oblations of the people for the poor, and that the people should be exhorted to almsgiving, as much more profitable than what they formerly bestowed on superstitious pilgrimages, trentals, and decking of images. That all patrons who disposed of their livings by simoniacal pactions should forfeit their right for that vacancy to the king. That the Homilies should be read. That priests should be used charitably and reverently for their office-sake. That no other primer should be used but that set out by king Henry. That the prime and the hours should be omitted where there was a sermon or homily. That they should in bidding the prayers remember the king their supreme head, the queen-dowager, the king's two sisters, the lord protector, and the council, the lords, the clergy, and the commons of the realm; and to pray for souls departed this life, that at the last day, we with them may rest both body and soul. All which injunctions were to be observed, under the pains of excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation, as the ordinaries should answer it to the king, the justices of peace being required to assist them.

Articles and Injunctions for the Visitation*.

* The Injunctions only are abstracted, not the Articles.—STRYPE's CORRECT.

Besides these, there were other injunctions given to the bishops, "That they should see the former put in execution, and should preach four times a year in their dioceses: once at their cathedral, and three times in other churches, unless they had a reasonable excuse for their omission. That their chaplains should be able to preach God's word, and should be made labour oft in it: that they should give orders to none but such as would do the same; and if any did otherwise, that they should punish him, and recall their licence." These are the chief heads of the injunctions, which being so often printed, I shall refer the reader that would consider them more carefully, to the collection of these and other such curious things made by the right reverend father in God Anthony Sparrow, now lord bishop of Norwich.*

Injunctions to the Bishops.

These being published, gave occasion to those who censured all things of that nature to examine them.

These were much censured.

The removing images that had been abused, gave great occasion of quarrel; and the thing being to be done by the clergy only, it was not like that they who lived chiefly by such things, would be very zealous in the removing them. Yet, on the other hand, it was thought necessary to set some restraints to the heats of the people, who were otherwise apt to run too far where bounds were not set to them.

The article about the strict observance of the holy-day seemed a little doubtful, whether by the holy-day was to be understood only the Lord's-day, or that and all other church festivals. The naming it singularly the holy-day, and in the end of that article adding festival-days to the holy-day, seemed to favour their opinion that thought this strict observance of the holy-day was particularly intended for the Lord's-day, and not for the other festivals. And indeed the setting aside of large portions of time on that day for our spiritual edification, and for the service of God, both in public and private, is so necessary for the advancement of true piety, that great and good effects must needs follow on it. But some came afterwards, who not content to press great strictness on that day, would needs make a controversy about the morality of it, and about the fourth commandment, and framed many rules for it, which were stricter than themselves or any other could keep, and so could only load men's consciences with many scruples. This drew an opposition from others who could not agree to these severities, and these contests were, by the subtlety of the enemies of the power and progress of religion so improved, that instead of all men's observing that time devoutly as they ought, some took occasion, from the strictness of their own way, to censure all as irreligious who did not in everything agree to their notion concerning it: others by the heat of contradiction did too much slacken this great bond and instrument of religion; which is since brought under so much neglect, that it is for most part a day only of rest from men's bodily labours, but perhaps worse employed than if they were at work: so hard a thing it is to keep the due mean between the extremes of superstition on the one hand, and of irreligion on the other.

The corruption of lay-patrons in their simoniacal bargains, was then so notorious, that it was necessary to give a check to it, as we find there was by these injunctions. But whether either this, or the oath afterwards appointed to be taken, has effectually delivered this church of that great abuse, I shall not determine. If those who bestow benefices, did consider that the charge of souls being annexed to them, they shall answer to God severely for putting so sacred a trust in mean or ill hands, upon any base or servile accounts, it would make them look a little more carefully to a thing of so high consequence; and neither expose so holy a thing to sale, nor gratify a friend or servant by granting them the next advowson, or be too easily overcome with the solicitations of impudent pretenders.

The form of bidding prayer was not begun by king Henry, as some have weakly imagined; but was used in the times of popery, as will appear by the form of bidding the beads in king Henry VII.'s time, which will be found in the Collection:—where the way was, first for the preacher to name and open his text, and then to call on the people to go to their prayers, and to tell them what they were to pray for; after which all the people said their beads in a general silence, and the minister kneeled

Collection, Number 8.

* These articles are not in bishop Sparrow's collection, but were printed anno 1547.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.



down likewise and said his. All the change king Henry VIII. made in this was, that the pope and cardinals' names being left out, he was ordered to be mentioned with the addition of his title of supreme head, that the people hearing that oft repeated by their priests, might be better persuaded about it, but his other titles were not mentioned. And this order was now renewed. Only the prayer for departed souls was changed from what it had been. It was formerly in these words: "Ye shall pray for the souls that be departed, abiding the mercy of Almighty God, that it may please him the rather at the contemplation of our prayers, to grant them the fruition of his presence;" which did imply their being in a state where they did not enjoy the presence of God, which was avoided by the more general words now prescribed.

The injunctions given the bishops, directed them to that which, if followed carefully, would be the most effectual means of reforming, at least the next age, if not that wherein they lived. For if holy orders were given to none but to those who are well qualified, and seem to be internally called by a Divine vocation, the church must soon put on a new face: whereas, when orders are too easily given, upon the credit of emendicated recommendations, or titles, and after a slight trial of the knowledge of such candidates, without any exact scrutiny into their sense of things, or into the disposition of their minds; no wonder if by the means of clergymen so ordained, the church lose much in the esteem and love of the people, who being possessed with prejudices against the whole society for the faults which they see in particular persons, become an easy prey to such as divide from it.

Thus were the visitors instructed, and sent out to make their circuits, in August, about the time that the protector made his expedition into Scotland. For the occasion of it I shall refer the reader to what is already said in the former part of this work. Before they engaged deeper in the war, sir Francis Brian was sent over to France, to congratulate the new king, and to see if he would confirm those propositions that were agreed to during his father's life; and if he would pay the pension that was to be given yearly till Boulogne was restored; and chiefly to obtain of him to be neutral in the war of Scotland: complaining of that nation that had broken their faith with England, in the matter of the marriage. To all which the French king answered, that for these articles they mentioned he thought it dishonourable for him to confirm them; and said his father's agent, Poligny, had no warrant to yield to them, for by them the English were at liberty to fortify what they had about Boulogne, which he would never consent to; that he was willing to pay what was agreed to by his father, but would have first the conditions of the delivery of Boulogne made more clear; as for the Scots, they were his perpetual allies, whom he could not forsake if they were in any distress. And when it was pressed on him, and his ambassador at London, that Scotland was subject to the crown of England, they had no regard to it. When the council desired the French ambassador to look on the records which they should bring him for proving their title, he excused himself, and said his master would not interpose in a question of that nature, nor would he look back to what was pretended to have been done two or three hundred years ago; but was to take things as he found them; and that the Scots had records likewise to prove their being a free kingdom. So the council saw they could not engage in the war with Scotland, without drawing on a war with France; which made them try their interest with their friends this year to see if the marriage could be obtained. But the castle of St. Andrews was now lost, by the assistance that Leo Strozzi brought from France. And though they in England continued to send pensions to their party (for in May, 1300*l.* was sent down by Henry Balnaves; and in June, 125*l.* was sent to the Earl of Glencairn, for an half year's payment of his pension), yet they could gain no ground there; for the Scots now thought themselves safer than formerly, the crown of England being in the hands of a child, and the court of France being much governed by their queen dowager's brothers. They gave way to the Borderers to make inroads, of whom about two thousand fell into the western marches, and made great depredations. The Scots in Ireland were also very ill neighbours to the English there. There were many other complaints of piracies at sea, and of a ship-royal that robbed many

August. The Protector went into Scotland.

Thuanus.

Questions made whether Scotland was a free kingdom or subject to England.

English ships; but how these came to be complained of I do not see, for they were in open war, and I do not find any truce had been made. The French agent at London pressed much that there might be a treaty on the borders before the breach were made wider. But now the protector had given orders for raising an army, so that he had no mind to lose that summer. Yet to let the French king see how careful they were of preserving his friendship, they appointed the bishop of Durham, and sir Robert Bowes, to give the Scotch commissioners a meeting on the borders the 4th of August; but with these secret instructions, that if the Scots would confirm the marriage, all other things should be presently forgiven, and peace be immediately made up; but if they were not empowered in that particular, and offered only to treat about restitutions, that then they should immediately break off the treaty. The bishop of Durham was also ordered to carry down with him the exemplifications of many records, to prove the subjection of the crown of Scotland to England; some of these are said to have been under the hands and seals of their kings, their nobles, their bishops, abbots, and towns. He was also ordered to search for all the records that were lying at Durham, where many of them were kept, to be ready to be showed to the Scots upon any occasion that might require it. The meeting on the borders came to a quick issue, for the Scottish commissioners had no power to treat about the marriage. But Tonstall searching the registers of his see, found many writings of great consequence to clear that subjection, of which the reader will see an account, in a letter he writ to the council, in the collection of papers. The most remarkable of these, was the homage king William of Scotland made to Henry II. by which he granted that all the nobles of his realm should be his subjects, and do homage to him; and that all the bishops of Scotland should be under the archbishops of York; and that the king of England should give all the abbeys and honours in Scotland, at the least they should not be given without his consent, with many other things of the like nature. It was said that the monks in those days, who generally kept the records, were so accustomed to the forging of stories and writings, that little credit was to be given to such records as lay in their keeping. But having so faithfully acknowledged what was alleged against the freedom of Scotland, I may be allowed to set down a proof on the other side, for my native country, copied from the original writing, yet extant, under the hands and seals of many of the nobility and gentry of that kingdom. It is a letter to the pope; and it was ordinary that of such public letters there were duplicates signed; the one of which was sent, and the other laid up among the records, of which I have met with several instances. So that of this letter the copy which was reserved, being now in noble hands, was communicated to me, and is in the Collection. It was upon the pope's engaging with the king of England to assist him to subdue Scotland that they writ to him, and did assert most directly that their kingdom was at all times free and independent. But now these questions being waved, the other difference about the marriage was brought to a sharper decision.

Collection Number 9.

Collection Number 10.

On the 21st of August, the protector took out a commission to be general, and to make war on Scotland; and did devolve his power during his absence on the privy-council; and appointed his brother to be lord-lieutenant for the south, and the earl of Warwick (whom he carried with him) lord-lieutenant for the north; and left a commission of array to the marquess of Northampton for Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; to the earl of Arundel for Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, and Wiltshire; and to sir Thomas Cheney for Kent. All this was in case of any invasion from France. Having thus settled affairs during his absence, he set out for Newcastle, having ordered his troops to march thither before; and coming thither on the 27th of that month, he saw his army mustered on the 28th, and marched forward to Scotland. The lord Clinton commanded the ships that sailed on as the army marched; which was done that provisions and ammunition might be brought by them from Newcastle or Berwick, if the enemy should at any time fall in behind their army. He entered into Scotch ground the 2nd of September, and advanced to the paths the 5th, where the passage being narrow and untoward, they looked for an enemy to have disputed it, but found none; the Scots having only broken the ways, which in that dry season signified not much, but to stop them some hours in their march. When they had passed these, some little castles, Dunglas,

Aug. 21.

Aug. 27, 28.

Sept. 2, 5.



EDWARD CLINTON, EARL OF LINCOLN.

OB 1584

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Thornton, and Innerwick, having but a few ill-provided men in them, rendered to them.

Sept. 9. On the 9th they came to Falside, where there was a long fight in several parties, in which there were one thousand three hundred of the Scots slain. And now they were in sight of the Scotch army, which was for numbers of men one of the greatest that they had ever brought together, consisting of thirty thousand men; of which ten thousand were commanded by the governor, eight thousand by the earl of Angus, eight thousand by the earl of Huntley, and four thousand by the earl of Argyle, with a fair train of artillery, nine brass and twenty-one iron guns. On the other side, the English army consisted of about fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, but all well appointed. The Scots were now heated with the old national quarrel to England. It was given out that the protector was come with his army, to carry away their queen, and to enslave the kingdom. And for the encouraging of the army it was also said, that twelve galleys and fifty ships were on the sea from France, and that they looked for them every day.

The protector finding an army brought together so soon, and so much greater than he expected, began to be in some apprehension, and therefore he writ to the Scots to this effect, that they should remember they were both Christians, and so should be tender of the effusion of so much blood; that this war was not made with any design but for a perpetual peace, by the marriage of their two princes which they had already agreed, and given their public faith upon it; and that the Scots were to be much more gainers by it than the English: the island seemed made for one empire; it was a pity it should be more distracted with such wars, when there was so fair and just a way offered for uniting it; and it was much better for them to marry their queen to a prince of the same language, and on the same continent, than to a foreigner; but if they would not agree to that, he offered that their queen should be bred up among them, and not at all contracted, neither to the French, nor to any other foreigner, till she came of age, that by the consent of the estates she might choose a husband for herself. If they would agree to this he would immediately return with his army out of Scotland, and make satisfaction for the damages the country had suffered by the invasion. This proposition seems to justify what the Scotch writers say, though none of the English mention it; that the protector, what for want of provisions, and what from the apprehensions he had of so numerous an army of the Scots, was in great straits, and intended to have returned back to England, without hazarding an engagement. But the Scots thought they were so much superior to the English, and that they had them now at such a disadvantage, that they resolved to fall upon them next day. And that the fair offers made by the protector might not raise division among them, the governor having communicated these to a few whom he trusted, was by their advice persuaded to suppress them; but he sent a trumpeter to the English army with an offer to suffer them to return without falling upon them; which the protector had reason to reject, knowing that so mean an action in the beginning of his administration would have quite ruined his reputation. But to this, another that came with the trumpeter added a message from the earl of Huntley, that the protector and he with ten or twenty of a side, or singly, should decide the quarrel by their personal valour. The protector said, this was no private quarrel, and the trust he was in obliged him not to expose himself in such a way; and therefore he was to fight no other way but at the head of his army. But the earl of Warwick offered to accept the challenge. The earl of Huntley sent no such challenge, as he afterwards purged himself when he heard of it. For as it was unreasonable for him to expect the protector should have answered it, so it had been an affronting the governor of Scotland to have taken it off of his hands, since he was the only person that might have challenged the protector on equal terms. The truth of the matter was, a gentleman that went along with the trumpeter made him do it without warrant, fancying the answer to it would have taken up some time, in which he might have viewed the enemy's camp.

The protector's offers to the Scots.

Rejected by them.

On the 10th of September the two armies drew out, and fought in the field of Pinkey, near Musselburgh. The English had the advantage of the ground. And in the beginning of the action, a cannon ball from one of the English ships killed the lord Graham's eldest son, and twenty-five men more; which put the earl of Argyle's Highlanders into such a fright, that they could not be held in order.

Sept. 10. The Battle of Pinkey, near Musselburgh.

But after a charge given by the earl of Angus, in which the English lost some few men, the Scots gave ground; and the English observing that, and breaking in furiously upon them, the Scots threw down their arms and fled. The English pursued hard, and slew them without mercy. There were reckoned to be killed about fourteen thousand, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners, among whom was the earl of Huntley, and five hundred gentlemen; and all the artillery was taken. This loss quite disheartened the Scots, so that they all retired to Stirling, and left the whole country to the protector's mercy; who the next day went and took Leith, and the soldiers in the ships, burnt some of the sea-towns of Fife, and retook some English ships that had been taken by the Scots, and burnt the rest. They also put a garrison in the isle of St. Columba in the Frith of about two hundred soldiers, and left two ships to wait on them. He also sent the earl of Warwick's brother, sir Ambrose Dudley, to take Broughty, a castle in the mouth of Tay; in which he put two hundred soldiers. He wasted Edinburgh, and uncovered the abbey of Holyrood-house, and carried away the lead and the bells belonging to it. But he neither took the castle of Edinburgh, nor did he go on to Stirling, where the queen with the stragglers of the army lay. And it was thought, that in the consternation wherein the late defeat had put them, every place would have yielded to him. But he had some private reasons that pressed his return, and made him let go the advantages that were now in his hands, and so gave the Scots time to bring succours out of France; whereas he might easily have made an end of the war now at once, if he had followed his success vigorously. The earl of Warwick, who had a great share in the honour of the victory, but knew that the errors in conduct would much diminish the protector's glory, which had been otherwise raised to an unmeasurable height, was not displeased at it. So on the 18th of September the protector drew his army back into England, and having received a message from the queen and the governor of Scotland offering a treaty, he ordered them to send commissioners to Berwick to treat with those he should appoint. As he returned through the Merse, and Teviotdale, all the chief men in these counties came in to him, and took an oath to king Edward, the form whereof will be found in the Collection, and delivered into his hands all the places of strength in their counties. He left a garrison of two hundred in Home castle, under the command of sir Edward Dudley; and fortified Roxburgh, where, for encouraging the rest, he wrought two hours with his own hands, and put three hundred soldiers and two hundred pioneers into it, giving sir Ralph Bulmer the command. At the same time the earl of Lennox and the lord Wharton made an inroad by the West Marches; but with little effect.

A great defeat given the Scots.

Sept. 18.

Collection, Number 11.

On the 29th of September the protector returned into England full of honour, having in all that expedition lost not above sixty men, as one that then writ the account of it says; the Scotch writers say he lost between two and three hundred. He had taken eighty pieces of cannon, and bridled the two chief rivers of the kingdom by the garrisons he left in them; and had left many garrisons in the strong places on the frontier. And now it may be easily imagined how much this raised his reputation in England; since men commonly make auguries of the fortune of their rulers from the successes of the first designs they undertake. So now they remembered what he had done formerly in Scotland; and how he had in France, with seven thousand men, raised the French army of twenty thousand that was set down before Boulogne, and had forced them to leave their ordnance, baggage, and tents, with the loss of one man only, in the year 1544; and that next year he had fallen into Picardy, and built Newhaven with two other forts there: so that they all expected great success under his government. And indeed if the breach between his brother and him, with some other errors, had not lost him the advantages he now had, this prosperous action had laid the foundation of great fortunes to him.

Sept. 29. The Protector returned to England.

He left the earl of Warwick* to treat with those that should be sent from Scotland. But none came; for that proposition had been made only to gain time. The queen-mother there was not ill pleased to see the interest of the governor so much impaired by that

* Afterwards created duke of Northumberland; father of lord Guilford Dudley, the husband of Lady Jane Grey.—ED.



misfortune, and persuaded the chief men of that kingdom to cast themselves wholly into the arms of France, and to offer their young queen to the dauphin, and to think of no treaty with the English. So the earl of Warwick returned to London, having no small share in the honour of this expedition. He was son to that Dudley who was attainted and executed the first year of king Henry VIII.'s reign. But whether it was that the king afterwards repented of his severity to the father, or that he was taken with the qualities of the son, he raised him by many degrees to be admiral and viscount Lisle. He had defended Boulogne, when it was in no good condition, against the dauphin, whose army was believed fifty thousand strong; and when the French had carried the Basse town, he recovered it, and killed eight hundred of their men: the year after that, being in command at sea, he offered the French fleet battle; which they declining, he made a descent upon Normandy with five thousand men, and having burnt and spoiled a great deal, he returned to his ships with the loss only of one man. And he showed he was as fit for a court as a camp; for being sent over to the French court upon the peace, he appeared there with much splendour, and came off with great honour. He was indeed a man of great parts, had not insatiable ambition with profound dissimulation stained his other noble qualities.

The protector at his return was advised presently to meet the parliament (for which the writs had been sent out before he went into Scotland), now that he was so covered with glory, to get himself established in his authority, and to do those other things which required a session. He found the visitors had performed their visitation, and all had given obedience. And those who expounded the secret providences of God with an eye to their own opinions, took great notice of this,—that on the same day in which the visitors removed and destroyed most of the images in London, their armies were so successful in Scotland in Pinkey field. It is too common to all men to magnify such events much, when they make for them; but if they are against them, they turn it off by this, that God's ways are past finding out. So partially do men argue where they are once engaged. Bonner and Gardiner had showed some dislike of the injunctions. Bonner received them with a protestation that he would observe them if they were not contrary to God's law and the ordinances of the church. Upon which sir Anthony Cook and the other visitors complained to the council. So Bonner was sent for, where he offered a submission, but full of vain "quiddities" (so it is expressed in the council-book); but they not accepting of that, he made such a full one as they desired, which is in the Collection. Yet for giving terror to others, he was sent to lie for some time in the prison called the Fleet. Gardiner seeing the Homilies, was also resolved to protest against them. Sir John Godsafe, who was one of the visitors, wrote to him not to ruin himself, nor lose his bishopric by such an action. To whom he wrote a letter, that has more of a Christian and of a bishop in it than anything I ever saw of his. He expresses in handsome terms a great contempt of the world, and a resolution to suffer anything rather than depart from his conscience. Besides that (as he said) the things being against law, he would not deliver up the liberties of his country, but would petition against them. This letter will be found in the Collection, for I am resolved to suppress nothing of consequence on what side soever it may be. On the 25th of September, it being informed to the council that Gardiner had written to some of that board, and had spoken to others, many things in prejudice and contempt of the king's visitation, and that he intended to refuse to set forth the homilies and injunctions, he was sent for to the council; where being examined, he said he thought they were contrary to the word of God, and that his conscience would not suffer him to observe them. He excepted to one of the homilies that it did exclude charity from justifying men, as well as faith. This he said was contrary to the book set out in the late king's time, which was afterwards confirmed in parliament in the year 1542. He said further, that he could never see one place of Scripture nor any ancient doctor that favoured it. He also said Erasmus's paraphrase was bad enough in Latin, but much worse in English, for the translator had oft out of ignorance, and oft out of design, misrendered him palpably, and was one that neither understood Latin nor English well. He offered to go to Oxford to dispute about justification with any they should send him to, or to enter in con-

The Visitors execute the Injunctions.

Acts and Monuments.

But they were not well received by Bonner.

Collection, Number 12.

Nor by Gardiner.

Collection, Number 13.

Sept. 15.

ference with any that would undertake his instruction in town. But this did not satisfy the council. So they pressed him to declare what he intended to do when the visitors should be with him. He said, he did not know; he should further study these points, for it would be three weeks before they could be with him; and he was sure he would say no worse than that he should obey them as far as could consist with God's law and the king's. The council urged him to promise that he would without any limitation set forth the homilies and the injunctions; which he refusing to do, was sent to the Fleet. Some days after that, Cranmer went to see the dean of St. Paul's, having the bishops of Lincoln and Rochester with Dr. Cox and some others with him. He sent for Gardiner thither, and entered into discourse with him about that passage in the homily, excluding charity out of our justification, and urged those places of St. Paul, "that we are justified by faith without the works of the law:" he said his design in that passage was only to draw men from trusting in anything they did, and to teach them to trust only to Christ. But Gardiner had a very different notion of justification. For, as he said, infants were justified by baptism, and penitents by the sacrament of penance; and that the conditions of the justifying of those of age were charity as well as faith, as the three estates make a law all joined together; for by this simile he set it out in the report he writ of that discourse to the lord protector, reckoning the king one of the three estates (a way of speech very strange, especially in a bishop and a lawyer). For Erasmus it was said, that though there were faults, in his paraphrase, as no book besides the Scriptures is without faults, yet it was the best for that use they could find: and they did choose rather to set out what so learned a man had written, than to make a new one which might give occasion to more objections; and he was the most indifferent writer they knew. Afterwards Cranmer, knowing what was likely to work most on him, let fall some words (as Gardiner writ to the protector) of bringing him into the privy council, if he would concur in what they were carrying on; but that not having its ordinary effect on him, he was carried back to the Fleet.

There were also many complaints brought by some clergymen, of such as had used them ill for their obeying the king's injunctions, and for removing images. Many were upon their submission sent away with a severe rebuke; others that offended more heinously were put in the Fleet for some time, and afterwards giving bond for their good behaviour were discharged. But upon the protector's return, the bishop of Winchester writ him a long letter in his own vindication. He complained of the visitors proceeding in his absence in so great a matter. He said the injunctions were contrary to themselves, for they appointed the Homilies to be read, and Erasmus's Paraphrase to be put in all churches: so he selected many passages out of these, that were contrary to one another. He also gathered many things out of Erasmus's Paraphrase that were contrary to the power of princes, and several other censurable things in that work, which Erasmus wrote when he was young, being of a far different strain from what he writ when he grew older, and better acquainted with the world. But he concluded his letter with a discourse of the extent of king and council's power, which is all I transcribed of it, being very long, and full of things of no great consequence. He questions how far the king could command against common or statute law; of which himself had many occasions to be well informed. "Cardinal Wolsey had obtained his legatine power at the king's desire; but notwithstanding that, he was brought into a præmunire: and the lawyers upon that argument cited many precedents of judges that were fined when they transgressed the laws, though commanded by warrants from the king; and earl Typteft, who was chancellor, lost his head for acting upon the king's warrant against law. In the late king's time the judges would not set fines on the breakers of the king's proclamations, when they were contrary to law, till the act concerning them was passed, about which there were many hot words when it was debated. He mentions a discourse that passed between him and the lord Audley in the parliament concerning the king's supremacy. Audley bid him look at the act of supremacy, and he would see the king's doings were restrained to spiritual jurisdiction: and by another act no spiritual law could take place against the common law or an act of parliament: otherwise the bishops would strike in with the king, and by means of the supremacy would order the

Collection, Number 14.



law as they pleased: but we will provide, said he, that the præmunire shall never go off of your backs. In some late cases he heard the judges declare what the king might do against an act of parliament, and what danger they were in that meddled in such matters. These things being so fresh in his memory, he thought he might write what he did to the lords of council." But by this it appears, that no sort of men is so much for the king's prerogative, but when it becomes in any instance uneasy to them, they will shelter themselves under the law. He continued afterwards by many letters to the protector to complain of his ill usage: "that he had been then seven weeks in the Fleet without servants, a chaplain, or a physician: that though he had his writ of summons, he was not suffered to come to the parliament, which might be a ground afterwards of questioning their proceedings: he advised the protector not to make himself a party in these matters, and used all the insinuations of decent flattery that he could invent, with many sharp reflections on Cranmer, and stood much on the force of laws, that they could not be repealed by the king's will. Concerning which he mentions a passage that fell out between Cromwell and himself before the late king. Cromwell said, that the king might make or repeal laws as the Roman emperors did, and asked his opinion about it, whether the king's will was not a law? To which he answered facetiously, that he thought it was much better for the king to make the law his will, than to make his will a law." But notwithstanding all his letters, (which are printed in the second volume of Acts and Monum. edit. 1641,) yet he continued a prisoner till the parliament was over, and then by the act of pardon he was set at liberty. This was much censured as an invasion of liberty; and it was said those at court durst not suffer him to come to the house, lest he had confounded them in all they did. And the explaining justification with so much nicety in homilies that were to be read to the people, was thought a needless subtlety. But the former abuses of trusting to the acts of charity that men did, by which they fancied they bought heaven, made Cranmer judge it necessary to express the matter so nicely; though the expounding those places of St. Paul was, as many thought, rather according to the strain of the Germans, than to the meaning of those epistles. And upon the whole matter, they knew Gardiner's haughty temper, and that it was necessary to mortify him a little, though the pretence on which they did it seemed too slight for such severities. But it is ordinary, when a thing is once resolved on, to make use of the first occasion that offers for effecting it. The party that opposed the Reformation, finding these attempts so unsuccessful, engaged the lady Mary to appear for them. She therefore wrote to the protector, that she thought all changes of religion till the king came to be of age were very much contrary to the respect they owed the memory of her father, if they went about to shake what he had settled; and against their duty to their young master, to hazard the peace of his kingdom, and engage his authority in such points before he was capable of judging them. I gather this to have been the substance of her letter, from the answer which the protector wrote, which is in the Collection. In it he wrote, "That he believed her letter flowed not immediately from herself, but from the instigation of some malicious persons. He protests they had no other design, but the glory of God, and the honour and safety of the king; and that what they had done was so well considered, that all good subjects ought rather to rejoice at it than find fault with it. And whereas she had said, that her father had brought religion to a godly order and quietness, to which both spiritualty and temporalty did without compulsion give their assent; he remembers her what opposition the stiff-necked papists gave him, and what rebellions they raised against him; which he wonders how she came so soon to forget: adding, that death had prevented him before he had finished those godly orders which he had designed; and that no kind of religion was perfected at his death, but all was left so uncertain, that it must inevitably bring on great disorders, if God did not help them; and that himself and many others could witness what regret their late master had, when he saw he must die before he had finished what he intended. He wondered that she, who had been well-bred, and was learned, should esteem true religion, and the knowledge of the Scriptures, newfangledness, or fantasy. He desired she would turn the leaf, and look on the other side, and would with an humble spirit, and by the assistance of the grace of God, consider the matter better."

The Lady Mary dissatisfied with the Reformation.

The Protector writ to her. Collection, Number 15.

Thus things went on till the parliament met, which was summoned to meet the 4th of November. The day before it met, the protector gave too public an instance how much his prosperous success had lifted him up. For by a patent under the great seal, he was warranted to sit in parliament on the right hand of the throne under the cloth of state *; and was to have all the honours and privileges that at any time any of the uncles of the kings of England, whether by the father's or mother's side, had enjoyed; with a *non-obstante* to the statute of precedence. The lord Rich had been made lord chancellor on the 24th of October†; but whether the protector, or he, opened the parliament by any speech, does not appear from the journal of the lords' house.‡

The Parliament meets, Novemb. 4.

Rot. Pat. 1. Reg. 7. Part.

On the 10th of November, a bill was brought in for the repealing several statutes. * It was read the second time on the 12th, and the third time on the 16th day. On the 19th some provisoes were added to it, and it was sent down to the commons, who sent it up the 24th of December, to which the royal assent was given. The commons had formed a new bill for repealing these statutes, which upon some conferences they were willing to let fall; only some privisoes were added to the old one; upon which the bishops of London, Durham, Ely, Hereford, and Chichester, dissented. The preamble of it sets forth, "That nothing made a government happier than when the prince governed with much clemency, and the subjects obeyed out of love. Yet the late king and some of his progenitors, being provoked by the unruliness of some of their people, had made severe laws; but they judging it necessary now to recommend the king's government to the affections of the people, repealed all laws that made anything to be treason but what was in the act of 25th Edw. III. as also two of the statutes about Lollardies, together with the act of the Six Articles, and the other acts that followed in explanation of that. All acts in king Henry VIII.'s time declaring anything to be felony that was not so declared before, were also repealed, together with the acts that made the king's proclamations of equal authority with acts of parliament." It was also enacted, "that all who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted the pope's, in words, should for the first offence forfeit their goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment during pleasure; for the second offence, should incur the pain of præmunire; and for the third offence, be attainted of treason. But if any did in writing, printing, or by any overt act or deed, endeavour to deprive the king of his estate, or titles, particularly of his supremacy; or to confer them on any other, after the 1st of March next, he was to be adjudged guilty of high treason: and if any of the heirs of the crown should usurp upon another, or did endeavour to break the succession of the crown, it was declared high treason, in them, their aiders and abettors. And all were to enjoy the benefit of clergy, and the privilege of sanctuary, as they had it before king Henry VIII.'s reign; excepting only such as were guilty of murder, poisoning, burglary, robbing on the highway, the stealing of cattle, or stealing out of churches or chapels. Poisoners were to suffer as other murderers. None were to be accused of words, but within a month after they were spoken: and those who called the French king by the title of king of France, were not to be esteemed guilty of the pains of translating the king's authority, or titles, on any other."

Novemb. 10.

19.

Dec. 24.

An Act repealing former severe laws.

This act was occasioned by a speech that archbishop Cranmer had made in convocation, in which he exhorted the clergy to give themselves much to the study of the Scripture, and to consider seriously what things were in the church that needed reformation, that so they might throw out all the popish trash that was not yet cast out. Upon this some intimated to him, that as long as the Six Articles stood in force, it was not safe for them to deliver their opinions. This he reported to the council, upon which they ordered this act of repeal. By it the subjects were delivered from many fears they were under, and had good hopes of a mild government, when instead of procuring new severe laws, the old ones were let fall. The council did also free the nation of the jealousies they might have of them by such an abridgment of their own power. But others

In Cor. Ch. Coll. Cham. among Parker's Papers.

* Cloth of state not mentioned.—STRYPE's CORRECT.

† "Rich. Rich. Miles Dominus Rich. constitutus Cancellarius Angliæ 30 Nov. Pat. 1. Edw. 6. P. 3. M. 14." DUGDALE ORIG. JURID.

‡ The lord Rich made the speech mentioned, though not inserted in the Lords' Journal.—STRYPE's CORRECT.



judged it had been more for the interest of the government to have kept up these laws still in force, but to have restrained the execution of them. This repeal drew on another, which was sent from the commons on the 20th of December, and was agreed to by the lords on the 21st. It was of an act in the 28th year of the last king, by which all laws made while his son was under twenty-four years of age might be by his letters patent, after he attained that age, annulled as if they had never been: which they altered thus, that the king after that age, might by his letters patent void any act of parliament for the future; but could not so void it from the beginning, as to annul all things done upon it between the making and annulling of it, which were still to be lawful deeds.

The next bill of a public nature was concerning the sacrament; which was brought in, and read the first time on the 12th of November, the second time on the 15th, and was twice read on the 17th: and on the 24th a bill was brought in for the communion to be received in both kinds; on the 3rd of December it was read the second time, and given to the protector; on the 5th read again, and given to two judges; on the 7th it was read again, and joined to the other bill about the sacrament. And on the 10th, the whole bill was agreed to by all the peers, except the bishops of London, Hereford, Norwich, Worcester, and Chichester, and sent down to the commons. On the 17th a proviso was sent after it, but was rejected by the commons, since the lords had not agreed to it. On the 20th, it was sent up, agreed to, and had afterwards the royal assent. By it, first, "the value of the holy sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, and in the Scripture the supper and table of the Lord, was set forth, together with its first institution; but it having been of late marvellously abused, some had been thereby brought to a contempt of it, which they had expressed in sermons, discourses, and songs (in words not fit to be repeated); therefore whosoever should so offend after the 1st of May next was to suffer fine and imprisonment at the king's pleasure; and the justices of the peace were to take information, and make presentments of persons so offending within three months after the offences so committed, allowing them witnesses for their own purgation. And it being more agreeable to Christ's first institution, and the practice of the church for five hundred years after Christ, that the sacrament should be given in both the kinds of bread and wine, rather than in one kind only;" therefore it was enacted, "that it should be commonly given in both kinds, except necessity did otherwise require it. And it being also more agreeable to the first institution, and the primitive practice, that the people should receive with the priest, than that the priest should receive it alone; therefore the day before every sacrament, an exhortation was to be made to the people to prepare themselves for it, in which the benefits and danger of worthy and unworthy receiving were to be expressed, and the priests were not without a lawful cause to deny it to any who humbly asked it."

Act about the Communion.

This was an act of great consequence, since it reformed two abuses that had crept into the church. The one was the denying the cup to the laity, the other was the priests communicating alone. In the first institution it is plain, that as Christ bade all drink of the cup, and his disciples all drank of it, so St. Paul directed every one to "examine himself, that he might eat of that bread and drink of that cup." From thence the church for many ages continued this practice: and the superstition of some who received only in one kind was severely censured, and such were appointed either to receive the whole sacrament or to abstain wholly. It continued thus till the belief of the corporal presence of Christ was set up; and then the keeping and carrying about the cup in processions not being so easily done, some began to lay it aside. For a great while the bread was given dipped in the cup, to represent a bleeding Christ, as it is in the Greek church to this day. In other places the laity had the cup given them, but they were to suck it through pipes that nothing of it should fall to the ground. But since they believed that Christ was in every crumb of bread, it was thought needless to give the sacrament in both kinds: so in the council of Constance the cup was ordered to be denied the laity, though they acknowledged it to have been instituted and practised otherwise. To this the Bohemians would never submit; though to compel them to it much blood was shed in this quarrel. And now in the Reformation this was everywhere one of the first things with which the people were possessed, the opposition of the Roman church herein to the institution of Christ being so manifest.

Communion appointed in both kinds.

At first this sacrament was also understood to be a communion of the body and blood of Christ, of which many were to be partakers: while the fervour of devotion lasted, it was thought a scandalous and censurable thing if any had come unto the Christian assemblies, and had not staid to receive these holy mysteries; and the denying to give any one the sacrament was accounted a very great punishment. So sensible were the Christians of their ill condition when they were hindered to participate of it. But afterwards the former devotion slackening, the good bishops in the fourth and fifth centuries complained oft of it, that so few came to receive: yet the custom being to make oblations before the sacrament, out of which the clergy had been maintained during the poverty of the church, the priests had a great mind to keep up the constant use of these oblations; and so persuaded the laity to continue them, and to come to the sacrament, though they did not receive it: and in process of time they were made to believe that the priest received in behalf of the whole people. And whereas this sacrament was the commemoration of Christ's sacrifice on the cross, and so by a phrase of speech was called a sacrifice, they came afterwards to fancy that the priest's consecrating and consuming the sacrament was an action of itself expiatory, and that both for the dead and the living. And there rose an infinite number of several sorts of masses: some were for commemorating the saints, and those were called the masses of such saints; others for a particular blessing, for rain, health, &c., and indeed for all the accidents of human life, where the addition or variation of a collect made the difference: so that all that trade of massing was now removed. An intimation was also made of exhortations to be read in it, which they intended next to set about. These abuses in the mass gave great advantages to those who intended to change it into a communion. But many, instead of managing them prudently, made unseemly jests about them, and were carried by a lightness of temper to make songs and plays of the mass: for now the press went quick and many books were printed this year about matters of religion; the greatest number of them being concerning the mass, which were not written in so decent and grave a style as the matter required. Against this act only five bishops protested. Many of that order were absent from the parliament, so the opposition made to it was not considerable.

And all private Masses put down.

The next bill brought into the house of lords, was concerning the admission of bishops to their sees by the king's letters patent; which being read, was committed to the archbishop of Canterbury's care on the 5th of November, and was read a second time on the 10th, and committed to some of the judges, and was read the third time on the 28th of November, and sent down to the commons on the 5th of December. There was also another bill brought in, concerning the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the bishops' courts, on the 17th of November, and passed, and sent down on the 13th of December. But both these bills were put in one, and sent up by the commons on the 20th of that month, and assented to by the king. By this act it was set forth, "that the way of choosing bishops by *congé d'élire* was tedious and expenseful, that there was only a shadow of election in it, and that therefore bishops should thereafter be made by the king's letters patent, upon which they were to be consecrated: and whereas the bishops did exercise their authority, and carry on processes, in their own names, as they were wont to do in the time of popery; and since all jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal, was derived from the king; that therefore their courts and all processes should be from henceforth carried on in the king's name, and be sealed by the king's seal, as it was in the other courts of common-law, after the 1st of July next; excepting only the archbishop of Canterbury's courts*, and all collations, presentations, or letters of orders, which were to pass under the bishops' proper seals as formerly." Upon this act great advantages were taken to disparage the Reformation, as subjecting the bishops wholly to the pleasure of the court.

An Act about the Admission of Bishops.

At first, bishops were chosen and ordained by the other bishops in the countries where they lived. The apostles, by that spirit of discerning, which was one of the extraordinary gifts they were endued with, did ordain the first fruits of their labours, and never left the election of pastors to the discretion of the people.

The ancient ways of electing Bishops.

* The archbishop might only use his own name and seal for faculties and dispensations, being in all other cases as much restrained as other bishops.—Granger's Correct.



Indeed, when they were to ordain deacons, who were to be trusted with the distribution of the public alms, they appointed such as the people made choice of; but when St. Paul gave directions to Timothy and Titus about the choice of pastors, all that depended on the people by them was that they should be blameless and of good report. But afterwards, the poverty of the church being such, that churchmen lived only by the free bounty of the people, it was necessary to consider them much; so that in many places the choice began among the people; and in all places it was done by their approbation and good-liking. But great disorders followed upon this as soon as, by the emperors turning Christians, the wealth of church benefices made the pastoral charge more desirable; and the vast numbers of those who turned Christians with the tide, brought in great multitudes to have their votes in these elections. The inconvenience of this was felt early in Phrygia, where the council of Laodicea made a canon against these popular elections. Yet in other parts of Asia, and at Rome, there were great and often contests about it; in some of these many men were killed. In many places the inferior clergy chose their bishops; but in most places the bishops of the province made the choice, yet so as to obtain the consent of the clergy and people. The emperors by their laws made it necessary that it should be confirmed by the metropolitans; they reserved the elections of the great sees to themselves, or at least the confirmation of them. Thus it continued till Charles the Great's time; but then the nature of church employments came to be much altered; for though the church had predial lands with the other rights that belonged to them by the Roman law, yet he first gave bishops and abbots great territories, with some branches of royal jurisdiction in them, who held these lands of him, according to the feudal laws. This, as it carried churchmen off from the humility and abstraction from the world which became their function, so it subjected them much to the humours and interests of those princes on whom they had their dependence. The popes, who had made themselves heads of the hierarchy, could not but be glad to see churchmen grow rich and powerful in the world; but they were not so well pleased to see them made so much the more dependent on their princes; and no doubt by some of those princes that were thus become patrons of churches, the bishoprics were either given for money, or charged with reserved pensions. Upon this the popes filled the world with the complaints of simony, and of enslaving churchmen to court interests; and so would not suffer them to accept of investitures from their princes, but set up for free elections, as they called them, which they said were to be confirmed by the see apostolic. So the canons secular or regular in cathedral churches were to choose the bishops, and their election was to be confirmed at Rome; yet princes in most places got some hold of those elections, so that still they went as they had a mind they should; which was oft complained of as a great slavery on the church, and would have been more universally condemned if the world had not been convinced that the matter would not be much the better, if there should have been set up either the popular or synodical elections, in which faction was like to sway all. King Henry had continued the old way of the elections by the clergy, but so as that it seemed to be little more than a mockery; but now it was thought a more ingenuous way of proceeding, to have the thing done directly by the king, rather than under the thin covert of an involuntary election.

For the other branch about ecclesiastical courts, the causes before them concerning wills and marriages being matters of a mixed nature, and which only belong to these by the laws of the land, and being no parts of the sacred functions, it was thought no invasion of the sacred offices to have these tried in the king's name. But the collation of benefices, and giving of orders, which are the chief parts of the episcopal function, were to be performed still by the bishops in their own names. Only excommunication, by a fatal neglect, continued to be the punishment for contempts of these courts; which belonging only to the spiritual cognisance, ought to have been reserved for the bishop with the assistance of his clergy. But the canonists had so confounded all the ancient rules about the government of the church, that the reformers being called away by considerations that were more obvious and pressing, there was not that care taken in this that the thing required. And these errors or oversights in the first concoction have by a continuance grown since into so formed a strength, that it is easier to see what is amiss, than to know how to rectify it.

On the 29th of November the bill against vagabonds was brought in. By this it was enacted, "That all that should anywhere loiter without work, or without offering themselves to work, three days together—or that should run away from work, and resolve to live idly, should be seized on; and whosoever should present them to a justice of peace, was to have them adjudged to be his slaves for two years; and they were to be marked with the Letter V. imprinted with a hot iron on their breast." A great many provisoes follow concerning clerks so convict, which show that this act was chiefly levelled at the idle monks and friars, who went about the country, and would betake themselves to no employment; but finding the people apt to have compassion on them, they continued in that course of life. Which was of very ill consequence to the state. For these vagrants did everywhere alienate the people's minds from the government, and persuaded them that things would never be well settled, till they were again restored to their houses. Some of these came often to London, on pretence of suing for their pensions; but really to practise up and down through the country: to prevent this, there was a proclamation set out on the 18th of September, requiring them to stay in the places where they lived, and to send up a certificate where they were, to the Court of Augmentations; who should thereupon give order for their constant payment. Some thought this law against vagabonds was too severe, and contrary to that common liberty, of which the English nation has been always very sensible, both in their own, and their neighbours' particulars. Yet it could not be denied but extreme diseases required extreme remedies: and perhaps there is no punishment too severe for persons that are in health, and yet prefer a loitering course of life to an honest employment. There followed in the act many excellent rules for providing for the truly poor and indigent in the several places where they were born, and had their abode. Of which this can only be said, that as no nation has laid down more effectual rules for the supplying the poor than England, so that indeed none can be in absolute want; so the neglect of these laws is a just and great reproach on those who are charged with the execution of them, when such numbers of poor vagabonds swarm everywhere without the due restraints that the laws have appointed.

An Act against Vagabonds.

On the 6th of December, the bill for giving the chantries to the king was brought into the house of lords. It was read the second time on the 12th, the third time on the 13th, and the fourth time on the 14th of that month. It was much opposed, both by Cranmer on the one hand, and the popish bishops on the other. The late king's executors saw they could not pay his debts, nor satisfy themselves in their own pretensions formerly mentioned, out of the king's revenue; and so intended to have these to be divided among them. Cranmer opposed it long. For the clergy being much impoverished by the sale of the impropriated tithes, that ought in all reason to have returned into the church, but upon the dissolution of the abbeys were all sold among the laity, he saw no probable way remaining for their supply, but to save these endowments till the king were of age; being confident he was so piously disposed, that they should easily persuade him to convert them all to the bettering of the condition of the poor clergy, that were now brought into extreme misery. And therefore he was for reforming and preserving these foundations, till the king's full age. The popish bishops liked these endowments so well, that, upon far different motives, they were for continuing them in the state they were in. But those who were to gain by it were so many, that the act passed; the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Worcester, and Chichester, dissenting. So it being sent down to the house of commons, was there much opposed by some burgesses; who represented that the boroughs for which they served could not maintain their churches, and other public works of the guilds and fraternities, if the rents belonging to them were given to the king, for these were likewise in the act. This was chiefly done by the burgesses of Lynn and Coventry; who were so active, that the whole house was much set against that part of the bill for the guild-lands. Therefore those who managed that house for the court, took these off by an assurance that their guild-lands should be restored to them. And so they desisted from their opposition, and the bill passed on the promise given to them, which was afterwards made good by the protector. In the preamble of the act, it set forth, "that the great superstition of Christians, rising out of their ignorance of the true way of salvation by the death of Christ,

An Act giving the Chantries to the King.



instead of which they had set up the vain conceits of purgatory, and masses satisfactory, was much supported by trentals and chantries. And since the converting these to godly uses, such as the endowing of schools, provisions for the poor, and the augmenting of places in the universities, could not be done by parliament, they therefore committed it to the care of the king. And then reciting the act made in the thirty-seventh year of his father's reign, they give the king all such chantries, colleges, and chapels as were not possessed by the late king, and all that had been in being any time these five years last past: as also all revenues belonging to any church, for anniversaries, obits, and lights; together with all guild-lands, which any fraternity of men enjoyed, for obits, or the like: and appoint these to be converted to the maintenance of grammar-schools, or preachers, and for the increase of vicarages." After this followed the act giving the king the customs known by the name of tonnage and poundage; besides some other laws, of matters that are not needful to be remembered in this history. Last of all came the king's general pardon; with the common exceptions, among which, one was of those who were then prisoners in the Tower of London, in which the duke of Norfolk was included. So all business being ended, the parliament was prorogued from the 24th of December to the 20th of April following.

But having given this account of these bills that were passed, I shall not esteem it an unfruitful piece of history to show what other bills were designed. There were put into the house of lords, two bills that were stifled. The one was, for the use of the Scriptures, which came not to a second reading. The other was a bill for erecting a new court of chancery for ecclesiastical and civil causes, which was committed to some bishops and temporal lords, but never more mentioned. The commons sent up also some bills, which the lords did not agree to. One was about benefices with cure, and residence. It was committed, but never reported. Another was for the reformation of divers laws, and of the courts of common law; and a third was, that married men might be priests, and have benefices. To this the commons did so readily agree, that it being put in on the 19th of December, and read then for the first time, it was read twice the next day, and sent up to the lords on the 21st. But being read there once, it was like to have raised such debates, that it being resolved to end the session before Christmas, the lords laid it aside.

Acts that were proposed but not carried.

But while the parliament was sitting, they were not idle in the convocation, though the popish party was yet so prevalent in both houses, that Cranmer had no hopes of doing anything till they were freed of the trouble which some of the great bishops gave them. The most important thing they did was the carrying up four petitions to the bishops, which will be found in the Collection. The first, that according to the statute made in the reign of the late king, there might be persons empowered for reforming the ecclesiastical laws. The second, that according to the ancient custom of the nation, and the tenor of the bishops' writ to the parliament, the inferior clergy might be admitted again to sit in the house of commons, or that no acts concerning matters of religion might pass without the sight and assent of the clergy. The third, that since divers prelates, and other divines, had been in the late king's time appointed to alter the service of the church, and had made some progress in it, that this might be brought to its full perfection. The fourth, that some consideration might be had for the maintenance of the clergy, the first year they came into their livings, in which they were charged with the first-fruits, to which they added a desire to know whether they might safely speak their minds about religion, without the danger of any law. For the first of these four petitions, an account of it shall be given hereafter. As to the second, it was a thing of great consequence, and deserves to be farther considered in this place.

The Convocation meets.

The lower House made some Petitions. Number 16.

Anciently, all the freemen of England, or at least those that held of the crown in chief, came to parliament; and then the inferior clergy had writs as well as the superior, and the first of the three estates of the kingdom were the bishops, the other prelates, and the inferior clergy. But when the parliament was divided into two houses, then the clergy made likewise a body of their own, and sate in convocation, which was the third estate; but the bishops having a double capacity, the one of ecclesiastical prelature, the other of being the king's barons, they

The inferior Clergy desire to be admitted to have Representatives in the House of Commons.

had a right to sit with the lords as a part of their estate, as well as in the convocation. And though by parity of reason it might seem that the rest of the clergy, being freeholders as well as clerks, had an equal right to choose, or be chosen, into the house of commons; yet whether they were ever in possession of it, or whether, according to the clause *premonentes* in the bishops' writ, they were ever a part of the house of commons, is a just doubt. For besides this assertion in the petition that was mentioned, and a more large one in the second petition, which they presented to the same purpose, which is likewise in the Collection, I have never met with any good reason to satisfy me in it. There was a general tradition in queen Elizabeth's reign, that the inferior clergy departed from their right of being in the house of commons, when they were all brought in the præmunire upon Cardinal Wolsey's legatine power, and made their submission to the king. But that is not credible: for as there is no footstep of it, which in a time of so much writing and printing must have remained, if so great a change had been then made; so it cannot be thought, that those who made this address but seventeen years after that submission, (many being alive in this, who were of that convocation, Polidore Virgil in particular, a curious observer since he was maintained here to write the "History of England,") none of them should have remembered a thing that was so fresh, but have appealed to writs and ancient practices. But though this design of bringing the inferior clergy into the house of commons did not take at this time, yet it was again set on foot, in the end of queen Elizabeth's reign, and reasons were offered to persuade her to set it forward; which not being then successful, the same reasons were again offered to king James, to induce him to endeavour it. The paper that discovers this was communicated to me by Dr. Borlace, the worthy author of the "History of the Irish Rebellion." It is corrected in many places by the hand of bishop Ravis, then bishop of London, a man of great worth. This, for the affinity of the matter, and the curiosity of the thing, I have put into the collection, with a large marginal note, as it was designed to be transcribed for king James. But whether this matter was ever much considered, or lightly laid aside, as a thing unfit and unpracticable, does not appear; certain it is that it came to nothing. Upon the whole matter, it is not certain what was the power or right of these proctors of the clergy in former times: some are of opinion, that they were only assistants to the bishops, but had no voice in either house of parliament. This is much confirmed by an act passed in the parliament of Ireland, in the twenty-eighth year of the former reign, which sets forth in the preamble, "That though the proctors of the clergy were always summoned to parliament, yet they were no part of it; nor had they any right to vote in it, but were only assistants in case matters of controversy or learning came before them, as the convocation was in England, which had been determined by the judges of England after much inquiry made about it. But the proctors were then pretending to so high an authority, that nothing could pass without their consents; and it was presumed they were set on to it by the bishops, whose chaplains they were for the most part. Therefore they were by that act declared to have no right to vote."

Number 17.

Number 18.

Coke, 4, Inst. 3, 4.

From this some infer they were no other in England, and that they were only the bishops' assistants and council. But as the clause *premonentes* in the writ seems to make them a part of the parliament, so these petitions suppose that they sate in the house of commons anciently, where it cannot be imagined they could sit if they came only to be assistants to the bishops, for then they must have sate in the house of lords rather; as the judges, the masters of chancery, and the king's counsel do. Nor is it reasonable to think they had no voice: for then their sitting in parliament had been so insignificant a thing, that it is not likely they would have used such endeavours to be restored to it, since their coming to parliament upon such an account must have been only a charge to them.

There is against this opinion an objection of great force, from the acts passed in the 21st year of Richard II.'s reign. In the second act of that parliament it is said, "that it was first prayed by the commons, and that the lords spiritual and the proctors of the clergy did assent to it, upon which the king, by the assent of all the lords and commons, did enact it." The 12th act of that parliament was a repeal of the whole parliament that was held in the 11th year of that reign; and concerning it, it is expressed, "That the lords spiritual and temporal, the proctors of the clergy, and the commons, being severally examined, did all



agree to it." From hence it appears, that these proctors were then not only a part of the parliament, but were a distinct body of men, that did severally from all the rest deliver their opinions. It may seem strange, that if they were then considered as a part of either house of parliament, this should be the only time in which they should be mentioned as bearing their share in the legislative power. In a matter that is so perplexed and dark, I shall presume to offer a conjecture which will not appear perhaps improbable. In the 98th page of the former Part, I gave the reasons that made me think the lower house of convocation consisted at first only of the proctors of the clergy. So that by the proctors of the clergy, both in the statute of Ireland, and in those made by Richard II., is perhaps to be understood the lower house of convocation; and it is not unreasonable to think, that upon so great an occasion as the annulling a whole parliament, to make it pass the better, in an age in which the people paid so blind a submission to the clergy, the concurrence of the whole representative of the church might have been thought necessary. It is generally believed, that the whole parliament sate together in one house before Edward III.'s time, and then the inferior clergy were a part of that body without question. But when the lords and commons sate apart, the clergy likewise sate in two houses, and granted subsidies as well as the temporalty. It may pass for no unlikely conjecture that the clause *premonentes* was first put in the bishops' writ for the summoning of the lower house of convocation, consisting of these proctors; and afterwards, though there was a special writ for the convocation, yet this might at first have been continued in the bishops' writ by the neglect of a clerk, and from thence be still used. So that it seems to me most probable, that the proctors of the clergy were, both in England and Ireland, the lower house of convocation. Now, before the submission which the clergy made to king Henry, as the convocation gave the king great subsidies, so the whole business of religion lay within their sphere; but after the submission they were cut off from meddling with it, except as they were authorised by the king. So that having now so little power left them, it is no wonder they desired to be put in the state they had been in before the convocation was separated from the parliament; or at least that matters of religion should not be determined till they had been consulted, and had reported their opinions and reasons. The extreme of raising the ecclesiastical power too high in the times of popery, had now produced another of depressing it too much. For seldom is the counterpoise so justly balanced, that extremes are reduced to a well-tempered mediocrity.

For the third petition, it was resolved that many bishops and divines should be sent to Windsor, to labour in the matter of the church service. But that required so much consideration, that they could not enter on it during a session of parliament. And for the fourth, what answer was given to it doth not appear.

On the 29th of November, a declaration was sent down from the bishops concerning the sacraments being to be received in both kinds. To which Jo. Taylour, the prolocutor, and several others, set their hands; and being again brought before them, it was agreed to by all without a contradictory vote; sixty-four being present, among whom I find Polidore Virgil was one. And on the 17th of December the proposition concerning the marriage of the clergy was also sent to them, and subscribed, by thirty-five affirmatively, and by fourteen negatively; so it was ordered that a bill should be drawn concerning it. I shall not here digress to give an account of what was alleged for or against this, reserving that to its proper place, when the thing was finally settled.

And this is all the account I could recover of this convocation. I have chiefly gathered it from some notes, and other papers, of the then Dr. Parker (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) which are carefully preserved with his other MSS. in Corpus Christi College Library, at Cambridge; to which library I had free access by the favour of the most learned master, Dr. Spencer, with the other worthy fellows of that house; and from thence I collected many remarkable things in this history.

The parliament being brought to so good a conclusion, the protector took out a new commission, in which all the addition that is made to that authority he formerly had, is, that in his absence he is empowered to substitute another, to whom he might delegate his power.

And thus this year ended in England; but as they were carrying on the Reformation here, it was declining apace in Germany. The duke of Saxe and the landgrave were this year to command their armies apart. The duke of Saxe kept within his own country, but having there unfortunately divided his forces, the emperor overtook him near the Alb at Mulberg; where the emperor's soldiers crossing the river, and pursuing him with great fury, after some resistance, in which he himself performed all that could be expected from so great a captain, was taken prisoner, and his country all possessed by Maurice, who was now to be invested with the electoral dignity. He bore his misfortunes with a greatness and equality of mind that is scarce to be paralleled in history. Neither could the insolence with which the emperor treated him, nor the fears of death to which he adjudged him, nor that tedious imprisonment which he suffered so long, ever shake or disorder a mind that was raised so far above the inconstancies of human affairs. And though he was forced to submit to the hardest conditions possible, of renouncing his dignity and dominions, some few places being only reserved for his family; yet no entreaties nor fears could ever bring him to yield anything in matters of religion. He made the Bible his chief companion and comfort in his sharp afflictions; which he bore so, as if he had been raised up to that end, to let the world see how much he was above it. It seemed unimitable; and therefore engaged Thuanus, with the other excellent writers of that age, to set it out with all the advantages that so unusual a temper of mind deserved. Yet had those writers lived in our age, and seen a great king, not overpowered by a superior prince, but by the meanest of his own people, and treated with equal degrees of malice and scorn, and at last put to death openly, with the pageantry of justice; and bearing all this with such invincible patience, heroical courage, and most christian submission to God, they had yet found a nobler subject for their eloquent pens; but he saved the world the labour of giving a just representation of his behaviour in his sufferings, having left his own portraiture drawn by himself in such lively and lasting colours.

The state of Affairs in Germany.

1547. April 24. Duke of Saxe taken.

The landgrave of Hesse saw he could not long withstand the emperor's army, now so lifted up with success; and therefore was willing to submit to him on the best terms that his sons-in-law, the elector of Brandenburg and Maurice of Saxe, could obtain for him. Which were very hard; only he was to enjoy his liberty, without any imprisonment, and to preserve his dominions. But the emperor's ministers dealt most unfaithfully with him in this: for in the German language there was but one letter's difference, and that only inverted, between perpetual imprisonment and any imprisonment, (*ewig* for *emig*,) so by this base artifice, he was, when he came and submitted to the emperor, detained a prisoner. He had not the duke of Saxe's temper, but was out of measure impatient, and did exclaim of his ill usage: but there was no remedy, for the emperor was now absolute. All the towns of Germany, Magdeburg and Bremen only excepted, submitted to him, and redeemed his favour by great sums of money, and many pieces of ordnance. And the Bohemians were also forced to implore his brother's mercy, who before he would receive them into his hands, got his revenue to be raised vastly. And now the empire was wholly at the emperor's mercy. Nothing could withstand him who had in one year turned out two electors. For Herman bishop of Cologne, as he was before condemned by the pope, so was also degraded from that dignity by the emperor; and Adolph, whom he had procured to be made his coadjutor, was declared elector. Many of his subjects and neighbour princes offered their service, if he would stand to his own defence; but he was very old, and of so meek a temper, that he would suffer no blood to be shed on his account; and therefore withdrew peaceably to a retirement in which he lived four years till his death. His brother that was bishop of Munster and dean of Bonn, who had gone along with him in his reformation, was also turned out; and Gropper was made dean, who was esteemed one of the learnedest and best of the clergy at this time. He is said to have expressed a generous contempt of the highest dignity the see of Rome could bestow on him, for he refused a cardinal's hat when it was offered him: yet in this matter he had not behaved himself as became so good a man, and so learned a divine. For he had consented to the changes had been made, and

1546. Apr. 16. Herman excommunicated at Rome.

Nov. 4. Herman resigned.



was in a correspondence with Martin Bucer, whom Herman brought to Cologne, (as will appear by an excellent letter of Bucer's to him, which will be found in the Collection concerning that matter,) by which it is plain he went along with them from the beginning. But it seems he did it covertly and fearfully, and was afterwards drawn off, either by the love of the world, or the fears of the Cross; of which it appears Bucer had then some apprehensions, though he expressed them very modestly. Gropper's memory being in such high esteem, and this letter being found among Bucer's papers, I thought the publishing of it would not be unacceptable, though it be of a foreign matter.

Number 19.

Germany being thus under the power and dread of the emperor, a diet was summoned to Augsburg: where the chief church was taken from the protestants, and put into the cardinal of Augsburg's hands, to have the mass set up again in it, though the town was so much protestant that they could find none that would come to it, but some poor people who were hired. The emperor, among other propositions he put in to the diet, pressed this, that all differences in religion, which had so distracted Germany, might be removed. The ecclesiastical princes answered, that the only way to effect that, was to submit to the general council that was at Trent: those that were for the Augsburg Confession said, they could submit to no council where the pope presided, and where the bishops were sworn to obey him; but would submit to it, if that oath was dispensed with, and their divines admitted to defend their opinions, and all the decrees that had been made were again considered. In this difference of opinion, the emperor thought that if the whole matter should be left to his discretion, to which all should be bound to submit, he would then be able to determine it as he pleased. So he dealt privately with the electors palatine and Saxe; and as they published it afterwards, gave them secret assurances about the freedom of their religion, and that he only desired this to put him in a capacity of dealing on other terms with the pope. Upon which, they consented to a decree, referring the matter of religion wholly to his care. But the deputies from the cities, who looked on this as a giving up of their religion, could not be wrought to do it, without conditions, which they put into another writing, as explanatory of the submission: but the emperor took no notice of that, and only thanked them for their confidence in him, and so the decree was published. All this was in some sort necessary for the emperor, who was then on very ill terms with the pope about the business of Placentia. For the pope's natural son Petrus Aloisius being killed by a conspiracy, the governor of Milan had seized on Placentia, which made the pope believe the emperor was accessary to it: for which the reader is referred to the Italian historians. The pope saw the emperor in one summer delivered of a war, which he had hoped would have entangled him his whole life; and though in decency he could not but seem to rejoice, and did so no doubt, at the ruin of those whom he called heretics, yet he was not a little grieved to see the emperor so much exalted.

1547. Sept. 10. Petrus Aloisius killed.

At Trent the legates had been oft threatened and affronted by the emperor's ambassadors and bishops, who were much set on reforming abuses, and lessening the power of the see of Rome. So they had a mind to break up the council; but that would have been so scandalous a thing, and so resented by the emperor, that they resolved rather on a translation into some town of the pope's, to which it was not likely the imperialists would follow them, and so at least the council would be suspended, if not dissolved. For this remove, they laid hold on the first colour they could find. One dying of a malignant fever, it was given out and certified by physicians, that he died of the plague; so in all haste they translated the council to Bologna. The imperialists protested against it; but in vain, for thither they went. The emperor was hereby quite disappointed of his chief design, which was to force the Germans to submit to a council held in Germany: and therefore no plague appearing at Trent, he pressed the return of the council thither. But the pope said, it was the council's act, and not his; and that their honour was to be kept up: that therefore such as staid at Trent were to go first to Bologna, and acknowledge the council, and they should then consider what was to be done. So that now all the hope the Germans had, was, that this difference between the pope and emperor might give them some breathing; and time might

The proceedings at Trent.

April 21. The first Session of Bologna.

bring them out of these extremities into which they were then driven. Upon these disorders the foreign reformers, who generally made Germany their sanctuary, were now forced to seek it elsewhere. So Peter Martyr, in the end of November this year, was brought over to England, by the invitation which the archbishop of Canterbury sent him in the king's name. He was born in Florence, where he had been an Augustinian monk. He was learned in the Greek and the Hebrew, which drew on him the envy of the rest of his order, whose manners he inveighed oft against. So he left them, and went to Naples, where he gathered an assembly of those who loved to worship God more purely. This being made known, he was forced to leave that place, and went next to Lucca, where he lived in society with Tremellius and Zanchius. But being also in danger there, he went to Zurich with Bernardinus Ochinus, that had been one of the most celebrated preachers of Italy, and now forsook his former superstitions. From Zurich he went to Basle; and from thence by Martin Bucer's means he was brought to Strasburg; where Cranmer's letter found both him and Ochinus. The latter was made a canon of Canterbury, with a dispensation of residence; and by other letters patent forty marks were given yearly to him, and as much to Peter Martyr.

The French quarrel about Boulogne.

There had been this year some differences between the English and French, concerning the fortifications about Boulogne. The English were raising a great fort by the harbour there. This being signified to king Henry by Gaspar Coligny, afterwards the famous admiral of France, then governor of the neighbouring parts to Boulogne, it was complained of at the court of England. It was answered, that this was only to make the harbour more secure; and so the works were ordered to be vigorously carried on. But this could not satisfy the French, who plainly saw it was of another sort than to be intended only for the sea. The king of France came and viewed the country himself, and ordered Coligny to raise a fort on a high ground near it, which was called the Chastillon fort, and commanded both the English fort and the harbour. But the protector had no mind to give the French a colour for breaking with the English; so there was a truce and further cessation agreed on, in the end of September. These are all the considerable foreign transactions of this year, in which England was concerned; but there was a secret contrivance laid at home of a high nature, which, though it broke not out till the next year, yet the beginnings of it did now appear.

The breach between the Protector and the Admiral.

The protector's brother, Thomas Seymour, was brought to such a share in his fortunes, that he was made a baron, and lord-admiral. But this not satisfying his ambition, he endeavoured to have linked himself into a nearer relation with the crown, by marrying the king's sister, the lady Elizabeth. But finding he could not compass that, he made his addresses to the queen-dowager; who, enjoying now the honour and wealth the late king had left her, resolved to satisfy herself in her next choice; and entertained him a little too early, for they were married so soon after the king's death, that it was charged afterwards on the admiral, that if she had brought a child as soon as might have been after the marriage, it had given cause to doubt whether it had not been by the late king; which might have raised great disturbance afterwards. But being thus married to the queen, he concealed it for some time, till he procured a letter from the king, recommending him to her for a husband; upon which they declared their marriage, with which the protector was much offended. Being thus possessed of great wealth, and being husband to the queen-dowager, he studied to engage all that were about the king to be his friends: and he corrupted some of them by his presents, and forced one on Sir John Cheke. That which he designed was, that whereas in former times the infant kings of England had had governors of their persons distinct from the protectors of their realms; which trusts were divided between their uncles, it being judged too much to join both in one person, who was thereby too great, whereas a governor of the king's person might be a check on the protector; he would therefore himself be made governor of the king's person, alleging, that since he was the king's uncle as well as his brother, he ought to have a proportioned share with him in the government. About Easter this year he first set about this design, and corrupted some about the king who should bring him sometimes privately through the gallery to the queen's lodgings; and he desired they would let him know when



THOMAS, LORD SEYMOUR, OF SUDELEY

OB 1549

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BATH

the king had occasion for money, and that they should not always trouble the treasury, for he would be ready to furnish him, and he thought a young knight might be taken with this. So it happened that the first time Latimer preached at court, the king sent to him to know what present he should make him: Seymour sent him 40*l.*, but said he thought 20*l.* enough to give Latimer, and the king might dispose of the rest as he pleased. Thus he gained ground with the king, whose sweet nature exposed him to be easily won by such artifices.

It is generally said, that all this difference between the brothers was begun by their wives, and that the protector's lady, being offended that the younger brother's wife had the precedence of her, which she thought belonged to herself, did thereupon raise and inflame the differences. But in all the letters that I have seen concerning this breach, I could never find any such thing once mentioned. Nor is it reasonable to imagine that the duchess of Somerset should be so foolish as to think that she ought to have the precedence of the queen-dowager.* Therefore I look upon this story as a mere fiction; though it is probable enough there might upon some other accounts have been some animosities between the two high-spirited ladies, which might have afterwards be thought to have occasioned their husbands' quarrel.

It is plain in the whole thread of this affair, that the protector was at first very easy to be reconciled to his brother, and was only assaulted by him; but bore the trouble he gave him with much patience for a great while, though in the end, seeing his factious temper was incurable, he laid off nature too much, when he consented to his execution. Yet all along till then, he had rather too much encouraged his brother to go on, by his readiness to be after every breach reconciled to him. When the protector was in Scotland, the admiral then began to act more avowedly, and was making a party for himself; of which Paget took notice, and charged him with it in plain terms. He asked him, why he would go about to reverse that, which himself and others had consented to under their hands? Their family was now so great, that nothing but their mutual quarrelling could do them any prejudice. But there would not be wanting officious men to inflame them, if they once divided among themselves; and the breaches among near friends commonly turn to the most irreconcileable quarrels. Yet all was ineffectual; for the admiral was resolved to go on, and either get himself advanced higher, or to perish in the attempt. It was the knowledge of this which forced the protector to return from Scotland so abruptly and disadvantageously, for the securing of his interest with the king, on whom his brother's artifices had made some impression. Whether there was any reconciliation made between them before the parliament met, is not certain. But during the session, the admiral got the king to write with his own hand a message to the house of commons, for the making of him the governor of his person; and he intended to have gone with it to the house, and had a party there, by whose means he was confident to have carried his business. He dealt also with many of the lords and councillors to assist him in it. When this was known, before he had gone with it to the house, some were sent to him in his brother's name, to see if they could prevail with him to proceed no further. He refused to hearken to them; and said, that if he were crossed in his attempt, he would make this the blackest parliament that ever was in England. Upon that, he was sent for by order from the council, but refused to come. Then they threatened him severely, and told him the king's writing was nothing in law, but that he who had procured it was punishable for doing an act of such a nature, to the disturbance of the government, and for engaging the young king in it. So they resolved to have sent him to the Tower, and to have turned him out of all his offices. But he submitted himself to the protector and council; and his brother and he seemed to be perfectly reconciled. Yet as the protector had reason to have a watchful eye over him, so it was too soon visible that he had not laid down, but only put off, his high projects till a fitter conjuncture. For he began the next Christmas to deal money again among the king's servants; and was on all occasions infusing into the king a dislike of everything that was done, and did often persuade him to

* She is acknowledged to have been an insolent woman, infra anno 1552, and to have had a great power over her husband; where it is assigned as the chief cause of procuring an act of parliament for the disinheriting and excluding from his honours his children by his former wife.—Anon. Correct.

assume the government himself. But the sequel of this quarrel proved fatal to him, as shall be told in its proper place. And thus ended the year 1547.

On the 8th of January next year, Gardiner was brought before the council; where it was told him, that his former offences being included in the king's general pardon, he was thereupon discharged: a grave admonition was given him to carry himself reverently and obediently, and he was desired to declare whether he would receive the injunctions and homilies, and the doctrine to be set forth from time to time by the king and clergy of the realm. He answered, he would conform himself as the other bishops did, and only excepted to the homily of justification, and desired four or five days to consider of it. What he did at the end of that time does not appear from the council-book, no farther mention being made of this matter; for the clerks of council did not then enter everything with that exactness that is since used. He went home to his diocese, where there still appeared in his whole behaviour great malignity to Cranmer, and to all motions for reformation; yet he gave such outward compliance, that it was not easy to find any advantage against him, especially now since the council's great power was so much abridged.

1548. Jan. 8.

In the end of January the council made an order concerning the marquis of Northampton, which will oblige me to look back a little for the clear account of it. This lord, who was brother to the queen-dowager, had married Anne Bourchier, daughter to the earl of Essex, the last of that name. But she being convicted of adultery, he was divorced from her; which according to the law of the ecclesiastical courts was only a separation from bed and board. Upon which divorce, it was proposed in king Henry's time to consider what might be done in favour of the innocent person, when the other was convicted of adultery. So in the beginning of king Edward's reign, on the 7th of May, a commission was granted to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Durham and Rochester, (this was Holbeck, who was not then translated to Lincoln,) to Dr. Ridley, and six more, ten in all, of whom six were a quorum, to try whether the lady Anne was not by the word of God so lawfully divorced, that she was no more his wife, and whether thereupon he might not marry another wife. This being a new case, and of great importance, Cranmer resolved to examine it with his ordinary diligence, and searched into the opinions of the fathers and doctors, so copiously, that his Collections about it grew into a large book (the original whereof I have perused); the greatest part of it being either written, or marked, and interlined, with his own hand. This required a longer time than the marquis of Northampton could stay; and therefore presuming on his great power, without waiting for judgment, he solemnly married Eliz. daughter to Brooke lord Cobham. On the 28th of January information was brought to the council of this, which gave great scandal, since his first marriage stood yet firm in law. So he being put to answer for himself, said, he thought that by the word of God he was discharged of his tie to his former wife; and the making marriages indissoluble was but a part of the popish law, by which it was reckoned a sacrament; and yet the popes, knowing that the world would not easily come under such a yoke, had by the help of the canonists invented such distinctions, that it was no uneasy thing to make a marriage void among them: and that the condition of this church was very hard, if upon adulteries, the innocent must either live with the guilty, or be exposed to temptations to the like sins, if a separation was only allowed, but the bond of the marriage continued undissolved. But since he had proceeded so far before the delegates had given sentence, it was ordered, that he and his new wife should be parted; and that she should be put into his sister the queen-dowager's keeping, till the matter were tried, whether it was according to the word of God, or not; and that then further order should be given in it. Upon this the delegates made haste, and gathered their arguments together, of which I shall give an abstract, both for the clearing of this matter (concerning which not many years ago there were great debates in parliament), and also to show the exactness of the proceedings in that time.

The Marquis of Northampton sues a Divorce for Adultery.

Ex MSS. D. Stillingfleet.

Christ condemned all marriages upon divorces, except in the case of adultery; which seemed manifestly to allow them in that case. And though this is not mentioned by St. Mark and St. Luke, yet it is enough that St. Matthew has it. Christ also defined the state of marriage to be that in which "two are one flesh;"

The Grounds on which he was suffered to marry again.



so that when either of the two hath broken that union, by becoming one with another person, then the marriage is dissolved. And it is oft repeated in the gospel, that married persons have power over one another's bodies, and that they are to give due benevolence to each other; which is plainly contrary to this way of separation without dissolving the bond. St. Paul putting the case of an unbeliever departing from the partner in marriage, says, the believing party, whether brother or sister, is not under bondage in such a case; which seems a discharge of the bond in case of desertion: and certainly adultery is yet of a higher nature. But against this was alleged, on the other side, that our Saviour's allowing divorce in the case of adultery was only for the Jews, to whom it was spoken, to mitigate the cruelty of their law, by which the adultress was to be put to death: and therefore he yielded divorce in that case, to mitigate the severity of the other law. But the apostle writing to the Gentile Christians at Rome and Corinth, said, the wife was tied by the law to the husband as long as he lived. And that other general rule, "Whom God has joined together let no man put asunder," seems against the dissolving the bond. To this it was answered, that it is against separating as well as dissolving: that the wife is tied to her husband; but if he ceaseth to be her husband, that tie is at an end: that our Saviour left the wife at liberty to divorce her husband for adultery, though the law of Moses had only provided, that the adulterous wife and he who defiled her were to die, but the husband who committed adultery was not so punishable; therefore our Saviour had by that provision declared the marriage to be clearly dissolved by adultery.

From hence they went to examine the authorities of the Fathers. Hermes was for putting away the adultress, but so as to receive her again upon repentance. Origen thought the wife could not marry again after divorce. Tertullian allowed divorce, and thought it dissolved the marriage as much as death did. Epiphanius did also allow it. And Ambrose in one place allows the husband to marry after divorce for adultery, though he condemns it always in the wife. Basil allowed it on either side upon adultery. Jerome, who condemns the wife's marrying, though her husband were guilty of adultery; and who disliked the husband's marrying again, though he allowed him to divorce upon adultery, or the suspicion of it; yet when his friend Fabiola had married after a divorce, he excuses it, saying it was better for her to marry than to burn. Chromatius allowed of second marriages after divorce. And so did Chrysostome, though he condemned them in women so divorcing. St. Austin was sometimes for a divorce, but against marriage upon it; yet in his "Retractations," he writ doubtfully of his former opinion. In the civil law, the Christian emperors allowed the power of divorcing both to husband and wife, with the right of marrying afterwards. Nor did they restrain the grounds of divorce only to adultery, but permitted it in many other cases; as if the wife were guilty of treason, had treated for another husband, had procured an abortion, had been whole nights abroad, or had gone to see the public plays without leave from her husband; besides many other particulars. Against which, none of the Fathers had writ, nor endeavoured to get them repealed. All these laws were confirmed by Justinian, when he gathered the laws into a body, and added to it where they were defective. In the canon law, it is provided, that he whose wife is defiled must not be denied lawful marriage. Pope Gregory denied a second marriage to the guilty person, but allowed it to the innocent after divorce. Pope Zachary allowed the wife of an incestuous adulterer to be married, if she could not contain. In the canon law, the council of Tribury is cited, for allowing the like privilege to the husbands. By the council of Elvira, a man that finds that his wife intends to kill him may put her away and marry another; but she must never marry. The council of Arles recommended it to husbands whose wives were found in adultery, not to marry during their lives. And that at Elvira denied the sacrament to a wife who left an adulterous husband and married another; but she might have the communion when her first husband died: so the second marriage was accounted good, but only indecent. But the council of Milevi forbids both man and wife to marry after divorce. All these were collected by Cranmer, with several very important reflections on most of the quotations out of the Fathers. With these, there is another paper, given in by one who was against the dissolving the bond, in which there are many quotations brought both from the canon law and the Fathers for the contrary opinion. But most of the Fathers there cited are

of the latter ages; in which the state of celibate had been so exalted by the monks, that, in all doubtful cases, they were resolved still to prefer that opinion which denied liberty for further marriages. In conclusion, this whole question was divided into eight queries, which were put to some learned men, (who these were does not appear,) and they returned their answer in favour of the second marriage, which will be found in the Collection. Number 20. In the end, sentence was given, allowing the second marriage in that case, and by consequence confirming the marquis of Northampton's marriage to his second wife, who upon that was suffered to cohabit with him. Yet four years after, he was advised to have a special act of parliament for confirming this sentence; of which mention shall be made in its due time and place.

The next thing that came under consideration, was the great contradiction that was in most of the sermons over England. Some were very earnest to justify and maintain all the rites that yet remained; and others were no less hot to have them laid aside. So that, in London especially, the people were wonderfully distracted by this variety among their teachers. The ceremonies of Candlemas, and their observance of Lent, with the rites used on Palm-Sunday, Good-Friday, and Easter, were now approaching. Those that were against them, condemned them as superstitious additions to the worship of God, invented in the dark ages, when an outward pageantry had been the chief thing that was looked after. But others set out the good use that might be made of these things, and taught that, till they were abolished by the king's authority, they ought to be still observed. In a visitation that had been made, (when I cannot learn, only it seems to have been about the end of king's Henry's reign,) it had been declared that fasting in Lent was only a positive law. Several directions were also given about the use of the ceremonies, and some hints as if they were not to be long continued: and all wakes and Plough-Mondays* were suppressed, since they drew great assemblies of people together, which ended in drinking and quarrelling. These I have also inserted in the Collection, Number 21. having had a copy of the articles left at the visitation of the deanery of Doncaster communicated to me by the favour of a most learned physician and curious antiquary, Dr. Nathaniel Johnston, who sent me this with several other papers out of his generous zeal for contributing everything in his power to the perfecting of this work.

Some further advance in the Reformation.

The country people generally loved all these shows, processions, and assemblies, as things of diversion; and judged it a dull business, only to come to church for divine worship, and the hearing of sermons: therefore they were much delighted with the gaiety and cheerfulness of those rites. But others, observing that they kept up all these things, just as the heathens did their plays and festivities for their gods, judged them contrary to the gravity and simplicity of the Christian religion, and therefore were earnest to have them removed. This was so effectually represented to the council by Cranmer, that an order was sent to him about it. He sent it to Bonner, who, being dean of the college of bishops in the province of Canterbury, was to transmit all such orders over the whole province. By it, the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and palms on Palm-Sunday, were forbidden to be used any longer. And this was signified by Bonner to Thirleby bishop of Winchester, on the 28th of June, as appears by the register.

After this, on the 6th of February, a proclamation was issued out against such as should on the other hand rashly innovate, or persuade the people from the old accustomed rites, under the pains of imprisonment, and other punishments at the king's pleasure; excepting only the formerly mentioned rites; to which are added, the creeping to the cross on Good-Friday, taking holy bread and water, and any other that should be afterwards at any time certified by the archbishop of Canterbury to the other bishops in the king's name to be laid aside. And for preventing the mischiefs occasioned by rash preachers, none were to preach without licence from the

A Proclamation against those who innovated without authority.

* Anciently light, called the *Plough-light*, was maintained by old and young persons who were husbandmen before images in some churches; and on Plough Monday (the first Monday after Twelfth Day) they had a feast, and went about with a plough and dancers to get money to support the Plough-light. The Reformation put out these lights; but the practice of going about with the plough begging for money remains, and the "money for light" increases the income of the village ale-house.—Hone's Every-Day Book.



king or his visitors, the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese where they lived; excepting only incumbents preaching in their own parishes. Those who preached otherwise were to be imprisoned till order were given for their punishment: and the inferior magistrates were required to see to the execution of these orders. This Number 22. proclamation, which is in the Collection, was necessary for giving authority to the archbishop of Canterbury's letters, which were censured as a great presumption for him without any public order to appoint changes in sacred rites. Some observed, that the council went on making proclamations with arbitrary punishments, though the act was repealed that had formerly given so great authority to them. To this it was answered, that the king by his supremacy might still in matters of religion make new orders, and add punishments upon the transgressors; yet this was much questioned, though universally submitted to.

On the 11th of February there was a letter sent from the council to the archbishop for a more considerable change. There were everywhere great heats about the removing of images which had been abused to superstition; some affirming, and others denying, that their images had been so abused. There were in the churches some images of so strange a nature, that it could not be denied that they had been abused. Such was the image of the Blessed Trinity, which was to be censed, on the day of the Innocents, by him that was made the bishop of the children. This shows it was used on other days, in which it is like it was censed by the bishop where he was present. How this image was made, can only be gathered from the prints that were of it at that time; in which the Father is represented sitting on the one hand as an old man with a triple crown and rays about him, the Son on the other hand as a young man with a crown and rays, and the Blessed Virgin between them, and the emblem of the Holy Ghost a dove spread over her head. So it is represented in a fair book of the Hours according to the use of Sarum, printed anno 1526. The impiety of this did raise horror in most men's minds, when that unconceivable mystery was so grossly expressed. Besides, the taking the Virgin into it, was done in pursuance to what had been said by some blasphemous friars, of her being assumed into the Trinity. In another edition of these, it is represented by three faces formed in one head. These things had not been set up by any public warrant; but having been so long in practice, they stood upon the general plea that was for keeping the traditions of the church: for it was said that the promises made to the church were the same in all ages, and that therefore every age of the church had an equal right to them. But for the other images, it was urged against them, that they had been all consecrated with such rites and prayers, that it was certain they were every one of them superstitious; since it was prayed that they might be so blessed and consecrated, that whosoever worshipped them might, by the saints' prayers and aid whom they represented, obtain everything that he desired. So they resolved on an entire removal of all images; and the protector with the council wrote to Cranmer, that for putting an end to all these contests, and that the living images of Christ might not quarrel about the dead ones, it was concluded they should all of them be taken down: and he was to give order to see this executed in his own diocese, and to transmit it to the other bishops to be in like manner executed by them. There were also orders given, that all rich shrines, with all the plate belonging to them, should be brought in to the king's use, and that the cloths that covered them should be converted to the use of the poor. This gave Gardiner, and those of his party, a new affliction; for in his diocese he had been always on their side that were for keeping up the images: but they all submitted, and so the churches were emptied of all these pictures and statues which had been for divers ages the chief objects of the people's worship.

The general taking away of all Images. Number 23.

Processionale in Festo Innocentium.

And now the greatest care of the reformers was to find the best men they could, who should be licensed by the king's authority to preach. To whom the council sent a letter in the beginning of May, intimating, that by the restraint put on preaching, they only intended to put an end to the rash contentions of indiscreet men, and not to extinguish the lively preaching of the pure word of God, made after such sort as the Holy Ghost should for the time put in the preacher's mind. They are therefore charged to preach sincerely, and with that caution and

Some Restraints put on Preachers. May 4.

Number 24.

moderation that the time and place shall require; and particularly that they should not set on the people to make innovations, or to run before those whom they should obey; but should persuade them to amend their lives, and keep the commandments of God, and to forsake all their old superstitions. And for the things not yet changed, they ought to wait patiently, and to conclude that the prince did either allow or suffer them; and in delivering things to the people, they were ordered to have a special regard to what they could bear.

But this temper was not observed. Some plainly condemned it as a political patching, and said, Why should not all these superstitions be swept away at once? To this it was answered by others, that as Christ forbade the pulling up of the tares, lest with them they should pull up good wheat; so if they went too forwardly to the changing of things, they might in that haste change much for the worse: and great care was to be had not to provoke the people too much, lest in the infancy of the king, or in some ill conjuncture of affairs, they might be disposed to make commotions. And the compliances that both Christ and his apostles gave to the Jews, when they were to abrogate the Mosaical law, were often insisted on. It was said, if they who were clothed with a power of miracles for the more effectual conviction of the world condescended so far, it was much more reasonable for them who had not that authority over men's consciences, and had no immediate signs to show from Heaven, to persuade the people rather by degrees to forsake their old mistakes, and not to precipitate things by an over haste.

This winter there was a committee of selected bishops and divines appointed for examining all the offices of the church, and for reforming them. Some had been in king Henry's time employed in the same business, in which they had made a good progress, which was now to be brought to a full perfection. Therefore the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of London, Durham, Worcester, Norwich, St. Asaph, Salisbury, Coventry and Litchfield, Carlisle, Bristol, St. David's, Ely, Lincoln, Chichester, Hereford, Westminster, and Rochester, with doctors Cox, May, Tailor, Heins, Robertson, and Redmayn, were appointed to examine all the offices of the church, and to consider how far any of them needed amendment.

Bishops and Divines examine the Offices of the Church.

The thing they first examined was the sacrament of the Eucharist; which being the chief symbol of Christian communion, was thought to deserve their chief care. And here they managed their inquiries in the same manner that was used in the former reign; in which when anything was considered in order to a change, it was put into several queries, to which every one in commission was to give his answer in writing. It is no wonder if the confusions that followed in queen Mary's reign have deprived us of most of these papers; yet there is one set of them preserved, relating to some questions about the priest's single communicating: Whether one man's receiving it can be useful to another? What was the oblation or sacrifice that was made of Christ in the mass? Wherein the mass consisted? When the priest's receiving alone began? Whether it was convenient to retain that, and continue masses satisfactory for departed souls? Whether the gospel ought to be taught at the time of the mass? Whether it were convenient to have it all in a known tongue or not? And when the reserving or hanging up of the sacrament first began? To these the bishops made their several answers. Some answered them all: others answered only a few of them; it is like suspending their opinions about those which they answered not. The bishops of London, Worcester, Chichester, and Hereford gave in their answers once in one paper together*; but afterwards they joined with the bishops of Norwich and St. Asaph, and all those six gave a joint answer in one paper. Those are not all subscribed, as those which I inserted in the former Part were; or at least the papers I have are not the originals. But Cranmer's hand is over every one of them,† marking the name of the bishop to whom they belonged; and Dr. Cox hath set his hand and seal to his answer.‡ By these, which are in the Collection, the reader will perceive how generally the

Number 25.

* The bishops of London, Worcester, Chichester, and Hereford's answers related to another set of questions.—Anon. Correct.

† Cranmer's hand is not over Richard Cox, nor W. Meneven's, nor John Taylor's, who have subscribed their own names.—Anon. Correct.

‡ Cox had sent in his paper folded, and closed with wax: the foldings yet remain; according to which foldings the paper had been sealed, which is now torn where it had been sealed, and some of the paper left upon the wax. —Anon. Correct.



bishops were addicted to the old superstition, and how few did agree in all things with Cranmer. It may be thought that these questions were given out before the act of parliament passed, in which the priest's single communicating is turned into a communion of more. Yet by that act it was only provided, that all who came to receive should be admitted; but priests were not forbid to consecrate if none were to communicate, which was the thing now inquired into.

It is certain there was no part of worship more corrupted than this sacrament was. The first institution was so plain and simple, that except in the words "This is my body," there is nothing which could give a colour to the corruptions that were afterwards brought in. The heathens had their mysteries, which the priests concealed with hard and dark words, and dressed up with much pomp; and thereby supported their own esteem with the people; since they looked on these to be of so high a nature, that all those who had the ordering of them were accounted sacred persons. The primitive Christians retained the first simplicity of divine institutions for some ages. But afterwards, as their number increased, they made use of some things not unlike those the heathens had practised, to draw the Gentiles more easily into their belief; since external shows make deep impressions on the vulgar. And those that were thus brought over might afterwards come to like these things for their own sakes, which were at first made use of only to gain the world. Others finding some advantage in such services that were easy, and yet appeared very pompous, that they might cover great faults by countenancing and complying with the follies that were in vogue, contributed liberally to the improvement of them. And after the Roman emperors turned Christian, much of that vast wealth of which they and their people were masters was brought into the church, and applied to these superstitions. Yet it became not so universally corrupted, till by the invasion of the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous nations, the Roman empire was broken and divided into many kingdoms. These new conquerors were rude and ignorant, wholly given to sensible things, and learning being universally extinguished, gross superstition took place; for more refined superstitions would not serve the turn of darker ages: but as they grew in ignorance they continued in the belief and practice of more absurd things.

The Corruptions in the Office of the Communion examined.

The high opinion they justly had of this sacrament being much raised by the belief of the corporal presence of Christ in it, which came in afterwards, then the dull wits of the priests and the wealth of the people were employed to magnify it with all the pomp possible. All the vessels and garments belonging to it were consecrated and anointed with much devotion; the whole office was in an unknown tongue. A great part of it was to be secretly whispered, to make it appear the more wonderful charm. But chiefly the words of consecration were by no means to be heard by the people; it being fabled, that when the words were spoken aloud, some shepherds had repeated them over their bread, which was thereupon presently turned into flesh. Besides that it was but suitable that a change, which was not to be seen, should be made by words not to be heard. The priest was not to approach it, but after so many bowings, crossings, and kissings of the altar; and all the while he went through with the office, the people were only now and then blessed by a short blessing, "The Lord be with you," and even that in Latin. Then after consecration, the bread was lifted up, and all the people worshipped it, as if Christ had appeared in the clouds. It was oft exposed on the altar, and carried about in processions, with the ceremonies of carrying flambeaux before it, which the greatest persons accounted it an honour to do; the priest that carried it all the while going pompously under a rich canopy.

This was also thought most effectual for all the accidents of life. And whereas it was first only intended to be a commemoration and communion of the death of Christ; that seemed almost forgotten, but it was applied to all other ends imaginable. That which brought in most custom was Trentals, which was a method of delivering souls out of purgatory, by saying thirty masses a year for them. And whereas it was observed, that men on the anniversaries of their birth-days, wedding, or other happy accidents of their lives, were commonly in better humour; so that favours were more easily obtained; they seemed to have had the same opinion of God and Christ. So they ordered it, that three of these should be said on Christmas-day, three on Epiphany, three on the Purification of the Blessed

Virgin, three on the Annunciation, three on the Resurrection, three on the Ascension, three on Whit-Sunday, three on Trinity-Sunday, three on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and three on her birth-day: hoping that these days would be the *mollia tempora*, when God and Christ, or the Blessed Virgin, would be of easier access, and more ready to grant their desires. Yet the most unaccountable part of all, was the masses on the saints' days, praying that the intercession of the saint might make the sacrifice acceptable; that the saint, for whose honour these oblations were solemnly offered, would by his merits procure them to be accepted, and that the sacrifice might bring to them a greater indulgence, being offered up by the suffrages of the saint. If the sacrifice was of Jesus Christ, and was of its own nature expiatory, how this should be done in honour to a saint, and become of greater virtue by his intercession, was a thing very hard to be understood. There were many pieces of ridiculous pageantry also used in it, as the laying the host in the sepulchre they made for Christ on Good-Friday; and that not only the candles that were to burn at the Easter celebration, but the very fire that was to kindle them, was particularly consecrated on Easter-eve. Some masses were believed to have a peculiar virtue in them. For in the Mass-Book printed at London anno 1500, there is a mass for avoiding sudden death; which pope Clement made in the college with all his cardinals, and granted to all who heard it two hundred and seventy days of indulgence, charging them that they should hold in their hand a burning candle all the while it was saying, and for five days after should likewise hold a candle, kneeling during the whole mass: and to those that did so, sudden death should do no harm. And it is added, that this was certain, and approved, in Avignon, and all the neighbouring places. All this I have opened the more largely, to let the reader plainly understand what things were then in this sacrament that required reformation: and I have gathered these things out of the Mass-Book, then most used in England, and best known by the name of the "Missal after the use of Sarum."

The first step these deputed bishops and divines made, was to reform this. But they did not at once mend everything that required it, but left the office of the mass as it was, only adding to it that which made it a communion. It began first with an exhortation, to be used the day before, which differs not much from that now used. Only after the advice given concerning confession, it is added, that such as desired to make auricular confession should not censure those who were satisfied with a general confession to God, and that those who used only confession to God and to the church should not be offended with those who used auricular confession to a priest; but that all should keep the rule of charity, every man being satisfied to follow his own conscience, and not judging another man's in things not appointed by God. After the priest had received the sacrament, he was to turn to the people and read an exhortation to them; the same we now use, only a little varied in words. After that, followed a denunciation against sinners, requiring them who were such, and had not repented, to withdraw, lest the devil should enter into them as he did into Judas. Then after a little pause, to see if any would withdraw; there was to follow a short exhortation, with a confession of sins, and absolution, the very same which we do yet retain. Then those texts of Scripture were read which we yet read; followed with the prayer, "We do not presume," &c. After this, the sacrament was to be given in both kinds; first to the ministers then present, and then to all the people, with these words, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life;" and, "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul unto everlasting life." When all was done, the congregation was to be dismissed with a blessing. The bread was to be such as had been formerly used, and every one of the breads so consecrated was to be broken in two or more pieces; and the people were to be taught that there was no difference in the quantity they received, whether it were small or great, but that in each of them they received the whole body of Christ. If the wine that was at first consecrated did not serve, the priest was to consecrate more; but all to be without any elevation. This office, being thus finished, was set forth with a proclamation, reciting, That whereas the parliament had enacted that the communion should be given in both kinds to all the king's subjects, it was now ordered to be given in the form here set forth, and all were required to receive it with due reverence and Christian behaviour,

A new Office for the Communion set out.



and with such uniformity as might encourage the king to go on in the setting forth godly orders for reformation, which he intended most earnestly to bring to effect by the help of God: willing his subjects not to run before his direction, and so by their rashness to hinder such things; assuring them of the earnest zeal he had to set them forth, hoping they would quietly and reverently tarry for it.

This was published on the 8th of March, and on the 13th books were sent to all the bishops of England, requiring them to send them to every parish in their dioceses, that the curates might have time both to instruct themselves about it, and to acquaint their people with it; so that by the next Easter it might be universally received in all the churches of the nation. This was variously censured. Those that were for the old superstition, were much troubled to have confession thus left indifferent, and a general confession of sins to be used, with which they apprehended the people would for the most part content themselves. In the Scripture there was a power of binding and loosing sins given to the apostles. And St. James exhorted those to whom he wrote, to confess their faults to one another. Afterwards penitents came to be reconciled to the church, when they had given public scandal either by their apostacy or ill life, by an open confession of their sins; and after some time of separation from the other pure Christians in worship, and an abstention from the sacrament, they were admitted again to their share of all the privileges that were given in common to Christians. But according to the nature of their sins, they were, besides the public confession, put under such rules as might be most proper for curing these ill inclinations in them: and according to the several ranks of sins the time and degrees of this penitence was proportioned. And the councils that met in the fourth and fifth centuries made the regulating these penitentiary canons the chief subject of their consultations. In many churches, there were penitentiary priests, who were more expert in the knowledge of these rules, and gave directions about them; which were taken away in Constantinople upon the indiscretion of which one of them had been guilty. For secret sins, there was no obligation to confess, since all the canons were about public scandals: yet for these, the devout people generally went to their priests for their counsel, but were not obliged to it; and so went to them for the distempers of their minds, as they did to physicians for the diseases of their bodies.

It is variously censured.

Chiefly that Auricular Confession was laid down.

About the end of the fifth century, they began in some places to have secret penances; either within monasteries, or other places which the priests had appointed: and upon a secret confession, and performing the penance imposed, absolution was also given secretly: whereas in former times, confession and absolution had been performed openly in the church. In the seventh century it was everywhere practised, that there should be secret penance for secret sins: which Theodore archbishop of Canterbury did first bring into a method, and under rules. But about the end of the eighth century, the commutation of penance, and exchanging it for money, or other services to the church, came to be practised: and then began pilgrimages to holy places, and afterwards the going to the holy war: and all the severities of penance were dispensed with to such as undertook these. This brought on a great relaxation of all ecclesiastical discipline. Afterwards, crusades came in use, against such princes as were deposed by popes: and to these was likewise added, to encourage all to enter into them, that all rules of penitence were dispensed with to such as put on that cross. But penitence being now no more public, but only private, the priests managed it as they pleased, and so by confession entered into all men's secrets, and by absolution had their consciences so entirely in their power, that the people were generally governed by them. Yet because the secular priests were commonly very ignorant, and were not put under such an association as was needful to manage those designs, for which this was thought an excellent engine; therefore the friars were employed everywhere to hear confessions, and to give absolutions. And to bring in customers to them, two new things were invented. The one was, a reserving of certain cases, in which such as were guilty of them could not be absolved but by the popes, or those deputed by them: and the friars had faculties in the pope's name to absolve in these cases. The other was on some occasion the use of certain new secrets, by which men were to obtain great indulgences; either by saying such prayers, or performing such impositions: and these were all trusted to the friars, who were to trade with them, and bring all the

money they could gather by that means to Rome. They being bred up to a voluntary poverty, and expecting great rewards for their industry, sold those secrets with as much cunning as mountebanks use in selling their tricks: only here was the difference, that the ineffectualness of the mountebanks' medicines was soon discovered, so their trade must be but short in one place; whereas the other could not be so easily found out; the chief piece of the religion of those ages being to believe all that their priests taught them. Of this sort the reader will find in the Collection an essay of indulgences as they were printed in the Hours after the use of Sarum, which were set down in English, though the prayers be all Latin, that so all the people might know the value of such ware. Those had been all by degrees brought from Rome, and put into people's hands, and afterwards laid together in their offices. By them, indulgences of many years—hundreds, thousands, and millions of years, and of all sins whatsoever, were granted to such as devoutly said such collects: but it was always understood that they must confess and be absolved, which is the meaning of those expressions concerning their being in "a state of grace." And so the whole business was a cheat.

Collection, Number 26.

And now all this trade was laid aside, and confession of secret sins was left to all men's free choice; since it was certain that the confession to a priest was nowhere enjoined in the Scriptures. It was a reasonable objection, that as secret confession and private penance had worn out the primitive practice of the public censuring of scandalous persons, so it had been well if the reviving of that discipline had driven out these later abuses: but to let that lie unrestored, and yet to let confession wear out, was to discharge the world of all outward restraints, and to leave them to their full liberty, and so to throw up that power of binding and loosing, which ought to take place, chiefly, in admitting them to the sacrament. This was confessed to be a great defect, and effectual endeavours were used to retrieve it, though without success: and it was openly declared to be a thing which they would study to repair: but the total disuse of all public censure had made the nation so unacquainted with it, that without the effectual concurrence of the civil authority, they could not compass it. And though it was acknowledged to be a great disorder in the church, yet as they could not keep up the necessity of private confession, since it was not commanded in the gospel; so the generality of the clergy being superstitious men, whose chief influence on the people was by those secret practices in confession, they judged it necessary to leave that free to all people, and to represent it as a thing to which they were not obliged, and in the place of that ordered the general confession to be made in the church, with the absolution added to it. For the power of binding and loosing, it was by many thought to be only declarative; and so to be exercised, when the gospel was preached, and a general absolution granted, according to the ancient forms. In which forms, the absolution was a prayer that God would absolve; and so it had been still used in the absolution which was given on Maundy-Thursday; but the formal absolution given by the priest in his own name, "I absolve thee," was a late invention to raise their authority higher, and signified nothing distinct from those other forms that were anciently used in the church.

Others censured the words in distributing the two kinds in the Lord's Supper; the body being given for the preserving the body, and the blood of Christ for preserving the soul. This was thought done on design to possess the people with a high value of the chalice, as that which preserved their souls; whereas the bread was only for the preservation of their bodies. But Cranmer being ready to change anything for which he saw good reason, did afterwards so alter it, that in both it was said, Preserve thy body and soul. And yet it it stands so in the prayer, We do not presume, &c. On all this I have digressed so long, because of the importance of the matter, and for satisfying the scruples that many still have upon the laying aside of confession in our Reformation.

Commissions were next given to examine the state of the chantries and guildable lands. The instruction about them will be found in the Collection, of which I need give no abstract here, for they were only about the methods of inquiring into their value, and how they were possessed, or what alienations had been made of them.

Collection, Number 27.

The protector and council were now in much trouble. The war with Scotland they found was like to grow chargeable, since they saw it was supported from France. There was a rebellion also broke out in Ireland, and the king was much indebted, nor could they



expect any subsidies from the parliament; in which it had been said that they gave the chantry lands, that they might be delivered from all subsidies. Therefore the parliament was prorogued till winter. Upon this the whole council did on the 17th of April unanimously resolve, that it was necessary to sell 5,000*l.* a-year of chantry lands, for raising such a sum as the king's occasions required, and sir Henry Mildmay was appointed to treat about the sale of them.

The new communion-book was received over England without any opposition. Only complaints were brought of Gardiner, that he did secretly detract from the king's proceedings; upon which the council took occasion to reflect on all his former behaviour. And here it was remembered, how at first upon his refusing to receive the king's injunctions, he had been put in the Fleet; where he had been as well used as if it had been his own house, (which is far contrary to his letters to the protector, of which mention has been already made,) and that he upon promise of conformity had been discharged. But when he was come home, being forgetful of his promises, he had raised much strife and contention, and had caused all his servants to be secretly armed and harnessed, and had put public affronts on those whom the council sent down to preach in his diocese: for in some places, to disgrace them, he went into the pulpit before them, and warned the people to beware of such teachers, and to receive no other doctrine but what he had taught them. Upon this he had been sent for a second time, but again upon his promise of conformity was discharged, and ordered to stay at his own house in London. That there he had continued still to meddle in public matters, of which being again admonished, he desired that he might be suffered to clear himself of all misrepresentations that had been made of him, in a sermon which he should preach before the king, in which he should openly declare how well he was satisfied with his proceedings; yet it is added, that in his sermon, where there was a wonderful audience, he did most arrogantly meddle with some matters that were contrary to an express command given him both by word of mouth and by letters; and in other matters used such words as had almost raised a great tumult in the very time, and had spoken very seditiously concerning the policy of the kingdom. So they saw that clemency wrought no good effect on him; and it seeming necessary to terrify others by their proceedings with him, he was sent to the Tower, and the door of his closet was sealed up. Thus it is entered in the council-book, signed "E. Somerset, T. Cantuarien., W. St. Johns, J. Russel, and T. Cheyney." Yet it seems this order was not signed when it was made, but some years after. For the lord Russel signed first "Bedford;" but remembering that at the time when this order was made he had not that title, therefore he dashed it out, (but so as it still appears,) and signed, "J. Russel."

Gardiner falls into new troubles.

The account that Gardiner himself gives of this business is, that being discharged upon the act of pardon, he was desired to promise that he would set forth the Homilies; and a form was given him to which he should set his hand; but he, considering of it a fortnight, returned, and said he could not subscribe it; so he was confined to his house. Then Ridley and Mr. Cecil (afterwards the great Lord Burleigh, lord treasurer to queen Elizabeth, at that time secretary to the protector) were sent to him, and so prevailed, that he did set his hand to it. But upon some complaints that were made of him, he was sent for after Whit-Sunday, and accused that he had carried palms, had crept to the cross, and had a sepulchre on Good-Friday, which was contrary to the king's proclamations; all which he denied, and said he had and would still give obedience to what the king should command. That of affronting the king's preachers was objected to him; to which he answered telling matter of fact how it was done, but he does not in his writing set it down. Then it was complained, that in a sermon he had said, the apostles came away rejoicing from "the council, the council, the council," repeating it thus, to make it seem applicable to himself: this he denied. Then it was objected, that he preached the real presence in the sacrament, the word "real" not being in Scripture, and so it was not the setting forth the pure word of God. He said he had not used the word "real," only he had asserted the presence of Christ, in such words as he had heard the archbishop of Canterbury dispute for it against Lambert, that had been burnt. He was commanded to tarry in London; but he desired that, since he was not an offender, he might be at his liberty. He

Fox's Acts and Monuments.

complained much of the songs made of him, and of the books written against him, and particularly of one Philpot in Westminster, whom he accounted a madman.

Then he relates, that Cecil came to him, and proposed to him to preach before the king, and that he should write his sermon; and also brought him some notes which he wished him to put in his sermon. He said he was willing to preach, but would not write it, for that was to preach as an offender; nor would he make use of notes prepared by other men. Then he was privately brought to the protector, none but the lord St. John being present, who showed him a paper containing the opinion of some lawyers, of the king's power, and of a bishop's authority, and of the punishment of disobeying the king; but he desired to speak with those lawyers, and said, no subscription of theirs should oblige him to preach otherwise than as he was convinced. The protector said he should either do that, or do worse. Secretary Smith came to him to press him further in some points, but what they were is not mentioned. Yet by the other papers in that business, it appears they related to the king's authority when under age, and for justifying the king's proceedings in what had been done about the ceremonies, and that auricular confession was indifferent. So the contest between him and the protector ended; and there was no writing required of him; but he left the whole matter to him, so that he should treat plainly of those things mentioned to him by Cecil. He chose St. Peter's Day, because the Gospel agreed to his purpose. Cecil showed him some notes, written with the king's hand, of the sermons preached before him; especially what was said of the duty of a king; and warned him, that whenever he named the king, he should add, "and his council." To this he made no answer; for though he thought it wisely done of a king to use his council, yet being to speak of the king's power according to Scripture, he did not think it necessary to add anything of his council; and hearing by a confused report some secret matter, he resolved not to meddle with it. Two days before he preached, the protector sent him a message not to meddle with those questions about the sacrament that were yet in controversy among learned men; and that therefore he was resolved there should be no public determination made of them beforehand in the pulpit. He said he could not forbear to speak of the mass, for he looked on it as the chief foundation of Christian religion; but he doubted not that he should so speak of it as to give them all content. So the day following the protector writ to him, (as will be found in the Collection,) requiring him in the king's name not to meddle with these points, but to preach concerning the articles given him, and about obedience and good life, which would afford him matter enough for a long sermon; since the other points were to be reserved to a public consultation. The protector added, that he held it a great part of his duty under the king, not to suffer wilful persons to dissuade the people from receiving such truths as should be set forth by others. But Gardiner pretended that there was no controversy about the presence of Christ. And so the next day he took his text out of the gospel for the day, "Thou art Christ," &c. In his sermon (of which I have seen large notes) he expressed himself very fully concerning the pope's supremacy as justly abolished, and the suppression of monasteries and chantries; he approved of the king's proceedings; he thought images might have been well used, but yet they might be well taken away. He approved of the sacrament in both kinds, and the taking away that great number of masses satisfactory, and liked well the new order for the communion. But he asserted largely the presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament: upon which many of the assembly, that were indiscreetly hot on both sides, cried out, some approving, and others disliking it. Of the king's authority under age, and of the power of the council in that case, he said not a word; and upon that he was imprisoned.

Number 28.

Parker's MSS. Ex Ch. Col. Cant.

He preached before the King.

The occasion of this was, the popish clergy began generally to have it spread among them, that though they had acknowledged the king's supremacy, yet they had never owned the council's supremacy;—that the council could only see to the execution of the laws and orders that had been made, but could not make new ones; and that therefore the supremacy could not be exercised till the king, in whose person it was vested, came to be of age to consider of matters himself. Upon this, the lawyers were consulted; who did unanimously resolve, that the supremacy being annexed to the regal dignity, was the same in a king



WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY.

OB. 1598.

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

under age, when it was executed by the council, that it was in a king at full age; and therefore, things ordered by the council now, had the same authority in law that they could have when the king did act himself. But this did not satisfy the greater part of the clergy. Some of whom, by the high flatteries that had been given to kings in king Henry's time, seemed to fancy that there were degrees of divine illumination derived unto princes, by the anointing them at the coronation; and these not exerting themselves till a king attained to a ripeness of understanding, they thought the supremacy was to lie dormant while he was so young. The protector and council endeavoured to have got Gardiner to declare against this, but he would not meddle in it. How far he might set forward the other opinion, I do not know. These proceedings against him were thought too severe, and without law; but he being generally hated, they were not so much censured, as they had been, if they had fallen on a more acceptable man.

And thus were the orders made by the council generally obeyed; many being terrified with the usage Gardiner met with, from which others inferred what they might look for, if they were refractory, when so great a bishop was so treated.

Cranmer sets out a Catechism.

The next thing Cranmer set about, was the compiling of a Catechism * or large instruction of young persons in the grounds of the Christian religion. In it, he reckons the two first commandments but one; though, he says, many of the ancients divided them into two. But the division was of no great consequence, so no part of the Decalogue were suppressed by the church. He showed that the excuses the papists had for images, were no other than what the heathens brought for their idolatry; who also said, they did not worship the image, but that only which was represented by it. He particularly takes notice of the image of the Trinity. He shows how St. Peter would not suffer Cornelius, and the angel would not suffer St. John, to worship them. The believing that there is a virtue in one image more than in another, he accounts plain idolatry. Ezekias broke the brazen serpent, when abused, though it was a type or image of Christ, made by God's command, to which a miraculous virtue had been once given. So now there was good reason to break images, when they had been so abused to superstition and idolatry; and when they gave such scandal to Jews and Mahometans, who generally accounted the Christians idolaters on that account. He asserts, besides the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, the power of reconciling sinners to God, as a third; and fully owns the divine institution of bishops and priests, and wishes that the canons and rites of public penance were again restored; and exhorts much to confession, and the people's dealing with their pastors about their consciences, that so they might, upon knowledge, bind and loose according to the gospel. Having finished this easy but most useful work, he dedicated it to the king. And in his epistle to him, complains of the great neglect that had been in former times, of catechising; and that confirmation had not been rightly administered, since it ought to be given only to those of age, who understood the principles of the Christian doctrine, and did upon knowledge, and with sincere minds, renew their baptismal vow. From this it will appear, that from the beginning of this Reformation, the practice of the Roman church in the matter of images was held idolatrous. Cranmer's zeal for restoring the penitentiary canons is also clear: and it is plain, that he had now quite laid aside those singular opinions which he formerly held of the ecclesiastical functions; for now, in a work which was wholly his own, without the concurrence of any others, he fully sets forth their divine institution.

All these things made way for a greater work, which these selected bishops and divines, who had laboured in the setting forth of the office of the communion, were now preparing; which was the entire reformation of the whole service of the church. In order to this, they brought together all the offices used in England. In the southern parts, those after the use of Sarum were universally received, which were believed to have been compiled by Osmund bishop of Sarum. In the north of England, they had other offices, after the use of York; in South Wales they had them after the use of Hereford; in North Wales after the use of Bangor; and in Lincoln, another sort of an office proper to that see.

A General Reformation of all the Offices of the Church is set about.

* This Catechism was first made in Latin by another, but translated by Cranmer's order, and it was reviewed by him.—Strype's Correct.

In the primitive church, when the extraordinary gifts ceased, the bishops of the several churches put their offices and prayers into such a method as was nearest to what they had heard or remembered from the apostles. And these liturgies were called by the apostles' names from whose forms they had been composed; as that at Jerusalem carried the name of St. James, and that of Alexandria the name of St. Mark; though those books that we have now under these names are certainly so interpolated, that they are of no great authority: but in the fourth century we have these liturgies first mentioned. The council of Laodicea appointed the same office of prayers to be used in the mornings and evenings. The bishops continued to draw up new additions, and to put old forms into other methods. But this was left to every bishop's care, nor was it made the subject of any public consultation till St. Austin's time; when in their dealings with heretics, they found they took advantages from some of the prayers that were in some churches. Upon this he tells us, it was ordered, that there should be no prayers used in the church, but upon common advice: after that the liturgies came to be more carefully considered. Formerly the worship of God was a pure and simple thing, and so it continued till superstition had so infected the church that those forms were thought too naked unless they were put under more artificial rules, and dressed up with much ceremony. Gregory the Great was the first that took much care to make the church music very regular, and he did also put the liturgies in another method than had been formerly used. Yet he had no such fondness of his own composures; but left it to Austin the monk, whom he sent over into England, when he consulted him in it, either to use the Roman or French rituals, or any other, as he should find they were most likely to edify the people. After this, in most sees there were great variations; for as any prelate came to be canonized, or held in high esteem by the people, some private Collects or particular forms that he had used were practised in his, or perhaps, as his fame spread, in the neighbouring dioceses. In every age there were notable additions made: and all the writers almost, in the eighth and ninth centuries, employed their fancies to find out mystical significations for every rite that was then used; and so, as a new rite was added, it was no hard matter to add some mystery to it. This had made the offices swell out of measure; and there was a great variety of them,—Missals, Breviaries, Rituals, Pontificals, Portoises, Pies, Gradualls, Antiphonals, Psalteries, Hours, and a great many more. Every religious order had likewise their peculiar rites, with the saints' days that belonged to their order, and services for them; and the understanding how to officiate was become so hard a piece of the trade, that it was not easy to learn it exactly without a long practice in it. So now it was resolved to correct and examine these.

It was resolved there should be a new Liturgy.

I do not find it was ever brought under consideration, whether they should compose a form for all the parts of divine worship, or leave it to the sudden and extemporary heats of those who were to officiate, which some have called, since that time, the worshipping by the Spirit: of this way of serving God, they did not then dream; much less that the appointing of forms of prayer was an encroachment on the kingly office of Christ, but thought, whatever praying in the Spirit might have been in the apostles' time, (where yet every man brought his psalms, which are a sort of prayers, as well as praises, and these look like some written composures, as St. Paul expresses it,) that now to pray with warm affection and sincere devotion was spiritual worship: and that where it was the same thing that was to be daily asked of God, the using the same expressions, was the sign of a steady devotion, that was fixed on the thing prayed for: whereas the heat that new words raised, looked rather like a warmth in the fancy. Nor could it agree with the principles of a Reformation that was to divest the churchmen of that unlimited authority which they had formerly exercised over men's consciences, to leave them at liberty to make the people pray after them, as they pleased; this being as great a resignation of the people, when their devotion depended on the sudden heats of their pastors, as the former superstition had made of their faith and conscience to them. So it being resolved to bring the whole worship of God under set forms, they set one general rule to themselves (which they afterwards declared) of changing nothing for novelty's sake, or merely because it had been formerly used. They resolved to retain such things as the primitive church had practised, cutting off such abuses as the later ages had



grafted on them, and to continue the use of such other things, which, though they had been brought in not so early, yet were of good use to beget devotion; and were so much recommended to the people by the practice of them, that the laying these aside would perhaps have alienated them from the other changes they made. And therefore they resolved to make no change without very good and weighty reasons. In which they considered the practice of our Saviour; who did not only comply with the rites of Judaism himself, but even the prayer he gave to his disciples was framed according to their forms; and his two great institutions of baptism and the eucharist did consist of rites that had been used among the Jews. And since he who was delivering a new religion, and was authorised in the highest manner that ever any was, did yet so far comply with received practices, as from them to take those which he sanctified for the use of his church; it seemed much fitter for those who had no such extraordinary warrant to give them authority in what they did, when they were reforming abuses, to let the world see, they did it not from the wanton desire of change, or any affectation of novelty: and with those resolutions they entered on their work.

In the search of the former offices, they found an infinite deal of superstition, in the consecrations, of water, salt, bread, incense, candles, fire, bells, churches, images, altars, crosses, vessels, garments, palms, flowers; all looked like the rites of heathenism, and seemed to spring from the same fountain. When the water or salt were blessed, it was expressed to be to this end, that they might be health both to soul and body, and devils (who might well laugh at these tricks which they had taught them) were adjured not to come to any place where they were sprinkled: and the holy bread was blessed, to be a defence against all diseases, and snares of the devil; and the holy incense, that devils might not come near the smoke of it, but that all who smelled at it might perceive the virtue of the Holy Ghost: and the ashes were blessed so, that all who were covered with them might deserve to obtain the remission of their sins. All those things had drawn the people to such confidence in them, that they generally thought that, without those harder terms of true holiness, they might upon such superstitious observances be sure of heaven. So all these they resolved to cast out, as things which had no warrant in Scripture, and were vain devices to draw men away from a lively application to God through Christ, according to the method of the gospel. Then the many rites in sacramental actions were considered, all which had swelled up to an infinite heap. And as some of these, which had no foundation in Scripture, were thrown out; so the others were brought back to a greater simplicity. In no part of religion was the corruption of the former offices more remarkable, than in the priests granting absolution to the living and the dead. To such as confessed, the absolution was thus granted: "I absolve thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." To which this was added: "And I grant to thee that all the indulgences, given, or to be given thee, by any prelate, with the blessings of them, all the sprinklings of holy water, all the devout beatings of thy breast, the contritions of thy heart, this confession, and all thy other devout confessions, all thy fastings, abstinences, almsgivings, watchings, disciplines, prayers, and pilgrimages, and all the good thou hast done or shall do, and all the evils thou hast suffered or shalt suffer for God—the passions of our Lord Jesus Christ, the merits of the glorious and blessed Virgin Mary, and of all other saints, and the suffrages of all the holy Catholic Church, turn to thee for the remission of these, and all other thy sins, the increase of thy merits, and the attainment of everlasting rewards." When extreme unction was given to dying persons, they applied it to the ears, lips, nose, and other parts, with this prayer: "By this holy unction and his own most tender mercy, and by the intercession of the blessed Virgin and all the saints, may God pardon thee whatever thou hast sinned, by thy hearing, speaking, or smelling;" and so in the other parts. And when the dead body was laid in the grave, this absolution was said over it: "The Lord Jesus Christ, who gave to St. Peter and his other disciples power to bind and loose, absolve thee from all the guilt of thy sins; and in so far as is committed to my weakness, be thou absolved before the tribunal of our Lord, and may thou have eternal life, and live for evermore." This was thought the highest abuse possible; when in giving the hopes of heaven, and the pardon of sins, which were of all the other parts of religion the most important, there were such

mixtures: and that which the Scriptures had taught could be only attained by Jesus Christ, and that upon the sincere belief and obedience of his gospel, was now ascribed to so many other procuring causes. These things had possessed the world with that conceit that there was a trick for saving souls, besides that plain method which Christ had taught; and that the priests had the secret of it in their hands; so that those who would not come under the yoke of Christ, and be saved that way, needed only to apply themselves to priests, and purchase their favour, and the business would be done.

There were two other changes, which ran through the whole offices. The one was, the translating them into a vulgar tongue. The Jewish worship was either in Hebrew, or, after the captivity, in the Syriac, the vulgar tongues of Palestine. The apostles always officiated in the tongues that were best understood: so that St. Paul did copiously censure those who, in prayers or psalms, used any language that was not understood. And Origen, Basil, with all the fathers that had occasion to mention this, took notice that every one in their own tongue worshipped God. After the rending of the Roman empire by the Goths, and other barbarous nations, the Roman tongue did slowly mix with their tongues, till it was much changed, and altered from itself by degrees; yet it was so long a-doing that, that it was not thought necessary to translate the Liturgy into their languages. But in the ninth century, when the Slavons were converted, it being desired that they might have divine offices in their own language; while some opposed it, a voice was said to be heard—"Let every tongue praise God." Upon which, pope John VIII. writ to Methodius their bishop that it might be granted, and founded it on St. Paul's Epist. to the Cor. and on these words of David, "Let every tongue praise the Lord." And in the fourth council of Lateran it was decreed, that bishops who lived in places where they were mixed with Greeks should provide fit priests for performing divine offices, according to the rites and language of those to whom they ministered. But the Roman church, though so merciful to the Greeks and Slavons, was more cruel to the rest of Europe; and since only Hebrew, Greek, and Latin had been written on the cross of Christ by Pilate, they argued that these languages were thereby consecrated: though it is not easy to apprehend what holiness could be derived into these tongues by Pilate, who ordered those inscriptions. It was also pretended, that it was a part of the communion of saints, that everywhere the worship should be in the same tongue. But the truth was, they had a mind to raise the value of the priestly function, by keeping all divine offices in a tongue not understood; which in people otherwise well seasoned with superstition might have that effect; but it did very much alienate the rest of the world from them. There was also a vast number of holidays formerly observed, with so many prayers and hymns belonging to them, and so many lessons that were to be read; which were many of them such impudent forgeries, that the whole Breviary and Missal being full of these, a great deal was to be left out. There is in the whole Breviary scarce one saint, but the lessons concerning him contain some ridiculous legend, such as indeed could not be well read in a vulgar tongue without the scorn and laughter of the hearers; and for most part the prayers and hymns do relate to these lying stories. Many of the prayers and hymns were also in such a style, that the pardon of sin, grace, and heaven were immediately desired from the saints, as if these things had come from their bounty or by their merits; or were given by them only, of which the reader shall have a little taste in the Collection, in some of the addresses made to them.

Collection, Number 29.

The reformers having thus considered the corruptions of the former offices, were thereby better prepared to frame new ones. But the priests had officiated in some garments which were appropriated to that use, as surplices, copes, and other vestments; and it was long under consideration whether these should continue. It was objected, that these garments had been parts of the train of the mass, and had been superstitiously abused, only to set it off with the more pomp. On the other hand, it was argued, that as white was anciently the colour of the priests' garments in the Mosaical dispensation, so it was used in the African churches in the fourth century: and it was thought a natural expression of the purity and decency that became priests: besides, the clergy were then generally extreme poor, so that they could scarce afford themselves decent clothes; the people also running



from the other extreme of submitting too much to the clergy, were now as much inclined to despise them, and to make light of the holy function; so that if they should officiate in their own mean garments, it might make the divine offices grow also into contempt. And therefore, it was resolved to continue the use of them; and it was said, that their being blessed and used superstitiously gave as strong an argument against the use of churches and bells; but that St. Paul had said, that "every creature of God was good," and even the meat of the sacrifice offered to an idol, than which there could be no greater abuse, might lawfully be eaten; therefore they saw no necessity because of a former abuse to throw away habits, that had so much decency in them, and had been formerly in use.

In the compiling the offices, they began with morning and evening prayer. These were put in the same form they are now; only there was no confession or absolution; the office beginning with the Lord's prayer. In the communion service, the Ten Commandments were not said, as they are now; but in other things it was very near what it is now. All that had been in the order of the communion formerly mentioned was put into it. The offertory was to be made of bread and wine mixed with water. Then was said the prayer for the state of Christ's church, in which they gave thanks to God for his wonderful grace declared in his saints, in the blessed Virgin, the patriarchs, apostles, prophets, and martyrs, and they commended the saints departed to God's mercy and peace, that at the day of the resurrection we with them might be set on Christ's right hand. To this the consecratory prayer which we now use was joined as a part of it; only with these words, that are since left out: "*With thy Holy Spirit vouchsafe to ble+ss and sanc+tify* these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son,*" *&c.* To the consecration was also joined the prayer of thanksgiving now used. After the consecration all elevation was forbidden, which had been first used as a rite expressing how Christ was lifted up on the cross; but was, after the belief of the corporal presence, made use of to show the sacrament, that the people might all fall down and worship it. And it was ordered, that the whole office of the communion, except the consecratory prayer, should be used on all holidays, when there was no communion, to put people in mind of it, and of the sufferings of Christ. The bread was to be unleavened, round, but no print on it, and somewhat thicker than it was formerly. And though it was anciently put in the people's hands, yet because some might carry it away, and apply it to superstitious uses, it was ordered to be put by the priest into their mouths. It is clear that Christ delivered it into the hands of the apostles, and it so continued for many ages, as appears by several remarkable stories of holy men carrying it with them in their journeys. In the Greek church, where the bread and wine were mingled together, some began to think it more decent to receive it in little spoons of gold, than in their hands; but that was condemned by the council in Trullo: yet soon after they began in the Latin church to appoint men to receive it with their hands, but women to take it in a linen cloth, which was called their dominical. But when the belief of the corporal presence was received, then a new way of receiving was invented among other things to support it; the people were now no more to touch that which was conceived to be the flesh of their Saviour, and therefore the priest's thumb and fingers were particularly anointed, as a necessary disposition for so holy a contact, and so it was by them put into the mouths of the people. A litany was also gathered, consisting of many short petitions, interrupted by suffrages between them; and was the same that we still use, only they had one suffrage that we have not, to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities.

In baptism there was, besides the forms which we still retain, a cross at first made on the child's forehead and breast, with an adjuration of the devil to go out of him, and come at him no more. Then the priest was to take the child by the right hand, and to place him within the font; there he was to be dipped thrice, once on the right side, once on the left, and once on the breast, which was to be discreetly done; but if the child were weak, it was sufficient to sprinkle water on his face. Then was the priest to put a white vestment or chrysome on him, for a token of innocence, and to anoint him on the head, with a prayer for the unction

* It appears that the sign of the cross was retained (see p. 347,) and directed to be used in this prayer.—ED.

of the Holy Ghost. In confirmation, those that came were to be catechised; which having in it a formal engagement to make good the baptismal vow, was all that was asked. (The catechism then was the same that is now, only there is since added an explanation of the sacraments.) This being said, the bishop was to sign them with the cross, and to lay his hands on them, and say, "I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and lay my hands on thee, in the name of the Father," &c. The sick, who desired to be anointed, might have the unction on their forehead, or their breast only; with a prayer, that as their body was outwardly anointed with oil, so they might receive the Holy Ghost, with health, and victory over sin and death. At funerals, they recommended the soul departed to God's mercy, and prayed that his sins might be pardoned, that he might be delivered from hell and carried to heaven, and that his body might be raised at the last day.

They also took care that those who could not come, or be brought to church, should not therefore be deprived of the use of the sacraments. The church of Rome had raised the belief of the indispensable necessity of the sacraments so high, that they taught they did *ex opere operato*, by the very action itself without inward acts, justify and confer grace, unless there were a bar put to it by the receiver; and the first rise of the questions about justification seems to have come from this: for that church teaching that men were justified by sacramental actions, the reformers opposed this, and thought men were justified by the internal acts of the mind. If they had held at this, the controversy might have been managed with much greater advantages; which they lost in a great measure by descending to some minuter subtleties. In the church of Rome, pursuant to their belief concerning the necessity of the sacraments, women were allowed in extreme cases to baptize: and the midwives commonly did it; which might be the beginning of their being licensed by bishops to exercise that calling. And they also believed that a simple attrition with the sacraments was sufficient for salvation in those who were grown up, and upon these grounds the sacraments were administered to the sick.

In the primitive church they sent portions of the sacrament to those who were sick, or in prison: and did it not only without pomp or processions, but sent it often by the hands of boys and other laics, as appears from the famed story of Serapion: which as it shows they did not then believe it was the very flesh and blood of Christ; so when that doctrine was received, it was a natural effect of that belief, to have the sacrament carried by the priest himself with some pomp and adoration. The ancients thought it more decent and suitable to the communion of saints to consecrate the elements only in the church, and to send portions to the sick, thereby expressing their communion with the rest. The reformers considering these things, steered a middle course: they judged the sacraments necessary, where they could be had; as appointments instituted by Christ: and though they thought it more expedient to have all baptisms done in the church at the fonts, than in private houses; thereby signifying that the baptized were admitted to the fellowship of that church; yet since our Saviour had said, "that where two or three are gathered together he will be in the midst of them," they thought it savoured too much of a superstition to the walls or fonts of churches, to tie this action so to these, that where children, either through infirmity or the sharpness of weather, could not be, without danger, carried to church, they should be denied baptism. But still they thought public baptism more expressive of the communion of the saints, so that they recommended it much, and only permitted the other in cases of necessity. This has since grown to a great abuse; many thinking it a piece of state to have their children baptized in their houses; and so bringing their pride with them even into the most sacred performances. There may be also a fault in the ministers, who are too easily brought to do it. But it is now become so universal, that all the endeavours of some of our bishops have not been able to bring it back to the first design of not baptizing in private houses, excepting only where there was some visible danger in carrying the children to church.

As for the other sacrament, it was thought by our reformers, that according to the mind of the primitive church, none should be denied it in their extremities; it never being more necessary than at that time to use all means that might strengthen the faith and quicken the devotion of dying persons: it being also most expedient that they should then profess their



dying in the faith, and with a good conscience, and in charity with all men; therefore they ordered the communion to be given to the sick, and that before it was so given the priest should examine their consciences; and upon the sincere profession of their faith, and the confession of such sins as oppressed their consciences, with the doing of all that was then in their power for the completing of their repentance, as the forgiving injuries and dealing justly with all people, he should give them the peace of the church in a formal absolution and the holy eucharist. But that they might avoid the pomp of vain processions on the one hand, and the indecencies of sending the sacrament by common hands on the other, they thought it better to gather a congregation about the sick person, and there to consecrate and give the sacrament to that small assembly: where, as Christ's promise, "of being in the midst of two or three that were gathered together in his name," should have put an end to the weak exceptions some have made to these private communions; so on the other hand it is to be feared, that the greater part retain still too much of the superstition of popery; as if the priest's absolution with the sacrament, and some slight sorrow for sin, would be a sure passport for their admittance to heaven: which it is certain can only be had upon so true a faith as carries a sincere repentance with a change of heart and life along with it: for to such only the mercies of God through the merits of Jesus Christ are applied in all ordinary cases.

The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer.

To all this they prefixed a preface concerning ceremonies, the same that is still before the Common Prayer-Book. In which preface they make a difference between those ceremonies that were brought in with a good intent and were afterwards abused, and others that had been brought in out of a vanity and superstition at first and grew to be more abused: the one they had quite rejected, the other they had reformed, and retained, for decency and edification. Some were so set on their old forms, that they thought it a great matter to depart from any of them; others were desirous to innovate in everything; between both which they had kept a mean. The burthen of ceremonies in St. Austin's days was such that he complained of them then as intolerable, by which the state of Christians was worse than that of the Jews; but these were swelled to a far greater number since his days, which did indeed darken religion and had brought Christians under a heavy yoke. Therefore they had only reserved such as were decent, and apt to stir up men's minds with some good signification. Many ceremonies had been so abused by superstition and avarice, that it was necessary to take them quite away: but since it was fit to retain some, for decency and order, it seemed better to keep those which were old, than to seek new ones. But those that were kept, were not thought equal with God's law, and so were upon just causes to be altered: they were also plain, and easy to be understood, and not very subject to be abused. Nor did they in retaining those condemn other nations, or prescribe to any but their own people. And thus was this book made ready against the next meeting of parliament.

Reflections made on the new Liturgy.

In it, the use of the cross was retained, since it had been used by the ancient Christians as a public declaration that they were not ashamed of the cross of Christ. Though they acknowledged this had been strangely abused in the later ages, in which the bare use of the cross was thought to have some magical virtue in it: and this had gone so far, that in the Roman pontifical it was declared, that the crosier staff was to be worshipped with that supreme degree of adoration called Latria. But it was thought fit to retain it in some parts of worship; and the rather, because it was made use of among the people to defame the reformers, that they had no veneration for the cross of Christ. And therefore as an outward expression of that, in the sacrament of baptism, and in the office of confirmation, and in the consecration of the sacramental elements, it was ordered to be retained, but with this difference, that the sign of the cross was not made with the opinion of any virtue or efficacy in it to drive away evil spirits, or to preserve one out of dangers, which were thought virtues that followed the use of it in the Roman church; for in baptism, as they used the sign of the cross, they added an adjuration to the "evil spirit not to violate it," and in the making it said, "Receive the sign of the cross both in thy forehead and in thy heart, and take the faith of the heavenly precepts." Thus a sacramental virtue was pretended to be affixed to it; which the reformers thought could not be done

without a warrant from a divine institution, of which it is plain there was none in Scripture. But they thought the use of it only as an expression of the belief of the church, and as a badge of Christianity, with such words added to it as could import no more, was liable to no exception. This seems more necessary to be well explained, by reason of the scruples that many have since raised against significant ceremonies, as if it were too great a presumption in any church to appoint such; since these seem to be of the nature of sacraments. Ceremonies that signify the conveyance of a divine grace and virtue are indeed sacraments, and ought not to be used without an express institution in Scripture; but ceremonies that only signify the sense we have, which is sometimes expressed as significantly in dumb shows as in words, are of another kind; and it is as much within the power of the church to appoint such to be used, as it is to order collects or prayers, words and signs being but different ways of expressing our thoughts. The belief of Christ's corporal presence was yet under consideration. And they observing wisely how the Germans had broken, by their running too soon into contests about that, resolved to keep up still the old general expressions, of the sacraments being the whole and true body of Christ, without coming to a more particular explanation of it. The use of oil on so many occasions was taken from the ancient Christians, who, as Theophilus says, began early to be anointed, and understood those words of St. Paul, of "God's anointing" and "sealing," literally. It was also anciently applied to the receiving of penitents. But it was not used about the sick, from the apostles' times till about the tenth century. And then, from what St. James writ to those in the dispersion, of sending for the elders to come to such as were sick, who should anoint them with oil, and their sins should be forgiven them, and they should recover; they came to give it to those that were dying; but not while there was any hope of life left in them. Though it is clear, that what St. James writ related to that extraordinary gift of healing, by imposition of hands and anointing with oil, which yet continued in the church when he writ that epistle. And it is plain, that this passage in St. James was not so understood by the ancients as it is now in the Roman church; since the ancients, though they used oil on many other occasions, yet applied it not at all to the sick till after so many ages; that gross superstition had so disposed the world to new rites, that there could be no discovery or invention more acceptable than the addition of a new ceremony, though they were then much oppressed with the old ones.

The changes that were made, and those that were designed to be made, occasioned great heats everywhere. And the pulpits generally contending with one another; to restrain that clashing, the power of granting licences to preach was taken from the bishops of each diocese, so that none might give them but the king and the archbishop of Canterbury. Yet that not proving an effectual restraint, on the 23d of September a proclamation is said to have come out, setting forth, that whereas according to former proclamations none was to preach but such as had obtained licence from the king or the archbishop; yet some of those that were so licensed had abused that permission, and had carried themselves irreverently, contrary to the instructions that were sent them; therefore the king intending to have shortly an uniform order over all the kingdom, and to put an end to all controversies in religion, about which some bishops and other learned men were then assembled; and though many of the preachers so licensed had carried themselves wisely, to the honour of God and the king's great contentation; yet till the order now preparing should be set forth, he did inhibit all manner of persons to preach in any public audience; to the intent that the clergy might apply themselves to prayer, for a blessing on what the king was then about to do: not doubting but the people would be employed likewise in prayer, and hearing the homilies read in their churches, and be ready to receive that uniform order that was to be set forth: and the inferior magistrates were required to see to the execution of this. I never met with any footstep of this proclamation, neither in records nor in letters, nor in any book written at that time. But Mr. Fuller has printed it, and Dr. Heylin has given an abstract of it from him. If Fuller had told how he came by it, it might have been further examined. But we know not whether he saw the printed proclamation, or only a copy of it. And if he saw but a copy, we have reason to doubt of it; for that might have been only the essay of some projecting man's pen. But because

All preaching was for a time restrained.



I found it in those authors, I thought best to set it down as it is, and leave the reader to judge of it.

Having thus given an account of the progress of the Reformation this summer, I shall now turn to transactions of state, and shall first look towards Scotland. The Scots gaining time the last winter, and being in daily expectation of succours from France, were resolved to carry on the war. The governor began the year with the siege of Broughty Castle, a little below Dundee. But the English that were in it defended themselves so well, that after they had been besieged three months, the siege was raised, and only so many were left about it as might cover the country from their excursions. The English on the other side had taken and fortified Haddington, and were at work also at Lauder to make it strong. The former of these, lying in a plain, and in one of the most fruitful counties of Scotland, within twelve miles of Edinburgh, was a very fit place to be kept as a curb upon the country. About the end of May 6000 men were sent from France under the command of Dessie: 3000 of these were Germans, commanded by the rhinegrave; 2000 of them were French, and 1000 were of other nations. They landed at Leith; and the governor having gathered 8000 Scots to join with them, they sat down before Haddington; and here the Scottish nobility entered into a long consultation about their affairs.

The Affairs in Scotland this Year.

The protector had sent a proposition to them, that there might be a truce for ten years (but whether he offered to remove the garrisons, does not appear). This he was forced to upon many accounts. He saw the war was like to last long, and to draw on great expense, and would certainly end in another war with France; he durst not any more go from court, and march himself at the head of the army, and leave the king to the practices of his brother: there were also great discontents in England, many were offended with the changes made in religion; the commons complained generally of oppression, and of the enclosing of grounds, of which the sad effects broke out next year: he began to labour under the envy of the nobility; the clergy were almost all displeased with him; and the state of affairs in Germany made it necessary to join with the king of France against the emperor. All this made him very desirous of such a peace with Scotland as might at least preserve the queen from being disposed of for ten years. In that time, by treaty and pensions, they might hope to gain their ends; more certainly than by a war, which only inflamed the Scots against them; according to the witty saying of one of the Scots, who being asked what he thought of the match with England, said, he knew not how he should like the marriage, but he was sure he did not like the way of wooing. On the other hand, the French pressed the Scots to send their young queen into France, in the ships that had brought over their forces; who should be married to the dauphin, and then they might depend on the protection of France. Many were for accepting the proposition from England (particularly all those who secretly favoured the Reformation); they thought it would give them present quiet, and free them from all the distractions which they either felt or might apprehend from a lasting war with so powerful an enemy: whereas the sending away of their queen would put them out of a capacity of obtaining a peace, if the war this year proved as unsuccessful as it was the last; and the defence they had from France was almost as bad as the invasions of the English, for the French were very insolent and committed great disorders. But all the clergy were so apprehensive of their ruin by the marriage with England, that they never judged themselves safe till the thing was out of their power, by the sending their queen into France. And it was said, that when once the English saw the hopes of the marriage irrecoverably lost, they would soon grow weary of the war: for then the king of France would engage in the defence of Scotland with his whole force, so that nothing would keep up the war so much as having their queen still among them. To this many of the nobility yielded, being corrupted by money from France; and the governor consented to it, for which he was to be made duke of Chastelherault in France, and to have an estate of 12,000 livres a year. And so it was agreed to send their queen away. This being gained, the French ships set sail to sea, as if they had been to return to France; but sailed round Scotland by the isles of Orkney, and came into Dunbriton Frith, near to which the queen was kept in Dunbriton Castle; and receiving her from

The Scottish Queen is sent to France.

thence, with an honourable convoy that was sent to attend on her, they carried her over to Brétagne in France; and so by easy journeys she was brought to court, where her uncles received her with great joy, hoping by her means to raise and establish their fortunes in France.

The Siege of Haddington.

In the mean time the siege of Haddington was carried on with great valour on both sides. The French were astonished at the courage, the nimbleness, and labours, of the Scotch Highlanders*; who were half naked, but capable of great hardships, and used to run on with marvellous swiftness. In one sally which the besieged made, one of those got an Englishman on his shoulders, and carried him away with that quickness that nothing could stop him: and though the Englishman bit him so in the neck, that as soon as he had brought him into the camp, he himself fell down as dead, yet he carried him off; for which he was nobly rewarded by Dessie. The English defended themselves no less courageously; and though a recruit of about one thousand foot and three hundred horse, that was sent from Berwick, led by sir Robert Bowes and sir Tho. Palmer, was so fatally intercepted that they were almost all to a man killed, yet they lost no heart. Another party, of about three hundred, escaped the ambush laid for them, and got into the town, with a great deal of ammunition and provisions, of which the besieged were come to be in want. But at the same time both Home Castle and Fast Castle were lost. The former was taken by treachery: for some coming in as deserters, seeming to be very zealous for the English quarrel, and being too much trusted by the governor, and going often out to bring intelligence, gave the lord Home notice, that on that side where the rock was, the English kept no good watches, trusting to the steepness of the place; so they agreed that some should come and climb the rock, to whom they should give assistance; which was accordingly done, and so it was surprised in the night. The governor of Fast Castle had summoned the country people to bring him in provisions; upon which (by a common stratagem) soldiers, coming as countrymen, threw down their carriages at the gates, and fell on the sentinels: and so the signal being given, some, that lay concealed near at hand, came in time to assist them, and took the castle.

A Fleet sent against Scotland.

The protector, till the army was gathered together, sent a fleet of ships to disturb the Scots, by the descents they should make in divers places: and his brother being admiral, he commanded him to go to his charge. He landed first in Fife, at St. Minin's; but there the queen's natural brother, James, afterwards earl of Murray, and regent of Scotland, gathered the country people together, and made head against them. The English were twelve hundred, and had brought their cannon to land; but the Scots charged them so home, that they forced them to their ships: many were drowned, and many killed; the Scots reckoned the number of the slain to be six hundred, and a hundred prisoners taken. The next descent they made was no more prosperous to them. For landing in the night at Montrose, Erskine of Dun gathered the country together, and divided them in three bodies, ordering one to appear soon after the former had engaged: the enemy, seeing a second and a third body come against them, apprehending greater numbers, ran back to their ships; but with so much loss, that of eight hundred who had landed, the third man got not safe to the ships again. So the admiral returned, having got nothing but loss and disgrace by the expedition.

But was not successful.

But now the English army came into Scotland, commanded by the earl of Shrewsbury; though both the Scotch writers and Thuanus say, the earl of Lennox had the chief command; but he only came with the earl of Shrewsbury, as knowing the country and people best, and so being the fitter both to get intelligence, and to negotiate, if there was room for it. The Scots were by this time gone home for the most part; and the nobility with Dessie agreed that it was not fit to put all to hazard, and therefore raised the siege of Haddington and marched back to Edinburgh. The lord Gray with a great part of the English army followed him in the rear, but did not engage him into any great action: by which a good opportunity was lost, for the French were in great disorder. The English army came into Haddington. They consisted of about seventeen thousand men: of which number seven thousand were horse; and three

August 20. The Siege of Haddington raised.

* Thuanus.



thousand of the foot were German lansquenets, whom the protector had entertained in his service. These Germans were some of the broken troops of the Protestant army, who, seeing the state of their own country desperate, offered their service to the protector. He too easily entertained them; reckoning, that being protestants, they would be sure to him, and would depend wholly on himself. But this proved a fatal counsel to him; the English having been always jealous of a standing, but much more of a foreign force about their prince, so there was great occasion given by this to those who traded in sowing jealousies among the people. The English, having victualled Haddington and repaired the fortifications, returned back into their own country. But had they gone on to Edinburgh, they had found things there in great confusion. For Dessie, when he got thither, having lost five hundred of his men in the retreat, went to quarter his soldiers in the town; but the provost (so is the chief magistrate there called) opposed it. The French broke in with force, and killed him and his son, with all they found in the streets, men, women, and children: and as a spy whom the English had at Edinburgh gave them notice, the Scots were now more alienated from the French than from the English. The French had carried it very gently till the queen was sent away; but reckoned Scotland now a conquered country, and a province to France. So the Scots began, though too late, to repent the sending away of the queen. But it seems the English had orders not to venture too far; for the hopes of the marriage were now gone, and the protector had no mind to engage in a war with France. These things happened in the beginning of October. Dessie, apprehending that at Haddington they were now secure, the siege being so lately raised, resolved to try if he could carry the place by surprise. The English from thence had made excursions as far as Edinburgh; in one of which the French fell on them, pursued them, and killed about two hundred, and took sixscore prisoners, almost within their works. Soon after, Dessie marched in the night, and surprised one of their outworks, and was come to the gates; where the place had been certainly lost, if it had not been for a French deserter, who knew, if he were taken, what he was to expect. He therefore fired one of the great cannons, which being discharged amongst the thickest of the French, killed so many, and put the rest in such disorder, that Dessie was forced to quit the attempt. From thence he went and fortified Leith, which was then but a mean village; but the situation of the place being recommended by the security it now had, it soon came to be one of the best-peopled towns in Scotland. From thence he intended to have gone on, to take Broughty Castle, and to recover Dundee, which were then in the hands of the English; but he was ordered by the queen regent to make an inroad into England. There, after some slight engagements, in which the English had the worst, the Scotch and French came in as far as Newcastle, and returned loaded with spoil: which the French divided among themselves, allowing the Scots no share of it. An English priest was taken, who bore that disgrace of his country so heavily, that he threw himself on the ground, and would not eat, nor so much as open his eyes, but lay thus prostrate till he died. This the French, who seldom let their misfortunes afflict them, looked on with much astonishment. But at that time, the English had fortified Inchkeith, an island in the Frith, and put eight hundred men in it. Seventeen days after that, Dessie brought his forces from Leith, and recovered it; having killed four hundred English, and forced the rest to surrender.

Thus ended this year, and with it Dessie's power in Scotland. For the queen-mother and the governor had made great complaints of him at the court of France, that he put the nation to vast charge to little purpose; so that he was more uneasy to his friends than his enemies: and his last disorder at Edinburgh had on the one hand so raised the insolence of the French soldiers, and on the other hand so alienated and inflamed the people, that unless another were sent to command, who should govern more mildly, there might be great danger of a defection of a whole kingdom. For now, the seeds of their distaste of the French government were so sown, that men came generally to condemn their sending the queen away, and to hate the governor for consenting to it, but chiefly to abhor the clergy, who had wrought it for their own ends.

Discontents in Scotland.

Monsieur de Thormes was sent over to command; and Monluc bishop of Valence came

with him to govern the councils and be chancellor of the kingdom. He had lately returned from his embassy at Constantinople. He was one of the wisest men of that time, and was always for moderate counsels in matters of religion: which made him be some time suspected of heresy. And indeed the whole sequel of his life declared him to be one of the greatest men of that age: only his being so long and so firmly united to queen Catherine Medici's interest, takes off a great deal of the high character which the rest of his life has given of him. But he was at this time unknown, and ill represented, in Scotland; where they that looked for advantages from their alliance with France, took it ill to see a Frenchman sent over to enjoy the best office in the kingdom. The queen-mother herself was afraid of him: so to avoid new grounds of discontent, he left the kingdom, and returned into France.

Monluc sent thither to be Lord Chancellor.

But was not well received.

Thus ended the war between Scotland and England this year, in almost an equal mixture of good and bad success. The English had preserved Haddington, which was the chief matter of this year's action. But they had been at great charge in the war, in which they were only on the defensive: they had lost other places, and been unsuccessful at sea: and which was worst of all, they had now lost all hopes of the marriage, and were almost engaged in a war with France, which was like to fall on the king, when his affairs were in an ill condition, his people being divided and discontented at home, and his treasure much exhausted by this war.

The state of Germany was at this time most deplorable: the pope and emperor continued their quarrelling about the translation of the council. Mendoza at Rome, and Velasco at Bologna, declared in the emperor's name, that a council being called by his great and long endeavours for the quieting of Germany, and he being engaged in a war to get it to be received, and having procured a submission of the empire to the council, it was, upon frivolous and feigned causes, removed out of Germany to one of the pope's towns: by which the Germans thought themselves disengaged of their promise, which was to submit to a council in Germany; and therefore that he protested against it, as an unlawful meeting, to whose decrees he would not submit; and that if they did not return to Trent, he would take care of settling religion some other way. But the pope, being encouraged by the French king, was not ill pleased to see the emperor anew embroil himself with the Germans, and therefore intended the council should be continued at Bologna. Upon this the emperor ordered three divines, Julius Flugius bishop of Naumburg, Michael Sidonius, and Islebius Agricola, to draw a form of religion. The two former had been always papists, and the latter was formerly a protestant, but was believed to be now corrupted by the emperor, that the name of one of the Ausgburg Confession might make what they were to set out pass the more easily. They drew up all the points of religion in a book which was best known by the name of the Interim, because it was to last during that interval, till a general council should meet in Germany. In it, all the points of the Romish doctrine were set forth in the smoothest terms possible: only married men might officiate as priests, and the communion was to be given in both kinds. The book being thus prepared, a diet was summoned to Augsburg in February, where the first thing done was the solemn investiture of Maurice in the electorate of Saxony. He had been declared elector last year by the emperor before Wittenberg; but now it was performed with great ceremony on the 24th of February, which was the emperor's birth-day; John Frederick looking on with his usual constancy of mind. All he said was, "Now they triumph in that dignity of which they have against justice and equity spoiled me, God grant they may enjoy it peaceably and happily, and may never need any assistance from me or my posterity." And without expressing any further concern about it, he went to his studies, which were almost wholly employed in the Scriptures.

The Affairs of Germany.

The Emperor being displeased with the Translation of the Council, orders the Interim to be drawn.

February. Diet at Augsburg.

February 24. Maurice made Elector of Saxony.

The book of the Interim being prepared, the elector of Brandenburgh sent for Martin Bucer, who was both a learned and moderate divine; and showed it him. Bucer having read it, plainly told him, that it was nothing but downright popery, only a little disguised:



at which the elector was much offended, for he was pleased with it; and Bucer not without great danger returned back to Strasburg. On the 15th of March, the book was proposed to the diet: and the elector of Mentz, without any order, did in all the princes' names give the emperor thanks for it: which he interpreted as the assent of the whole diet; and after that would not hear any that came to him to stop it, but published it as agreed to by the diet.

March 15. The Interim received in the Diet.

At Rome and Bologna, it was much condemned, as a high attempt in the emperor to meddle with points of religion; such as dispensing with the marriage of priests, and the communion in both kinds. Wherefore some of that church writ against it. And matters went so high, that wise men of that side began to fear the breach between the emperor and them might, before they were aware, be past reconciling: for they had not forgot that the last pope's stiffness had lost England, and they were not a little afraid they might now lose the emperor. But if the pope were offended for the concessions in these two particulars, the protestants thought they had much greater cause to dislike it; since in all other controverted points it was against them. So that several of that side writ likewise against it. But the emperor was now so much exalted with his success, that he resolved to go through with it, little regarding the opposition of either hand. The new elector of Saxony went home, and offered it to his subjects. But they refused to receive it, and said, (as sir Philip Hobbey, then ambassador from England at the emperor's court, writ over,) that they had it under the emperor's hand and seal, that he should not meddle with matters of religion, but only with reforming the Commonwealth: and that if their prince would not protect them in this matter, they should find another, who would defend them from such oppression. An exhortation for the receiving of it was read at Augsburg; but they also refused it. Many towns sent their addresses to the emperor, desiring him not to oppress their consciences. But none was of such a nature as that from Linda, a little town near Constance, which had declared for the emperor in the former war. They returned answer, that they could not agree to the Interim, without incurring eternal damnation: but to show their submission to him in all other things they should not shut their gates, nor make resistance against any he should send, though it were to spoil and destroy their town. This let the emperor and his council see how difficult a work it would be to subdue the consciences of the Germans. But his chancellor Granvell pressed him to extreme councils, and to make an example of that town, who had so peremptorily refused to obey his commands. Yet he had little reason to hope he should prevail on those who were at liberty, when he could work so little on his prisoner the duke of Saxe. For he had endeavoured by great offers to persuade him to agree to it; but all was in vain, for he always told them that kept him, that his person was in their power, but his conscience was in his own, and that he would not on any terms depart from the Augsburg confession. Upon this he was severely used, his chaplain was put from him, with most of his servants; but he continued still unmoved, and as cheerful as in his greatest prosperity. The Lutheran divines entered into great disputes how far they might comply. Melanchthon thought that the ceremonies of popery might be used, since they were of their own nature indifferent. Others, as Amstorfius, Illiricus, with the greatest part of the Lutherans, thought the receiving the ceremonies would make way for all the errors of popery; and though they were of their own nature indifferent, yet they ceased to be so, when they were enjoined as things necessary to salvation. But the emperor going on resolutely, many divines were driven away; some concealed themselves in Germany, others fled into Switzerland, and some came over into England.

The Papists offended at it as well as the Protestants.

Cotton Library, Titus B. 2.

When the news of the changes that were made here in England were carried beyond sea, and after Peter Martyr's being with Cranmer, were more copiously written by him to his friends, Calvin and Martin Bucer, who began to think the Reformation almost oppressed in Germany, now turned their eyes more upon England. Calvin writ to the protector on the 29th of October, encouraging him to go on notwithstanding the wars: as Hezekias had done in his Reformation. He lamented the heats of some that professed the gospel, but complained that he heard there were few lively sermons preached in England; and that the preachers recited their discourses coldly. He much

Calvin writ to the Protector.

approves a set form of prayers, whereby the consent of all the churches did more manifestly appear. But he advises a more complete Reformation: he taxed the prayers for the dead, the use of chrism and extreme unction, since they were nowhere recommended in Scripture. He had heard that the reason why they went no further was, because the times could not bear it; but this was to do the work of God by political maxims; which though they ought to take place in other things, yet should not be followed in matters in which the salvation of souls was concerned. But above all things he complained of the great impieties and vices that were so common in England; as swearing, drinking, and uncleanness; and prayed him earnestly that these things might be looked after.

Bucer writ against Gardiner.

Martin Bucer writ also a discourse, congratulating the changes then made in England, which was translated into English by sir Philip Hobbey's brother. In it he answered the book that Gardiner had written against him; which he had formerly delayed to do, because king Henry had desired he would let it alone, till the English and Germans had conferred about religion. That book did chiefly relate to the marriage of the clergy: Bucer showed from many Fathers, that they thought every man had not the gift of chastity, which Gardiner thought every one might have that pleased. He taxed the open lewdness of the Romish clergy, who being much set against marriage, which was God's ordinance, did gently pass over the impurities which the forbidding it had occasioned among themselves. He particularly taxed Gardiner himself, that he had his rents paid him out of stews. He taxed him also for his state and pompous way of living, and showed how indecent it was for a churchman to be sent in embassies: and that St. Ambrose, though sent to make peace, was ashamed of it, and thought it unbecoming the priesthood. Both Fagius and he, being forced to leave Germany, upon the business of the Interim, Cranmer invited them over to England, and sent them to Cambridge, as he had done Peter Martyr to Oxford. But Fagius, not agreeing with this air, died soon after*, a man greatly learned in the oriental tongues, and a good expounder of the Scripture.

Nov. 24. Parliament sits.

This being the state of affairs both abroad and at home, a session of parliament was held in England on the 24th of November, to which day it had been prorogued from the 15th of October, by reason of the plague then in London. The first bill that was finished, was that about the marriage of the priests. It was brought into the house of commons the 3d of December, read the second time on the 5th, and the third time the 6th. But this bill being only that married men might be made priests, a new bill was framed, that, besides the former provision, priests might marry. This was read the first time the 7th, the second time the 10th, and was fully argued on the 11th, and agreed to on the 12th, and sent up to the lords on the 13th of December. In that house it stuck as long, as it had been soon despatched by the commons. It lay on the table till the 9th of February. Then it was read the first time, and the 11th the second time; on the 16th it was committed to the bishops of Ely and Westminster, the lord chief justice, and the attorney-general: and on the 19th of February it was agreed to; the bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Bristol, Chichester, and Llandaff, and the lords Morley, Dacres, Windsor, and Wharton, dissenting. It had the royal assent, and so became a law. The preamble sets forth, "That it were better for priests and other ministers of the church to live chaste and without marriage; whereby they might better attend to the ministry of the gospel, and be less distracted with secular cares, so that it were much to be wished, that they would of themselves abstain. But great filthiness of living, with other inconveniences, had followed on the laws that compelled chastity, and prohibited marriage, so that it was better they should be suffered to marry, than be so restrained. Therefore all laws and canons that had been made against it, being only made by human authority, are repealed. So that all spiritual persons of what degree soever might lawfully marry, providing they married according to the order of the church. But a proviso was added, that because many divorces of priests had been made after the Six Articles were enacted, and that the women might have thereupon married again, all these divorces, with everything that had followed on them, should be confirmed."

An Act about the Marriage of the clergy.

* Bucer and Fagius left Germany in April 1549, and Fagius died in the November following.—Anon. Correct.



There was no law that passed in this reign with more contradiction and censure than this, and therefore the reader may expect the larger account of this matter.

Which was much inquired into.

The unmarried state of the clergy had so much to be said for it, as being a course of life that was more disengaged from secular cares and pleasures, that it was cast on the reformers everywhere as a foul reproach, that they could not restrain their appetites, but engaged in a life that drew after it domestic cares, with many other distractions. This was an objection so easy to be apprehended, that the people had been more prejudiced against the marriage of the clergy, if they had not felt greater inconveniences by the debaucheries of priests; who, being restrained from marriage, had defiled the beds, and deflowered the daughters, of their neighbours, into whose houses they had free and unsuspected access, and whom under the cloak of receiving confessions they could more easily entice. This made them that they were not so much wrought on by the noise of chastity (when they saw so much and so plainly to the contrary), as otherwise they would have been, by a thing that sounded so well. But on the other hand, there was no argument which the reformers had more considered. There were two things upon which the question turned: the one was, the obligation that priesthood brought with it to live unmarried; the other was, the tie they might be under by any vow they had made. For the former, they considered, that God having ordained a race of men to be priests under Moses' law, who should offer up expiatory sacrifices for the sins of the Jews, did not only not forbid marriage, but made it necessary, for that office was to descend by inheritance: so that priesthood was not inconsistent with that state. In the New Testament some of the qualifications of a bishop and deacon are their being the husband of one wife, and their having well ordered their house, and brought up their children. St. Peter and other apostles were married; it was thought St. Paul was so likewise; Aquila was certainly married to Priscilla, and carried her about with him. Our Saviour, speaking of the help that an unmarried state was to the kingdom of God, recommended it equally to all ranks of men as they could bear it. St. Paul said, "Let every man have his own wife; it is better to marry than to burn;" and, "Marriage is honourable in all;" and the forbidding to marry is reckoned by him a mark of the apostasy of the latter times, so that the matter seemed clear from the Scriptures.

Arguments for it from Scripture.

And from the Fathers.

In the first ages Saturninus, Basilides, Montanus, Novatus, and the Eucratites, condemned marriage as a state of liberty more than was fit for Christians. Against those was asserted by the primitive fathers the lawfulness of marriage to all Christians without discrimination: and they who entering into holy orders forsook their wives, were severely condemned by the apostolical canons, and by the council of Gangra in the beginning of the fourth, and the council of Trullo in the latter end of the seventh, or rather in the beginning of the eighth age. Many great bishops in these times lived still with their wives, and had children by them, as namely both Nazianzen's and Basil's fathers: and Hilary of Poictiers when banished to Phrygia and very old, writing to his own daughter Abra, bid her ask her mother the meaning of those things which she by reason of her age understood not; by which it appears that his daughter was then very young, and by consequence born to him after he was a bishop. In the council of Nice, it being proposed that clergymen should depart from their wives, Paphnutius, though himself unmarried, opposed it as an unreasonable yoke. And Heliodorus bishop of Trica, the author of the first of those love-fables, now known by the name of Romances, being suspected of too much lasciviousness, and concerned to clear himself of that charge, did first move that clergymen should be obliged to live single, which the historian says they were not tied to before, but bishops as they pleased lived still with their wives. The Fathers in those times extolled a single life very high, and yet they all thought a man once married might be a bishop though his wife were yet living; they did not allow it indeed to him that had married twice; but for this they had a distinction, that if a man had been once married before his baptism, and again after his baptism, he was to be understood to be in the state of a single marriage. So that Jerome, who writ warmly enough against second marriages, yet says, *Ad Oceanum*, that the bishops in his age who were but once married in that sense were not to be numbered, and that more of these could be reckoned than were at the council of

Ariminum, who are said to have been eight hundred bishops. It is true that in that age they began to make canons against the marriage of those who were in orders, especially in the Roman and African churches; but those were only positive laws of the church, and the frequent repeating of those canons shows that, even there, they were not generally obeyed. Of Synesius we read, that when he was ordained priest, he declared that he would not live secretly with his wife, as some did, but that he would dwell publicly with her, and wished that he might have many children by her. In the Eastern church all their clergy below the order of bishops are usually married before they be ordained, and afterward live with their wives, and have children by them, without any kind of prohibition. In the Western church the married clergy are taken notice of in many of the Spanish and Gallican synods, and the bishops' and priests' wives are called *episcopæ* and *presbyteræ*. In most of the cathedrals of England the clergy were married in the Saxon times, but, as was shown, page 17 of the first part, because they would not quit their wives they were put out, not of sacred orders, but only out of the seats they were then in, and those were given to the monks. When pope Nicolas had pressed the cœlibate of the clergy in the 9th century, there was great opposition made to it, chiefly by Haldericus bishop of Augsburg, who was held a saint notwithstanding this opposition. Restitutus bishop of London lived openly with his wife: nor was the cœlibate of the clergy generally imposed till pope Gregory VII.'s time in the eleventh century, who projecting to have the clergy depend wholly on himself, and so to separate them from the interests of those princes in whose dominions they lived, considered that by having wives and children they gave pledges to the state where they lived, and reckoned that if they were free from this incumbrance, then their persons being sacred, there would be nothing to hinder, but that they might do as they pleased in obedience to the popes, and opposition to their own princes' orders. The writers near Gregory VII.'s time called this a new thing, against the mind of the holy Fathers, and full of rashness in him, thus to turn out married priests. Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury did not impose cœlibate on the clergy in the villages, but only on those that lived in towns, and on prebendaries. But Anselm carried it further, and simply imposed it on all the clergy: yet himself laments that Sodomy was become then very common, and even public, which was also the complaint of Petrus Damiani in pope Gregory's time. Bernard said that that sin was frequent among the bishops in his time, and that this with many other abominations was the natural effect of prohibiting marriage. This made abbot Panormitan wish that it were left to men's liberty to marry if they pleased. And Pius II. said there might have been good reasons for imposing cœlibate on the clergy, but he believed there were far better reasons for taking away these laws that imposed it. Yet even since those laws have been made, Petrarch had a license to marry, and keep his preferments still. Boniface archbishop of Canterbury, Richard bishop of Chichester, and Geofrey bishop of Ely, are said to have had wives; and though there were not so many instances of priests marrying after orders, yet if there were anything in the nature of priesthood inconsistent by the law of God with marriage, then it was as unlawful for them to continue in their former marriages as to contract a new one. Some few instances were also gathered out of church history of bishops and priests marrying after orders: but as these are few, so there was just reason to controvert them.

Upon the whole matter it was clear that the cœlibate of the clergy flowed from no law of God, nor from any general law of the church; but the contrary, of clergymen's living with their wives, was universally received for many ages. As for vows, it was much questioned how far they did bind in such cases. It seemed a great sin to impose such on any, when they were yet young, and did not well know their own dispositions. Nor was it in a man's power to keep them. For, continence being none of those graces that are promised by God to all that ask it, as it was not in a man's power without extreme severities on himself to govern his own constitution of body, so he had no reason to expect God should interpose when he had provided another remedy for such cases. Besides the promise made by clergymen, according to the rites of the Roman Pontifical, did not oblige them to cœlibate. The words were, "Wilt thou follow chastity and sobriety?" to which the subdeacon answered, "I will." By chastity was not to be

The vows and other reasons against it examined.



understood a total abstinence from all, but only from unlawful embraces; since a man might live chaste in a state of marriage, as well as out of it. But whatever might be in this, the English clergy were not concerned in it: for there was no such question nor answer made in the forms of their ordination. So they were not by any vow precluded from marriage. And for the expediency of it, nothing was more evident, than that these laws had brought in much uncleanness into the church, and those who pressed them most had been signally noted for these vices. No prince in the English history lewder than Edgar that had so promoted it. The Legate that in king Henry II.'s time got that severe decree made, that put all the married clergy from their livings, was found the very night after (for the credit of cœlibate) in bed with a whore. On this subject many undecent stories were gathered, especially by Bale, who was a learned man, but did not write with that temper and discretion that became a divine. He gathered all the lewd stories that could be raked together to this purpose; and the many abominable things found in the monasteries were then fresh in all men's memories. It was also observed, that the unmarried clergy had been, as much as the married could be, intent upon the raising families, and the enriching of their nephews and kindred, (and sometimes of their bastards, witness the present pope Paul III., and not long before him Alexander VI.,) so that the married clergy could not be tempted to more covetousness than had appeared in the unmarried. And for the distraction of domestic affairs, the clergy had formerly given themselves up to such a secular course of life, that it was thought nothing could increase it; but if the married clergy should set themselves to raise more than a decent maintenance for their children, such as might fit them for letters or callings, and should neglect hospitality, become covetous, and accumulate livings and preferments, to make estates for their children, this might be justly curbed by new laws, or rather the renewing of the ancient canons, by which clergymen were declared to be only entrusted with the goods of the church for public ends, and were not to apply them to their own private uses, nor to leave them to their children and friends.

Thus had this matter been argued in many books that were written on this subject, by Poinet, and Parker*, the one afterwards bishop of Winchester, and the other archbishop of Canterbury; also by Bale bishop of Ossory, with many more. Dr. Ridley, Dr. Taylor (afterwards bishop of Lincoln), Dr. Benson, and Dr. Redmayn, appeared more confidently in it, than many others; being men that were resolved never to marry themselves; who yet thought it necessary, and therefore pleaded, (according to the pattern that Paphnutius had set them,) that all should be left to their liberty in this matter.

The debate about it was brought into the convocation, where Dr. Redmayn's authority went a great way. He was a man of great learning and probity, and of so much greater weight, because he did not in all points agree with the reformers: but being at this time sick, his opinion was brought under his hand, which will be found in the Collection, copied from the original. It was to this purpose, "That though the Scriptures exhorted priests to live chaste, and out of the cares of the world; yet the laws forbidding them marriage, were only canons and constitutions of the church, not founded on the word of God; and therefore he thought that a man once married might be a priest: and he did not find the priests in the church of England had made any vow against marriage; and therefore he thought that the king and the higher powers of the church might take away the clog of perpetual continence from the priests, and grant that such as could not or would not contain, might marry once, and not be put from their holy ministration." It was opposed by many in both houses, but carried at last by the major vote. All this I gather from what is printed concerning it: for I have seen no remains of this, or of any of the other convocations that came afterwards in this reign; the registers of them being destroyed in the fire of London. This act seemed rather a connivance, and permission of the clergy to marry, than any direct allowance of it. So the enemies of that state of life continued to reproach the married clergy still: and this was much heightened

Collection Number 30.

* Parker's book was not written till the reign of queen Mary, *ad leniendum suum in illa Mariana persecutione mœrorem*, as said in his life, nor published till the reign of queen Elizabeth, and could have no relation to this reign.—Anon. Correct.

by many undecent marriages, and other light behaviour of some priests. But these things made way for a more full act concerning this matter about three years after.

An Act confirming the Liturgy.

The next act that passed in this parliament was about the public service, which was put into the house of commons on the 9th of December, and the next day was also put into the house of lords: it lay long before them, and was not agreed to till the 15th of January. The earl of Derby, the bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester, and the lords Dacres and Windsor, protesting. The preamble of the act sets forth, "that there had been several forms of service, and that of late there had been great difference in the administration of the sacraments, and other parts of divine worship; and that the most effectual endeavours could not stop the inclinations of many to depart from the former customs, which the king had not punished, believing they flowed from a good zeal. But that there might be a uniform way over all the kingdom, the king, by the advice of the lord protector and his council, had appointed the archbishop of Canterbury, with other learned and discreet bishops and divines, to draw an order of divine worship, having respect to the pure religion of Christ taught in the Scripture, and to the practice of the primitive church, which they, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, had with one uniform agreement concluded on; wherefore the parliament having considered the book, and the things that were altered or retained in it, they gave their most humble thanks to the king for his care about it; and did pray that all who had formerly offended in these matters, except such as were in the Tower of London, or the prison of the Fleet, should be pardoned; and did enact, that from the feast of Whit-Sunday next all divine offices should be performed according to it, and that such of the clergy as should refuse to do it, or continue to officiate in any other manner, should upon the first conviction be imprisoned six months, and forfeit a year's profit of their benefice: for the second offence forfeit all their church preferments, and suffer a year's imprisonment: and for the third offence should be imprisoned during life. And all that should write, or put out things in print, against it, or threaten any clergymen for using it, were to be fined in 10*l.* for the first offence, 20*l.* for the second, and to forfeit all their goods, and be imprisoned for life, upon a third offence. Only at the universities they might use it in Latin and Greek, excepting the office of the communion. It was also lawful to use other psalms or prayers taken out of the Bible, so those in the book were not omitted." This act was variously censured by those who disliked it. Some thought it too much, that it was said the book was drawn by the aid of the Holy Ghost. But others said this was not to be so understood as if they had been inspired by extraordinary assistance; for then there had been no room for any correction of what was now done; and therefore it was only to be understood in that sense, as all good motions and consultations are directed or assisted by the secret influences of God's holy spirit, which do oft help good men, even in their imperfect actions, where the good that is done is justly ascribed to the grace of God. Others censured it, because it was said to be done by uniform agreement, though three of the bishops that were employed in the drawing of it protested against it. These were the bishops of Hereford, Chichester, and Westminster; but these had agreed in the main parts of the work, though in some few particulars they were not satisfied, which made them dissent from the whole.

The censures passed upon it.

Singing of Psalms brought in.

The proviso for the psalms and prayers taken out of the Bible, was for the singing psalms, which were translated into verse, and much sung by all who loved the Reformation, and were in many places used in churches. In the ancient church the Christians were much exercised in repeating the psalms of David; many had them all by heart, and used to be reciting them when they went about their work; and those who retired into a monastical course of life, spent many of their hours in repeating the psalter. Apollinaris put them in verse, as being easier for the memory. Other devout hymns came to be also in use. Nazianzen among the Greeks, and Prudentius among the Latins, laboured on that argument with the greatest success. There were other hymns that were not put in verse, the chief of which were, that most ancient hymn which we use now after the sacrament, and the celebrated Ambrosian hymn that begins *Te Deum Laudamus*. But as when the worship of the departed saints came to be dressed up with much pomp,



hymns were also made for their honour; and the Latin tongue, as well as prosody, being then much decayed, these came to be cast into rhymes, and were written generally in a fantastical affected style; so now at the Reformation, some poets, such as the times afforded, translated David's psalms into verse; and it was a sign by which men's affections to that work were everywhere measured, whether they used to sing these or not. But as the poetry then was low, and not raised to that justness to which it is since brought, so this work, which then might pass for a tolerable composure, has not been since that time so reviewed or changed as perhaps the thing required; hence it is that this piece of divine worship, by the meanness of the verse, has not maintained its due esteem. Another thing, that some thought deserved to be considered in such a work, was, that many of the psalms, being such as related more specially to David's victories, and contained passages in them not easily understood, it seemed better to leave out these, which it was not so easy to sing with devotion, because the meaning of them either lay hid, or did not at all concern Christians.

The parliament was adjourned from the 22d of December to the 2d of January. On the 7th of January the commons sent an address to the protector to restore Latimer to the bishopric of Worcester; but this took no effect, for that good old man did choose rather to go about and preach, than to engage in a matter of government, being now very ancient. A bill was put in by the lords for appointing of parks, and agreed to, the earl of Arundel only dissenting; but being sent down to the commons, it was upon the second reading thrown out, yet not so unanimously but that the house was divided about it.

1549.

Jour. Proc.

On the 4th of February a bill was put in against eating flesh in Lent, and on fasting days; it was committed to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely, Worcester, and Chichester; and sent to the commons on the 16th, who sent it up on the 7th of March, with a proviso, to which the lords agreed. In the preamble it is said, "that though it is clear by the word of God, that there is no day, nor kind of meat, purer than another, but that all are in themselves alike; yet many out of sensuality had contemned such abstinence as had been formerly used; and since due abstinence was a mean to virtue, and to subdue men's bodies to their soul and spirit, and was also necessary to encourage the trade of fishing, and for saving of flesh; therefore all former laws about fasting and abstinence were to be after the 1st of May repealed; and it was enacted, that from the 1st of May none should eat flesh on Fridays, Saturdays, Ember-days, in Lent, or any other days that should be declared fish-days, under several penalties. A proviso was added for excepting such as should obtain the king's licence, or were sick, or weak, and that none should be indicted but within three months after the offence."

An Act about Fasts.

Christ had told his disciples, that when he should be taken from them, then they should fast. Accordingly the primitive Christians used to fast oft, more particularly before the anniversary of the Passion of Christ, which ended in a high festivity at Easter. Yet this was differently observed, as to the number of days. Some abstained forty days, in imitation of Christ's fast, others only that week, and others had only an entire fast from the time of Christ's death till his resurrection. On these fasts they ate nothing till the evening, and then they ate most commonly herbs and roots. Afterwards the Fridays were kept as fasts, because on that day Christ suffered. Saturdays were also added in the Roman church, but not without contradiction. Ember-weeks came in afterwards, being some days before those Sundays, in which orders were given. And a general rule being laid down, that every Christian festival should be preceded by a fast*, thereupon the vigils of holy-days came, though not so soon into the number. But this, with the other good institutions of the primitive times, became degenerate; even in St. Austin's time, religion came to be placed in these observances, and anxious rules were made about them. Afterwards in the church of Rome they were turned into a mockery; for as on fast-days they dined, which the ancients did not, so the use of the most delicious fish, drest in the most exquisite manner, with the richest wines that could be had, was allowed, which made it ridiculous. So now they resolved to take off the severities of the former laws, and yet to keep up such laws

* The festivals between Easter and the Ascension-day were not so, on the pretended reason that the Bridegroom was with them; as also Michaelmas.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

about fasting and abstinence as might be agreeable to its true end: which is, to subdue the flesh to the spirit, and not to gratify it by a change of one sort of diet into another, which may be both more delicate and more inflaming. So fond a thing is superstition, that it will help men to deceive themselves by the slightest pretences that can be imagined.

It was much lamented then, and there is as much cause for it still, that carnal men have taken advantages from the abuses that were formerly practised, to throw off good and profitable institutions: since the frequent use of fasting, with prayer and true devotion joined to it, is perhaps one of the greatest helps that can be devised, to advance one to a spiritual temper of mind, and to promote a holy course of life: and the mockery that is discernible in the way of some men's fasting, is a very slight excuse for any to lay aside the use of that which the Scriptures have so much recommended.

There were other bills put in into both houses, but did not pass. One was, for declaring it treason to marry the king's sisters without consent of the king and his council; but it was thought that king Henry's will, disabling them from the succession in that case, would be a stronger restraint; and so it was laid aside. Another bill was put in for ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Great complaints were made of the abounding of vices and immoralities, which the clergy could neither restrain nor punish, and so they had nothing left but to preach against them, which was done by many with great freedom. In some of these sermons the preachers expressed their apprehensions of signal and speedy judgments from heaven, if the people did not repent; but their sermons had no great effect, for the nation grew very corrupt; and this brought on them severe punishments. The temporal lords were so jealous of putting power in churchmen's hands, especially to correct those vices of which themselves perhaps were most guilty, that the bill was laid aside. The pretence of opposing it was, that the greatest part of the bishops and clergy were still papists in their hearts; so that if power were put into such men's hands, it was reasonable to expect they would employ it chiefly against those who favoured the Reformation, and would vex them on that score, though with pretences fetched from other things.

Some Bills were rejected.

There was also put into the house of commons a bill for reforming of processes at common law, which was sent up by the commons to the lords, but it fell in that house. I have seen a large discourse written then upon that argument; in which it is set forth, that the law of England was a barbarous kind of study, and did not lead men into a finer sort of learning, which made the common lawyers to be generally so ignorant of foreign matters, and so unable to negotiate in them; therefore it was proposed, that the common and statute laws should be in imitation of the Roman law, digested into a body under titles and heads, and put in good Latin. But this was too great a design to be set on or finished under an infant king. If it was then necessary, it will be readily acknowledged to be much more so now, the volume of our statutes being so much swelled since that time; besides the vast number of reports and cases, and the pleadings growing much longer than formerly: yet whether this is a thing to be much expected or desired, I refer it to the learned and wise men of that robe.

A design for digesting the Common Law into a Body.

The only act that remains of this session of parliament, about which I shall inform the reader, is the attainder of the admiral. The queen dowager that had married him died in September last, not without suspicion of poison. She was a good and virtuous lady, and in her whole life had done nothing unseemly, but the marrying him so indecently, and so soon after the king's death. There was found among her papers a discourse written by her concerning herself; intituled, "The Lamentation of a Sinner," which was published by Cecil, who writ a preface to it. In it, she, with great sincerity, acknowledges the sinful course of her life for many years, in which she, relying on external performances, such as fasts, and pilgrimages, was all that while a stranger to the internal and true power of religion: which she came afterwards to feel by the study of the Scripture, and the calling upon God for his holy spirit. She explains clearly the notion she had of justification by faith, so that holiness necessarily followed upon it: but lamented the great scandal given by many gospellers: so were all these called who were given to the reading of the Scriptures.

The Admiral's Attainder.



QUEEN CATHARINE PAR.

OB. 1548

FROM THE ORIGINAL OIL PAINTING IN THE COLLECTION OF

DAWSON TURNER, ESQ^re. A.M: F.R.A: & L.S.

She being thus dead, the admiral renewed his addresses to the lady Elizabeth, but in vain; for as he could not expect that his brother and the council would consent to it, so if he had married her without that, the possibility of succeeding to the crown was cut off by king Henry's will. And this attempt of his occasioned that act to be put in, which was formerly mentioned, for declaring the marrying the king's sisters, without consent of council, to be treason. Seeing he could not compass that design, he resolved to carry away the king to his house of Holt in the country; and so to displace his brother, and to take the government into his own hands. For this end, he had laid in magazines of arms, and listed about ten thousand men in several places: and openly complained, that his brother intended to enslave the nation, and make himself master of all, and had therefore brought over those German soldiers. He had also entered into treaty with several of the nobility, that envied his brother's greatness, and were not ill pleased to see a breach between them, and that grown to be irreconcilable. To these he promised that they should be of the council, and that he would dispose of the king in marriage to one of their daughters: the person is not named. The protector had often told him of these things, and warned him of the danger into which he would throw himself by such ways; but he persisted still in his designs; though he denied and excused them as long as was possible. Now his restless ambition seeming incurable, he was on the 19th of January sent to the Tower. The original warrant, signed by all the privy council, is in the council-book formerly mentioned; where the earl of Southampton signs with the rest, who was now in outward appearance reconciled to the protector. On the day following the admiral's seal of his office was sent for, and put into secretary Smith's hands. And now many things broke out against him; and particularly a conspiracy of his with sir W. Sharington, vice-treasurer of the mint at Bristol, who was to have furnished him with 10,000*l.* and had already coined about 10,000*l.* false money, and had clipt a great deal more, to the value of 40,000*l.* in all; for which he was attainted by a process at common law, and that was confirmed in parliament. Fowler also, that waited in the privy chamber, with some few others, were sent to the Tower: many complaints being usually brought against a sinking man, the lord Russel, the earl of Southampton, and secretary Petre, were ordered to receive their examinations. And thus the business was let alone till the 28th of February, in which time his brother did again try if it were possible to bring him to a better temper: and as he had, since their first breach, granted him 800*l.* a year in land, to gain his friendship; so means were now used to persuade him to submit himself, and to withdraw from court, and from all employment. But it appeared that nothing could be done to him that could cure his ambition, or the hatred he carried to his brother. And therefore on the 22nd of February, a full report was made to the council of all the things that were informed against him; consisting not only of the particulars formerly mentioned, but of many foul misdemeanours in the discharge of the admiralty: several pirates being entertained by him, who gave him a share of their robberies, and whom he had protected, notwithstanding the complaints made by other princes, by which the king was in danger of a war from the princes so complaining. The whole charge consists of Thirty-three Articles, which will be found in the Collection. The particulars, as it is entered in the council-book, were so manifestly proved, not only by witnesses, but by letters under his own hand, that it did not seem possible to deny them. Yet he had been sent to, and examined by some of the council, but refused to make a direct answer to them, or to sign those answers that he had made. So it was ordered, that the next day all the privy council, except the archbishop of Canterbury, and sir John Baker, speaker to the house of commons, who was engaged to attend in the house, should go to the Tower and examine him. On the 23d the lord Chancellor, with the other councillors, went to him and read the articles of his charge, and earnestly desired him to make plain answers to them, excusing himself where he could, and submitting himself in other things: and that he would show no obstinacy of mind. He answered them, that he expected an open trial, and his accusers to be brought face to face. All the councillors endeavoured to persuade him to be more tractable, but to no purpose. At last the lord chancellor required him on his allegiance to make his answer.

The Queen Dowager dying, he courted the Lady Elizabeth.

January 19. The Admiral sent to the Tower.

Collection, Number 31.

He desired they would leave the articles with him, and he would consider of them, otherwise he would make no answer to them. But the councillors resolved not to leave them with him on those terms. On the 24th of February it was resolved in council, that the whole board should after dinner acquaint the king with the state of that affair, and desire to know of him whether he would have the law to take place; and since the thing had been before the parliament, whether he would leave it to their determination: so tender they were of their young king in a case that concerned his uncle's life. But the king had begun to discern his seditious temper, and was now much alienated from him.

The Council desired the King to refer the Matter to the Parliament.

When the councillors waited on him, the lord chancellor opened the matter to the king, and delivered his opinion for leaving it to the parliament. Then every councillor by himself spake his mind, all to the same purpose. Last of all the protector spake; he protested this was a most sorrowful business to him, that he had used all the means in his power to keep it from coming to this extremity; but, were it son or brother, he must prefer his majesty's safety to them, for he weighed his allegiance more than his blood: and that therefore he was not against the request that the other lords had made; and said, if he himself were guilty of such offences, he should not think he were worthy of life; and the rather because he was of all men the most bound to his majesty, and therefore he could not refuse justice. The king answered them in these words; "We perceive that there are great things objected and laid to my lord admiral my uncle, and they tend to treason, and we perceive that you require but justice to be done. We think it reasonable, and we will, that you proceed according to your request." Which words (as it is marked in the council-book) "coming so suddenly from his grace's mouth, of his own motion, as the lords might well perceive, they were marvellously rejoiced, and gave the king most hearty praise and thanks: yet resolved that some of both houses should be sent to the admiral, before the bill should be put in against him, to see what he could or would say." All this was done to try if he could be brought to a submission. So the lord chancellor, the earls of Shrewsbury, Warwick, and Southampton, and sir John Baker, sir Tho. Cheyney, and sir Anth. Denny, were sent to him. He was long obstinate, but after much persuasion was brought to give an answer to the first three articles, which will be found in the Collection at the end of the articles: and then on a sudden he stopt, and bade them be content, for he would go no further: and no entreaties would work on him, either to answer the rest, or to set his hand to the answers he had made.

Who consented to it.

On the 25th of February the bill was put in for attainting him, and the peers had been so accustomed to agree to such bills in king Henry's time, that they did easily pass it. All the judges and the king's council delivered their opinions, that the articles were treason. Then the evidence was brought, many lords gave it so fully, that all the rest with one voice consented to the bill; only the protector, "for natural pity's sake," as is in the council-book, desired leave to withdraw. On the 27th the bill was sent down to the commons with a message, that if they desired to proceed as the lords had done, those lords that had given their evidence in their own house, should come down and declare it to the commons: but there was more opposition made in the house of commons. Many argued against attainders in absence, and thought it an odd way that some peers should rise up in their places in their own house, and relate somewhat to the slander of another, and that he should be thereupon attainted; therefore it was pressed, that it might be done by a trial, and that the admiral should be brought to the bar, and be heard plead for himself. But on the 4th of March a message was sent from the king, that he thought it was not necessary to send for the admiral; and that the lords should come down and renew before them the evidence they had given in their own house. This was done; and so the bill was agreed to by the commons in a full house, judged about four hundred, and there were not above ten or twelve that voted in the negative. The royal assent was given on the 5th of March. On the 10th of March the council resolved to press the king that justice might be done on the admiral; and since the case was "so heavy and lamentable to the protector," (so it is in the council-book) "though it was also sorrowful to them all, they resolved to proceed in it, so that neither the king nor he should be further troubled with it."

The Bill passed in both Houses.



After dinner they went to the king, the protector being with them. The king said he had well observed their proceedings, and thanked them for their great care of his safety, and commanded them to proceed in it without further molesting him or the protector; and ended, "I pray you, my lords, do so." Upon this they ordered the bishop of Ely to go to the admiral, and to instruct him in the things that related to another life; and to prepare him to take patiently his deserved execution. And on the 17th of March he having made report to them of his attendance on the admiral, the council signed a warrant for his execution, which will be found in the Collection, to which both the lord protector and the archbishop of Canterbury set their hands. And on the 20th his head was cut off. What his behaviour was on the scaffold I do not find*.

Collection, Number 32. March 20. The Admiral beheaded.

Thus fell Tho. lord Seymour, lord high admiral of England, a man of high thoughts, of great violence of temper, and ambitious out of measure. The protector was much censured for giving way to his execution, by those who looked only at that relation between them, which they thought should have made him still preserve him. But others who knew the whole series of the affair, saw it was scarce possible for him to do more for the gaining his brother than he had done. Yet the other being a popular notion, that it was against nature for one brother to destroy another, was more easily entertained by the multitude, who could not penetrate into the mysteries of state. But the way of proceeding was much condemned; since to attaint a man without bringing him to make his own defence, or to object what he could say to the witnesses that were brought against him, was so illegal and unjust, that it could not be defended. Only this was to be said for it, that it was a little more regular than parliamentary attainders had been formerly; for here the evidence upon which it was founded was given before both houses.

Censures passed upon it.

One particular seemed a little odd, that Cranmer signed the warrant for his execution; which, being in a cause of blood, was contrary to the canon law. In the primitive times churchmen had only the cure of souls lying on them, together with the reconciling of such differences as might otherwise end in suits of law before the civil courts, which were made up of infidels. When the empire became Christian, these judgments, which they gave originally on so charitable an account, were by the imperial laws made to have great authority; but further than these, or the care of widows and orphans, they were forbid, both by the council of Chalcedon, and other lesser councils, to meddle in secular matters. Among the endowments made to some churches, there were lands given, where the slaves, according to the Roman law, came within the patrimony of these churches, and by that law masters had power of life and death over their slaves.

And on Cranmer's signing the Warrant for his Execution.

In some churches this power had been severely exercised, even to maiming and death, which seemed very indecent in a churchman. Besides, there was an apprehension that some severe churchmen, who were but masters for life, might be more profuse of the lives of such slaves, than those that were to transmit them to their families. Therefore, to prevent the waste that should be made in the church's patrimony, it was agreed on that churchmen should not proceed capitally against any of their vassals or slaves. And in the confusions that were in Spain, the princes that prevailed had appointed priests to be judges, to give the greater reputation to their courts. This being found much to the prejudice of the church, it was decreed in the fourth council of Toledo, that priests who were chosen by Christ to the ministry of salvation should not judge in capital matters, unless the prince should swear to them, that he would remit the punishment; and such as did otherwise were held guilty of blood-shedding, and were to lose their degree in the church. This was soon received over all the western church; and arguments were found out afterwards by the canonists to prove the

Laws against Churchmen's meddling in matters of blood.

* There is a pretty remarkable account of his death and behaviour in bishop Latimer's Fourth Sermon, *Edit.* i. p. 56, (left out of the following editions) where, amongst other things, he says, "He," (the admiral) "dyed very dangerously, yrksomelye, horryblye." And surely so he did, if the letters referred to by him on the scaffold were genuine, which Latimer says he saw. — ANON. CORRECT.

necessity of continuing it; from David not being suffered to build the temple, since he was a man of blood; and from the qualification required by St. Paul in a bishop, that he should be no striker—since he seemed to strike, that did it either in person, or by one whom he deputed to do it. But when afterwards Charles the Great, and all the Christian princes in the west, gave their bishops great lands and dominions; they obliged them to be in all their councils, and to do them such services as they required of them by virtue of their tenures. The popes, designing to set up a spiritual empire, and to bring all church-lands within it, required the bishops to separate themselves from a dependance on their princes, as much as it was possible: and these laws formerly made about cases of blood were judged a colour good enough why they should not meddle in such trials; so they procured these cases to be excepted. But it seems Cranmer thought his conscience was under no tie from those canons, and so judged it not contrary to his function to sign that order.

Subsidies granted by the Clergy and Laity.

The parliament was on the 14th of March prorogued to the 4th of November, the clergy having granted the king a subsidy of six shillings in the pound to be paid in three years. In the preamble of the bill of subsidy they acknowledged the great quietness they enjoyed under him, having no let nor impediment in the service of God. But the laity set out their subsidy with a much fuller preamble of the great happiness they had by the true religion of Christ; declaring that they were ready to forsake all things rather than Christ; as also to assist the king in the conquest of Scotland, which they call a part of his dominion; therefore they give twelvepence in the pound of all men's personal estates to be paid in three years.

A new Visitation.

But now to look into matters of religion, there was, immediately after the act of uniformity passed, a new visitation, which, it is probable, went in the same method that was observed in the former. There were two things much complained of; the one was, that the priests read the prayers generally with the same tone of voice that they had used formerly in the Latin service; so that it was said, the people did not understand it much better than they had done the Latin formerly. This I have seen represented in many letters; and it was very seriously laid before Cranmer by Martin Bucer. The course taken in it was, that in all parish churches the service should be read in a plain, audible voice; but that the former way should remain in cathedrals, where there were great quires, who were well acquainted with that tone, and where it agreed better with the music that was used in the anthems. Yet even there many thought it no proper way in the litany, where the greatest gravity was more agreeable to such humble addresses, than such a modulation of the voice, which to those unacquainted with it seemed light, and for others that were more accustomed to it, it seemed to be rather use that had reconciled them to it, than the natural decency of the thing, or any fitness in it to advance the devotion of their prayers. But this was a thing judged of less importance: it was said that those who had been accustomed to read in that voice could not easily alter it; but as those dropt off and died others would be put in their places who would officiate in a plainer voice. Other abuses were more important. Some used in the communion-service many of the old rites, such as kissing the altar, crossing themselves, lifting the book from one place to another, breathing on the bread, showing it openly before the distribution, with some other of the old ceremonies. The people did also continue the use of their praying by beads, which was called an innovation of Peter the Hermit in the twelfth century. By it ten aves went for one pater noster, and the reciting these so oft in Latin, had come to be almost all the devotion of the vulgar; and therefore the people were ordered to leave that unreasonable way of praying, it seeming a most unaccountable thing that the reciting the angel's salutation to the blessed Virgin should be such a high piece of divine worship. And that this should be done ten times for one prayer to God, looked so like preferring the creature to the Creator, that it was not easy to defend it from an appearance of idolatry. The priests were also ordered to exhort the people to give to the poor. The curates were required to preach and declare the catechism, at least every sixth week. And some priests continuing secretly the use of soul masses, in which, for avoiding the censure of the law, they had one to communicate with them, but had many of these in one day; it was ordered that there should be no selling of

Some of the old Abuses continued in the new Service.



the communion in trentals, and that there should be but one communion in one church, except on Easter-day and Christmas; in which the people coming to the sacrament in greater numbers, there should be one sacrament in the morning, and another near noon. And there being great abuses in churches and churchyards, in which, in the times of popery, markets had been held, and bargains made, that was forbid, chiefly in the time of divine service or sermon.

Collection, Number 33.

These instructions, which the reader will find in the Collection, were given in charge to the visitors. Cranmer had also a visitation about the same time, in which the articles he gave out are all drawn according to the king's injunctions. By some questions in them, they seem to have been sent out before the parliament met, because the book of service is not mentioned; but the last question save one, being of such as contemned married priests, and refused to receive the sacrament at their hands, I conceive that these were compiled after the act concerning their marriage was passed, but before the feast of Whit-Sunday following, for till then the Common Prayer-book was not to be received. There were also orders sent by the council to the bishop of London, to see that there should be no special masses in St. Paul's church, which being the mother-church in the chief city of the kingdom, would be an example to all the rest; and that therefore there should be only one communion at the great altar, and that at the time when the high mass was wont to be celebrated, unless some desired a sacrament in the morning, and then it was to be celebrated at the high altar. Bonner, who resolved to comply in everything, sent the council's letter to the dean and residentiaries of St. Paul's, to see it obeyed; and indeed, all England over, the book was so universally received, that the visitors did return no complaint from any corner of the whole kingdom. Only the lady Mary continued to have mass said in her house, of which the council being advertised, writ to her to conform herself to the laws, and not to cast a reproach on the king's government; for the nearer she was to him in blood, she was to give the better example to others; and her disobedience might encourage others to follow her in that contempt of the king's authority. So they desired her to send to them her comptroller, and Dr. Hopton her chaplain, by whom she should be more fully advertised of the king and council's pleasure. Upon this she sent one to the emperor to interpose for her, that she might not be forced to anything against her conscience.

All received the new Service except the Lady Mary.

At this time there was a complaint made at the emperor's court of the English ambassador sir Philip Hobbly, for using the new Common Prayer-book there: to which he answered, he was to be obedient to the laws of his own prince and country; and as the emperor's ambassador had mass at his chapel at London without disturbance, though it was contrary to the law of England, so he had the same reason to expect the like liberty. But the emperor espousing the interest of the lady Mary, both Paget (who was sent over ambassador extraordinary to him upon his coming into Flanders) and Hobbly promised in the king's name that he should dispense with her for some time, as they afterwards declared upon their honours, when the thing was further questioned; though the emperor and his ministers pretended, that without any qualification it was promised that she should enjoy the free exercise of her religion. The emperor was now grown so high with his success in Germany, and that at a time when a war was coming on with France, that it was not thought advisable to give him any offence. There was likewise a proposition sent over by him to the protector and council, for the lady Mary to be married to Alphonso, brother to the king of Portugal. The council entertained it; and though the late king had left his daughters but 10,000*l.* a-piece, yet they offered to give with her 100,000 crowns in money, and 20,000 crowns' worth of jewels. The infant of Portugal was about her own age, and offered 20,000 crowns' jointure. But this proposition fell, on what hand I do not know. The lady Mary writ on the 22d of June to the council, that she could not obey their late laws; and that she did not esteem them laws, as made when the king was not of age, and contrary to those made by her father, which they were all bound by oath to maintain. She excused the not sending her comptroller (Mr. Arundel) and her priest; the one did all her business, so

The Ambassador at the Emperor's Court not suffered to use it.

A Treaty of Marriage for the Lady Mary.

Cotton Lib. Galba B. 12.

She writ to the Council concerning the new Service.

that she could not well be without him; the other was then so ill that he could not travel. Upon this the council sent a peremptory command to these, requiring them to come up, and receive their orders. The lady Mary wrote a second letter to them on the 27th of June, in which she expostulated the matter with the council. She said she was subject to none of them, and would obey none of the laws they made; but protested great obedience and subjection to the king. When her officers came to court, they were commanded to declare to the lady Mary, that though the king was young in person, yet his authority was now as great as ever; that those who have his authority and act in his name are to be obeyed; and though they as single persons were her humble servants, yet when they met in council, they acted in the king's name, and so were to be considered by all the king's subjects as if they were the king himself; they had indeed sworn to obey the late king's laws, but that could bind them no longer than they were in force; and being now repealed they were no more laws; other laws being made in their room: there was no exception in the laws, all the king's subjects were included in them; and for a reformation of religion made when a king was under age, one of the most perfect that was recorded in Scripture was so carried on, when Josiah was much younger than their king was; therefore they gave them in charge to persuade her grace (for that was her title) to be a good example of obedience, and not to encourage peevish and obstinate persons by her stiffness. But this business was for some time laid aside.

Who required her to obey as other Subjects did.

And now the Reformation was to be carried on to the establishing of a form of doctrine, which should contain the chief points of religion. In order to which, there was this year great inquiry made into many particular opinions, and chiefly concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament. There was no opinion for which the priests contended more ignorantly and eagerly, and that the people generally believed more blindly and firmly, as if a strong belief were nothing else but winking very hard. The priests, because they accounted it the chief support now left of their falling dominion, which, being kept up, might in time retrieve all the rest. For while it was believed that their character qualified them for so strange and mighty a performance, they must needs be held in great reverence. The people, because they thought they received the very flesh of Christ, and so (notwithstanding our Saviour's express declaration to the contrary, that the flesh profiteth nothing) looked on those who went about to persuade them otherwise, as men that intended to rob them of the greatest privilege they had. And therefore it was thought necessary to open this fully, before there should be any change made in the doctrine of the church.

The manner of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament examined.

The Lutherans seemed to agree with that which had been the doctrine of the Greek church, that in the sacrament there was both the substance of bread and wine, and Christ's body likewise. Only many of them defended it by an opinion that was thought akin to the Eutychian heresy, that his human nature, by virtue of the union of the Godhead, was everywhere; though even in this way it did not appear that there was any special presence in the sacrament, more than in other things. Those of Switzerland had, on the other hand, taught that the sacrament was only an institution to commemorate the sufferings of Christ. This, because it was intelligible, was thought by many too low and mean a thing, and not equal to the high expressions that are in the Scripture, of its being the commmunion of the body and blood of Christ. The princes of Germany saw what mischief was like to follow on the diversity of opinions in explaining the sacrament: and as Luther, being impatient in his temper, and too much given to dictate, took it very ill to see his doctrine so rejected; so by the indecent way of writing in matters of controversy, to which the Germans are too much inclined, this difference turned to a direct breach among them. The landgrave of Hesse had laboured much to have these diversities of opinion laid asleep, since nothing gave their common enemies such advantage as their quarrelling among themselves. Martin Bucer was of a moderate temper, and had found a middle opinion in this matter, though not so easy to be understood. He thought there was more than a remembrance, to wit, a communication of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, that in general a real presence ought to be asserted, and that the way of explaining it ought not to be anxiously inquired into: and with him Calvin agreed, that it was truly the body and blood of Christ, not figuratively, but really present. The advantage of these general expressions was, that thereby they hoped to have silenced the debates between the German and Helvetian divines, whose doctrine came likewise to be received by many of the cities of the empire, and by the elector Palatine. And among Martin Bucer's papers, I met with an original paper of Luther's (which will be found in the Collection) in which he was willing to have that difference thus settled: "Those of the Augsburg confession should declare, that in the sacrament there was truly bread and wine, and those of the Helvetian confession should declare, that Christ's body was truly present, and so without any further curiosities in the way of explaining it, in which divines might use their liberty, the difference should end." But how this came to take no effect, I do not understand. It was also thought that this way of expressing the doctrine would give least offence; for the people were scarce able to bear the opinion of the sacraments being only a figure: but wherein this real presence consisted, was not so easy to be made out. Some explained it more intelligibly in a sense of law that in the sacrament there was a real application of the merit of Christ's death, to those who received it worthily: so that Christ as crucified was really present; and these had this to say for themselves, that the words of the institution do not call the elements simply Christ's body and blood, but his body broken, and his blood shed, and that therefore Christ was really present, as he was crucified, so that the importance of really was effectually. Others thought all ways of explaining the manner of the presence were needless curiosities, and apt to beget differences; that therefore the doctrine was to be established in general words, and to save the labour both of explaining and understanding it, it was to be esteemed a mystery. This seems to have been Bucer's opinion, but Peter Martyr inclined more to the Helvetians.

Collection, Number 24.



There were public disputations held this year both at Oxford and Cambridge upon this matter. At Oxford the popish party did so encourage themselves by the indulgence of the government, and the gentleness of Cranmer's temper, that they became upon this head insolent out of measure. Peter Martyr had read in the chair concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament, which he explained according to the doctrine of the Helvetian churches: Dr. Smith did upon this resolve to contradict him openly in the schools, and challenge him to dispute on these points: and had brought many thither, who should by their clamours and applauses run him down; yet this was not so secretly laid, but a friend of Peter Martyr's brought him word of it before he had come from his house, and persuaded him not to go to the schools that day, and so disappoint Smith. But he looked on that as so mean a thing, that he would by no means comply with it. So he went to the divinity schools; on his way one brought him a challenge from Smith to dispute with him concerning the Eucharist. He went on and took his place in the chair, where he behaved himself with an equal measure of courage and discretion: he gravely checked Smith's presumption, and said, he did not decline a dispute; but was resolved to have his reading that day, nor would he engage in a public dispute without leave from the king's council: upon this a tumult was like to rise; so the vice chancellor sent for them before him: Peter Martyr said he was ready to defend everything that he had read in the chair, in a dispute: but he would manage it only in Scripture terms, and not in the terms of the schools.

Public Disputations about it.

Antiq. Oxon.

This was the beating the popish doctors out of that which was their chief strength; for they had little other learning, but a sleight of tossing some arguments from hand to hand, with a gibberish kind of language, that sounded like somewhat that was sublime; but had really nothing under it. By constant practice they were very nimble at this sort of leger-demain, of which both Erasmus and sir Thomas More, with the other learned men of that age, had made such sport, that it was become sufficiently ridiculous; and the protestants laid hold on that advantage which such great authorities gave them to disparage it. They set up another way of disputing, from the original text of the Scripture in Greek and Hebrew, which seemed a more proper thing in matters of divinity than the metaphysical language of the schoolmen.

This whole matter being referred to the privy council, they appointed some delegates to hear and preside in the disputation; but Dr. Smith being brought in some trouble, either

for this tumult or upon some other account, was forced to put in sureties for his good behaviour: he desiring that he might be discharged of any further prosecution, made the most humble submission to Cranmer that was possible; and being thereupon set at liberty, he fled out of the kingdom; it is said he went first to Scotland, and from thence to Flanders. But not long after this Peter Martyr had a disputation before the commissioners sent by the king, who were the bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Cox, then chancellor of the university, and some others; in which Tresham, Chadsey, and Morgan disputed against these three propositions; "1. In the sacrament of thanksgiving there is no transubstantiation of bread and wine in the body and blood of Christ. 2. The body or blood of Christ is not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine, nor, as others use to say, under the bread and wine. 3. The body and blood of Christ are united to the bread and wine sacramentally." Ridley was sent also to Cambridge, with some others of the king's commissioners, where on the 20th, 24th, and 27th of June, there were public disputations on these two positions.

"Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of Scripture; nor can it be necessarily collected from it; nor yet confirmed by the consent of the ancient fathers.

"In the Lord's supper there is none other oblation and sacrifice, than of a remembrance of Christ's death, and of thanksgiving."

Dr. Madew defended these, and Glyn, Landale, Sedgwick, and Young, disputed against them the first day; and the second day Glyn defended the contrary propositions, and Peru, Grindal, Gest, and Pilkington, disputed against them. On the third day the dispute went on, and was summed up in a learned determination by Ridley against the corporal presence. There had been also a long disputation in the parliament on the same subject; but of this we have nothing remaining, but what king Edward writ in his Journal. Ridley had, by reading Bertram's Book of the body and blood of Christ, been first set on to examine well the old opinion concerning the presence of Christ's very flesh and blood in the sacrament; and wondering to find that in the ninth century that opinion was so much controverted, and so learnedly writ against by one of the most esteemed men of that age, began to conclude, that it was none of the ancient doctrines of the church, but lately brought in, and not fully received till after Bertram's age. He communicated the matter with Cranmer, and they set themselves to examine it with more than ordinary care. Cranmer afterwards gathered all the arguments about it into the book which he writ on that subject, to which Gardiner set out an answer under the disguised name of Marcus Constantius; and Cranmer replied to it. I shall offer the reader in short the substance of what was in these books, and of the arguments used in the disputations, and in many other books which were at that time written on this subject.

The manner of the Presence explained according to the Scripture.

Christ in the institution took bread, and gave it. So that his words, "This is my body," could only be meant of the bread. Now the bread could not be his body literally. He himself also calls the cup, "The fruit of the vine." St. Paul calls it, "The bread that we break, and the cup that we bless;" and speaking of it after it was blessed, calls it, "That bread and that cup." For the reason of that expression, "This is my body," it was considered that the disciples, to whom Christ spoke thus, were Jews; and that they being accustomed to the Mosaical rites, must needs have understood his words in the same sense they did Moses's words, concerning the Pascal Lamb, which is called the Lord's Passover. It was not that literally, for the Lord's Passover was the angels passing by the Israelites when he smote the first-born of the Egyptians; so the Lamb was only the Lord's Passover, as it was the memorial of it; and thus Christ substituting the Eucharist to the Pascal Lamb, used such an expression, calling it his body, in the same manner of speaking as the Lamb was called the Lord's Passover. This was plain enough, for his disciples could not well understand him in any other sense than that to which they had been formerly accustomed. In the Scripture many such figurative expressions occur frequently. In baptism, the other sacrament instituted by Christ, he is said to baptise with the Holy Ghost and with fire; and such as are baptised are said to put on Christ; which were figurative expressions. As also in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the cup is called "the New Testament in Christ's blood," which is an expression



full of figure. Farther it was observed, that that sacrament was instituted for a remembrance of Christ, and of his death; which implied that he was to be absent at the time when he was to be remembered. Nor was it simply said, that the elements were his body and blood; but that they were his body broken, and his blood shed, that is, they were these as suffering on the cross; which as they could not be understood literally, for Christ did institute this sacrament before he had suffered on the cross; so now Christ must be present in the sacrament, not as glorified in heaven, but as suffering on his cross. From those places where it is said that Christ is in Heaven, and that he is to continue there, they argued that he was not to be any more upon earth. And those words in the 6th of St. John, of "eating Christ's flesh, and drinking his blood," they said were to be understood not of the sacrament; since many receive the sacrament unworthily, and of them it cannot be said that they have eternal life in them; but Christ there said of them that received him in the sense that was meant in that chapter, that all that did so eat his flesh had eternal life in them; therefore these words can only be understood figuratively of receiving him by faith, as himself there explains it: and so in the end of that discourse, finding some were startled at that way of expressing himself, he gave a key to the whole, when he said "his words were spirit and life, and that the flesh profited nothing, it was the spirit that quickened." It was ordinary for him to teach in parables; and the receiving of any doctrine, being oft expressed by the prophets by the figure of eating and drinking, he upon the occasion of the people's coming to him after he had fed them with a few loaves, did discourse of their believing, in these dark expressions; which did not seem to relate to the sacrament, since it was not then instituted. They also argued from Christ's appealing to the senses of his hearers, in his miracles, and especially in his discourses upon his resurrection, that the testimony of sense was to be received, where the object was duly applied, and the sense not vitiated. They also alleged natural reasons against a body's being in more places than one, or being in a place in the manner of a spirit, so that the substance of a complete body could be in a crumb of bread or drop of wine: and argued, that since the elements, after consecration, would nourish, might putrify, or could be poisoned, these things clearly evinced, that the substance of bread and wine remained in the sacrament.

And from the Fathers.

From this they went to examine the ancient fathers. Some of them called it bread and wine; others said it nourished the body, as Justin Martyr; others, that it was digested in the stomach, and went into the draught, as Origen. Some called it a figure of Christ's body, so Tertullian, and St. Austin; others called the elements types and signs, so almost all the ancient Liturgies, and the Greek fathers generally. In the creeds of the church it was professed, that Christ still sat on the right hand of God; the fathers argued from thence, that he was in heaven, and not on earth. And the Marcionites, and other heretics, denying that Christ had a true body, or did really suffer; the fathers appealed in that to the testimony of sense, as infallible. And St. Austin giving rules concerning figurative speeches in Scripture; one is this, that they must be taken figuratively, where in the literal sense the thing were a crime; which he applies to these words of eating Christ's flesh, and drinking his blood. But that on which they put the stress of the whole cause, as to the doctrine of the fathers, was the reasoning that they used against the Eutychians, who said that Christ's body and human nature was swallowed up by his divinity. The Eutychians, arguing from the eucharist's being called Christ's body and blood, in which they said Christ's presence did convert the substance of the bread and wine into his own flesh and blood; so in like manner, said they, his godhead had converted the manhood into itself; against this, Gelasius bishop of Rome, and Theodoret, one of the learnedest fathers of his age, argue in plain words, that the substance of the bread and wine remained as it was formerly, in its own nature and form; and from their opinion of the presence of Christ's body in it without converting the elements, they turned the argument to show how the divine and human nature can be together in Christ, without the one's being changed by the other. Peter Martyr had brought over with him the copy of a letter of St. Chrysostome's, which he found in a manuscript at Florence, written to the same purpose, and on the same argument: which was the more remarkable, because that Chrysostome had said higher things in his sermons and commentaries concerning Christ's

being present in the sacrament, than any of all the fathers; but it appeared by this letter, that those high expressions were no other than rhetorical figures of speech to beget a great reverence to this institution: and from hence it was reasonable to judge that such were the like expressions in other fathers, and that they were nevertheless of Chrysostome's mind touching the presence of Christ in this sacrament. That Epistle of his does lie still unpublished, though a very learned man, now in France, has procured a copy of it: but those of that church know the consequence that the printing of it would have, and, so it seems, are resolved to suppress it if they can. From all these things it was plain that though the fathers believed there was an extraordinary virtue in the sacrament, and an unaccountable presence of Christ in it, yet they thought not of transubstantiation nor anything like it. But when darkness and ignorance crept into the church, the people were apt to believe anything that was incredible; and were willing enough to support such opinions as turned religion into external pageantry. The priests also knowing little of the Scriptures, and being only or chiefly conversant in those writings of the ancients that had highly extolled the sacrament; came generally to take up the opinion of the corporal presence, and being soon apprehensive of the great esteem it would bring to them, cherished it much. In the ninth century Bertram, Rabanus Maurus, Amalarius, Alcuinus, and Joannes Scotus, all writ against it: nor were any of them censured or condemned for these opinions. It was plainly and strongly contradicted by some homilies that were in the Saxon tongue, in which not a few of Bertram's words occur: particularly in that which was to be read in the churches on Easter-day. But in the eleventh or twelfth century it came to be universally received; as indeed anything would have been that much advanced the dignity of priesthood. And it was farther advanced by pope Innocent III., and so established in the fourth council of Lateran; that same council, in which the rooting out of heretics, and the pope's power of deposing heretical princes, and giving their dominions to others, were also decreed.

But there was another curious remark made of the progress of this opinion. When the doctrine of the corporal presence was first received in the Western church, they believed that the whole loaf was turned into one entire body of Jesus Christ; so that in the distribution one had an eye, a nose, or an ear, another a tooth, a finger, or a toe, a third a collop, or a piece of tripe; and this was supported by pretended miracles suited to that opinion, for sometimes the host was said to bleed, parts of it were also said to be turned to pieces of flesh. This continued to be the doctrine of the church of Rome for near three hundred years. It appears clearly in the renunciation which they made Berengarius swear. But when the schoolmen began to form the tenets of that church by more artificial and subtle rules, as they thought it an ungentle way of treating Christ to be thus mangling his body, and eating it up in gobbets, so the maxims they set up about the extension of matter, and of the manner of spirits filling a space, made them think of a more decent way of explaining this prodigious mystery. They taught that Christ was so in the host and chalice, that there was one entire body in every crumb and drop; so that the body was no more broken, but upon every breaking of the host, a new whole body flew off from the other parts, which yet remained an entire body, notwithstanding their diminution. And then the former miracles, being contrary to this conceit, were laid aside, and new ones invented, fitted for this explanation, by which Christ's body was believed present after the manner of a spirit. It was given out, that he sometimes appeared as a child all in rays upon the host, sometimes with angels about him, or sometimes in his mother's arms. And that the senses might give as little contradiction as was possible, instead of a loaf they blessed then only wafers, which are such a shadow of bread as might more easily agree with their doctrine of the accidents of bread being only present: and lest a larger measure of wine might have encouraged the people to have thought it was wine still, by the sensible effects of it, that came also to be denied them.

This was the substance of the arguments that were in those writings. But an opinion that had been so generally received, was not of a sudden to be altered. Therefore they went on slowly in discussing it, and thereby did the better dispose the people to receive what they intended afterwards to establish concerning it.—And this was the state of religion for this year.



At this time there were many anabaptists in several parts of England. They were generally Germans, whom the revolutions there had forced to change their seats. Upon Luther's first preaching in Germany, there arose many, who building on some of his principles, carried things much further than he did. The chief foundation he laid down was, that the Scripture was to be the only rule of Christians. Upon this many argued, that the mysteries of the Trinity, and Christ's incarnation and sufferings, of the fall of man, and the aids of grace, were indeed philosophical subtleties, and only pretended to be deduced from Scripture, as almost all opinions of religion were; and therefore they rejected them. Among these, the baptism of infants was one. They held that to be no baptism, and so were rebaptized: but from this, which was most taken notice of, as being a visible thing, they carried all the general name of anabaptists.

Proceedings against Anabaptists.

Of whom there were two sorts.

Of these there were two sorts most remarkable. The one was of those who only thought that baptism ought not to be given but to those who were of an age capable of instruction, and who did earnestly desire it. This opinion they grounded on the silence of the New Testament about the baptism of children; they observed, that our Saviour commanding the apostles to baptize, did join teaching with it; and they said, the great decay of Christianity flowed from this way of making children Christians before they understood what they did. These were called the gentle or moderate anabaptists. But others who carried that name, denied almost all the principles of the Christian doctrine, and were men of fierce and barbarous tempers. They had broke out into a general revolt over Germany, and raised the war called the Rustic War; and possessing themselves of Munster, made one of their teachers, John of Leyden, their king, under the title of the King of the New Jerusalem. Some of them set up a fantastical unintelligible way of talking of religion, which they turned all into allegories: these being joined in the common name of anabaptists with the other, brought them also under an ill character.

On the 12th of April there was a complaint brought to the council, that with the strangers that were come into England, some of that persuasion had come over, and were disseminating their errors, and making proselytes: so a commission was ordered for the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely, Worcester, Westminster, Chichester, Lincoln, and Rochester, sir William Petre, sir Tho. Smith, Dr. Cox, Dr. May, and some others, three of them being a quorum, to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the Common Prayer. They were to endeavour to reclaim them, to enjoin them penance, and give them absolution: or if they were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular power to be farther proceeded against. Some tradesmen in London were brought before these commissioners in May, and were persuaded to abjure their former opinions; which were, "that a man regenerate could not sin; that though the outward man sinned, the inward man sinned not; that there was no trinity of persons; that Christ was only a holy prophet, and not at all God; that all we had by Christ, was that he taught us the way to heaven; that he took no flesh of the Virgin; and that the baptism of infants was not profitable." One of those who thus abjured was commanded to carry a faggot next Sunday at St. Paul's, where there should be a sermon setting forth his heresy. But there was another of these extreme obstinate, Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent. "She denied that Christ was truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful, he could take none of it; but the word by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took flesh of her;" these were her words. They took much pains about her, and had many conferences with her; but she was so extravagantly conceited of her own notions, that she rejected all they said with scorn; whereupon she was adjudged an obstinate heretic, and so left to the secular power; the sentence against her will be found in the Collection. This being returned to the council, the good king was moved to sign a warrant for burning her, but could not be prevailed on to do it; he thought it a piece of cruelty too like that which they had condemned in papists, to burn any for their consciences. And in a long discourse he had with sir John Cheke he seemed much confirmed in that opinion. Cranmer was employed to persuade him to sign the warrant. He argued from the law of Moses, by which blasphemers were to be stoned; he told the king he made a great difference between

Rot. Pat. Par. 6. 3. Reg.

Collection, Number 35.

errors in other points of divinity, and those which were directly against the Apostles' Creed; that these were impieties against God, which a prince, as being God's deputy, ought to punish; as the king's deputies were obliged to punish offences against the king's person. These reasons did rather silence than satisfy the young king, who still thought it a hard thing (as in truth it was) to proceed so severely in such cases; so he set his hand to the warrant, with tears in his eyes, saying to Cranmer, that if he did wrong, since it was in submission to his authority, he should answer for it to God. This struck the archbishop with much horror, so that he was very unwilling to have the sentence executed. And both he and Ridley took the woman then in custody to their houses, to see if they could persuade her. But she continued, by jeers and other insolences, to carry herself so contemptuously,

An Anabaptist burnt.

that at last the sentence was executed on her, the second of May the next year, bishop Scory preaching at her burning; she carried herself then as she had done in the former parts of her process, very indecently, and in the end was burnt.

This action was much censured, as being contrary to the clemency of the gospel; and was made oft use of by the papists, who said it was plain that the reformers were only against burning, when they were in fear of it themselves. The woman's carriage made her be looked on as a frantic person, fitter for bedlam than a stake. People had generally believed that all the statutes for burning heretics had been repealed; but now, when the thing was better considered, it was found that the burning of heretics was done by the common law, so that the statutes made about it were only for making the conviction more easy, and the repealing the statutes did not take away that which was grounded on a writ at common law. To end all this matter at once; two years after this, one George Van Pare, a Dutchman, being accused for saying that God the Father was only God, and that Christ was not very God,

Another burnt.

he was dealt with long to abjure; but would not: so on the 6th of April 1551, he was condemned in the same manner that Joan of Kent was, and on the 25th of April was burnt in Smithfield. He suffered with great constancy of mind, and kissed the stake and faggots that were to burn him. Of this Pare I find a popish writer saying, that he was a man of most wonderful strict life, that he used not to eat above once in two days, and before he did eat would lie some time in his devotion prostrate on the ground. All this they made use of to lessen the credit of those who had suffered formerly; for it was said, they saw now that men of harmless lives might be put to death for heresy, by the confession of the reformers themselves: and in all the books published in queen Mary's days, justifying her severity against the protestants, these instances were always

This was much censured.

made use of; and no part of Cranmer's life exposed him more than this did. It was said he had consented both to Lambert's and Anne Askew's death, in the former reign, who both suffered for opinions which he himself held now; and he had now procured the death of these two persons, and when he was brought to suffer himself afterwards it was called a just retaliation on him. One thing was certain, that what he did in this matter flowed from no cruelty of temper in him, no man being further from that black disposition of mind; but it was truly the effect of those principles by which he governed himself.

For the other sort of anabaptists, who only denied infants baptism, I find no severities

Disputes concerning the Baptism of Infants.

used to them; but several books were written against them, to which they wrote some answers. It was said that Christ allowed little children to be brought to him, and said, of such was the kingdom of heaven, and blessed them: now if they were capable of the kingdom of heaven, they must be regenerated, for Christ said none but such as were born of water and of the Spirit could enter into it. St. Paul had also called the children of believing parents holy, which seemed to relate to such a consecration of them as was made in baptism. And baptism being the seal of Christians, in the room of circumcision among the Jews, it was thought the one was as applicable to children as the other. And one thing was observed, that the whole world in that age having been baptized in their infancy, if that baptism was nothing, then there were none truly baptized in being; but all were in the state of mere nature: now it did not seem reasonable that men who were not baptized themselves should go and baptize others; and therefore the first heads of that sect, not being rightly baptized themselves, seemed not to act with any authority when they went to baptize others. The practice of the church, so early begun, and continued without dispute for so many ages, was at least a certain confirmation of a thing which had (to speak moderately) so good foundations in Scripture for the lawfulness, though not any peremptory, but only probable proof for the practice of it.



These are all the errors in opinion that I find were taken notice of at this time. There

The Doctrine of Predestination much abused.

was another sort of people, of whom all the good men in that age made great complaints. Some there were called Gospellers, or Readers of the Gospel, who were a scandal to the doctrine they professed. In many sermons I have oft met with severe expostulations with these, and heavy denunciations of judgments against them. But I do not find anything objected to them, as to their belief; save only that the doctrine of predestination having been generally taught by the reformers, many of this sect began to make strange inferences from it; reckoning, that since everything was decreed, and the decrees of God could not be frustrated, therefore men were to leave themselves to be carried by these decrees. This drew some into great impiety of life, and others into desperation. The Germans soon saw the ill effects of this doctrine. Luther changed his mind about it, and Melancthon openly writ against it: and since that time the whole stream of the Lutheran churches has run the other way. But both Calvin and Bucer were still for maintaining the doctrine of these decrees; only they warned the people not to think much of them, since they were secrets which men could not penetrate into; but they did not so clearly show how these consequences did not flow from such opinions. Hooper, and many other good writers, did often dehort people from entering into these curiosities; and a caveat to that same purpose was put afterwards into the article of the Church about predestination.

One ill effect of the dissoluteness of people's manners broke out violently this summer,

Tumults in England.

occasioned by the inclosing of lands. While the monasteries stood, there were great numbers of people maintained about these houses; their lands were easily let out, and many were relieved by them. But now the numbers of the people increased much, marriage being universally allowed; they also had more time than formerly, by the abrogation of many holy-days, and the putting down of processions and pilgrimages; so that as the numbers increased, they had more time than they knew how to bestow. Those who bought in the church-lands, as they everywhere raised their rents, of which old Latimer made great complaints in one of his court sermons, so they resolved to inclose their grounds, and turn them to pasture; for trade was then rising fast, and corn brought not in so much money as wool did. Their flocks also being kept by few persons in grounds so inclosed, the landlords themselves enjoyed the profit which formerly the tenants made out of their estates: and so they intended to force them to serve about them at any such rates as they would allow. By this means the commons of England saw they were like to be reduced to great misery. This was much complained of, and several little books were written about it. Some proposed a sort of agrarian law, that none might have farms above a set value, or flocks above a set number of two thousand sheep; which proposal I find the young king was much taken with, as will appear in one of the discourses he wrote with his own hand. It was also represented that there was no care taken of the educating of youth, except of those who were bred for learning; and many things were proposed to correct this; but in the mean time the commons saw the gentry were like to reduce them to a very low condition.

The protector seemed much concerned for the commons, and oft spoke against the oppression of landlords. He was naturally just and compassionate, and so did heartily espouse the cause of the poor people, which made the nobility and gentry hate him much. The former year, the commons about Hampton-Court petitioned the protector and council, complaining, that whereas the late king in his sickness had inclosed a park there, to divert himself with private easy game, the deer of that park did overlay the country, and it was a great burden to them; and therefore they desired that it might be disparked. The council considering that it was so near Windsor, and was not useful to the king, but a charge rather, ordered it to be disparked, and the deer to be carried to Windsor; but with this proviso, that if the king when he came of age desired to have a park there, what they did should be

no prejudice to him. There was also a commission issued out to inquire about inclosures and farms, and whether those who had purchased the abbey-lands kept hospitality, to which they were bound by the grants they had of them, and whether they encouraged husbandry. But I find no effect of this. And indeed there seemed to have been a general design among the nobility and gentry to bring the inferior sort to that low and servile state to which the peasants in many other kingdoms are reduced. In the parliament an act was carried in the house of lords for imparking grounds, but was cast out by the commons; yet gentlemen went on everywhere taking their lands into their own hands, and inclosing them.

Many are easily quieted.

In May the commons did rise first in Wiltshire; where sir William Herbert gathered some resolute men about him, and dispersed them, and slew some of them. Soon after that, they rose in Sussex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, and Rutlandshire; but by fair persuasions the fury of the people was a little stopped till the matter should be represented to the council. The protector said, he did not wonder the commons were in such distempers, they being so oppressed; that it was easier to die once than to perish for want; and therefore he set out a proclamation, contrary to the mind of the whole council, against all new inclosures; with another, indemnifying the people for what was past, so they carried themselves obediently for the future. Commissions were also sent everywhere, with an unlimited power to the commissioners, to hear and determine all causes about inclosures, highways, and cottages. The vast power these commissioners assumed was much complained of; the landlords said it was an invasion of their property, to subject them thus to the pleasure of those who were sent to examine the matters, without proceeding in the ordinary courts according to law. The commons being encouraged by the favour they heard the protector bore them, and not able to govern their heat, or stay for a more peaceable issue, did rise again, but were anew quieted. Yet the protector being opposed much by the council, he was not able to redress this grievance so fully as the people hoped. So in Oxfordshire and Devonshire they rose again, and also in Norfolk and Yorkshire. Those in Oxfordshire were dissipated by a force of fifteen hundred men, led against them by the lord Gray. Some of them were taken and hanged by martial law, as being in a state of war; the greatest part ran home to their dwellings.

But those of Devonshire grew formidable.

In Devonshire the insurrection grew to be better formed; for that county was not only far from the court, but it was generally inclined to the former superstition, and many of the old priests ran in among them. They came together on the 10th of June, being Whit-Sunday; and in a short time they grew to be ten thousand strong. At court it was hoped this might be as easily dispersed as the other risings were; but the protector was against running into extremities, and so did not move so speedily as the thing required. He, after some days, at last sent the lord Russel with a small force to stop their proceedings. And that lord, remembering well how the duke of Norfolk had with a very small army broken a formidable rebellion in the former reign, hoped that time would likewise weaken and disunite these; and therefore he kept at some distance, and offered to receive their complaints, and to send them to the council. But these delays gave advantage and strength to the rebels; who were now led on by some gentlemen: Arundel of Cornwall being in chief command among them; and in answer to the lord Russel, they agreed on fifteen articles,* the substance of which was as follows.

Their Demands.

"1. That all the general councils, and the decrees of their forefathers should be observed.

"2. That the act of the Six Articles should be again in force.

"3. That the mass should be in Latin, and that the priests alone should receive.

"4. That the sacrament should be hanged up, and worshipped; and those who refused to do it should suffer as heretics.

"5. That the sacrament should only be given to the people at Easter in one kind.

"6. That baptism should be done at all times.

* Before this they drew up their demands in seven articles.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.



"7. That holy bread, holy water, and palms, be again used; and that images be set up, with all the other ancient ceremonies.

"8. That the new service should be laid aside, since it was like a Christmas game: and the old service again should be used with the procession in Latin.

"9. That all preachers in their sermons, and priests in the mass, should pray for the souls in purgatory.

"10. That the Bible should be called in, since otherwise the clergy could not easily confound the heretics.

"11. That Dr. Moreman, and Crispin, should be sent to them, and put in their livings.

"12. That cardinal Pole should be restored, and made of the king's council.

"13. That every gentleman might have only one servant for every hundred marks of yearly rent that belonged to him.

"14. That the half of the abbey and church-lands should be taken back, and restored to two of the chief abbeys in every county: and all the church-boxes for seven years should be given to such houses, that so devout persons might live in them, who should pray for the king and the commonwealth.

"15. And that for their particular grievances, they should be redressed, as Humphrey Arundel and the mayor of Bodmin should inform the king, for whom they desired a safe-conduct."

These articles being sent to the council, the archbishop of Canterbury was ordered to draw an answer to them, which I have seen corrected with his own hand. The substance of it was, that their demands were insolent, such as were dictated to them by some seditious priests: they did not know what general councils had decreed; nor was there anything in the church of England contrary to them, though many things had been formerly received which were so: and for the decrees, they were framed by the popes to enslave the world, of which he gave several instances.

Cranmer drew an answer to them. Ex. MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.

For the Six Articles, he says, they had not been carried in parliament if the late king had not gone thither in person, and procured that act; and yet of his own accord he slackened the execution of it.

To the third, It was strange that they did not desire to know in what terms they worshipped God; and for the mass, the ancient canons required the people to communicate in it, and the prayers in the office of the mass did still imply that they were to do it.

For the hanging up and adoring the host, it was but lately set up by pope Innocent, and Honorius, and in some places it had never been received.

For the fifth, The ancient church received that sacrament frequently and in both kinds.

To the sixth, Baptism in cases of necessity was to be administered at any time: but out of these cases it was fit to do it solemnly; and in the ancient church it was chiefly done on the eves of Easter and Whit-Sunday, of which usages some footsteps remained still in the old offices.

To the seventh, These were late superstitious devices: images were contrary to the Scriptures, first set up for remembrance, but soon after made objects of worship.

To the eighth, The old service had many ludicrous things in it; the new was simple and grave; if it appeared ridiculous to them, it was as the gospel was long ago, foolishness to the Greeks.

To the ninth, The Scriptures say nothing of it; it was a superstitious invention derogatory to Christ's death.

To the tenth, The Scriptures are the word of God, and the readiest way to confound that which is heresy indeed.

To the eleventh, These were ignorant, superstitious, and deceitful persons.

To the twelfth, Pole had been attainted in parliament for his spiteful writings and doings against the late king.

To the thirteenth, It was foolish and unreasonable; one servant could not do a man's business; and by this, many servants would want employment.

To the fourteenth, This was to rob the king, and those who had these lands of him; and would be a means to make so foul a rebellion be remembered in their prayers.

To the fifteenth, These were notorious traitors, to whom the king's council was not to submit themselves.

After this they grew more moderate, and sent eight articles: 1. Concerning baptism. 2. About confirmation. 3. Of the mass. 4. For reserving the host. 5. For holy bread and water. 6. For the old service*. 7. For the single lives of priests. 8. For the Six Articles; and concluded, God save the king, for they were his, both body and goods. To this there was an answer sent in the king's name on the 8th of July (so long did the treaty with them hold), in which, after expressions of the king's affection to his people, he taxes their rising in arms against him their king as contrary to the laws of God: he tells them, that they are abused by their priests, as in the instance of baptism, which according to the book might, necessity requiring it, be done at all times; that the changes that had been set out were made after long and great consultation; and the worship of this church, by the advice of many bishops and learned men, was reformed, as near to what Christ and his apostles had taught and done as could be: and all things had been settled in parliament. But the most specious thing that misled them being that of the king's age, it was showed them that his blood, and not his years, gave him the crown; and the state of government requires, that at all times there should be the same authority in princes, and the same obedience in the people. It was all penned in a high threatening style, and concluded with an earnest invitation of them to submit to the king's mercy, as others that had risen had also done, to whom he had not only showed mercy, but granted redress of their just grievances: otherwise they might expect the utmost severity that traitors deserved.

They made new Demands.

Which were also rejected.

But nothing prevailed on this enraged multitude, whom the priests inflamed with all the artifices they could imagine; and among whom the host was carried about by a priest on a cart, that all might see it. But when this commotion was thus grown to a head, the men of Norfolk rose the 6th of July, being led by one Ket a tanner. These pretended nothing of religion, but only to suppress and destroy the gentry, and to raise the commons, and to put new councillors about the king. They increased mightily, and became twenty thousand strong, but had no order nor discipline, and committed many horrid outrages. The sheriff of the county came boldly to them, and required them in the king's name to disperse, and go home; but had he not been well mounted, they had put him cruelly to death. They came to Moushold Hill above Norwich, and were much favoured by many in that city. Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, came among them, and preached very freely to them, of their ill lives, their rebellion against the king, and the robberies they daily committed; by which he was in great danger of his life. Ket assumed to himself the power of judicature, and under an old oak, called from thence the Oak of Reformation, did such justice as might be expected from such a judge, and in such a camp. The marquis of Northampton was sent against them, but with orders to keep at a distance from them, and to cut off their provisions; for so it was hoped that without the shedding much blood they might come to themselves again.

The Rebellion in Norfolk headed by Ket a Tanner.

A Rising in Yorkshire.

When the news of this rising came into Yorkshire, the commons there rose also; being further encouraged by a prophecy; that there should be no king nor nobility in England, that the kingdom should be ruled by four governors chosen by the commons, who should hold a parliament, in commotion, to begin at the south and north seas. This they applied to the Devonshire men on the south seas, and themselves on the north seas. They at their first rising fired beacons, and so gathered the country, as if it had been for the defence of the coast; and meeting two gentlemen, with two others with them, they without any provocation murdered them, and left their naked bodies unburied. At the same time that England was in this commotion, the news came that the French king had sent a great army into the territory of Boulogne, so that the government was put to most extraordinary straits.

The French fall into the Boulognese.

* That the service might be sung or said in choir.—STRYPE's CORRECT.



JOHN RUSSELL, EARL OF BEDFORD.

OB. 1555

THIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

There was a fast proclaimed in and about London. Cranmer preached on the fast-day at court. I have seen the greatest part of his sermon under his own hand; and it is the only sermon of his I ever saw. It is a very plain unartificial discourse, no shows of learning, or conceits of wit in it, but he severely expostulated in the name of God with his hearers, for their ill lives, their blasphemies, adulteries, mutual hatred, oppression, and contempt of the gospel; and complained of the slackness in punishing these sins, by which the government became in some sort guilty of them. He set many passages of the Jewish story before them of the judgments such sins drew on, and of God's mercy in the unexpected deliverances they met with upon their true repentance. But he chiefly lamented the scandal given by many who pretended a zeal for religion, but used that for a cloak to disguise their other vices: he set before them the fresh example of Germany, where people generally loved to hear the gospel, but had not amended their lives upon it; for which God had now, after many years' forbearance, brought them under a severe scourge, and intimated his apprehensions of some signal stroke from heaven upon the nation, if they did not repent.

A Fast at Court, where Cranmer preached. Ex. MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.

The rebels in Devonshire went and besieged Exeter, where the citizens resisted them with great courage; they set fire to the gates of the city, which those within fed with much fuel, for hindering their entry, till they had raised a rampart within the gates, and when the rebels came to enter, the fire being spent, they killed many of them. The rebels also wrought a mine, but the citizens countermined, and poured in so much water as spoiled their powder. So finding they could do nothing by force, they resolved to lie about the town, reckoning that the want of provision would make it soon yield. The lord Russel having but a small force with him staid awhile for some supplies, which sir William Herbert was to bring him from Bristol. But being afraid that the rebels should inclose him, he marched back from Honiton where he lay; and finding they had taken a bridge behind him he beat them from it, killing six hundred of them without any loss on his side. By this he understood their strength, and saw they could not stand a brisk charge, nor rally when once in disorder. So the lord Gray, and Spinola that commanded some Germans, joining him, he returned to raise the siege of Exeter, which was much straitened for want of victuals. The rebels had now shut up the city twelve days, they within had eat their horses, and endured extreme famine, but resolved to perish rather than fall into the hands of those savages; for the rebels were indeed no better. They had blocked up the ways, and left two thousand men to keep a bridge which the king's forces were to pass. But the lord Russel broke through them, and killed about one thousand of them; upon that the rebels raised the siege, and retired to Launceston. The lord Russel gave the citizens of Exeter great thanks in the king's name for their fidelity and courage; and pursued the rebels, who were now going off in parties, and were killed in great numbers. Some of their heads, as Arundel, and the mayor of Bodmin, Temson and Barret, two priests, with six or seven more, were taken and hanged. And so this rebellion was happily subdued in the west, about the beginning of August, to the great honour of the lord Russel; who with a very small force had saved Exeter, and dispersed the rebels' army, with little or no loss at all.

Exeter besieged.

But is relieved, and the Rebels defeated by the Lord Russel.

But the marquis of Northampton was not so successful in Norfolk. He carried about eleven hundred men with him, but did not observe the orders given him, and so marched on to Norwich. The rebels were glad of an occasion to engage with him, and fell in upon him the next day with great fury, and the town not being strong, he was forced to quit it, but lost one hundred of his men in that action, among whom was the lord Sheffield, who was much lamented. The rebels took about thirty prisoners, with which they were much lifted up. This being understood at court, the earl of Warwick was sent against them, with six thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse that were prepared for an expedition to Scotland; he came to Norwich, but was scarce able to defend it; for the rebels fell often in upon him, neither was he well assured of the town. But he cut off their provisions, so that the rebels, having wasted all the country about them, were forced to remove. And then he followed them with his horse. They turned upon him, but he quickly routed them, and killed two thousand of them, and took Ket their

Warwick disperses the Rebels at Norfolk.

captain, with his brother, and a great many more. Ket was hanged in chains at Norwich next January.

The rebels in Yorkshire had not become very numerous, not being above three thousand in all; but hearing of the defeating of those in other parts, they accepted of the offer of pardon that was sent them; only some few of the chief ringleaders continued to make new stirs, and were taken, and hanged in York the September following.

When these commotions were thus over, the protector pressed that there might be a general and free pardon speedily proclaimed, for quieting the country, and giving their affairs a reputation abroad. This was much opposed by many of the council, who thought it better to accomplish their several ends by keeping the people under the lash, than by so profuse a mercy; but the protector was resolved on it, judging the state of affairs required it. So he gave out a general pardon of all that had been done before the 21st of August, excepting only those few whom they had in their hands, and resolved to make public examples. Thus was England delivered from one of the most threatening storms that at any time had broke out in it; in which deliverance the great prudence and temper of the protector seems to have had no small share. Of this whole matter advertisement was given to the foreign ministers, in a letter which will be found in the Collection.

A general Pardon.

Collection, Number 36.

There was this year a visitation of the university of Cambridge; Ridley was appointed to be one of the visitors, and to preach at the opening of it; he thereupon writ to May dean of St. Paul's, to let him know what was to be done at it, that so his sermon might be adjusted to their business. He received answer, that it was only to remove some superstitious practices and rites, and to make such statutes as should be found needful. But when he went to Cambridge he saw the instructions went further. They were required to procure a resignation of some colleges, and to unite them with others, and to convert some fellowships appointed for encouraging the study of divinity, to the study of the civil law *. In particular Clare-hall was to be suppressed. But the master and fellows would not resign, and after two days labouring to persuade them to it, they absolutely refused to do it. Upon this Ridley said he could not with a good conscience go on any further in that matter; the church was already so robbed and stripped, that it seemed there was a design laid down by some to drive all civility, learning, and religion out of the nation; therefore he declared he would not concur in such things, and desired leave to be gone. The other visitors complained of him to the protector, that he had so troubled them with his barking (so indecently did they express that strictness of conscience in him), that they could not go on in the king's service; and because Clare-hall was then full of northern people, they imputed his unwillingness to suppress that house to his partial affection to his countrymen, for he was born in the bishopric of Durham †. Upon this the protector writ a chiding letter to him. To it he writ an answer so suitable to what became a bishop, who would put all things to hazard rather than do anything against his conscience, that I thought it might do no small right to his memory to put it, with the answer which the protector writ to him, in the Collection. These with many more I found among his majesty's papers of state in that repository of them commonly called the Paper-office; to which I had a free access by a warrant which was procured to me from the king, by the right honourable the earl of Sunderland, one of the principal secretaries of state, who very cheerfully and generously expressed his readiness to assist me in anything that might complete the history of our Reformation. That office was first set

A Visitation at Cambridge.

Collection, Numbers 59, 60.

* There were no other colleges to be suppressed besides Clare Hall, in order to found a new college of civilians, either by uniting it to Trinity Hall, or by augmenting the number of Trinity Hall to twenty fellows; as appears by King Edward's statutes (drawn up before the visitors came down) compared with his injunctions, (all upon the Black Book), drawn up after. Indeed Trinity Hall was to be surrendered, in order to the union or new foundation; wherein Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, then master, did good service, who refused to surrender, and that I suppose partly upon political reasons. For had he parted with his own house, he would never have been made master of the new Law College, though he were doctor both of the common and civil law.—ANON. CORRECT.

† The two colleges of Clare Hall and Trinity Hall could not be brought to surrender in order to the uniting them; some visitors were for doing it by the king's absolute power. To this Ridley would not agree, and for this he was complained of.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.



up by the care of the earl of Salisbury when he was secretary of state, in king James's time; which though it is a copious and certain repertory for those that are to write our history ever since the papers of state were laid up there, yet for the former times it contains only such papers as that great minister could then gather together, so that it is not so complete in the transactions that fall within the time of which I write.

There was also a settlement made of the controversy concerning the Greek tongue. There had been in king Henry's time a great contest raised concerning the pronunciation of the Greek vowels. That tongue was but lately come to any perfection in England, and so no wonder the Greek was pronounced like English, with the same sound and apertures of the mouth: to this Mr. Cheke, then reader of that tongue in Cambridge, opposed himself, and taught other rules of pronunciation. Gardiner was, it seems, so afraid of every innovation, though ever so much in the right, that he contended stiffly to have the old pronunciation retained: and Cheke persisting in his opinion, was either put from the chair, or willingly left it to avoid the indignation of so great and so spiteful a man as Gardiner was, who was then chancellor of the university*. Cheke wrote a book in vindication of his way of pronouncing Greek; of which this must be said, that it is very strange to see how he could write with so much learning and judgment on so bare a subject. Redmayn, Poinet, and other learned men were of his side, yet more covertly: but sir Tho. Smith, now secretary of state, writ three books on the same argument, and did so evidently confirm Cheke's opinion, that the dispute was now laid aside, and the true way of pronouncing the Greek took place; the rather because Gardiner was in disgrace, and Cheke and Smith were in such power and authority: so great an influence had the interests of men in supporting the most speculative and indifferent things.

A Contest about pronouncing the Greek.

Soon after this, Bonner fell into new troubles; he continued to oppose everything, as long as it was safe for him to do it, while it was under debate, and so kept his interest with the papists; but he complied so obediently with all the laws and orders of council, that it was not easy to find any matter against him. He executed every order that was sent him so readily, that there was not so much as ground for any complaint; yet it was known he was in his heart against everything they did, and that he cherished all that were of a contrary mind. The council being informed, that upon the commotions that were in England, many in London withdrew from the service and communion, and frequented masses, which was laid to his charge, as being negligent in the execution of the king's laws and injunctions; they writ to him on the 23d of July, to see to the correcting of these things, and that he should give good example himself. Upon which, on the 26th following, he sent about a charge to execute the order in this letter, which he said he was most willing and desirous to do. Yet it was still observed, that whatsoever obedience he gave, it was against his heart. And therefore he was called before the council the 11th of August. There a writing was delivered to him, complaining of his remissness; and particularly that whereas he was wont formerly on all high festivals to officiate himself, yet he had seldom or never done it, since the new service was set out: as also that adultery was openly practised in his diocess, which he took no care according to his pastoral office to restrain or punish: therefore he was strictly charged to see these things reformed. He was also ordered to preach on Sunday come three weeks, at St. Paul's cross; and that he should preach there once a quarter for the future, and be present at every sermon made there, except he were sick; that he should officiate at St. Paul's at every high festival, such as were formerly called *Majus duplex*, and give the communion: that he should proceed against all who did not frequent the common prayer, nor receive the sacrament once a year; or did go to mass: that he should search out and punish adulterers: that he should take care of the reparation of churches, and paying tithes, in his diocess, and should keep his residence in his house in London. As to his sermon, he was required to preach against rebellion, setting out the heinousness of it; he was also to show what was true religion, and that external ceremonies were nothing in

Bonner falls into trouble.

Injunctions are given him.

* Cheke was not put from the chair; nor did he part with it, till after he was sent for by the king to instruct the prince, as appears from the account of the life of his successor, Nicholas Carr, p. 59, and otherwise.—ANON. CORRECT.

themselves; but that in the use of them men ought to obey the magistrate, and join true devotion to them, and that the king was no less king, and the people no less bound to obey, when he was in minority, than when he was of full age.

In his Sermon he did not set forth the king's power under age as he had been required to do.

On the first of September, being the day appointed for him to preach, there was a great assembly gathered to hear him. He touched upon the points that were enjoined him, excepting that about the king's age, of which he said not one word. But since the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament was a thing which he might yet safely speak of, he spent most of his sermon on the asserting the corporal presence; which he did with many sharp reflections on those who were of another mind. There were present among others William Latimer, and John Hooper, soon after bishop of Gloucester, who came and informed against him; that as he had wholly omitted that about the king's age, so he had touched the other points but slightly, and did say many other things which tended to stir up disorder and dissension. Upon this there was a commission issued out to Cranmer, and Ridley, with the two secretaries of state, and Dr. May dean of St. Paul's, to examine that matter.

Rot. Pat. 11. Par. 3. Reg.

They or any two of them had full power by this commission to suspend, imprison or deprive him, as they should see cause. They were to proceed in the summary way, called in their courts *De plano*.

On the 10th of September, Bonner was summoned to appear before them at Lambeth.

He is proceeded against.

As he came into the place where they sat, he carried himself as if he had not seen them, till one pulled him by the sleeve to put off his cap to the king's commissioners; upon which he protested he had not seen them; which none of them could believe. He spake slightingly to them of the whole matter, and turned the discourse off to the mass, which he wished were had in more reverence. When the witnesses were brought against him, he jeered them very undecently, and said the one talked like a goose, and the other like a woodcock, and denied all they said. The archbishop asked him, whether he would refer the matter in proof to the people that heard him; and so asked whether any there present had heard him speak of the king's authority when under age. Many answered, "no, no." Bonner looked about, and laughed, saying, "Will you believe this fond people?" Some he called dunces, and others fools, and behaved himself more like a madman than a bishop.

Regist. Bonner.

His insolent behaviour.

The next day he was again brought before them. Then the commission was read. The archbishop opened the matter, and desired Bonner to answer for himself: he read a protestation which he had prepared, setting forth, that since he had not seen the commission, he reserved to himself power to except, either to his judges, or to any other branch of the commission, as he should afterwards see cause. In this he called it a pretended commission, and them pretended judges, which was taxed as irreverent: but he excused it, alleging that these were terms of law which he must use, and so not be precluded from any objections he might afterwards make use of. The bill of complaint was next read, and the two informers appeared with their witnesses to make it good. But Bonner objected against them, that they were notorious heretics, and that the ill-will they bore him was because he had asserted the true presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar: that Hooper in particular had in his sermon, that very day on which he had preached, denied it; and had refuted and misrecited his sayings, like an ass, as he was an ass indeed!—so ill did he govern his tongue. Upon this Cranmer asked him, whether he thought Christ was in the sacrament with face, mouth, eyes, nose, and the other lineaments of his body; and there passed some words between them on that head: but Cranmer told him that was not a time and place to dispute, they were come to execute the king's commission. So Bonner desired to see both it and the denunciation; which were given him, and the court adjourned till the 13th.

Secretary Smith sate with them at their next meeting, which he had not done the former day, though his name was in the commission; upon this Bonner protested, that according to the canon law none could act in a commission but those who were present the first day in which it was read. But to this it was alleged, that the constant practice of the kingdom had been to the contrary: that all whose names were in any commission,



might sit and judge, though they had not been present at the first opening of it. This protestation being rejected, he read his answer in writing to the accusation.

His Defence.

He first objected to his accusers, that they were heretics in the matter of the sacrament: and so were, according to the laws of the catholic church, under excommunication, and therefore ought not to be admitted into any Christian company. Then he denied that the injunctions given to him had been signed, either with the king's hand or signet, or by any of his council. But upon the whole matter he said he had in his sermon condemned the late rebellion in Cornwall, Devonshire, and Norfolk, and had set forth the sin of rebellion according to several texts of Scripture: he had also preached for obedience to the king's commands; and that no ceremonies that were contrary to them ought to be used; in particular he had exhorted the people to come to prayers, and to the communion, as it was appointed by the king, and wondered to see them so slack in coming to it: which he believed flowed from a false opinion they had of it. And therefore he taught, according to that which he conceived to be the duty of a faithful pastor, the true presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament: which was the true motive of his accusers in their prosecuting him thus. But though he had forgot to speak of the king's power under age, yet he had said that which necessarily inferred it; for he had condemned the late rebels for rising against their lawful king, and had applied many texts of Scripture to them, which clearly implied, that the king's power was then entire, otherwise they could not be rebels.

These are rejected.

But to all this it was answered that it was of no great consequence who were the informers, if the witnesses were such that he could not except against them: besides, they were impowered by their commission to proceed *ex officio*; so that it was not necessary for them to have any to accuse. He was told that the injunctions were read to him in council by one of the secretaries, and then were given to him by the protector himself; that afterwards they were called for, and that article concerning the king's power before he came to be of age being added, they were given him again by secretary Smith; and he promised to execute them. He was also told, that it was no just excuse for him to say he had forgot that about the king's power; since it was the chief thing pretended by the late rebels, and was mainly intended by the council in their injunctions; so that it was a poor shift for him to pretend he had forgot it, or had spoken of it by a consequence.

The court adjourned to the 16th day, and then Latimer and Hooper offered to purge themselves of the charge of heresy, since they had never spoken or written of the sacrament but according to the Scripture: and whereas Bonner had charged them, that on the 1st of September they had entered into consultation and confederacy against him, they protested, they had not seen each other that day, nor been known to one another till some days after. Bonner upon this read some passages of the sacrament out of a book of Hooper's, whom he called that varlet. But Cranmer cut off the discourse, and said, it was not their business to determine that point, and said to the people, that the bishop of London was not accused for anything he had said about the sacrament. Then Bonner, turning to speak to the people, was interrupted by one of the delegates, who told him, he was to speak to them, and not to the people: at which some laughing, he turned about in great fury, and said, "Ah Woodcocks! Woodcocks!" But to the chief point, he said he had prepared notes of what he intended to say about the king's power in his minority; from the instances in Scripture, of Achaz and Osias, who were kings at ten, of Solomon and Manasses, who reigned at twelve, and of Josias, Joachim, and Joas, who began to reign when they were but eight years old. He had also gathered out of the English history, that Henry the Third, Edward the Third, Richard the Second, Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Fifth, were all under age: and even their late king was but eighteen when he came to the crown; and yet all these were obeyed as much before as after they were of full age. But these things had escaped his memory, he not having been much used to preach. There had been also a long bill sent him from the council to be read, of the defeat of the rebels, which he said had disordered him: and the book in which he had laid his notes fell out of his hands when he was in the pulpit: for this he appealed to his two chaplains, Bourn and Harpsfield, whom he had desired to gather for him the names of those kings who reigned before they were of age. For the other injunctions, he had taken care to execute them, and had sent orders to his

archdeacons to see to them: and as far as he understood, there were no masses nor service in Latin within his diocess, except at the Lady Mary's, or in the chapels of ambassadors. But the delegates required him positively to answer whether he had obeyed that injunction about the king's authority or not, otherwise they would hold him as guilty; and if he denied it, they would proceed to the examination of the witnesses. He refusing to answer otherwise than he had done, they called the witnesses, who were Sir John Cheke and four more, who had their oaths given them: and Bonner desiring a time to prepare his interrogatories, it was granted. So he drew a long paper of twenty interrogatories, every one of them containing many branches in it; full of all the niceties of the canon law: a test of which may be had from the third in number, which is indeed the most material of all. The interrogatory was "Whether they, or any of them, were present at his sermon, where they stood, and near whom, when they came to it, and at what part of his sermon, how long they tarried, at what part they were offended, what were the formal words, or substance of it, who with them did hear it, where the other witnesses stood, and how long they tarried, or when they departed."

The court adjourned to the 18th of September; and then there was read a declaration from the king, explaining their former commission, chiefly in the point of the denunciation, that they might proceed either that way or *ex officio*, as they saw cause; giving them also power finally to determine the matter, cutting off all superfluous delays. Bonner gave in also some other reasons, why he should not be obliged to make a more direct answer to the articles objected against him: the chief of which was, that the article about the king's age was not in the paper given him by the protector, but afterwards added by secretary Smith of his own head. Cranmer admonished him of his irreverence, since he called them always his pretended judges. Smith added, that though proctors did so in common matters, for their clients, yet it was not to be endured in such a case, when he saw they acted by a special commission from the king. New articles were given him more explicit and plain than the former, but to the same purpose. And five witnesses were sworn upon these, who were all the clerks of the council, to prove that the article about the king's age was ordered by the whole council, and only put in writing by secretary Smith, at their command. He was appointed to come next day, and make his answer. But on the 19th two of his servants came, and told the delegates that he was sick, and could not attend. It was therefore ordered, that the knight-marshal should go to him; and if he were sick, let him alone; but if it were not so, should bring him before them next day. On the 20th Bonner appearing, answered as he had done formerly; only he protested, that it was his opinion, that the king was as much a king, and the people as much bound to obey him, before he was of age as after it: and after that, secretary Smith having taken him up more sharply than the other delegates,

He protests against Secretary Smith.

he protested against him as no competent judge, since he had expressed much passion against him, and had not heard him patiently, but had compared him to thieves and traitors, and had threatened to send him to the Tower to sit with Ket and Arundel; and that he had added some things to the injunctions given him by the protector, for which he was now accused, and did also proceed to judge him, notwithstanding his protestation, grounded on his not being present when the commission was first opened and received by the court. But this protestation also was rejected by the delegates; and Smith told him, that whereas he took exception at his saying that he acted as thieves and traitors do, it was plainly visible in his doings; upon which, Bonner, being much inflamed, said to him, that as he was secretary of state, and a privy councillor, he honoured him; but as he was sir Thomas Smith, he told him he lied, and that he defied him. At this the archbishop chid him, and said, he deserved to be sent to prison for such irreverent carriage. He answered, he did not care whither they sent him, so they sent him not to the devil, for thither he would not go: he had a few goods, a poor carcass, and a soul: the two former were in their power, but the last was in his own. After this, being made to withdraw, he, when called in again, put in an appeal from them to the king, and read an instrument of it, which he had prepared at his own house that morning; and so would make no other answer, unless the secretary should remove. For this contempt he was sent to the prison of the Marshalsea; and as he was led away, he broke out in great passion, both against



Smith, and also at Cranmer, for suffering heretics to infect the people, which he required him to abstain from, as he would answer for it to God and the king.

On the 23rd he was again brought before them, where, by a second instrument, he adhered to his former appeal. But the delegates said, they would go on, and judge him, unless there came a supersedeas from the king, and so required him to answer those articles which he had not yet answered, otherwise they would proceed against him as contumax, and hold him as confessing. But he adhered to his appeal, and so would answer no more. New matter was also brought of his going out of St. Paul's in the midst of the sermon on the 15th of the month, and so giving a public disturbance and scandal; and of his writing next day to the lord mayor, not to suffer such preachers to sow their ill doctrine. This was occasioned by the preacher's speaking against the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament: but he would give the court no account of that matter; so they adjourned to the 27th, and from that to the 1st of October. In that time great endeavours were used to persuade him to submit, and to behave himself better for the future; and upon that condition he was assured he should be gently used. But he would yield to nothing. So on the 1st of October, when he was brought before them, the archbishop told him, they had delayed so long, being unwilling to proceed to extremities with him, and therefore wished him to submit. But he read another writing, by which he protested, that he was brought before them by force, and that otherwise he would not have come, since, that having appealed from them, he looked on them as his judges no more. He said, that he had also written a petition to the lord chancellor, complaining of the delegates, and desiring that his appeal might be admitted; and said, by that appeal it was plain, that he esteemed the king to be clothed with his full royal power, now that he was under age, since he thus appealed to him. Upon which the archbishop, the bishop of Rochester, secretary Smith, and

He is deprived from his Bishopric.

the dean of St. Paul's, gave sentence against him; that since he had not declared the king's power, while under age, in his sermon, as he was commanded by the protector and council, therefore the archbishop, with the consent and assent of his colleagues, did deprive him of the bishopric of London. Sentence being thus given, he appealed again by word of mouth. The court did also order him to be carried to prison till the king should consider further of it. This account of his trial is drawn from the register of London, where all these particulars are inserted. From thence it was that Fox printed them. For Bonner, though he was afterward commissioned by the queen to deface any records that made against the catholic cause, yet did not care to alter anything in this register after his re-admission in queen Mary's time. It seems he was not displeased with what he found recorded of himself in this matter.

Thus was Bonner deprived of his bishopric of London. This judgment, as all such things

Censures passed upon it.

are, was much censured. It was said, it was not canonical, since it was by a commission from the king, and since secular men were mixed with clergymen in the censure of a bishop. To this it was answered, that the sentence being only of deprivation from the see of London, it was not so entirely an ecclesiastical censure, but was of a mixed nature, so that laymen might join in it; and since he had taken a commission from the king for his bishopric, by which he held it only during the king's pleasure, he could not complain of this deprivation, which was done by the king's authority. Others who looked further back, remembered that Constantine the emperor had appointed secular men to inquire into some things objected to bishops, who were called cognitores, or triers; and such had examined the business of Cecilian bishop of Carthage, even upon an appeal, after it had been tried in several synods, and given judgment against Donatus and his party. The same Constantine had also by his authority put Eustathius out of Antioch, Athanasius out of Alexandria, and Paul out of Constantinople; and though the orthodox bishops complained of these particulars, as done unjustly at the false suggestion of the Arians, yet they did not deny the emperor's authority in such cases. Afterwards the emperors used to have some bishops attending on them in their comitatus or court, to whose judgment they left most causes, who acted only by commission from the emperor. So Epiphanius was brought to condemn Chrysostome at Constantinople, who had no authority to judge him by the canons. Others objected, that it was too severe to deprive Bonner for a defect in his memory; and

that therefore they should have given him a new trial in that point, and not have proceeded to censure him on such an omission; since he protested it was not on design, but a pure forgetfulness; and all people perceived clearly it had been beforehand resolved to lay him aside, and that therefore they now took him on this disadvantage, and so deprived him. But it was also well known, that all the papists infused this notion into the people, of the king's having no power till he came to be of age; and he being certainly one of them, there was reason to conclude, that what he said for his defence was only a pretence; and that itwas of design that he had omitted the mentioning the king's power when under age. The adding of imprisonment to his deprivation was thought by some to be an extreme accumulation of punishments. But that was no more than what he drew upon himself by his rude and contemptuous behaviour. However, it seems that some of these objections wrought on secretary Petre, for he never sate with the delegates after the first day, and he was now turning about to another party.

On the other hand, Bonner was little pitied by most that knew him. He was a cruel and fierce man; he understood little of divinity, his learning being chiefly in the canon law. Besides, he was looked on generally as a man of no principles. All the obedience he gave either to the laws, or to the king's injunctions, was thought a compliance against his conscience, extorted by fear. And his undecent carriage during his process had much exposed him to the people; so that it was not thought to be hard dealing, though the proceedings against him were summary and severe. Nor did his carriage afterward during his imprisonment discover much of a bishop or a Christian. For he was more concerned to have puddings and pears sent him, than for anything else. This I gather from some original letters of his to Richard Lechmere, esq., in Worcestershire (which were communicated to me by his heir lineally descended from him, the worshipful Mr. Lechmere, now the senior bencher of the Middle Temple), of which I transcribed the latter part of one, that will be found in the Collection. In it he desires a large quantity of pears and puddings to be sent him: otherwise, he gives those to whom he writes an odd sort of benediction, very unlike what became a man of his character; he gives them "to the devil, to the devil, and to all the devils," if they did not furnish him well with pears and puddings. It may perhaps be thought indecent to print such letters, being the privacies of friendship, which ought not to be made public; but I confess Bonner was so brutish and so bloody a man, that I was not ill-pleased to meet with anything that might set him forth in his natural colours to the world.

Collection Number 37.

Thus did the affairs of England go on this summer within the kingdom; but it will be now necessary to consider the state of our affairs in foreign parts. The king of France, finding it was very chargeable to carry on the war wholly in Scotland, resolved this year to lesson that expense, and to make war directly with England, both at sea and land. So he came in person with a great army, and fell into the country of Boulogne, where he took many little castles about the town; as Sellaque, Blackness, Hambletue, Newhaven, and some lesser ones. The English writers say, those were ill-provided, which made them be so easily lost; but Thuanus says, they were all very well stored. In the night they assaulted Bullingberg, but were beat off: then they designed to burn the ships that were in the harbour, and had prepared wild-fire, with other combustible matter, but were driven away by the English. At the same time the French fleet met the English fleet at Jersey, but, as king Edward writes in his diary, they were beat off with the loss of one thousand men; though Thuanus puts the loss wholly on the English side. The French king sate down before Boulogne in September, hoping that the disorders then in England would make that place be ill supplied, and easily yielded. The English, finding Bullingberg was not tenable, razed it, and retired into the town; but the plague broke into the French camp, so the king left it under the command of Chastilion. He endeavoured chiefly to take the pier, and so to cut off the town from the sea, and from all communication with England; and after a long battery he gave the assault upon it, but was beat off. There followed many skirmishes between him and the garrison, and he made many attempts to close up the channel, and thought to have sunk a galley full of stones and gravel in it; but in all these he was still unsuccessful. And therefore winter

Foreign Affairs.

The French take many Places about Boulogne.



coming on, the siege was raised; only the forts about the town, which the French had taken, were strongly garrisoned; so that Boulogne was in danger of being lost the next year.

In Scotland also, the English affairs declined much this year. Thermes, before the winter was ended, had taken Broughty Castle, and destroyed almost the whole garrison. In the southern parts there was a change made of the lords wardens of the English marches. Sir Robert Bowes was complained of, as negligent in relieving Haddington the former year; so the lord Dacres was put in his room. And the lord Gray, who lost the great advantage he had when the French raised the siege of Haddington, was removed, and the earl of Rutland was sent to command. The earl made an inroad into Scotland, and supplied Haddington plentifully with all sorts of provisions, necessary for a siege. He had some Germans and Spaniards with him; but a party of Scotch horse surprised the Germans' baggage; and Romero, with the Spanish troop, was also fallen on, and taken, and almost all his men were cut off. The earl of Warwick was to have marched with a more considerable army this summer into Scotland, had not the disorders in England diverted him, as it has been already shown. Thermes did not much more this year. He intended once to have renewed the siege of Haddington; but when he understood how well they were furnished, he gave it over. But the English council, finding how great a charge the keeping of it was, and the country all about it being destroyed, so that no provisions could be had, but what were brought from England, from which it was twenty-eight miles distant, resolved to withdraw their garrison, and quit it, which was done on the 1st of October; so that the English having now no garrison within Scotland but Lauder, Thermes sate down before that, and pressed it, so that had not the peace been made up with France, it had fallen into his hands.

The English unsuccessful in Scotland.

Things being in this disorder both at home and abroad, the protector had nothing to depend on but the emperor's aid; and he was so ill satisfied with the changes that had been made in religion that much was not to be expected from him. The confusions this year occasioned that change to be made in the office of the daily prayers, where the answer to the petition, "Give peace in our time O Lord," which was formerly, and is still continued, was now made, "Because there is none other that fighteth for us but only thou O God *."

For now the emperor having reduced all the princes, and most of the cities of Germany to his obedience, none but Magdeburg and Breame standing out, did by a mistake, incident to great conquerors, neglect those advantages which were then in his hands, and did not prosecute his victories, but leaving Germany, came this summer into the Netherlands, whither he had ordered his son prince Philip to come from Spain to him through Italy and Germany, that he might put him into possession of these provinces and make them swear homage to him. Whether at this time the emperor was beginning to form the design of retiring, or whether he did this only to prevent the mutinies and revolts that might fall out upon his death, if his son were not in actual possession of them, is not so certain. One thing is memorable in that transaction that was called the *Lætus Introitus*, or the terms upon which he was received prince of Brabant, to which the other provinces had been formerly united into one principality; after many rules and limitations of government in the matter of taxes and public assemblies, the not keeping up of forces and governing them not by strangers, but by natives, it was added, "That if he broke these conditions it should be free for them not to obey him or acknowledge him any longer, till he returned to govern according to their laws." This was afterwards the chief ground on which they justified their shaking off the Spanish yoke, all these conditions being publicly violated.

The state of Germany.

Cott. Library Galba B. 12.

At this time there were great jealousies in the emperor's family. For as he intended to have had his brother resign his election to be king of the Romans, that it might be transferred on his own son; so there were designs in Flanders which the French cherished much to have Maximilian, Ferdinand's son, the most accomplished and virtuous prince that had been for many ages to be made their prince.

Jealousies arise in the Emperor's Family.

* This petition and answer stand in the *first* liturgy of Edward VI., fol. 4.—ANON. CORRECT.

The Flemings were much disgusted with the queen-regent's government, who, when there was need of money sent to Bruges and Antwerp, ordering deputies to be sent her from Flanders and Brabant; and when they were come, she told them what money must be raised; and if they made any objections, she used to bid them give over merchandizing with the emperor, for he must and would have the money he asked; so that nothing remained to them but to see how to raise what was thus demanded of them, rather than desired from them. This, as the English ambassador writ from Bruges, seemed to be the reason that moved the emperor to make his son swear to such rules of government, which the sequel of his life showed, he meant to observe in the same manner that his father had done before him. At the same time, in May this year, I find a secret advertisement was sent over from France to the English court, that there was a private treaty set on foot between that king and the princes of Germany, for restoring the liberty of the empire; but that the king of France was resolved to have Boulogne in his hands before he entered on new projects. Therefore it was proposed to the protector to consider whether it were not best to deliver it up by a treaty, and so to leave the king of France free to the defence of their friends in the empire; for I find the consideration of the Protestant religion was the chief measure of our councils all this reign.

Upon this there was great distraction in the councils at home. The protector was inclined to deliver up Boulogne for a sum of money, and to make peace both with the French and Scots. The king's treasure was exhausted, affairs at home were in great confusion, the defence of Boulogne was a great charge, and a war with France was a thing of that consequence, that in that state of affairs it was not to be adventured on. But on the other hand, those who hated the protector and measured councils more by the bravery than the solidity of them, said it would be a reproach to the nation to deliver up a place of that consequence, which their late king, in the declining of his days had gained with so much loss of men and treasure; and to sell this for a little money was accounted so sordid that the protector durst not adventure on it. Upon this occasion I find sir William Paget (being made comptroller of the king's household, which was then thought an advancement from the office of a secretary of state) made a long discourse, and put it in writing. The substance of it was to balance the dangers in which England was at that time. The business of Scotland and Boulogne drew France into a quarrel against it. On the account of religion, it had no reason to expect much from the emperor. The interest of England was then to preserve the protestants of Germany, and therefore to unite with France, which would be easily engaged in that quarrel against the emperor. He proposed a firm alliance with the Venetians, who were then jealous of the emperor's progress in Italy, and would be ready to join against him if he were thoroughly engaged in Germany; and by their means England was to make up an agreement with France. On the other hand, William Thomas, then a clerk of the council, writ a long discourse of other expedients; he agreed with Paget, as to the ill state of England, having many enemies and no friends. The north of England was wasted by the incursion of the Scots. Ireland was also in an ill condition, for the natives there did generally join with the Scots, being addicted to the old superstition. The emperor was so set on reducing all to one religion, that they could expect no great aid from him, unless they gave him some hope of returning to the Roman religion. But the continuance of the war would undo the nation: for if the war went on, the people would take advantage from it to break out into new disorders: it would be also very dishonourable to deliver up, or rather to sell, the late conquests in France. Therefore he proposed, that to gain time, they should treat with the emperor, and even give him hopes of re-examining what had been done in religion: though there was danger even in that, of disheartening those of Magdeburg, and the few remaining Protestants in Germany; as also they might expect the emperor would be highly enraged when he should come to find that he had been deluded: but the gaining of time was then so necessary, that the preservation of the nation depended on it. For Scotland he proposed, that the governor of that kingdom should be pressed to pretend to the crown; since their queen was gone into a strange country: by this means Scotland would be for

A great faction against the Protector.

Paget's advice about foreign affairs.

Cotton. Libr. Titus B. 2.

Thomas's advice differs from his.

Cotton. Libr. Vespasian D. 13.



that whole age separated from the interests of France, and obliged to depend on England: and the French were now so hated in Scotland, that any who would set up against them would have an easy work, especially being assisted by the nearness of England. And for Ireland, he proposed, that the chief heads of families should be drawn over, and kept at court. And that England thus being respited from foreign war, the nation should be armed, and exercised, the coin reformed, treasure laid up, and things in the government at home that were uneasy should be corrected.

Thus I have opened the councils at that time, as I found them laid before me in those authentic papers, from which I drew them. The result of their consultation was to send over sir William Paget to join with sir Philip Hobbey, then resident at the emperor's court. His instructions will be found in the Collection. The substance of them was, that the treaty between the emperor and the late king should be renewed with this king, and confirmed by the prince and the states of Flanders: that some ambiguous passages in it should be cleared: that the emperor would comprehend Boulogne within the league defensive, and so protect it, England being ready to offer anything reciprocal in the room of it. He was also to show their readiness to agree to the emperor concerning the lady Mary's marriage, to adjust some differences occasioned by the complaints made of the admiralty, and about trade: to show the reason of the messages that passed between them and France; and to engage, that if the emperor would heartily assist them, they would never agree with France. Paget was also to propose, as of himself, that Boulogne should be put into the emperor's hands upon a reasonable recompense. Thus was Paget instructed, and sent over in June this year. But the emperor put him off with many delays, and said, the carrying of his son about the towns in Flanders and Brabant, with the many ceremonies and entertainments that followed it, made it not easy for him to consider of matters that required such deep consultation. He put him off from Brussels to Ghent, and from Ghent to Bruges. But Paget growing impatient of such delays, since the French were marched into the Boulognese; the bishop of Arras, (son to Granvel that had been long the emperor's chief minister) who was now like to succeed in his father's room that was old and infirm, and the two presidents of the emperor's councils, St. Maurice and Viglius, came to sir William Paget, and had a long communication with him and Hobbey, an account whereof will be found in the Collection in a despatch from them to the protector.

Paget sent over to treat with the Emperor.

Collection, Number 38.

Collection, Number 39.

They first treated of an explanation of some ambiguous words in the treaty, to which the emperor's ministers promised to bring them an answer. Then they talked long of the matters of the admiralty, the emperor's ministers said, no justice was done in England upon the merchants' complaints; Paget said, every mariner came to the protector, and if he would not solicit their business, they ran away with a complaint that there was no justice; whereas he thought, that as they meddled with no private matters, so the protector ought to turn all these over upon the courts that were the competent judges. But the bishop of Arras said, there was no justice to be had in the admiralty courts, who were indeed parties in all these matters; Paget said, there was as much justice in the English admiralty courts as was in theirs: and the bishop confessed, there were great corruptions in all these courts. So Paget proposed, that the emperor should appoint two of his council to hear and determine all such complaints, in a summary way, and the king should do the like in England. For the confirmation of the treaty, the bishop said, the emperor was willing his son should confirm it; but that he would never sue to his subjects to confirm his treaties; and he said, when it was objected that the treaty with France was confirmed by the three estates, that the prerogative of the French crown was so restrained that the king could alienate nothing of his patrimony without the parliament of Paris and his three estates. He believed the king of England had a greater prerogative: he was sure the emperor was not so bound up; he had fifteen or sixteen several parliaments, and what work must he be at if all these must descant on his transactions? When this general discourse was over, the two presidents went away: but the bishop of Arras staid with him in private. Paget proposed the business of Boulogne: but the bishop having given him many good words in the general, excepted much to it, as

He meets with the Emperor's Ministers.

dishonourable to the emperor; since Boulogne was not taken when the league was concluded between the emperor and England: so that if he should now include it in the league, it would be a breach of faith and treaties with France: and he stood much on the honour and conscience of observing these treaties inviolably. So this conversation ended; in which the most remarkable passage is, that concerning the limitations on the French crown, and the freedoms of the English; for at that time the king's prerogative in England was judged of that extent, that I find in a letter written from Scotland, one of the main objections made to the marrying their queen to the king of England was, that a union with England would much alter the constitution of their government, the prerogatives of the kings of England being of a far larger extent that those in Scotland.

Two or three days after the former conversation, the emperor's ministers returned to Paget's lodging, with answer to the propositions which the English ambassadors had made; of which, a full account will be found in the Collection in the letter which the ambassadors writ upon it into England. The emperor gave a good answer to some of the particulars, which were ambiguous in former treaties. For the confirmation of the treaty, he offered that the prince should join in it; but since the king of England was under age, he thought it more necessary that the parliament of England should confirm it. To which Paget answered, that their kings, as to the regal power, were the same in all the conditions of life; and therefore when the great seal was put to any agreement, the king was absolutely bound by it. If his ministers engaged him in ill treaties, they were to answer for it at their perils; but howsoever the king was tied by it. They discoursed long about the administration of justice, but ended in nothing. And as for the main business about Boulogne, the emperor stood on his treaties with the French, which he could not break: upon which Paget said to the bishop, that his father had told him, they had so many grounds to quarrel with France, that he had his sleeveful of them to produce when there should be occasion to make use of them. But finding the bishop's answers were cold, and that he only gave good words, he told him that England would then see to their own security; and so he took that for the emperor's final answer, and thereupon resolved to take his leave, which he did soon after, and came back into England. But at home the councils were much divided, of which the sad effects broke out soon afterward.

Collection, Number 40.

It was proposed in council, that the war with Scotland should be ended. For it having been begun, and carried on, only on design to obtain the marriage, since the hopes of that were now so far gone, that it was not in the power of the Scots themselves to retrieve them, it was a vain and needless expense both of blood and money to keep it up; and since Boulogne was by the treaty, after a few more years, to be delivered up to the French, it seemed a very unreasonable thing, in the low state to which the king's affairs were driven, to enter on a war, in which they had little reason to doubt but they should lose Boulogne, after the new expense of a siege and another year's war. The protector had now many enemies, who laid hold on this conjuncture to throw him out of the government. The earl of Southampton was brought into the council, but had not laid down his secret hatred of the protector; and did all he could to make a party against him. The earl of Warwick was the fittest man to work on; him therefore he gained over to his side, and having formed a confidence in him, he showed him that he had really got all these victories for which the protector triumphed; he had won the field of Pinkey near Musselburgh, and had subdued the rebels of Norfolk; and as he had before defeated the French, so if he were sent over thither, new triumphs would follow him; but it was below him to be second to any. So he engaged him to quarrel in everything with the protector, all whose wary motions were ascribed to fear or dulness. To others he said, "What friendship could any expect from a man who had no pity on his own brother?" But that which provoked the nobility most, was the partiality the protector had for the commons in the insurrections that had been this summer. He had also given great grounds of jealousy by entertaining foreign troops in the king's wars; which, though it was not objected to him, because the council had consented to it, yet it was whispered about that he had extorted that consent. But the noble palace he was raising in the Strand (which yet carries his name,) out of the ruins of some bishops' houses, and churches, drew as public

Debates in Council concerning Peace.

Complaints against the Protector.



an envy on him as anything he had done. It was said, that when the king was engaged in such wars, and when London was much disordered by the plague, that had been in it for some months, he was then bringing architects from Italy, and designing such a palace as had not been seen in England. It was also said, that many bishops and cathedrals had resigned many manors to him, for obtaining his favour. Though this was not done without leave obtained from the king; for in a grant of some lands made to him by the king on the 11th of July, in the second year of his reign, it is said, That these lands were given him as a reward for his services in Scotland, for which he was offered greater rewards; but that he refusing to accept of such grants as might too much impoverish the crown, had taken a licence to the bishop of Bath and Wells, for his alienating some of the lands of that bishopric to him; he is in that patent called by the grace of God duke of Somerset, which had not of late years been ascribed to any but sovereign princes. It was also said, that many of the chantry lands had been sold to his friends at easy rates; for which they concluded he had great presents; and a course of unusual greatness had raised him up too high; so that he did not carry himself towards the nobility with that equality that they expected from him.

Rot. Pat. 4. Par. 2. Reg.

All these things concurred to beget him many enemies, and he had very few friends; for none stuck firmly to him but Paget, and secretary Smith, and especially Cranmer, who never forsook his friend. All that favoured the old superstition were his enemies; and seeing the earl of Southampton heading the party against him, they all ran into it. And of the bishops that were for the Reformation, Goodrich of Ely likewise joined to them. He had attended on the admiral in his preparations for death, from whom, it seems, he drank in ill impressions of the protector. All his enemies saw, and he likewise saw it himself, that the continuance of the war must needs destroy him; and that a peace would confirm him in his power, and give him time and leisure to break through the faction, that was now so strong against him, that it was not probable he could master it without the help of some time. So in the council his adversaries delivered their opinions against all motions for peace; and though upon Paget's return from Flanders it appeared to be very unreasonable to carry on the war; yet they said Paget had secret instructions to procure such an answer, that it might give a colour to so base a project. The officers that came over from these places that the French had taken, pretended, as is common for all men in such circumstances, that they wanted things necessary for a siege: and though in truth it was quite contrary, (as we read in Thuanus) yet their complaints were cherished and spread about among the people. The protector had also, against the mind of the council, ordered the garrison to be drawn out of Haddington; and was going, notwithstanding all their opposition, to make peace with France; and did in many things act by his own authority, without asking their advice, and often against it. This was the assuming a regal power, and seemed not to be endured by those who thought they were in all points his equals. It was also said, that when, contrary to the late king's will, he was chosen protector, it was with that special condition that he should do nothing without their consent; and though by the patent he had for his office his power was more enlarged, (which was of greater force in law than a private agreement at the council-table,) yet even that was objected to him, as a high presumption in him to pretend to such a vast power. Thus all the month of September there were great heats among them; several persons interposed to mediate, but to no effect; for the faction against him was now so strong, that they resolved to strip him of his exorbitant power, and reduce him to an equality with themselves. The king was then at Hampton-Court, where also the protector was, with some of his own retainers and servants about him; which increased the jealousies, for it was given out that he intended to carry away the king. So on the 6th of October some of the council met at Ely-house, the lord St. John president, the earls of Warwick, Arundel, and Southampton; sir Edw. North, sir Richard Southwell, sir Edmund Peckham, sir Edw. Wotton, and Dr. Wotton; and secretary Petre being sent to them in the king's name, to ask what they met for, he joined himself likewise to them. They sate as the king's council, and entered their proceedings in the council-book, from whence I draw the account of this transaction.

Most of the Council separate from him.

These being met together, and considering the disorders that had been lately in England,

the losses in Scotland and France, laid the blame of all on the protector, who they said, was given up to other counsels, so obstinately, that he would not hearken to the advices they had given him, both at the board, and in private; and they declared, that having intended that day to have gone to Hampton-Court, for a friendly communication with him, he had raised many of the commons to have destroyed them, and had made the king set his hand to the letters he had sent for raising men; and had also dispersed seditious bills against them; therefore they intended to see to the safety of the king and the kingdom. So they sent for the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and required them to obey no letters sent them by the protector, but only such as came from themselves. They also writ many letters to the nobility and gentry over England, giving them an account of their designs and motives, and requiring their assistance. They also sent for the lieutenant of the Tower, and he submitted to their orders. Next day, the lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, sir Tho. Cheyney, sir John Gage, sir Ralph Sadler, and the lord chief-justice Montague, joined with them. Then they wrote to the king a letter, (which is in the Collection) full of expressions of their duty and care of his person, complaining of the duke of Somerset's not listening to their counsels, and of his gathering a force about him for maintaining his wilful doings; they owned that they had caused secretary Petre to stay with them, and in it they endeavoured to persuade the king that they were careful of nothing so much as of his preservation. They also wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to sir William Paget, to see to the king's person, and that his own servants should attend on him, and not those that belonged to the duke of Somerset. But the protector, hearing of this disorder, had removed the king to Windsor in all haste; and had taken down all the armour that was either there, or at Hampton-Court, and had armed such as he could gather about him for his preservation.

Collection. Number 41.

The council at London complained much of this, that the king should be carried to a place where there were no provisions fit for him. So they ordered all things that he might need to be sent to him from London. And on the 8th of October they went to Guildhall, where they gave an account of their proceedings to the common council of the city: and assured them, they had no thoughts of altering the religion, as was given out by their enemies, but intended only the safety of the king, and the peace of the kingdom; and for these ends desired their assistance. The whole common council with one voice declared, they thanked God for the good intentions they had expressed, and assured them they would stand by them with their lives and goods. At Windsor, when the protector understood, that not only the city but the lieutenant of the Tower, of whom he had held himself assured, had forsaken him, he resolved to struggle no longer; and though it is not improbable that he, who was chiefly accused for his protecting the commons, might have easily gathered a great body of men for his own preservation; yet he resolved rather to give way to the tide that was now against him. So he protested, before the king and the few councillors then about him, that he had no design against any of the lords: and that the force he had gathered was only to preserve himself from any violent attempt that might be made on his person; he declared, that he was willing to submit himself; and therefore proposed, that two of those lords should be sent from London, and they, with two of those that were yet about the king, should consider what might be done, in whose determination he would acquiesce: and desired, that whatsoever was agreed on, should be confirmed in parliament. Hereupon there was sent to London a warrant under the king's hand, for any two of the lords of the council that were there to come to Windsor with twenty servants a-piece, who had the king's faith for their safety in coming and going; and Cranmer, Paget, and Smith wrote to them to dispose them to end the matter peaceably, and not follow cruel counsels, nor to be misled by them who meant otherwise than they professed, of which they knew more than they would then mention. This seemed to point at the earl of Southampton.

The City of London joins with them.

The Protector offers to treat and submit. Collection, Number 42.

On the 9th of October the council at London increased by the accession of the lord Russel, the lord Wentworth, sir Anthony Brown, sir Ant. Wingfield, and sir John Baker, the speaker of the house of commons. For now those who had stood off awhile, seeing the protector was resolved to yield, came and united themselves with the prevailing party; so



that they were in all two-and-twenty. They were informed, that the protector had said, that if they intended to put him to death, the king should die first; and if they would famish him, they should famish the king first; and that he had armed his own men, and set them next to the king's person, and was designing to carry him out of Windsor, and as some reported, out of the kingdom; upon which they concluded, that he was no more fit to be protector. But of those words no proofs being mentioned in the council-books, they look like the forgeries of his enemies to make him odious to the people. The council ordered a proclamation of their proceedings to be printed, and writ to the lady Mary, and the lady Elizabeth, acquainting them with what they had done. They also wrote to the king (as will be found in the Collection) acknowledging the many bonds that lay on them in gratitude both for his father's goodness to them, and his own, to take care of him. They desired he would consider, they were his whole council, except one or two; and were those whom his father had trusted with the government: that the protector was not raised to that power by his father's will, but by their choice, with that condition, that he should do all things by their advice; which he had not observed, so that they now judged him most unworthy of these honours: therefore they earnestly desired they might be admitted to the king's presence, to do their duties about him, and that the forces gathered about his person might be sent away, and the duke of Somerset might submit himself to the order of council. They also wrote to the archbishop and sir William Paget, (which is in the Collection) charging them as they would answer it, that the king's person might be well looked to, that he should not be removed from Windsor, and that he should be no longer guarded by the duke of Somerset's men, (as they said he had been, of which they complained severely) but by his own sworn servants; and they required them to concur in advancing the desire they had signified by their letter to the king, protesting that they would do with the duke of Somerset as they would desire to be done by, and with as much moderation and favour as in honour they could: so that there was no reason to apprehend from them such cruelty as they had mentioned in their letters. These were sent by sir Philip Hobbey, who was returned from Flanders, and had been sent by the king to London on the day before. Upon this, Cranmer and Paget, (as is entered in the council-book) persuaded both the king and the protector to grant their desire. The protector's servants were dismissed, and the king's were set about his person. And Cranmer, Paget and Smith, wrote to the council at London, that all they had proposed should be granted: they desired to know whether the king should be brought to London, or stay at Windsor; and that three of the lords might be sent thither, who should see all things done according to their minds; and for other things they referred them to Hobbey that carried the letter (which is in the Collection); upon this the council sent sir Anthony Wingfield, sir Anthony St. Lieger and sir J. Williams, to Windsor, with a charge to see that the duke of Somerset should not withdraw before they arrived, and that sir Tho. Smith the secretary, sir Michael Stanhope, sir John Thynn, Edw. Wolfe, and William Cecil, should be restrained to their chambers, till they examined them. On the 12th of October the whole council went to Windsor, and coming to the king, they protested that all they had done was out of the zeal and affection they had to his person and service. The king received them kindly, and thanked them for their care of him, and assured them that he took all they had done in good part. On the 13th day they sate in council, and sent for those who were ordered to be kept in their chambers; only Cecil was let go. They charged them, that they had been the chief instruments about the duke of Somerset in all his wilful proceedings; therefore they turned Smith out of his place of secretary, and sent him with the rest to the Tower of London. On the day following, the protector was called before them, and articles of misdemeanours and high treason were laid to his charge, (which will be found in the Collection). The substance of them was, that being made protector, on condition that he should do nothing without the consent of the other executors, he had not observed that condition, but had treated with ambassadors, made bishops and lord-lieutenants, by his own authority: and that he had held a court of requests in his own house; and had done many things contrary to law, had embased the coin, had in the matter of inclosures set

Collection, Number 43.

Collection, Number 44.

Collection, Number 45.

He is accused and sent to the Tower. Collection, Number 46.

out proclamations, and given commissions against the mind of the whole council; that he had not taken care to suppress the late insurrections, but had justified and encouraged them; that he had neglected the places the king had in France, by which means they were lost; that he had persuaded the king that the lords who met at London intended to destroy him, and had desired him never to forget it, but to revenge it, and had required some young lords to keep it in his remembrance; and had caused those lords to be proclaimed traitors; that he had said, if he should die, the king should die too; that he had carried the king so suddenly to Windsor, that he was not only put in great fear, but cast into a dangerous disease: that he had gathered the people, and armed them for war; and had armed his friends and servants; and left the king's servants unarmed; and that he intended to fly to Jersey, or Guernsey. So he was sent to the Tower, being conducted thither by the earls of Sussex, and Huntingdon. That day the king was carried back again to Hampton-Court; and an order was made, that six lords should be the governors of his person; who were the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, the lords St. John, Russel, and Wentworth. Two of those were in their course to attend constantly on the king.

And thus fell the duke of Somerset from his high offices and great trust. The articles objected to him seemed to say as much for his justification, as the answers could do, if they were in my power. He is not accused of rapine, cruelty, or bribery; but only of such things as are incident to all men that are of a sudden exalted to a high and disproportioned greatness. What he did about the coin, was not for his own advantage, but was done by a common mistake of many governors, who, in the necessity of their affairs, fly to this as their last shift, to draw out their business as long as it is possible; but it ever rebounds on the government to its great prejudice and loss. He bore his fall more equally than he had done his prosperity; and set himself in his imprisonment to study, and reading; and falling on a book that treated of patience, both from the principles of moral philosophy, and of Christianity, he was so much taken with it, that he ordered it to be translated into English, and writ a preface to it himself, mentioning the great comfort he had found in reading it, which had induced him to take care that others might reap the like benefit from it. Peter Martyr writ him also a long consolatory letter, which was printed, both in Latin, and in an English translation; and all the Reformed, both in England and abroad, looked on his fall as a public loss to that whole interest, which he had so steadily set forward.

Censures passed upon him.

But on the other hand, the popish party were much lifted up at his fall; and the rather, because they knew the earl of Southampton, who they hoped should have directed all affairs, was entirely theirs. It was also believed, that the earl of Warwick had given them secret assurances: so it was understood at the court of France, as Thuanus writes. They had also, among the first things they did, gone about to discharge the duke of Norfolk of his long imprisonment, in consideration of his great age, his former services, and the extremity of the proceedings against him, which were said to have flowed chiefly from the ill offices the duke of Somerset had done him. But this was soon laid aside. So now the papists made their addresses to the earl of Warwick. The bishop of Winchester wrote to him a hearty congratulation, rejoicing that the late tyranny (so he called the duke of Somerset's administration) was now at an end; he wished him all prosperity, and desired, that when he had leisure from the great affairs that were in so unsettled a condition, some regard might be had of him. The bishop of London, being also in good hopes, since the protector and Smith, whom he esteemed his chief enemies, were now in disgrace, and Cranmer was in cold, if not in ill terms, with the earl of Warwick, sent a petition that his appeal might be received, and his process reviewed. Many also began to fall off from going to the English service, or the communion; hoping that all would be quickly undone that had been settled by the duke of Somerset. But the earl of Warwick, finding the king so zealously addicted to the carrying on of the Reformation, that nothing could recommend any one so much to him, as the promoting it further would do, soon forsook the popish party, and was seemingly the most earnest on a further Reformation that was possible. I do not find that he did write any

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answer to the bishop of Winchester. He continued still a prisoner. And for Bonner's matter, there was a new court of delegates appointed to review his appeal, consisting of four civilians, and four common lawyers; who having examined it, reported, that the process had been legally carried on, and the sentence justly given, and that there was no good reason why the appeal should be received, and therefore they rejected it. This being reported to the council, they sent for Bonner in the beginning of February, and declared to him, that his appeal was rejected, and that the sentence against him was in full force still.

But the business of Boulogne was that which pressed them most. They misdoubting, as was formerly shown, that Paget had not managed that matter dexterously and earnestly with the emperor, sent on the 18th of October sir Tho. Cheyny, and sir Phil. Hobbey to him, to intreat him to take Boulogne into his protection; they also sent over the earl of Huntington to command it, with the addition of a thousand men for the garrison. When the ambassadors came to the emperor, they desired leave to raise two thousand horse and three thousand foot in his dominions for the preservation of Boulogne. The emperor gave them very good words, but insisted much on his league with France; and referred them to the bishop of Arras, who told them plainly the thing could not be done. So sir Tho. Cheyney took his leave of the emperor, who at parting desired him to represent to the king's council, how necessary it was to consider matters of religion again, that so they might be all of one mind; for, to deal plainly with them, till that were done, he could not assist them so effectually as otherwise he desired to do. And now the council saw clearly, they had not been deceived by Paget in that particular, and therefore resolved to apply themselves to France for a peace.

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Cotton. Libr. Galba B. 12.

But now the earl of Warwick falling off wholly from the popish party, the earl of Southampton left the court in great discontent. He was neither restored to his office of chancellor, nor made lord treasurer, (that place, which was vacant by the duke of Somerset's fall, being now given to the lord St. John, who soon after was made earl of Wiltshire;) nor was he made one of those who had charge of the king's person. So he began to lay a train against the earl of Warwick; but he was too quick for him, and discovered it; upon which he left the court in the night, and it was said, he poisoned himself, or pined away with discontent, for he died in July after.

The Earl of Southampton leaves the Court.

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A new Office for Ordinations.

But now I turn to the parliament, which sate down on the 4th of November. In it a severe law was made against unlawful assemblies; that if any, to the number of twelve, should meet together unlawfully, for any matter of state, and being required by any lawful magistrate, should not disperse themselves, it should be treason; and if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up pales, about inclosures, without lawful authority, it should be felony. It was also made felony to gather the people together without warrant, by ringing of bells, or sound of drums and trumpets, or the firing of beacons. There was also a law made against prophecies concerning the king or his council, since by these the people were disposed to sedition; for the first offence it was to be punished by imprisonment for a year, and 10*l.* fine; for the second, it was imprisonment during life, with the forfeiture of goods and chattels. All this was on the account of the tumults the former year, and not with any regard to the duke of Somerset's security, as some have without any reason fancied: for he had now no interest in the parliament, nor was he in a condition any more to apprehend tumults against himself, being stripped of his so much envied greatness. Another law was made against vagabonds, relating, that the former statute made in this reign being too severe, was by that means not executed; so it was repealed, and the law made in king Henry VIII.'s reign put in force; provisions were laid down for relieving the sick and impotent, and setting the poor, that were able, to work: that once a month there should be everywhere a visitation of the poor, by those in office, who should send away such as did not belong to that place, and those were to be carried from constable to constable, till they

A Session of Parliament.

An Act against Tumultuary Assemblies.

And against Vagabonds.

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were brought to such places as were bound to see to them. There was a bill brought in for the repealing of a branch of the act of uniformity, but it went no further than one reading.

The Bishops move for a reviving of Ecclesiastical Censures.

On the 14th of November the bishops made a heavy complaint to the lords, of the abounding of vice and disorder, and that their power was so abridged, that they could punish no sin, nor oblige any to appear before them, or to observe the orders of the church. This was heard by all the lords with great regret, and they ordered a bill to be drawn about it. On the 18th of November a bill was brought in, but rejected at first reading, because it seemed to give the bishops too much power. So a second bill was appointed to be drawn by a committee of the house. It was agreed to, and sent down to the commons, who laid it aside after the second reading. They thought it better to renew the design that was in the former reign, of two-and-thirty persons being authorized to compile the body of ecclesiastical laws; and when that was prepared, it seemed more proper, by confirming it, to establish ecclesiastical jurisdiction, than to give the bishops any power, while the rules of their courts were so little determined or regulated: so an act passed, empowering the king to name sixteen persons of the spiritualty, of whom four should be bishops, and sixteen of the temporalty, of whom four should be common lawyers, who within three years should compile a body of ecclesiastical laws; and those being nothing contrary to the common and statute laws of the land, should be published by the king's warrant, under the great seal, and have the force of laws in the ecclesiastical courts. Thus they took care that this should not be turned over to an uncertain period, as it had been done in the former reign, but designed that it should be quickly finished. The bishops of that time were generally so backward in every step to a reformation, that a small number of them was made necessary to be of this commission. The effect that it had shall be afterwards opened.

There was a bill brought into the house of commons, that the preaching and holding of some opinions should be declared felony: it passed with them, but was laid aside by the lords. A bill for the form of ordaining ministers was brought into the house of lords, and was agreed to, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Chichester, and Westminster, protesting against it. The substance of it was, that such forms of ordaining ministers as should be set forth by the advice of six prelates and six divines, to be named by the king, and authorized by a warrant under the great seal, should be used after April next, and no other. On the 2d of January a bill was put in against the duke of Somerset, of the articles formerly mentioned, with a confession of them signed by his hand. This he was prevailed with to do, upon assurances given that he should be gently dealt with, if he would freely confess, and submit himself to the king's mercy. But it was said by some of the lords, that they did not know whether that confession was not drawn from him by force: and that it might be an ill precedent to pass acts upon such papers without examining the party, whether he had subscribed them freely and uncompelled: so they sent four temporal lords, and four bishops, to examine him concerning it. And the day following, the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield made the report, that he thanked them for that kind message, but that he had freely subscribed the confession that lay before them. He had made it on his knees before the king and council, and had signed it on the 13th of December. He protested his offences had flowed from rashness and indiscretion, rather than malice, and that he had no treasonable design against the king or his realms. So he was fined by act of parliament in 2000*l.* a year of land, and he lost all his goods and offices. Upon this he wrote to the council, acknowledging their favour, in bringing off his matter by a fine; he confessed that he had fallen into the frailties that often attend on great places, but what he had done amiss was rather for want of true judgment, than from any malicious meaning: he humbly desired they would interpose with the king for a moderation of his fine, and that he might be pardoned and restored to favour; assuring them, that for the future he should carry himself so humbly and obediently, that he should thereby make amends for his former follies: this was much censured by many, as a sign of an abject spirit; others thought it was wisely done in him, once to get out of prison on any terms, since the greatness of his former condition gave such jealousy to his enemies, that unless he had his pardon, he would be in

1550.

An Act about the Forms of giving Orders.

An Act about the Duke of Somerset.



continual danger, as long as he was in their hands. So on the 6th of February he was set at liberty, giving bond of 10,000*l.* for his good behaviour; and being limited that he should stay at the king's house of Sheen, or his own of Sion, and should not go four miles from them, nor come to the king or the council, unless he were called; he had his pardon on the 16th of February, and carried himself after that so humbly, that his behaviour, with the king's great kindness to him, did so far prevail, that on the 10th of April after, he was restored into favour, and sworn of the privy-council. And so this storm went over him much more gently than was expected; but his carriage in it was thought to have so little of the hero, that he was not much considered after this.

The Reformation is set on vigorously.

But to go on with the business of the parliament; reports had been spread, that the old service would be again set up; and these were much cherished by those who still loved the former superstition; who gave out, that a change was to be expected, since the new service had been only the act of the duke of Somerset. Upon this the council wrote on Christmas day a letter to all the bishops of England, to this effect, "That whereas the English service had been devised by learned men, according to the Scripture, and the use of the primitive church; therefore, for putting away those vain expectations, all clergymen were required, to deliver to such as should be appointed by the king to receive them, all antiphonals, missals, grayles, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portuasses, journals, and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, or any other private use; requiring them also to see to the observing one uniform order in the service set forth by the common consent of the realm; and particularly to take care that there should be everywhere provision made of bread and wine for the communion on Sunday." This will be found in the Collection. But to give a more public declaration of their zeal, an act was brought into parliament about it, and was agreed to by all the lords; except the earl of Derby, the bishops of Durham, Coventry and Litchfield, Carlisle, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester, and the lords Morley, Stourton, Windsor, and Wharton. By it, not only all the books formerly mentioned were to be destroyed, but all that had any image that had belonged to any church or chapel, were required to deface it before the last of June, and in all the primers set out by the late king, the prayers to the saints were to be dashed out. There was also an act for a subsidy to be paid in one year, for which there was a release granted of a branch of the subsidy formerly given. Last of all came the king's general pardon, out of which those in the Tower, or other prisons, on the account of the state, as also all anabaptists, were excepted.

Collection, Number 46.

Thus were all matters ended, and on the 1st of February the parliament was prorogued. Only in the house of commons there was a debate that deserves to be remembered. It seems that before this time the eldest sons of peers were not members of the house of commons; and sir Francis Russel, becoming, by the death of his elder brother, heir apparent to the lord Russel; it was on the 21st of January carried upon a debate, "that he should abide in the house as he was before." So it is entered in the original journal of the house of commons, which was communicated to me by Mr. Surle, and Mr. Clark, in whose hands it is now, and is the first journal that ever was taken in that house.

Heath Bishop of Worcester put in Prison for not agreeing with the others appointed to draw the Book for Ordinations.

But it may be expected that I should next give an account of the forms of ordination now agreed on. Twelve were appointed by the council to prepare the book; among whom Heath, bishop of Worcester, was one, but he would not consent to the reformations that were proposed in it: so on the 8th of February he was called before the council, and required to agree to that which all the rest had consented to. But he could not be prevailed with to do it. Wherefore on the 4th of March he was committed to the Fleet, because (as it is entered in the council books) that he obstinately denied to subscribe the book for the making of bishops and priests. He had hitherto opposed everything done towards reformation in parliament, though he had given an entire obedience to it when it was enacted. He was a man of a gentle temper and great prudence, that understood affairs of state better than matters of religion. But now it was resolved to rid the church of those compliers, who submitted out of fear or interest to save their benefices, but were still ready upon any favourable conjuncture, to return back to the old superstition.

As for the forms of ordination, they found, that the Scripture mentioned only the imposition of hands and prayer. In the apostolical constitutions, in the fourth council of Carthage, and in the pretended works of Denis the Areopagite, there was no more used. Therefore all those additions, of anointing, and giving them consecrated vestments, were later inventions. But most of all the conceit, which from the time of the council of Florence was generally received, that the rites by which a priest was ordained, were the delivering him the vessels for consecrating the Eucharist, with a power to offer sacrifice to God for the dead and the living. This was a vain novelty, only set up to support the belief of transubstantiation; and had no ground in the Scriptures, nor the primitive practice. So they agreed on a form of ordaining deacons, priests, and bishops, which is the same we yet use, except in some few words, that have been added since in the ordination of a priest or bishop. For there was then no express mention made in the words of ordaining them, that it was for the one, or the other office: in both it was said, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost in the name of the Father," &c. But that having been since made use of to prove both functions the same, it was of late years altered, as it is now. Nor were these words, being the same in giving both orders, any ground to infer that the church esteemed them one order; the rest of the office showing the contrary very plainly. Another difference between the ordination book set out at that time, and that we now use was, that the bishop was to lay his one hand on the priest's head, and with his other to give him a Bible, with a chalice and bread in it, saying the words now said at the delivery of the Bible. In the consecration of a bishop there was nothing more than what is yet in use, save that a staff was put into his hand, with this blessing, "Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd." By the rule of this ordinal, a deacon was not to be ordained before he was twenty-one, a priest before he was twenty-four, nor a bishop before he was thirty years of age.

In this ritual all those superadded rites were cut off, which the later ages had brought in, to dress up these performances with the more pomp; whereof we have since a more perfect account than it was possible for them then to have. For in our age Morinus, a learned priest of the oratorian order, has published the most ancient rituals he could find; by which it appears how these offices swelled in every age by some new addition. About the middle of the sixth century, they anointed and blessed the priests' hands in some parts of France; though the Greek church never used anointing: nor was it in the Roman church two ages after that; for pope Nicolaus the First plainly says, it was never used in the church of Rome. In the eighth century, the priests' garments were given with a special benediction, for the priests offering expiatory sacrifices: it was no ancienter that that phrase was used in ordinations; and in that same age there was a special benediction of the priests' hands, used before they were anointed; and then his head was anointed. This was taken partly from the Levitical law, and partly because the people believed that their kings derived the sacredness of their persons, from their being anointed; so the priests having a mind to have their persons secured and exempted from all secular power, were willing enough to use this rite in their ordinations; and in the tenth century, when the belief of transubstantiation was received, the delivering of the vessels for the Eucharist, with the power of offering sacrifices, was brought in, besides a great many other rites. So that the church did never tie itself to one certain form of ordinations; nor did it always make them with the same prayers; for what was accounted anciently the form of ordination, was in the later ages but a preparatory prayer to it.

*The Additions brought into the Church of Rome in giving Orders.*

The most considerable addition that was made in the book of ordinations, was the putting questions to the persons to be ordained; who by answering these, make solemn declarations of sponsions and vows to God. The first question when one is presented to orders, is, "Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost, to take upon you this office and ministration, to serve God, for the promoting his glory, and for the edifying of his people?" To which he is to answer, "He trusts he is." It has been oft lamented, that many come to receive orders before ever they have seriously read over these questions, and examined themselves whether they could with a good conscience make the answers there prescribed: since it is scarce credible that men of common honesty would lie in the presence of God on so great an occasion; and yet it is too

*Interrogations and Sponsions in the new Book.*



visible, that many have not any such inward vocation, nor have ever considered seriously what it is. If it were well apprehended, that heat that many have to get into orders would soon abate; who perhaps have nothing in their eye, but some place of profit, or benefice, to which way must be made by that preceding ceremony; and so enter into orders, as others are associated into fraternities and corporations, with little previous sense of that holy character they are to receive, when they thus dedicate their lives and labours to the service of God in the gospel. In the primitive church the apprehension of this made even good and holy men afraid to enter under such bonds; and therefore they were oft to be dragged almost by force, or catched at unawares, and be so initiated; as appears in the lives of those two Greek fathers, Nazianzen and Chrysostom. If men make their first step to the holy altar by such a lie, as is their pretending to a motion of the Holy Ghost, concerning which they know little, but that they have nothing at all of it; they have no reason to expect that blessing which otherwise attends on such dedications. And it had been happy for the church if all those that are authorised to confer orders, had stood on this more critically; and not been contented with a bare putting these questions to those who come to be ordained; but had used a due strictness beforehand, suitable to that grave admonition of St. Paul's to Timothy, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, and be not partaker of other men's sins."

In the sponsions made by the priests, they bind themselves to "teach the people committed to their charge, to banish away all erroneous doctrines, and to use both public and private monitions, and exhortations, as well to the sick, as the whole, within their cures, as need shall require, and as occasion shall be given." Such as remember that they have plighted their faith for this to God, will feel the pastoral care to be a load indeed, and so be far enough from relinquishing it, or hiring it out perhaps to a loose or ignorant mercenary. These are the blemishes and scandals that lie on our church, brought on it partly by the corruption of some simoniacal patrons, but chiefly by the negligence of some, and the faultiness of other clergymen: which could never have lost so much ground in the nation, upon such trifling accounts, as are the contests since raised about ceremonies; if it were not that the people, by such palpable faults in the persons and behaviour of some churchmen, have been possessed with prejudices, first against them, and then upon their account against the whole church: so that these corrupt churchmen are not only to answer to God for all those souls within their charge, that have perished through their neglect, but in a great degree for all the mischief of the schism among us; to the nourishing whereof they have given so great and palpable occasion. The importance of those things made me judge they deserved this digression, from which I now turn to other affairs.

The business of Boulogne lay heavy on the council. The French had stopped all communication between Calais and it; so that it was not easy to supply it from thence. The council, to rid the nation of the foreigners, sent them all to Calais with three thousand English, and resolved to force a way through, if it came to extremities; but at this time both the French and English were well disposed to a peace. The king of France knew the emperor intended to go into Germany next summer; so he longed to be at liberty to wait on his motions. The English council, that opposed the delivery of Boulogne, chiefly to throw off the duke of Somerset, that being done, were all convinced that it was not worth the cost and danger of a war; only they stood on the indecency of yielding it; especially they having raised such clamours against the protector, when he went about the delivering it up. So they made great shows of preparations to defend it; but at the same time were not unwilling to listen to propositions of peace. One Guidotti, a Florentine that lived in England, was employed by the constable of France, Montmorency, to set on a treaty; yet he was to do it without owning he had any orders from that king. He went often to and again between Paris and London, and at last it was resolved on both sides that there should be a treaty. But at this time there was a great change of affairs in Italy. Pope Paul III. having held that see fifteen years, died the 10th of November, in the eighty-second year of his age; much broken in mind at the calamity of his family, the killing of his son, the loss of Placentia, and the ingratitude of his grandchild. Upon his death all the cardinals, being gathered from Bologna, Trent, and other neighbouring places entered the conclave; where one that is to have such a share in

*It is resolved to deliver Boulogne to the French.*

*Pope Paul III. dies.*

the following part of this work, was so much concerned, that it will be no impertinent digression to give an account of it. There were great animosities between the imperialists and the French: Cardinal Farnese had also many votes that followed him; so that these three factions were either of them strong enough to exclude any that was unacceptable to them. Cardinal Pole was set up by Farnese as a moderate imperialist, who had carried it so well at Trent, that they saw he would not blindly follow the emperor.

Cardinal Pole was elected Pope.

He had lived many years at Viterbo, where he was made legate, after he had given over his practices against England. There he gave himself wholly to the study of divinity, not without some imputations of favouring heresy. For one Antonino Flaminio, that was also suspect of Lutheranism, lived with him. Tremellius, that learned Jew, who had been baptized in his house, was also known to incline that way; and many, who left their monasteries, and went to Germany, used to stay some time with him on their way, and were well received by him; nor would he proceed against any suspected of heresy. There was cause enough to raise suspicion in a less jealous people than Italians. Yet the vast zeal that he had shown for the exaltation of the papacy, made all those things be overlooked. He was sent one of the pope's legates to Trent, where he asserted the German doctrine of justification by faith: but upon the emperor's setting out the Interim he wrote freely against it. He was indeed a man of an easy and generous temper, but much in the power of those whom he loved and trusted. Farnese therefore looking on him as one that would be governed by him, and that was acceptable to the imperialists, and not much hated by the French, the cardinal of Guise being his friend, resolved to promote him; and by the scrutiny they made, it was found that they were within two of the number that was requisite. But he seemed so little concerned at it himself, that he desired them not to make too much haste in a thing of that nature; for that dignity was rather to be undertaken with fear, than to be ambitiously desired. The cardinals, who had heard of such things among the ancient Romans, but had seen few such modern instances, and who valued men by nothing more than their ambitious aspiring, imputed this either to dulness, or hypocrisy: he himself seemed nothing affected with it, and did not change his behaviour, and carried it with an equality of mind, that became one who had divided his time between philosophy and divinity. Caraffa, that hated him, did all he could to alienate the conclave from him; he objected to him, not only heresy, but also the suspicion of incontinence, since he bred up a nun who was believed to be his daughter. Of these things he coldly purged himself; he showed that he had suffered so much on the account of religion in his own country, that he was beyond the suspicion of heresy; and he proved that the girl whom he maintained among the nuns, was an Englishman's daughter, to whom he had assigned an allowance. Caraffa prevailed little, and the next night the number was complete; so that the cardinals came to adore him, and make him pope; but he receiving that, with his usual coldness said, it was night, and God loved light better than darkness, therefore he desired to delay it till day came. The Italians who, whatever judges they may be about the qualifications of such a pope as is necessary for their affairs, understood not this temper of mind, which in better times would have recommended one with the highest advantages, shrunk all from him: and after some intrigues usual on such occasions, chose the cardinal de Monte, afterwards pope Julius III., who gave a strange omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own hat, according to the custom of the popes who bestow their hats before they go out of the conclave, on a mean servant of his, who had the charge of a monkey that he kept; and being asked what he observed in him to make him a cardinal, he answered, as much as the cardinals had seen in him to make him pope. But it was commonly said, that the secret of this promotion was an unnatural affection to him. Upon this occasion I shall refer the reader to a letter which I have put in the Collection, written by cardinal Wolsey upon the death of pope Adrian VI., to get himself chosen pope; it sets out so naturally the intrigues of that court on such occasions, that though it belongs to the former Part, yet having fallen upon it since I published it, I thought it would be no unacceptable thing to insert in this Part, though it does not belong to it. It will demonstrate how likely it is, that a bishop chosen by such arts, should be the infallible judge of controversies, and the head of the church.

Collection, Number 48.



And now to return to England; it was resolved to send ambassadors to France: who were, the lord Russel, Paget, now made a lord, secretary Petre, and sir John Mason. Their instructions will be found in the Collection. The substance of them was, they were not to stick about the place of treaty, but to have it at Calais or Boulogne, if it might be: they were to agree to the delivery up of Boulogne, but to demand that the Scotch queen should be sent back for perfecting the marriage formerly agreed on: that the fortifications of Newhaven and Blackness should be ruinated: that the perpetual pension agreed to king Henry should still be paid, together with all arrears that were due before the wars: they were only to insist on the last, if they saw the former could not be obtained: they were to agree the time and manner of the delivery of Boulogne to be as honourable as might be. For Scotland, they being also in war with the emperor, the king of England could not make peace with them, unless the emperor, his ally, who had made war on them upon his account, were also satisfied: all places there were to be offered up, except Roxburgh and Aymouth. If the French spoke anything of the king's marrying their king's daughter Elizabeth, they were to put it off; since the king was yet so young. They were also at first to agree to no more but a cessation. So they went over on the 21st of January; the French commissioners appointed to treat with them were Rochpot, Chastilion, Mortier, and de Sany, who desired the meeting might be near Boulogne, though the English endeavoured to have brought it to Guisnes. Upon the English laying out their demands, the French answered them roundly, that for delivering up the queen of Scots, they would not treat about it; nor about a perpetual pension; since, as the king was resolved to marry the Scotch queen to the dauphin, so he would give no perpetual pension, which was in effect to become a tributary prince: but for a sum of money they were ready to treat about it. As to Scotland, they demanded, that all the places that had been taken should be restored, as well Roxburgh and Aymouth, as Lauder and Dunglass. The latter two were soon yielded to, but the commissioners were limited as to the former. There was also some discourse of rasing the fortifications of Alderney and Sark, two small islands in the Channel, that belonged to England: the latter was in the hands of the French, who were willing to yield it up, so the fortifications both in it and Alderney were rased. Upon this there were second instructions sent over from the council, (which are in the Collection,) that they should so far insist on the keeping of Roxburgh and Aymouth, as to break up their conference upon it; but if that did not work on the French, they should yield it rather than give over the treaty. They were also instructed to require hostages from the French till the money were all paid, and to offer hostages on the part of England till Boulogne was delivered; and to struggle in the matter of the isles all they could, but not to break about it. Between the giving the first and second instructions, the lord St. John was created earl of Wiltshire, as appears by his subscriptions. The commissioners finished their treaty about the end of February, on these articles. On condition that all claims of either side should be reserved as they were at the beginning of the war. This was a temper between the English demand of all the arrears of king Henry's pension, and the French denial of it: for thus the king reserved all the right he had before the war. Boulogne was to be delivered within six months, with all the places about it, and the ordnance, except what the English had cast since they had it: for which surrender the French were to pay 400,000 crowns, (then of equal value with the English noble,) the one-half three days after the town was in their hands, and the other in the August after. There was to be a peace with Scotland; and Roxburgh and Aymouth, Lauder and Dunglass, were to be rased: and there was to be a free trade between England, France, and Scotland. Six hostages were to be given on either side: all the English were to be sent back upon the delivery of the town: and three of the French on the first, and the rest on the second payment. The French hostages were the duke of Enghien, the marquis de Mean, son to the duke of Guise, Montmorency, son to the constable, the duke of Tremouille, the vicedam of Chartres, and Henaudy, son to Annebault, the admiral. On the English side were the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Hartford, the earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Arundel's son, the lord Strange,

A treaty between the English and French. Collection, Number 48. Instructions given to the English ambassadors.

Collection, Number 49.

Articles of the treaty.

and the lord Matravers. So was the peace concluded: all the articles in it were duly performed, and the hostages delivered back. It was proclaimed in London on the 29th of March, being confirmed by both the kings. Only it was much observed, that when it was to be confirmed in England, the earl of Warwick, on pretence of sickness, was absent: those who began to conceive great jealousies of him, thought this was to make a show to the people that he abhorred so dishonourable a thing, as himself had oft called it during the duke of Somerset's administration, and that therefore he would not by his presence seem to consent to it, though he had signed all the orders for it.

The earl of Warwick governs the councils.

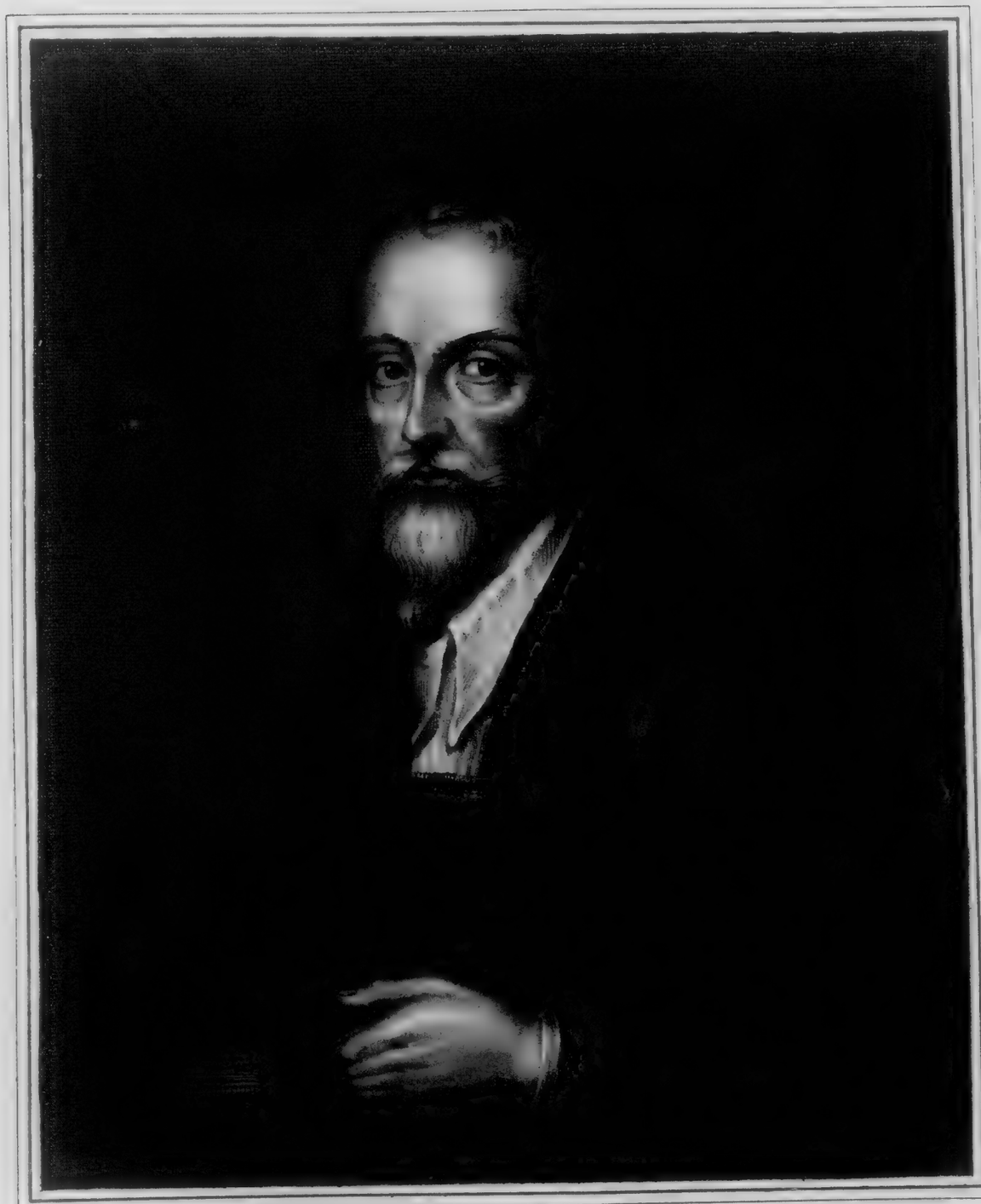
And now was the king entering in the fourth year of his reign, free from all wars, which had hitherto much distracted his government. So the council was more at leisure to settle the affairs at home. But the earl of Warwick, beginning to form great designs, resolved first to make himself popular, by calling all that had meddled in the king's affairs to a strict account: and either to make them compound for great sums, by which the king's debts should be paid; or to keep them under the lash till he made them subservient to his ends. He began with the earl of Arundel, to whose charge many things being laid, he submitted himself to a fine of 12,000*l.*, to be paid in twelve years. This was the more taken notice of, because Southampton, Arundel, and he, with sir Richard Southwell, master of the rolls, had been the chief contrivers of the duke of Somerset's fall: Southampton was driven away, Arundel fined, and Southwell was soon after put in the Fleet, for dispersing some seditious bills. This wrought much on the vulgar, who imputed it to a secret curse on those who had conspired against the duke of Somerset: and the delivery of Boulogne made it yet more plain, that the charge against him was chiefly grounded on malice. After Arundel's disgrace, all the duke of Somerset's friends made their compositions, and were discharged. Sir Tho. Smith, Sir Michael Stanhope, Tho. Fisher, and William Gray, each of them acknowledged they owed the king 3000*l.*, and sir Jo. Thynn submitted to 6000*l.*

Ridley made bishop of London.

But I shall next prosecute the narration of what concerned the church. It was now resolved to fill the see of London: Ridley being esteemed both the most learned, and most thoroughly zealous for the Reformation, was pitched on to be the man. So on the 21st of February he was writ for, and on the 24th he was declared bishop of London and Westminster, and was to have 1000*l.* a year of the rents of the bishopric; and for his further supply, was dispensed with to hold a prebendary of Canterbury and Westminster. It was thought needless to have two bishoprics so near one another; and some, gaping after the lands of both, procured this union. But I do not see any reason to think, that at any time in this reign, the suppression of the deaneries and prebends in cathedrals was designed. For neither in the suppression of the bishoprics of Westminster, Gloucester, or Durham, was there any attempt made to put down the deaneries or prebendaries in these places: so that I look on this as a groundless conceit, among many others that pass concerning this reign. For Thirleby of Westminster, there was no cause given to throw him out; for he obeyed all the laws and injunctions when they came out, though he generally opposed them when they were making. So to make way for him, William Reps, the bishop of Norwich, was prevailed with to resign, and he was promoted to that see, vacant (as his patent has it) by the free resignation of William the former bishop. And the same day being the 1st of April, Ridley was made bishop of London and Westminster. Both were, according to the common form, to be bishops *durante vita naturali*, during life.

Proceedings against Gardiner.

The see of Winchester had been two years as good as vacant, by the long imprisonment of Gardiner, who had been now above two years in the Tower. When the book of Common-prayer was set out, the lord St. John and secretary Petre were sent with it to him, to know of him whether he would conform himself to it or not: and they gave him great hopes, that if he would submit, the protector would sue to the king for mercy to him. He answered, That he did not know himself guilty of anything that needed mercy: so he desired to be tried, for what had been objected to him, according to law. For the book, he did not think that while he was a prisoner he was bound to give his opinion about such things; it might be thought he did it against his conscience to obtain



Engraved by J. Cochran

# NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON.

OB. 1555.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE REVEREND HENRY RIDLEY, D.D.

his liberty; but if he were out of prison, he should either obey it, or be liable to punishment according to law. Upon the duke of Somerset's fall, the lord treasurer, the earl of Warwick, sir William Herbert, and secretary Petre, were sent to him*: (Fox says, this was on the 9th of July, and it is so in king Edward's Journal; but there must be an error in that, for Gardiner in his answer says, that upon the duke of Somerset's coming to the Tower, he looked to have been let out within two days, and had made his farewell feast, but when these were with him a month or thereabout had passed: so it must have been in November the former year.) They brought him a paper, to which they desired he would set his hand. It contained first a preface, which was an acknowledgment of former faults, for which he had been justly punished: there were also divers articles contained in it, which were touching the king's supremacy; his power of appointing or dispensing with holidays and fasts; that the book of Common-prayer set out by the king and parliament was a most Christian and godly book, to be allowed of by all bishops and pastors in England, and that he should both in sermons and discourses commend it to be observed; that the king's power was complete now when under age, and that all owed obedience to him, now, as much as if he were thirty or forty years old; that the Six Articles were justly abrogated; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiss in the church both in England and Ireland. He only excepted to the preface; and offered to sign all the articles, but would have had the preface left out. They bid him rather write on the margin his exceptions to it; so he writ, that he could not with a good conscience agree to the preface, and with that exception he set his hand to the whole paper.

Some Articles are sent to him.

The lords used him with great kindness, and gave him hope that his troubles should be quickly ended. Herbert and Petre came to him some time after that, but how soon is not so clear, and pressed him to make the acknowledgment without exception; he refused it, and said, he would never defame himself, for when he had done it, he was not sure but it might be made use of against him as a confession. Two or three days after that, Ridley was sent to him, together with the other two, and they brought him new articles. In this paper the acknowledgment was more general than in the former: it was said here in the preface, that he had been suspected of not approving the king's proceedings, and being appointed to preach, had not done it as he ought to have done, and so deserved the king's displeasure, for which he was sorry: the articles related to the pope's supremacy, the suppression of abbeys and chantries, pilgrimages, masses, images, the adoring the sacrament, the communion in both kinds, the abolishing the old books, and bringing in the new book of service, and that for ordaining of priests and bishops, the completeness of the Scripture, and the use of it in the vulgar tongue, the lawfulness of clergymen's marriage, and to Erasmus's paraphrase that it had been on good considerations ordered to be set up in churches. He read all these, and said, he desired first to be discharged of his imprisonment, and then he would freely answer them all, so as to stand by it, and suffer if he did amiss: but he would trouble himself with no more articles, while he remained in prison; since he desired not to be delivered out of his troubles in the way of mercy, but of justice. After that, he was brought before the council, and the lords told him they sat by a special commission to judge him, and so required him to subscribe the articles that had been sent to him. He prayed them earnestly to put him to a trial for the grounds of his imprisonment, and when that was over he would clearly answer them in all other things; but he did not think he could subscribe all the articles after one sort; some of them being about laws already made, which he could not qualify, others of them being matters of learning, in which he might use more freedom: in conclusion, he desired leave to take them with him, and he would consider how to answer them. But they required him to subscribe them all without any qualification; which he refused to do. Upon this the fruits of his bishopric were sequestered; and he was required to conform himself to their orders within three months, upon pain of deprivation; and the liberty he had, of walking in some open galleries, when the duke of Norfolk was not in them, was taken from him; and he was again shut up in his chamber.

Which he signed with some exceptions.

New Articles sent to him.

But he refusing to sign them, was hardly used.

* The duke of Somerset was not then fallen. It was between his two falls.—Strype's Correct.

All this was much censured, as being contrary to the liberties of Englishmen, and the forms of all legal proceedings. It was thought very hard to put a man in prison upon a complaint against him; and without any further inquiry into it, after two years' durance to put articles to him. And they which spoke freely, said it favoured too much of the Inquisition. But the canon law not being rectified, and the king being in the pope's room, there were some things gathered from the canon law, and the way of proceeding *ex officio*, which rather excused than justified this hard measure he met with. The sequel of this business shall be related in its proper place.

Latimer's advice to the King concerning his Marriage.

This Lent old Latimer preached before the king. The discourse of the king's marrying a daughter of France had alarmed all the reformers, who rather inclined to a daughter of Ferdinand king of the Romans. (To a marriage with her it is no wonder they all wished well; for both Ferdinand and his son Maximilian were looked upon as princes that in their hearts loved the Reformation, and the son was not only the best prince, but accounted one of the best men of the age.) But Latimer in his sermon advised the king to marry in the Lord; and to take care that marriages might not be made only as bargains, which was a thing too frequently done, and occasioned so much whoredom and divorcing in the nation. He run out in a sad lamentation of the vices of the time, the vanity of women, the luxury and irregularity of men; he complained, that many were gospellers for love of the abbey and chantry-lands; he pressed that the discipline of the church and the excommunicating of scandalous persons might be again set up: he advised the king to beware of seeking his pleasure too much, and to keep none about him who would serve him in it: he said he was so old, that he believed he would never appear there more, and therefore he discharged his conscience freely: he complained the king's debts were not paid, and yet his officers lived high, made great purchases, and built palaces: he prayed them all to be good to the king, and not to defraud the poor tradesmen that wrought for his stores, who were ill paid. This I set down not so much to give an account of that sermon, as of the state of the court and nation, which he so freely discoursed of.

Hooper is made Bishop of Gloucester.

Wakeman, that had been abbot of Tewksbury, and was after made bishop of Gloucester, died in December last year; and on the 3rd of July this year, Hooper was by letters patents appointed to be his successor. Upon which there followed a contest that has since had such fatal consequences, that of it we may say with St. James, "How great a matter hath a little fire kindled!" It has been already shown, that the vestments used in divine service were appointed to be retained in this church; but

But refuses to wear the Episcopal Vestments.

Hooper refused to be consecrated in the episcopal vestments. The grounds he went on were, that they were human inventions, brought in by tradition or custom, not suitable to the simplicity of the Christian religion; and all such ceremonies were condemned by St. Paul as beggarly elements: that these vestments had been invented chiefly for celebrating the mass with much pomp, and had been consecrated for that effect; therefore he desired to be excused from the use of them. Cranmer and Ridley, on the other hand, alleged, that traditions in matters of faith were justly rejected; but in matters of rites and ceremonies, custom was oft a good argument for

Upon this a great Dispute rises.

the continuance of that which had been long used. Those places of St. Paul did only relate to the observance of the Jewish ceremonies, which some in the apostles' times pleaded were still to be retained, upon the authority of their first institution by Moses: so this implying, that the Messias was not yet come, in whom all these had their accomplishment, the apostles did condemn the use of them on any such account; though when the bare observing them, without the opinion of any such necessity in them, was likely to gain the Jews, they both used circumcision, and purified themselves in the temple: if then they who had such absolute authority in those matters did condescend so far to the weakness of the Jews, it was much more becoming subjects to give obedience to laws in things indifferent. And the abuse that had been formerly, was no better reason to take away the use of these vestments, than it was to throw down churches, and take away the bells, because the one had been consecrated and the other baptised, with many superstitious ceremonies. Therefore, they required Hooper to conform himself to the



law. Cranmer, who, to his other excellent qualities, had joined a singular modesty and distrust of himself, writ about this difference to Bucer, reducing it to these two plain questions:—Whether it was lawful and free from any sin against God, for the ministers of the church of England to use those garments in which they did then officiate; since they were required to do it by the magistrate's command? And whether he that affirmed that it was unlawful, or on that account refused to use those vestments, did not sin against God; calling that unclean which God had sanctified, and the magistrate required; since he thereby disturbed the public order of the kingdom? To this Bucer writ a large answer on the 8th of December this year. He thought that those who used these garments ought to declare they did not retain them as parts of Moses' law, but as things commanded by the law of the land: he thought every creature of God was good, and no former abuse could make it so ill, that it might not be retained; and since these garments had been used by the ancient fathers before popery, and might still be of good use to the weak when well understood, and help to maintain the ministerial dignity, and to show that the church did not of any lightness change old customs, he thought the retaining them was expedient: that so the people might, by seeing these vestments, consider of the candour and purity that became them: and in this sense he thought, to the pure all things were pure; and so the apostles complied in many things with the Jews. Upon the whole matter, he thought they sinned who refused to obey the laws in that particular. But he added, that since these garments were abused by some to superstition, and by others to be matter of contention, he wished they were taken away, and a more complete reformation established: he also prayed that a stop might be put to the spoiling of churches, and that ecclesiastical discipline against offenders might be set up: "For," said he, "unless these manifest and horrid sacrileges be put down, and the complete kingdom of Christ be received, so that we all submit to his yoke; how intolerably shall the wrath of God break out on this kingdom! The Scriptures set many such examples before our eyes, and Germany offers a most dreadful prospect of what England might look for."

Bucer's opinion concerning them.

He writ also to Hooper upon the same argument. He wished the garments were removed by law; but argued fully for the use of them till then: he lamented the great corruptions that were among the clergy, and wished that all good men would unite their strength against these; and then lesser abuses would be more easily redressed. He also answered Hooper's objections on the principles formerly laid down. Peter Martyr was also writ to; and, as he writ to Bucer, he was fully of his mind, and approved of all he had writ about it. And he added these words, which I shall set down in his own terms, copied from the original letter: "Quæ de Hopero ad me scribis, non potuerunt non videri mira; certè illis auditis obstupui. Sed bene habet, quod episcopi literas meas viderunt; unde invidia ego quidem sum liberatus. Ecce illius causa sic jacet, ut melioribus et piis nequaquam probetur. Dolet, dolet, idq; mihi gravissimè, talia inter evangelii professores contingere. Ille toto hoc tempore, cum illi sit interdicta concio, non videtur posse quiescere: suæ fidei confessionem edidit, qua rursus multorum animos exacerbavit: deinde queritur de consiliariis, et fortasse, quod mihi non refert, de nobis: Deus felicem catastrophen non lætis actibus imponat!" In English: "What you wrote to me about Hooper could not but seem wonderful to me: when I heard it, I was struck with it. It was well that the bishops saw my letters, by which I am freed from their displeasure. His business is now at that pass, that the best and most pious disprove of it. I am grieved, and sadly grieved, that such things should fall out among the professors of the gospel. All this while in which he is suspended from preaching, he cannot be at rest: he has set out a profession of his faith, by which he has provoked many: he complains of the privy-councillors, and perhaps of us too, of which he says nothing to me. God give a happy issue to these uncomfortable beginnings!" This I set down more fully, that it may appear how far either of these divines were from cherishing such stiffness in Hooper. He had been chaplain to the duke of Somerset, as appeared by his defence of himself in Bonner's process; yet he obtained so much favour of the earl of Warwick, that he writ earnestly in his behalf to the archbishop to dispense with the use of the garments and the oath of canonical obedience at

And P. Martyr's.

his consecration *. Cranmer wrote back, that he could not do it without incurring a præmunire: so the king was moved to write to him, warranting him to do it, without any danger which the law could bring on him for such an omission. But though this was done on the 4th of August, yet he was not consecrated till March next year; and in the mean while it appears, by Peter Martyr's letters, that he was suspended from preaching.

This summer, John à Lasco, with a congregation of Germans that fled from their country upon the persecution raised there for not receiving the Interim, was allowed to hold his assembly at St. Austin's in London †. The congregation was erected into a corporation. John à Lasco was to be superintendant, and there were four other ministers associated with him. For the curiosity of the thing, I have put the patents in the Collection. There were also three hundred and eighty of the congregation made denizens of England, as appears by the records of their patents. But à Lasco did not carry himself with that decency that became a stranger who was so kindly received: for he wrote against the orders of this church, both in the matter of the habits, and about the posture in the sacrament, being for sitting rather than kneeling.

A congregation of Germans in London.

Collection, Number 51.

This year, Polidore Virgil, who had been now almost forty years in England, growing old, desired leave to go nearer the sun. It was granted him on the 2nd of June ‡: and in consideration of the public service he was thought to have done the nation by his History, he was permitted to hold his archdeaconry of Wells and his prebend of Nonnington, notwithstanding his absence out of the kingdom. On the 26th of June, Poinet was declared bishop of Rochester, and Coverdale was made coadjutor to Vesy, bishop of Exeter.

Polidore Virgil leaves England.

Rot. Pat. 4. Ed. 6. 2. Part.

About the end of this year, or the beginning of the next, there was a review made of the Common-prayer book. Several things had been continued in it, either to draw in some of the bishops, who by such yielding might be prevailed on to concur in it; or in compliance with the people, who were fond of their old superstitions. So now a review of it was set about. Martin Bucer was consulted in it: and Alesse, the Scotch divine mentioned in the former part, translated it into Latin for his use. Upon which Bucer writ his opinion, which he finished the 5th of January in the year following.

A review of the Common-prayer book.

The substance of it was, that he found all things in the common service and daily prayers were clearly according to the Scriptures. He advised, that in cathedrals the quire might not be too far separated from the congregation, since in some places the people could not hear them read prayers. He wished there were a strict discipline to exclude scandalous livers from the sacrament. He wished the old habits might be laid aside, since some used them superstitiously, and others contended much about them. He did not like the half office of communion or second-service to be said at the altar, when there was no sacrament. He was offended with the requiring the people to receive at least once a year, and would have them pressed to it much more frequently. He disliked that the priests generally read prayers with no devotion, and in such a voice that the people understood not what they said. He would have the sacrament delivered into the hands, and not put into the mouths of the people. He censured praying for the dead, of which no mention is made in the Scripture, nor by Justin Martyr an age after. He thought that the prayer, that the elements might be to us the body and blood of Christ, favoured transubstantiation too much: a small variation might bring it nearer to a Scripture form. He complained that baptism was generally in houses, which being the receiving infants into the church, ought to be done more publicly. The hallowing of the water, the chrisme, and the white garment he censured, as being too scenical: he excepted to the exorcising the devil, and would have it turned to a prayer to God: that authoritative way of saying "I adjure" not being so decent. He thought the godfathers answering in the child's name not so well as to answer in their own, that they should take care in these things, all they could. He would not have confirmation given upon a bare recital of the catechism; but would have it delayed till the persons did really desire to renew the baptismal vow. He would have catechising every holy-day, and not every sixth Sunday: and that people should be still catechised, after they were confirmed, to preserve them from ignorance. He would have all marriages to be made in the full congregation. He would have the giving unction to the sick, and praying for the dead, to be quite laid aside; as also the offering the chrisomes at the churching of women. He advised that the communion should be celebrated four times a year. He sadly lamented the want of faithful teachers; and intreated the archbishop to see to the mending of this, and to think on some stricter ways of examining those who were to be ordained, than barely the putting of some questions to them. All this I have gathered out the more largely, that it may appear how carefully things were then considered: and that almost in every particular, the most material things which Bucer excepted to were corrected afterwards.

Bucer's advice concerning it.

But at the same time, the king having taken such care of him, that hearing that he had suffered in his health last winter by the want of a stove, such as is used in Germany, he had sent him 20*l.* to have one made for him; he was told that the king would expect a new-year's gift from him of a book made for his own use. So upon that occasion he writ a book entituled, "Concerning the Kingdom of Christ." He sets out in it the miseries of Germany, which he says were brought on them by their sins; for they would bear no discipline; nor were the ministers so earnest in it as was fitting: though in Hungary it was otherwise. He writes largely of ecclesiastical discipline; which was intended chiefly for separating ill men from the sacrament; and to make good men avoid their company, whereby they might be ashamed. He presses much the sanctification of the Lord's day, and of the other holy-days, and that there might be many days of fasting: but he thought Lent had been so abused, that other times for it might be more expedient. He complains much of pluralities and non-residence as a remainder of popery, so hurtful to the church, that in many places there were but one or two, or few more sermons in a whole year: but he thought that much was not to be expected from the greatest part of the clergy, unless the king would set himself vigorously to reform these things. Lastly, he would have a complete exposition of the doctrine of the church digested, and set out: and he proposed divers laws to the king's consideration: as,

Bucer writ a book for the king's use.

1. For catechising children.
2. For sanctifying holy-days.
3. For preserving churches for God's service, not to be made places for walking or for commerce.
4. To have the pastoral function entirely restored to what it ought to be, that bishops throwing off all secular cares, should give themselves to their spiritual employments; he advises that coadjutors might be given to some, and a council of presbyters be appointed for them all. It was plain, that many of them complied with the laws against their minds; these he would have deprived. He advises rural bishops to be set over twenty or thirty parishes, who should gather their clergy often together, and inspect them closely: and that a provincial synod should meet twice a year, where a secular man in the king's name should be appointed to observe their proceedings.
5. For restoring church-lands, that all who served the church might be well provided: if any lived in luxury upon their high revenues, it was reasonable to make them use them better; but not to blame or rob the church for their fault.
6. For the maintenance of the poor, for whom anciently a fourth part of the church's goods was assigned.

* The oath of canonical obedience, as printed in the form of consecration, An. 1549, is so unexceptionable, that there seems to be no ground for scruple; being only a promise of all due reverence and obedience to the archbishop, &c. It seems to have been the oath of supremacy, which at that time contained expressions more liable to exception, being a kind of, &c. oath, requiring obedience to acts and statutes, made or to be made, and concluding with, "So helpe me God, All Saincts," &c.

Fuller, who was once of opinion that it was the oath of canonical obedience that Hooper scrupled, yet altered his opinion, [Worthies in Somersetshire, p. 22,] upon these, or such like reasons. Parsons expressly says it was the oath of supremacy. *De Tribus Convers.* Par. 3, chap. 6, sect. 68.—Anon. Correct.

† They were most of them Netherlanders or French (only a few Germans), and consequently not concerned with the Interim; and the language they officiated in was the Low German and French, &c. *Utenhov. Narrat. de Institut. et Dissipat. Belgarum*, &c. p. 12, 28, &c. Those that went off with à Lasco were Low Germans, French, English, or Scots. *Ib.* p. 22.—Anon. Correct.

‡ The passport was signed in March 1554, to go with four servants and three horses.—Strype's Correct.

The 7th was about marriage. That the prohibited degrees might be well settled; marriage without consent of parents annulled; and that a second marriage might be lawful after a divorce, which he thought might be made for adultery, and some other reasons.

8. For the education of youth.

9. For restraining the excess of some people's living.

10. For reforming and explaining the laws of the land which his father had begun.

11. To place good magistrates; that no office should be sold, and that inferior magistrates should often give an account to the superior of the administration of their offices.

12. To consider well who were made judges.

13. To give order that none should be put in prison upon slight offences.

The 14th was for moderating of some punishments; chiefly, the putting of thieves to death, which was too severe, whereas adultery was too slightly passed over: though adultery be a greater wrong to the suffering party than any theft, and so was punished with death by Moses' law.

This book was sent to the young king. And he having received it, set himself to write a general discourse about a reformation of the nation, which is the second among the discourses written by him that follow the Journal of his Reign. In it he takes notice of the corrections of the Book of the Liturgy which were then under consideration; as also that it was necessary there should be a rule of church discipline, for the censure of ill livers; but he thought that power was not to be put into the hands of all the bishops at that time. From thence he goes on to discourse of the ill state of the nation, and of the remedies that seemed proper for it. The first he proposes was the education of youth, next the correction of some laws, and there either broke it off, or the rest of it is lost. In which, as there is a great discovery of a marvellous probity of mind, so there are strange hints to come from one not yet fourteen years of age; and yet it is all written with his own hand, and in such a manner, that any who shall look on the original will clearly see it was his own work: the style is simple, and suitable to a child: few men can make such composures, but somewhat above a child will appear in their style, which makes me conclude it was all a device of his own.

The King thinks of reforming many abuses.

Coll. K. Edw. Remains, Number 2.

This year the king began to write his Journal himself. The first three years of his reign are set down in a short way of recapitulating matters. But this year he set down what was done every day, that was of any moment, together with the foreign news that were sent over. And oftentimes he called to mind passages some days after they were done; and sometime after the middle of a month he tells what was done in the beginning of it. Which shows clearly it was his own work; for if it had been drawn for him by any that were about him, and given him only to copy out for his memory, it would have been more exact; so that there remains no doubt with me but that it was his own originally. And therefore since all who have writ of that time have drawn their informations from that Journal; and though they have printed some of the letters he wrote, when a child, which are indeed the meanest things that ever fell from him; yet, except one little fragment, nothing of it has been yet published; I have copied it out entirely, and set it before my Collection. I have added to it some other papers that were also writ by him. The first of these is in French; it is a collection of many passages out of the Old Testament against idolatry, and the worshipping of images, which he dedicated to his uncle, being then protector: the original under his own hand lies in Trinity College in Cambridge, from whence I copied the Preface and the Conclusion, which are printed in the Collection after his Journal.

He writes a Journal of all Proceedings during his Reign.

Coll. K. Edw. Remains, Number 1.

There was nothing else done of moment this year, in relation to the church, save the visitation made of the diocese of London by Ridley their new bishop. But the exact time of it is not set down in the register. It was according to king Edward's Journal some time before the 26th of June: for he writes, that on that day sir Jo. Yates the high sheriff of Essex was sent down with letters to see the bishop of London's injunctions performed, which touched the plucking down of superaltaries, altars, and such like ceremonies and abuses; so that the visitation must have been about the beginning of June. The articles of it are in bishop Sparrow's Collection. They are concerning

Ridley visits his Diocese.



the doctrines and lives, and labours, and charities of the clergy; viz. whether they spake in favour of the bishop of Rome, or against the use of the Scripture, or against the Book of Common Prayer? Whether they stirred up sedition, or sold the communion or trentals, or used private masses anywhere? Whether any anabaptists or others used private conventicles, with different opinions and forms from those established? Whether there were any that said the wickedness of the minister took away the effect of the sacraments, or denied repentance to such as sinned after baptism? Other questions were about baptisms and marriages. Whether the curates did visit the sick, and bury the dead, and expound the catechism, at least some part of it, once in six weeks? Whether any observed abrogated holy-days, or the rites that were now put down?

To these he added some injunctions which are in the Collection. Most of them relate to the old superstitions, which some of the priests were still inclinable to practise, and for which they had been gently, if at all, reproved by Bonner. Such were, washing their hands at the altar, holding up the bread, licking the chalice, blessing their eyes with the patten or sudary, and many other relics of the mass. The ministers were also required to charge the people oft to give alms, and to come oft to the communion, and to carry themselves reverently at church. But that which was most new was, that there having been great contests about the form of the Lord's board, whether it should be made as an altar, or as a table; therefore, since the form of a table was more like to turn the people from the superstition of the popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's supper, he exhorted the curates and churchwardens to have it in the fashion of a table, decently covered; and to place it in such part of the quire or chancel as should be most meet, so that the ministers and communicants should be separated from the rest of the people; and that they should put down all by-altars.

Collection, Number 52.

He orders all Altars to be turned to Tables for the Communion.

There are many passages among ancient writers, that show their communion-tables were of wood; and that they were so made as tables, that those who fled into churches for sanctuary did hide themselves under them. The name altar came to be given to these generally, because they accounted the Eucharist a sacrifice of praise, as also a commemorative sacrifice of the oblation which Christ made of himself on the cross. From hence it was, that the communion-table was called also an altar. But now it came to be considered, whether, as these terms had been on good reason brought into the church, when there was no thought of the corruptions that followed; so if it was not fit, since they did still support the belief of an expiatory sacrifice in the mass, and the opinion of transubstantiation, and were always but figurative forms of speech, to change them; and to do that more effectually, to change the form and place of them. Some have fondly thought that Ridley gave this injunction after the letter which the council writ to him in the end of November following. But as there was no fit time to begin a visitation after that time this year, so the style of the injunctions shows they were given before the letter. The injunction only exhorts the curates to do it, which Ridley could not have done in such soft words, after the council had required and commanded him to do it: so it appears that the injunctions were given only by his episcopal power. And that afterwards the same matter being brought before the council, who were informed that in many places there had been contests about it, some being for keeping to their old custom, and others being set on a change, the council thought fit to send their letter concerning it to Ridley on the 24th of November following. The letter sets out, that altars were taken away in divers places, upon good and godly considerations, but still continued in other places; by which there rose much contention among the king's subjects; therefore, for avoiding that, they did charge and command him to give substantial order through all his diocese for removing all altars, and setting up tables everywhere for the communion to be administered in some convenient part of the chancel: and that these orders might be the better received, there were reasons sent with the letters, which he was to cause discreet preachers to declare, in such places as he thought fit, and that himself should set them out in his own cathedral, if conveniently he could.

The reasons* were, to remove the people from the superstitious opinions of the popish

* These reasons were drawn up by Ridley.—STRYPE's CORRECT.

mass: and because a table was a more proper name than an altar, for that on which the sacrament was laid; and whereas in the Book of Common Prayer these terms are promiscuously used, it is done without prescribing anything about the form of them; so that the changing the one into the other did not alter any part of the liturgy. It was observed, that altars were erected for the sacrifices under the law, which ceasing, they were also to cease; and that Christ had instituted the sacrament not at an altar, but at a table. And it had been ordered by the preface to the Book of Common Prayer, that if any doubt arose about any part of it, the determining of it should be referred to the bishop of the diocese. Upon these reasons therefore was this change ordered to be made all over England, which was universally executed this year.

Sermons on working-days forbidden.

There began this year a practice which might seem in itself not only innocent, but good, of preaching sermons and lectures on the week-days, to which there was great running from neighbouring parishes. This as it begat emulation in the clergy, so it was made use of as a pretence for many to leave their labour, and gad idly about. Upon complaint therefore made of it, Ridley had a letter sent to him from the Council against all preaching on working-days, on which there should only be prayers. How this was submitted to then is not clear. But it cannot be denied, that there have been since that time excesses on all hands in this matter; while some have, with great sincerity and devotion, kept up these in market-towns; but others have carried them on with too much faction, and a design to detract from such as were not so eminent in their way of preaching. Upon these abuses, while some rulers have studied to put all such performances down, rather than to correct the abuses in them, great contradiction has followed on it; and the people have been possessed with unjust prejudices against them, as hinderers of the word of God; and that opposition has kept up the zeal for these lectures. Which nevertheless, since they have been more freely preached, have of late years produced none of the ill effects that did follow them formerly when they were endeavoured to be suppressed.

And thus I end the transactions about religion this year. The rest of the affairs at home were chiefly for the regulating of many abuses that had grown up and been nourished by a long continuance of war. All the foreign soldiers were dismissed. And though the duke of Lunenburg had offered the king ten thousand men to his assistance, and desired to enter into a treaty of marriage for the lady Mary, they only thanked him for the offer of his soldiers, of which they, being now at peace with all their neighbours, had no need; and since the proposition for marrying the lady Mary to the infant of Portugal was yet in dependence, they could not treat in that kind with any other prince till that overture was some way ended. There were endeavours also for encouraging trade, and reforming the coin. And at the court things began to put on a new visage; for there was no more any faction; the duke of Somerset and the earl of Warwick being now joined into a near alliance; the earl's eldest son, the lord Lisle, marrying the duke's daughter; so that there was a good prospect of happy times.

The affairs of Scotland.

In Scotland, the peace being proclaimed, the government was now more entirely in the hands of the duke of Castelherault, who gave himself up wholly to the counsels of his base brother, who was archbishop of St. Andrew's. And he was so abandoned to his pleasures, that there was nothing so bad that he was ashamed of. He kept another man's wife openly for his concubine. There were also many excesses in the government. Which things, as they alienated all people's minds from the clergy, so they disposed them to receive the new doctrines, which many teachers were bringing from England, and prepared them for the changes that followed afterwards. The queen-mother went over into France in September, pretending it was to see her daughter, and the rest of her kindred there; where she laid down the method for the wresting of the government of Scotland out of the governor's hands, and taking it into her own.

And of Germany.

The emperor appointed a diet of the Empire to meet in the end of July, and required all to appear personally at it, except such as were hindered by sickness, of which they were to make faith upon oath. And at the same time he proscribed the town of Magdeburg. But the magistrates of that town set out a large manifesto for their own vindication, as they had done the former year. They said, "they were ready



to give him all the obedience, that they were bound to by the laws of the Empire: they were very apprehensive of the mischiefs of a civil war: they were not so blind as to think they were able to resist the emperor's great armies, lifted up with so many victories, if they trusted only to their own strength: they had hitherto done no act of hostility to any, but what they were forced to for their own defence. It was visible, the true ground of the war of Germany was religion, to extinguish the light of the gospel, and to subdue them again to the papal tyranny. For the artifices that were formerly used to disguise it did now appear too manifestly; so that it was not any more denied. But it would be too late to see it, when Germany was quite oppressed. In civil matters, they said, they would yield to the miseries of the time. But St. Peter had taught them that it was better to obey God than man; and therefore they were resolved to put all things to hazard, rather than to make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience." There were tumults raised in Strasburg, and divers other towns, against those who set up the mass among them: and generally all Germany was disposed to a revolt, if they had had but a head to lead them.

The emperor had also set out a very severe edict in Flanders, when he left it, against all that favoured the new doctrines, as they were called. But the execution of this was stopped at the intercession of the town of Antwerp, when they perceived the English were resolved to remove from thence, and carry their trade to some other place. When the diet was opened, the emperor pressed them to submit to the council which the new pope had removed back to Trent. Maurice of Saxe answered, he could not submit to it, unless all that had been done formerly in it should be reviewed, and the divines of the Augsburg confession were both heard and admitted to a suffrage, and the pope should subject himself to their decrees, and dispense with the oath which the bishops had sworn to him. On these terms he would submit to it, and not otherwise. This was refused to be entered into the registers of the diet by the elector of Mentz; but there was no haste, for the council was not to sit till the next year. The emperor complained much, that the "Interim" was not generally received; to which it was answered by the princes, that it was necessary to give the people time to overcome their former prejudices. All seemed to comply with him. And Maurice did so insinuate himself into him, that the siege of Magdeburg being now formed, and a great many princes having gathered forces against it, among whom the duke of Brunswick and the duke of Mecklenburg were the most forward; yet he got himself declared by the diet general of the empire, for the reduction of that place, and he had 100,000 crowns for undertaking it, and 60,000 crowns a month were appointed for the expense of the war. He saw well, that if Magdeburg were closely pressed, it would soon be taken, and then all Germany would be brought to the emperor's devotion: and so the war would end in a slavery. But he hoped so to manage this small remainder of the war, as to draw great effects from it. This was a fatal step to the emperor, thus to trust a prince who was of a different religion, and had a deep resentment of the injury he had done him, in detaining his father-in-law the landgrave of Hesse prisoner, against the faith he had given him. But the emperor reckoned, that as long as he had John duke of Saxe in his hands, Maurice durst not depart from his interests; since it seemed an easy thing for him to repossess the other of his dominions and dignity. Thus was the crafty emperor deluded, and now put that, upon which the completing of his great designs depended, into the hands of one that proved too hard for him at that in which he was such a master, cunning and dissimulation.

In these consultations did this year end. In the beginning of the next year, there was a great complaint brought against Dr. Oglethorp, afterwards bishop of Carlisle under queen Mary, and now president of Magdalen college in Oxford. But he, to secure himself from that part of the complaint that related to religion, being accused as one that was against the new book of service, and the king's other proceedings, signed a paper (which will be found in the Collection) in which he declared, "That he had never taught anything openly against those, but that he thought them good, if well used; and that he thought the order of religion now set forth to be better and much nearer the use of the apostolical and primitive church than that which was formerly; and that in particular, he did approve of the communion in both kinds,

1551. The Compliance of the Popish Clergy. Collection, Number 53.

the people's communicating always with the priest, the service in English, and the homilies that had been set forth: and that he did reject the lately received doctrine of transubstantiation, as being not agreeable to the Scriptures, or to ancient writers: but he thought there was an inconceivable presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and that therefore it should be received not without great examination beforehand." So compliant was he now, though he became of another mind in queen Mary's time; yet then he was more moderate than the greatest part of those who did now comply most servilely. In particular, Dr. Smith had written a book for the cœlibate of priests, and had opposed all the changes that had been made: he was brought to London upon the complaints that were sent up against him from Oxford, but after a while's imprisonment, he was set at liberty, giving surety for his good behaviour: and carried himself so obediently after it, that Cranmer got his sureties to be discharged, upon which he writ him a letter as full of acknowledgment as was possible: which is in the Collection. "He protested he should retain the sense of it as long as he lived; he wished that he had never written his book of the cœlibate of priests, which had been printed against his will: he found he was mistaken in that which was the foundation of it all, that the priests of England had taken a vow against marriage: he desired to see some of the collections Cranmer had made against it." (It seems Cranmer was inquiring after a manuscript of Ignatius's epistles, for he tells him, "They were in Magdalen College Library;) he acknowledged the archbishop's great gentleness toward all those who had been complained of for religion in that university; and protested, that for his own part, if ever he could serve his basest servant, he would do it; wishing that he might perish if he thought otherwise than he said; and wished him long life for the propagation and advancement of the Christian doctrine." Soon after he writ another letter to Cranmer*, in which he cited some passages out of Austin concerning his retractations; and professes he would not be ashamed to make the like, and to set forth Christ's true religion; and called, in St. Paul's words, "God to be a witness against his soul if he lied." He had also in the beginning of this reign made a recantation sermon of some opinions he had held concerning the mass, but what these were, King Edward's Journal (from whence I gather it) does not inform us†. Day bishop of Chichester did also now so far comply, as to preach a sermon at court against transubstantiation, though he had refused to set his hand to the book of Common-prayer, before it was enacted by law. For the principle that generally run among the popish party was, that though they would not consent to the making of such alterations in religion, yet, being made, they would give obedience to them: which Gardiner plainly professed, and it appeared in the practice of all the rest. This was certainly a gross sort of compliance, in those who retained the old opinions, and yet did now declare against them; and in the worship they offered up to God, acted contrary to them; which was the highest degree of prevarication both with God and man that was possible. But Cranmer was always gentle and moderate. He left their private consciences to God: but thought, that if they gave an external obedience, the people would be brought to receive the changes more easily; whereas the proceeding severely against them might have raised more opposition. He was also naturally a man of bowels and compassion, and did not love to drive things to extremities; he considered that men who had grown old in some errors could not easily lay them down, and so were by degrees to be worn out of them. Only in the proceedings against Gardiner and Bonner, he was carried beyond his ordinary temper. But Gardiner he knew to be so inveterate a papist, and so deep a dissembler, that he was for throwing him out, not so much for the particulars objected to him, as upon the ill character he had of him. Bonner had also deceived him so formerly, and had been so cruel

Collection, Number 54.

* The bishop's anonymous corrector assures his "lordship that these letters were written to Parker, not to Cranmer;" and adds, "if your lordship has any doubt of it, I can make it very evident." The letter given in the Collection, from a manuscript in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is however addressed to Cranmer.—ED.

† The particulars were, 1. Concerning submission to governors in church and state. 2. Concerning unwritten traditions. 3. Concerning the sacrifice of the mass, &c., as may be seen in his retractation, printed at London, anno 1547, *cum priv.* entituled "A Godly and faithful Retractation, made and published at Paul's Cross in London, anno 1547, 15 May; by Master Richard Smith, D.D. and Reader of the King's Majesties Lecture in Oxford; revoking therein certain Errors and Faults, by him committed in some of his Books." It was repeated at Oxford, July the 24th, the same year.—ANON. CORRECT.



a persecutor upon the statute of the Six Articles, and was become so brutal and luxurious, that he judged it necessary to purge the church of him. And the sees of London and Winchester were of such consequence, that he was induced, for having these well supplied, to stretch a little in these proceedings against those dissembling bishops.

In the end of February he lost his friend Martin Bucer, on whose assistance he had depended much, in what remained yet to be done. Bucer died of the stone, and griping of the guts, on the 28th of February*. He lay ill almost all that month, and expressed great desire to die. Bradford, who will be mentioned in the next Book with much honour, waited most on him in his sickness. He lamented much the desolate state of Germany, and expressed his apprehensions of some such stroke coming upon England, by reason of the great dissoluteness of the people's manners, of the want of ecclesiastical discipline, and the general neglect of the pastoral charge. He was very patient in all his pain, which grew violently on him; he lay oft silent, only after long intervals cried out sometimes, "Chastise me, Lord! but throw me not off in my old age." He was by order from Cranmer, and sir John Cheke, buried with the highest solemnities that could be devised, to express the value the university had for him. The vice-chancellor, and all the graduates, and the mayor, with all the town, accompanied his funeral to St. Mary's; where after prayers, Haddon, the university orator, made such a speech concerning him, and pronounced it with that affection, that almost the whole assembly shed tears. Next Dr. Parker, that had been his most intimate friend, made an English sermon in his praise, and concerning the sorrowing for our departed friends. And the day following Dr. Redmayn, then master of Trinity college, made another sermon concerning death; and in it gave a full account of Bucer's life and death. He particularly commended the great sweetness of his temper to all, but remarkably to those who differed from him. Redmayn and he had differed in many things, both concerning justification, and the influences of divine grace. But he said, as Bucer had satisfied him in some things, so he believed if he had lived he had satisfied him in more; and that he being dead, he knew none alive from whom he could learn so much. This character given him by so grave and learned a man, who was in many points of a different persuasion from him, was a great commendation to them both. And Redmayn was indeed an extraordinary person. All in the university that were eminent either in Greek or Latin poetry, did adorn his coffin with epitaphs: in which they expressed a very extraordinary sense of their loss: about which one Carr† writ a copious and passionate letter to sir John Cheke. But Peter Martyr bore his death with the most sensible sorrow that could be imagined; having in him lost a father, and the only intimate friend he had in England. He was a very learned, judicious, pious, and moderate person. Perhaps he was inferior to none of all the reformers for learning; but for zeal, for true piety, and a most tender care of preserving unity among the foreign churches, Melancthon and he, without any injury done the rest, may be ranked apart by themselves. He was much opposed by the popish party at Cambridge; who, though they complied with the law, and so kept their places, yet either in the way of argument, as it had been for dispute's sake, or in such points as were not determined, set themselves much to lessen his esteem. Nor was he furnished naturally with the quickness that is necessary for a dispute, from which they studied to draw advantages: and therefore Peter Martyr writ to him to avoid all public disputes with them. For they did not deal candidly on these occasions. They often kept up their questions till the hour of the dispute, that so the extemporary faculty of him who was to preside might be the more exposed; and right or wrong they used to make exclamations, and run away with a triumph: in one of his letters to Bucer, he particularly mentions Dr. Smith for an instance of this. It was that Smith he said who writ against the marriage of priests, and yet was believed to live in adultery with his man's wife. This letter was occasioned by the disputes that were in August the former year, between Bucer and Sedgwick, Young and Pern, about the authority of the Scripture, and the church. Which disputes Bucer intending to publish, caused them to be writ out,

Bucer's death.

His Character.

* Bucer died on the 1st of March.—ED.

† Nicholas Carr, Regius Professor of the Greek tongue in Cambridge, and a great restorer of learning in that university.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

and sent the copy to them to be corrected, offering them, that if anything was omitted that they had said, or if they had anything else to say which was forgot in the dispute, they might add it: but they sent back the papers to him without vouchsafing to read them. At Ratisbon he had a conference with Gardiner, who was then king Henry's ambassador; in which Gardiner broke out into such a violent passion, that as he spared no reproachful words, so the company thought he would have fallen on Bucer and beat him; he was in such disorder, that the little vein between his thumb and forefinger did swell and palpitate, which Bucer said he had never before that observed in any person in his life.

But as Bucer was taken away by death, so Gardiner was sometime before put out, which was a kind of death; though he had afterwards a resurrection fatal to very many.

Gardiner is deprived.

There was a commission issued out, to the archbishop, the bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, secretary Petre, judge Hales, Griffith, Leyson, and John Oliver, two civilians, and Goodrick, and Gosnosd, two masters of Chancery, to proceed against Gardiner for his contempt in the matters formerly objected to him. He put in a compurgation, by which he endeavoured to show there was malice borne to him, and conspiracies against him, as appeared by the business of sir Henry Knevet, mentioned in the former Part, and the leaving him out of the late king's will, which he said was procured by his enemies. He complained of his long imprisonment without any trial, and that articles of one sort after another were brought to him; so that it was plain he was not detained for any crime, but to try if such usage could force him to do anything, that should be imposed on him. He declared, that what order soever were set out by the king's council, he should never speak against it, but to the council themselves; and that though he could not give consent to the changes before they were made, he was now well satisfied to obey them; but he would never make any acknowledgment of any fault. The things chiefly laid against him were, that being required, he refused, to preach concerning the king's power when he was under age; and that he had affronted preachers sent by the king into his diocese; and had been negligent in obeying the king's injunctions; and continued, after all, so obstinate, that he would not confess his fault, nor ask the king mercy. His crimes were aggravated by this, that his timely asserting the king's power under age, might have been a great mean for preventing the rebellion and effusion of blood which had afterwards happened, chiefly on that pretence, to which his obstinacy had given no small occasion. Upon this, many witnesses were examined; chiefly the duke of Somerset, the earls of Wiltshire and Bedford, who deposed against him. But to this he answered, that he was not required to do it by any order of council, but only in a private discourse, to which he did not think himself bound to give obedience. Other witnesses were also examined on the other particulars. But he appealed from the delegates to the king in person. Yet his judges, on the 18th of April, gave sentence against him; by which, for his disobedience and contempt, they deprived him of his bishopric. Upon that he renewed his protestation and appeal; and so his process ended, and he was sent back to the Tower, where he lay till queen Mary discharged him.

The same censures, with the same justifications, belong both to this and Bonner's business: so I shall repeat nothing that was formerly said. He had taken a commission, as well as Bonner, to hold his bishopric only during the king's pleasure; so they both had the less reason to complain which way soever the royal pleasure was signified to them. Eight days after, on the 26th of April, Poinet was translated from Rochester to Winchester; and had 2000 marks a year in lands assigned him out of that wealthy bishopric for his subsistence. Dr. Scory was made bishop of Rochester. Veysey bishop of Exeter did also resign, pretending extreme old age; but he had reserved 485*l.* a year in pension for himself, during life, out of the lands of the bishopric; and almost all the rest he had basely alienated, taking care only of himself, and ruining his successors. Miles Coverdale was made bishop of Exeter. So that now the bishoprics were generally filled with men well affected to the Reformation.

Hooper is consecrated upon his Conformity.

The business of Hooper was now also settled. He was to be attired in the vestments that were prescribed, when he was consecrated, and when he preached before the king, or in his cathedral, or in any public place; but he was dispensed with upon other occasions. On these conditions he was consecrated in March: for the writ for doing it bears date the 7th of that month. So now the bishops being



generally addicted to the purity of religion, most of this year was spent in preparing articles, which should contain the doctrine of the church of England.

Many thought they should have begun first of all with those. But Cranmer upon good reasons was of another mind, though much pressed by Bucer about it. Till the order of bishops was brought to such a model, that the far greater part of them would agree to it, it was much fitter to let that design go on slowly, than to set out a profession of their belief, to which so great a part of the chief pastors might be obstinately averse. The corruptions that were most important were those in the worship, by which men in their immediate addresses to God, were necessarily involved in unlawful compliances, and these seemed to require a more speedy reformation. But for speculative points there was not so pressing a necessity to have them all explained, since in these, men might, with less prejudice, be left to a freedom in their opinions. It seemed also advisable to open and ventilate matters in public disputations and books, written about them for some years, before they should go too hastily to determine them: lest if they went too fast in that affair, it would not be so decent to make alterations afterwards; nor could the clergy be of a sudden brought to change their old opinions. Therefore upon all these considerations that work was delayed till this year; in which they set about it, and finished it, before the convocation met in the next February. In what method they proceeded for the compiling of these articles; whether they were given out to several bishops and divines to deliver their opinions concerning them, as was done formerly, or not, it is not certain. I have found it often said, that they were framed by Cranmer and Ridley; which I think more probable; and that they were by them sent about to others, to correct or to add to them as they saw cause. They are in the Collection, with the differences between these and those set out in queen Elizabeth's time marked on the margin.

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The Articles of Religion are prepared.

The 7th. For the receiving the three creeds, the Apostles', the Nicene, and Athanasius' Creed; in which they went according to the received opinion, that Athanasius was the author of that Creed, which is now found not to have been compiled till near three ages after him.

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The 18th. That only the name of Christ, and not the law or light of nature, can save men.

The 19th. That all men are bound to keep the moral law.

The 20th. That the church is a congregation of faithful men, who have the word of God preached, and the sacraments rightly administered; and that the church of Rome, as well as other particular churches, have erred in matters of faith.

The 21st. That the church is only the witness and keeper of the word of God; but cannot appoint anything contrary to it, nor declare any articles of faith without warrant from it.

The 22d. That general councils may not be gathered without the consent of princes; that they may err and have erred in matters of faith: and that their decrees in matters of salvation have strength only as they are taken out of the Scriptures.

The 23d. That the doctrines of purgatory, pardons, worshipping of images, and relics, and invocation of saints, are without any warrant, and contrary to the Scriptures.

The 24th. That none may preach or minister the sacraments, without he be lawfully called by men who have lawful authority.

The 25th. That all things should be spoken in the church in a vulgar tongue.

The 26th. That there are two sacraments, which are not bare tokens of our profession, but effectual signs of God's good-will to us: which strengthen our faith, yet not by virtue only of the work wrought, but in those who receive them worthily.

The 27th. That the virtue of these does not depend on the minister of them.

The 28th. That by baptism we are the adopted sons of God; and that infant baptism is to be commended, and in any ways to be retained.

The 29th. That the Lord's supper is not a bare token of love among Christians; but is the communion of the body and blood of Christ: that the doctrine of transubstantiation is contrary to Scripture, and hath given occasion to much superstition: that a body being only in one place, and Christ's body being in heaven, therefore there cannot be a real and bodily presence of his flesh and blood in it; and that this sacrament is not to be kept, carried about, lifted up, nor worshipped.

The 30th. That there is no other propitiatory sacrifice, but that which Christ offered on the cross.

The 31st. That the clergy are not by God's command obliged to abstain from marriage.

The 32d. That persons rightly excommunicated are to be looked on as heathens, till they are by penance reconciled, and received by a judge competent.

The 33d. It is not necessary that ceremonies should be the same at all times; but such as refuse to obey lawful ceremonies ought to be openly reproved, as offending against law and order, giving scandal to the weak.

The 34th. That the Homilies are godly and wholesome, and ought to be read.

The 35th. That the Book of Common-prayer is not repugnant, but agreeable to the gospel: and ought to be received by all.

The 36th. That the king is supreme head under Christ: that the bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in England: that the civil magistrate is to be obeyed for conscience sake: that men may be put to death for great offences: and that it is lawful for Christians to make war.

The 37th. That there is not to be a community of all men's goods; but yet every man ought to give to the poor according to his ability.

The 38th. That though rash swearing is condemned; yet such as are required by the magistrate may take an oath.

The 39th. That the resurrection is not already past, but at the last day men shall rise with the same bodies they now have.

The 40th. That departed souls do not die, nor sleep with their bodies, and continue without sense till the last day.

The 41st. That the fable of the Millennaries is contrary to Scripture, and a Jewish dotage.

The last condemned those who believed that the damned, after some time of suffering, shall be saved.

Thus was the doctrine of the Church cast into a short and plain form: in which they took care both to establish the positive articles of religion, and to cut off the errors formerly



introduced in the time of popery, or of late broached by the Anabaptists and enthusiasts of Germany: avoiding the niceties of schoolmen, or the peremptoriness of the writers of controversy; leaving in matters that are more justly controvertible, a liberty to divines to follow their private opinions, without thereby disturbing the peace of the church.

There was in the ancient Church a great simplicity in their creeds, and the exposition of the doctrine. But afterwards, upon the breaking out of the Arian, and other heresies, concerning the person of Jesus Christ; as the orthodox fathers were put to find out new terms to drive the heretics out of the equivocal use of these formerly received; so they too soon grew to love niceties, and to explain mysteries, with similes, and other subtleties which they invented: and councils afterwards were very liberal in their anathematisms against any who did not agree in all points to their terms, or ways of explanation. And though the council of Ephesus decreed, that there should be no additions made to the creed, they understood that not of the whole belief of Christians, but only of the creed itself: and did also load the Christian doctrine with many curiosities. But though they had exceeded much, yet the schoolmen getting the management of the doctrine, spun their thread much finer; and did easily procure condemnations, either by papal bulls, or the decrees of such councils as met in those times, of all that differed from them in the least matter. Upon the progress of the Reformation the German writers, particularly Osiander, Illiricus, and Amstorfius, grew too peremptory, and not only condemned the Helvetian churches, for differing from them in the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament, but were severe to one another for lesser punctilios, and were at this time exercising the patience of the great and learned Melancthon, because he thought that in things of their own nature indifferent, they ought to have complied with the emperor. This made those in England resolve on composing these articles with great temper, in many such points. Only one notion that has been since taken up by some, seems not to have been then thought of; which is, that these were rather articles of peace than of belief; so that the subscribing was rather a compromise not to teach any doctrine contrary to them, than a declaration that they believed according to them. There appears no reason for this conceit, no such thing being then declared; so that those who subscribed, did either believe them to be true, or else they did grossly prevaricate.

The next business in which the reformers were employed this year, was the correcting the Common-Prayer-book, and the making some additions, with the changing of such particulars as had been retained only for a time. The most considerable additions were, that in the daily service they prepared a short but most simple and grave form of a general confesssion of sins; in the use of which they intended that those who made this confession should not content themselves with a bare recital of the words, but should join with them, in their hearts, a particular confession of their private sins to God. To this was added a general absolution, or pronouncing in the name of God, the pardon of sin to all those who did truly repent, and unfeignedly believe the gospel. For they judged, that if the people did seriously practise this, it would keep up in their thoughts frequent reflections on their sins; and it was thought that the pronouncing a pardon upon these conditions might have a better effect on the people, than that absolute and unqualified pardon which their priests were wont to give in confession. By which absolution in times of popery the people were made to believe that their sins were thereupon certainly forgiven; than which nothing could be invented that would harden them into a more fatal security, when they thought a full pardon could be so readily purchased. But now they heard the terms on which they could only expect it, every day promulgated to them. The other addition was also made upon good consideration, in the office of the communion; to which the people were observed to come without due seriousness or preparation: therefore for awakening their consciences more feelingly, it was ordered, that the office of the communion should begin with a solemn pronouncing of the Ten Commandments: all the congregation being on their knees; as if they were hearing that law anew: and a stop to be made at every commandment, for the people's devotion, of imploring mercy for their past offences, and grace to observe it for the time to come. This seemed as effectual a mean as they could devise, till church-penitence were again set up, to beget in men deep reflections on their sins, and

Some Corrections made in the Common-Prayer-Book.

to prepare them thereby to receive that holy sacrament worthily. The other changes were, the removing of some rites which had been retained in the former book; such as the use of oil in confirmation, and extreme unction, the prayers for souls departed, both in the communion service and in the office of burial, the leaving out some passages in the consecration of the eucharist that seemed to favour the belief of the corporal presence, with the use of the cross in it and in confirmation, with some smaller variations. And indeed they brought the whole liturgy to the same form in which it is now, except some inconsiderable variations that have been since made for the clearing of some ambiguities.

In the office of the communion, they added a rubric concerning the posture of kneeling, which was appointed to be still the gesture of communicants. It was hereby declared, that that gesture was kept up as a most reverent and humble way of expressing our great sense of the mercies of God in the death of Christ there communicated to us: but that thereby there was no adoration intended to the bread and wine, which was gross idolatry; nor did they think the very flesh and blood of Christ were there present: since his body, according to the nature of all other bodies, could be only in one place at once; and so he being now in heaven, could not be corporally present in the sacrament. This was by queen Elizabeth ordered to be left out of the Common-Prayer-book; since it might have given offence to some, otherwise inclinable to the communion of the church, who yet retained the belief of the corporal presence. But since his present Majesty's restoration, many having excepted to the posture, as apprehending something like idolatry or superstition might lie under it, if it were not rightly explained; that explication which was given in king Edward's time, was again inserted in the Common-Prayer-book.

An Account of kneeling in the Communion.

For the posture, it is most likely that the first institution was in the table-gesture, which was lying along on one side. But it was apparent in our Saviour's practice, that the Jewish church had changed the posture of that institution of the Passover, in whose room the Eucharist came. For though Moses had appointed the Jews to eat their Paschal Lamb, standing with their loins girt, with staves in their hands, and shoes on their feet; yet the Jews did afterwards change this into the common-table-posture; of which change, though there is no mention in the Old Testament, yet we see it was so in our Saviour's time; and since he complied with the common custom, we are sure that change was not criminal. It seemed reasonable to allow the Christian church the like power in such things with the Jewish; and as the Jews thought their coming into the promised land might be a warrant to lay aside the posture appointed by Moses, which became travellers best; so Christ being now exalted, it seemed fit to receive this sacrament with higher marks of outward respect than had been proper in the first institution, when he was in the state of humiliation, and his divine glory not yet so fully revealed. Therefore in the primitive church they received standing and bending their body, in a posture of adoration. But how soon that gesture of kneeling came in, is not so exactly observed, nor is it needful to know. But surely there is a great want of ingenuity in them that are pleased to apply these orders of some later popes for kneeling at the elevation, to our kneeling; when ours is not at one such part, which might be more liable to exception, but during the whole office: by which it is one continued act of worship, and the communicants kneel all the while. But of this no more needs to be said than is expressed in the rubric, which occasioned this digression.

Thus were the reformations both of doctrine and worship prepared: to which all I can add of this year, is, that there were six eminent preachers chosen out to be the king's chaplains in ordinary: two of those were always to attend at court; and four to be sent over England to preach and instruct the people. In the first year, two of these were to go into Wales, and the other two into Lancashire: the next year two into the marches of Scotland, and two into Yorkshire; the third year two into Devonshire, and two into Hampshire; and the fourth year two into Norfolk, and two into Kent and Sussex. These were Bill, Harley, Pern, Grindal, Bradford, and Knox. These, it seems, were accounted the most zealous and readiest preachers of that time; who were thus sent about as itinerants, to supply the defects of the greatest part of the clergy, who were generally very faulty.

Some Orders given to the King's Chaplains.



The business of the lady Mary was now taken up with more heat than formerly. The emperor's earnest suit, that she might have mass in her house, was long rejected: for it was said, that as the king did not interpose in the matters of the emperor's government, so there was no reason for the emperor to meddle in his affairs. Yet the state of England making his friendship at that time necessary to the king, and he refusing to continue in his league, unless his kinswoman obtained that favour, it was promised, that for some time, in hope she would reform, there should be a forbearance granted. The emperor's ambassadors pressed to have a license for it under the great seal. It was answered, that being against law, it could not be done: then they desired to have it certified under the king's hand, in a letter to the emperor; but even that was refused. So that they only gave a promise for some time by word of mouth; and Paget, and Hobbey, who had been the ambassadors with the emperor, declared they had spoke of it to him with the same limitations. But the emperor, who was accustomed to take for absolute what was promised only under conditions, writ to the lady Mary, that he had an absolute promise for the free exercise of her religion; and so she pretended this, when she was at any time questioned about it. The two grounds she went on were, that she would follow the ancient and universal way of worship, and not a new invention that lay within the four seas; and that she would continue in that religion in which her father had instructed her. To this the king sent an answer, telling her, that she was a part of this church and nation, and so must conform herself to the laws of it; that the way of worship now set up, was no other than what was clearly consonant to the pure word of God; and the king's being young, was not to be pretended by her, lest she might seem to agree with the late rebels. After this, she was sent for to court, and pains was taken to instruct her better. But she refused to hear anything, or to enter into any reasonings, but said she would still do as she had done. And she claimed the promise that was said to be made to the emperor. But it was told her, that it was but temporary and conditional. Whereupon the last summer she was designing to fly out of England; and the king of France gave sir John Mason, the English resident, notice that the regent of Flanders had hired one Scipperus, who should land on the coast of Essex, as if it had been to victual his ship, and was to have conveyed her away. Upon this information, order was given to see well to the coast; so the design being discovered, nothing could be effected. It was certainly a strange advice to carry her away, and no less strange in the king's ministers to hinder it, if there was at that time any design formed to put her by her succession. For if she had been beyond sea at the king's death, it is not probable that she could have easily come to the crown. The emperor's ambassador solicited for her violently, and said he would presently take leave, and protest, that they had broken their faith to his master, who would resent the usage of the lady Mary as highly as if it were done immediately to himself. The counsellors, having no mind to draw a new war on their heads, especially from so victorious a prince, were all inclined to let the matter fall. There was also a year's cloth lately sent over to Antwerp; and one thousand five hundred cinqtails of powder, with a great deal of armour, bought there for the king's use, was not come over. So it was thought by no means advisable to provoke the emperor, while they had such effects in his ports; nor were they very willing to give higher provocations to the next heir of the crown. Therefore they all advised the king not to do more in that matter at present, but to leave the lady Mary to her discretion, who would certainly be made more cautious by what she had met with, and would give as little scandal as was possible by her mass. But the king could not be induced to give way to it, for he thought the mass was impious and idolatrous; so he would not consent to the continuance of such a sin. Upon this the council ordered Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet to discourse about it with him. They told him that it was always a sin in a prince to permit any sin; but to give a connivance, that is, not to punish, was not always a sin: since sometimes a lesser evil connived at, might prevent a greater. He was overcome by this; yet not so easily, but that he burst forth in tears, lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and that he must suffer her to continue in so abominable a way of worship, as he esteemed the mass. So he answered the emperor's agents, that he should send over an ambassador to clear that matter. And Dr. Wotton was despatched about it, who carried over attestations

The Lady Mary continued to have Mass said in her Chapel.

The King is very earnest against it.

from all the council, concerning the qualifications of the promise that had been made; and was instructed to press the emperor, not to trouble the king in his affairs at home in his own kingdom. If the lady Mary was his kinswoman, she was the king's sister and subject: he was also to offer, that the king would grant as much liberty for the mass in his dominions as the emperor would grant for the English service in his dominions. But the emperor pretended, that when her mother died, she left her to his protection, which he had granted her, and so must take care of her. And the emperor was so exalted with his successes, that he did not easily bear any contradiction. But the council being further offended with her for the project of going beyond sea, and being now less in fear of the emperor, since they had made peace with France, resolved to look more nearly to her. And finding that Dr. Mallet and Barkley, her chaplain, had said mass in one of her houses, when she was not in it, they ordered them to be proceeded against. Upon which, in December the last year, she writ earnestly to the council to let it fall. By her letter it appears, that Mallet used to be sometimes at his benefice, where it is certain he could officiate no other way but in that prescribed by law: so it seems his conscience was not very scrupulous. The council writ her a long answer, which being in the style of a churchman, seems to have been penned either by Cranmer or Ridley. In which letter they fully cleared the matter of the promise: then they showed how express the law was, with which they could not dispense; and how ill grounded her faith, as she called it, was. They asked her what warrant there was in Scripture, that the prayers should be in an unknown tongue, that images should be in the church, or that the sacrament should be offered up for the dead. They told her, that in all questions about religion, St. Austin and the other ancient doctors appealed to the Scripture; and if she would look into these, she would soon see the errors of the old superstition, which were supported by false miracles and lying stories, and not by Scripture or good authority. They expressed themselves in terms full of submission to her, but said they were trusted with the execution of the king's laws, in which they must proceed equally. So they required her, if the chaplains were in her house, to send them to the sheriff of Essex. But it seems they kept out of the way, and so the matter slept till the beginning of May this year, that Mallet was found, and put in the Tower, and convicted of his offence. Upon this there passed many letters between the council and her; she earnestly desiring to have him set at liberty, and they as positively refusing to do it.

The Council writ to her of it;

In July the council sent for Rochester, Inglefield, and Walgrave, three of her chief officers, and gave them instructions to signify the king's express pleasure to her, to have the new service in her family, and to give the like charge to her chaplains and all her servants, and to return with an answer. In August they came back, and said she was much indisposed, and received the message very grievously. She said she would obey the king in all things, except where her conscience was touched: but she charged them to deliver none of their message to the rest of her family; in which they being her servants, could not disobey her, especially when they thought it might prejudice her health. Upon this they were sent to the Tower. The lord chancellor, sir Ant. Wingfield, and sir William Petre, were next sent to her with a letter from the king, and instructions from the council, for the charge they were to give to her and her servants. They came to her house of Copthall in Essex. The lord chancellor gave her the king's letter, which she received on her knees, and said, she paid that respect to the king's hand, and not to the matter of the letter, which she knew proceeded from the council: and when she read it, she said, "Ah! Mr. Cecil took much pains here:" (he was then secretary of state, in Dr. Wotton's room.) So she turned to the counsellors, and bid them deliver their message to her. She wished them to be short, for she was not well at ease, and would give them a short answer, having writ her mind plainly to the king with her own hand. The lord chancellor told her, that all the council were of one mind, that she must be no longer suffered to have private mass, or a form of religion different from what was established by law. He went to read the names of those who were of that mind; but she desired him to spare his pains, she knew they were all of a sort. They next told her, they had order to require her chaplains to use no other service, and her servants to be present at no other, than what was according to law. She answered, she was the king's most obedient

And sent some to her.



subject and sister, and would obey him in everything but where her conscience held her, and would willingly suffer death to do him service: but she would lay her head on a block, rather than use any other form of service than what had been at her father's death: only she thought she was not worthy to suffer death on so good an account. When the king came to be of age, so that he could order these things himself, she would obey his commands in religion: for although he, good sweet king, (these were her words) had more knowledge than any of his years, yet he was not a fit judge in these matters; for if ships were to be set to sea, or any matter of policy to be determined, they would not think him fit for it, much less could he be able to resolve points of divinity. As for her chaplains, if they would say no mass, she could hear none; and for her servants, she knew they all desired to hear mass: her chaplains might do what they would, it was but a while's imprisonment; but for the new service, it should never be said in her house; and if any were forced to say it, she would stay no longer in the house. When the counsellors spake of Rochester, Inglefield, and Walgrave, who had not fully executed their charge, she said it was not the wisest counsel to order her servants to control her in her own house, and they were the honester men not to do such a thing against their consciences. She insisted on the promise made to the emperor, which she had under his hand, whom she believed better than them all: they ought to use her better for her father's sake, who had raised them all, almost out of nothing. But though the emperor were dead, or would bid her obey them, she would not change her mind, and she would let his ambassador know how they used her. To this they answered, clearing the mistake about the promise, to which she gave little heed. They told her, they had brought one down to serve as her comptroller in Rochester's room: she said she would choose her own servants, and if they went to impose any on her, she would leave the house. She was sick, but would do all she could to live; but if she died, she would protest they were the causes of it: they gave her good words, but their deeds were evil. Then she took a ring from her finger, and on her knees gave it to the lord chancellor, to give to the king as a token from her, with her humble commendations; and protested much of her duty to him; but she said, this will never be told him. The counsellors went from her to her chaplains, and delivered their message to them, who promised they would obey. Then they charged the rest of the servants in like manner, and also commanded them to give notice if those orders were broken. And so they went to go away. But as they were in the court, the lady Mary called to them from her window, to send her comptroller to her; for she said, that now she herself received the accounts of her house, and knew how many loaves were made of a bushel of meal, to which she had never been bred, and so was weary of that office; but if they would needs send him to prison, she said, "I beshrew him if he go not to it merrily, and with a good will;" and concluded, "I pray God to send you to do well in your souls and bodies, for some of you have but weak bodies." This is the substance of the report these counsellors gave when they returned back to the court on the 29th of August. By which they were now out of all hopes of prevailing with her by persuasions or authority: so it was next considered, whether it was fit to go to further extremities with her. How the matter was determined, I do not clearly find; it is certain the lady Mary would never admit of the new service, and so I believe she continued to keep her priests, and have mass; but so secretly, that there was no ground for any public complaint. For I find no further mention of that matter, than what is made by Ridley, of a passage that befel him in September next year.

But she was intractable.

He went to wait on her, she living then at Hunsden; where she received him at first civilly, and told him, she remembered of him in her father's time, and at dinner sent him to dine with her officers: after dinner he told her, he came not only to do his duty to her, but to offer to preach before her next Sunday; she blushed, and once or twice desired him to make the answer to that himself. But when he pressed her further, she said, the parish-church would be open to him if he had a mind to preach in it; but neither she nor any of her family should hear him. He said, he hoped she would not refuse to hear God's word: she said, she did not know what they called God's word; but she was sure that was not now God's word that was called so in her

Nor would she hear Bishop Ridley preach.

father's days. He said, God's word was the same at all times. She answered, she was sure he durst not for his ears have avowed these things in her father's time which he did now: and for their books, as she thanked God she never had, so she never would read them. She also used many reproachful words to him, and asked him if he was of the council; he said not; she replied, he might well enough be, as the council goes now-a-days; and so dismissed him, thanking him for coming to see her, but not at all for offering to preach before her. Sir Tho. Wharton, one of her officers, carried him to a place where he desired him to drink; which Ridley did; but reflecting on it, said, he had done amiss, to drink in a place where God's word was rejected; for if he had remembered his duty, he should upon that refusal have shaken the dust off his feet, for a testimony against the house, and have departed immediately. These words he was observed to pronounce with an extraordinary concern, and went away much troubled in his mind. And this is all I find of the lady Mary during this reign. For the lady Elizabeth, she had been always bred up to like the Reformation; and Dr. Parker, who had been her mother's chaplain, received a strict charge from her mother a little before her death, to look well to the instructing her daughter in the principles of true religion; so that there is no doubt to be made of her cheerful receiving all the changes that had been established by law.

And this is all that concerns religion, that falls within this year. But now a design came to be laid, which though it broke not out for some time, yet it was believed to have had a great influence on the fall of the duke of Somerset. The earl of Warwick began to form great projects for himself, and thought to bring the crown into his family. The king was now much alienated from the lady Mary; the privy council had also embroiled themselves so with her, that he imagined it would be no hard matter to exclude her from the succession. There was but one reason that could be pretended for it; which was, that she stood illegitimated by law, and that therefore the next heirs in blood could not be barred their right by her, since it would be a great blot on the honour of the English crown to let it devolve on a bastard. This was as strong against the lady Elizabeth, since she was also illegitimated by a sentence in the spiritual court, and that confirmed in parliament; so if their jealousy of the elder sister's religion, and the fear of her revenge, moved them to be willing to cut her off from the succession, the same reason that was to be used in law against her, was also to take place against her sister. So he reckoned that these two were to be passed over, as being put both in the act of succession, and in the late king's will, by one error. The next in the will, were the heirs of the French queen by Charles Brandon, who were the duchess of Suffolk, and her sister. Though I have seen it often said in many letters and writings of that time, that all that issue by Charles Brandon was illegitimated; since he was certainly married to one Mortimer, before he married the queen of France; which Mortimer lived long after his marriage to that queen: so that all her children were bastards: some say he was divorced from his marriage to Mortimer, but that is not clear to me*.

The Designs of the Earl of Warwick.

This year the sweating sickness, that had been formerly both in Henry VII. and the late king's reign, broke out with that violence in England, that many were swept away by it. Such as were taken with it, died certainly if they slept, to which they had a violent desire; but if it took them not off in twenty-four hours, they did sweat out the venom of the distemper; which raged so in London, that in one week 800 died of it. It did also spread into the country, and the two sons of Charles Brandon by his last wife, both dukes of Suffolk, died within a day one of another. So that title was fallen. Their sister by the half blood was married to Gray lord marquis of Dorset. So she being the eldest daughter to the French queen, the earl of Warwick resolved to link himself to that family, and to procure the honour of the dukedom of Suffolk to be given the marquis of Dorset, who was a weak man, and easily governed. He had three daughters:

The Sweating Sickness.

* Charles Brandon first married Margaret, one of the daughters of John Nevil, marquis Montague, widow of sir John Mortimer; secondly, Anne, daughter of Anthony Browne, by whom he had issue after marriage, Mary, wedded to Thomas Stanley; thirdly, Mary queen of France, as sir William Dugdale hath it in the text; though in the scheme adjoined by him, the order is inverted:—1, Anne; 2, Margaret, but *repudiata*; 3, Mary.—GRANGER'S CORRECT. [The two sons mentioned in the text were the issue of a fourth wife, Catherine, daughter and sole heiress of William, the last lord Willoughby of Eresby.—ED.]



the eldest was Jane, a lady of as excellent qualities as any of that age; of great parts, bred to learning, and much conversant in Scripture; and of so rare a temper of mind, that she charmed all who knew her, in particular the young king, about whom she was bred, and who had always lived with her in the familiarities of a brother. The earl of Warwick designed to marry her to Guilford, his fourth son, then living, his three elder being already married; and so to get the crown to descend on them if the king should die, of which it is thought he resolved to take care. But apprehending some danger from the lady Elizabeth's title, he intended to send her away. So an ambassador was despatched to Denmark, to treat a marriage for her with that king's eldest son.

To amuse the king himself, a most splendid embassy was sent to France, to propose a marriage for the king to that king's daughter Elizabeth, afterwards married to Philip of Spain. The marquis of Northampton was sent with this proposition, and with the order of the Garter. With him were the earls of Worcester, Rutland, and Ormond; the lords Lisle, Fitzwater, Bray, Abergaveny, and Evers; and the bishop of Ely, who was to be their mouth: with them went many gentlemen of quality, who with their train made up near 500. King Henry received the garter with great expressions of esteem for the king. The bishop of Ely told him they were come to desire a more close tie between these crowns by marriage, and to have the league made firmer between them in other particulars. To which the cardinal of Lorraine made answer, in his way of speaking, which was always vain and full of ostentation. A commission was given to that cardinal, the constable, the duke of Guise, and others, to treat about it.

The King treats with the French King for a Marriage with his Daughter.

The English began first, for form's sake, to desire the queen of Scots; but that being rejected, they moved for the daughter of France, which was entertained, but so that neither party should be bound in honour and conscience till the lady were twelve years of age. Yet this never taking effect, it is needless to enlarge further about it; of which the reader will find all the particulars in king Edward's Journal. The king of France sent another very noble embassy into England, with the order of St. Michael to the king, and a very kind message, that he had no less love to him than a father could bear to his own son. He desired the king would not listen to the vain rumours which some malicious persons might raise to break their friendship, and wished there might be such a regulation on their frontiers that all differences might be amicably removed. To this the young king made answer himself, "That he thanked his good brother for his order, and for the assurances of his love, which he would always requite. For rumours, they were not always to be credited, nor always to be rejected; it being no less vain to fear all things, than it was dangerous to doubt of nothing: and for any differences that might arise, he should be always ready to determine them by reason rather than force, so far as his honour should not be thereby diminished." Whether this answer was prepared beforehand or not, I cannot tell; I rather think it was; otherways it was extraordinary for one of fourteen to talk thus on the sudden.

But while all this was carrying on, there was a design laid to destroy the duke of Somerset. He had such access to the king, and such freedoms with him, that the earl of Warwick had a mind to be rid of him, lest he should spoil all his projects. The duke of Somerset seemed also to have designed in April this year to have got the king again in his power, and dealt with the lord Strange, that was much in his favour, to persuade him to marry his daughter Jane, and that he would advertise him of all that passed about the king. But the earl of Warwick, to raise himself and all his friends higher, procured a great creation of new honours. Gray was made duke of Suffolk, and himself duke of Northumberland; for Henry Piercy, the last earl of Northumberland, dying without issue, his next heirs were the sons of Thomas Piercy, that had been attainted in the last reign for the Yorkshire rebellion. Paulet, then lord treasurer, and earl of Wiltshire, was made marquis of Winchester; and sir William Herbert, that had married the marquis of Northampton's sister, was made earl of Pembroke. The lord Russel had been made earl of Bedford last year, upon his return from making the peace with the French: sir Tho. Darcy had also been made lord Darcy. The new duke of Northumberland could no longer bear such a rival in his greatness, as the duke of Somerset was, who was the only person that he

A Conspiracy against the Duke of Somerset.

thought could take the king out of his hands. So on the 17th of October the duke was apprehended, and sent to the Tower; and with him the lord Gray; sir Ralph Vane, who had escaped over the river, but was taken in a stable in Lambeth, hid under the straw: sir Tho. Palmer and sir Tho. Arundel were also taken, yet not sent at first to the Tower, but kept under guards in their chambers. Some of his followers, Hamond, Nudigate, and two of the Seymours, were sent to prison. The day after, the duchess of Somerset was also sent to the Tower, with one Crane, and his wife, that had been much about her, and two of her chamberwomen. After these, sir Tho. Holdcroft, sir Miles Partridge, sir Michael Stanhope, Wingfield, Bannister, and Vaughan, were all made prisoners. The evidence against the duke was, that he had made a party for getting himself declared protector in the next parliament; which the earl of Rutland did positively affirm; and the duke did so answer it, that it is probable it was true. But though this might well inflame his enemies, yet it was no crime. But sir Tho. Palmer, though imprisoned with him as a complice, was the person that ruined him. He had been before that brought secretly to the king, and had told him that, on the last St. George's day, the duke, apprehending there was mischief designed against him, thought to have raised the people, had not sir William Herbert assured him he should receive no harm: that lately he intended to have the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, invited to dinner at the lord Paget's; and either to have set on them by the way, or to have killed them at dinner: that sir Ralph Vane had 2000 men ready, that sir Tho. Arundel had assured the Tower, and that all the gendarmory were to be killed. The duke of Somerset, hearing Palmer had been with the king, challenged him of it, but he denied all. He sent also for secretary Cecil, and told him he suspected there was an ill design against him: to which the secretary answered, if he were not in fault, he might trust to his innocency; but if he were, he had nothing to say but to lament him.

The King is possessed against him.

All this was told the king with such circumstances, that he was induced to believe it; and the probity of his disposition wrought in him a great aversion to his uncle, when he looked on him as a conspirator against the lives of the other counsellors: and so he resolved to leave him to the law. Palmer being a second time examined, said, that sir Ralph Vane was to have brought 2000 men, who, with the duke of Somerset's 100 horse, were, on a muster-day, to have set on the gendarmory; that being done, the duke resolved to have gone through the City, and proclaimed "Liberty, liberty:" and if his attempt did not succeed, to have fled to the Isle of Wight, or to Pool. Crane confirmed all that Palmer had said; to which he added, that the earl of Arundel was privy to the conspiracy; and that the thing had been executed, but that the greatness of the enterprise had caused delays, and sometimes diversity of advice: and that the duke, being once given out to be sick, had gone privately to London to see what friends he could make. Hamond being examined, confessed nothing, but that the duke's chamber at Greenwich had been guarded in the night by many armed men. Upon this evidence, both the earl of Arundel and the lord Paget were sent to the Tower. The earl had been one of the chief of those who had joined with the earl of Warwick to pull down the protector; and being, as he thought, ill rewarded by him, was become his enemy. So this part of the information seemed very credible.

He is brought to his Trial.

The thing lay in suspense till the first of December, that the duke of Somerset was brought to his trial: where the marquis of Winchester was lord steward. The peers that judged him were twenty-seven in number: the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntington, Rutland, Bath, Sussex, Worcester, Pembroke, and the viscount of Hereford; the lords Abergaveny, Audley, Wharton, Evers, Latimer, Borough; Zouch, Stafford, Wentworth, Darcy, Sturton, Windsor, Cromwell, Cobham, and Bray. The crimes laid against him were cast into five several indictments, as the king has it in his Journal; but the record mentions only three, whether indictments or articles is not so clear. That he had designed to have seized on the king's person, and so have governed all affairs; and that he, with one hundred others, intended to have imprisoned the earl of Warwick, afterwards duke of Northumberland; and that he had designed to have raised an insurrection in the city of London. Now by the act that passed in the last parliament, if twelve



HENRY FITZALAN, EARL OF ARUNDEL.

OB. 1580

FROM THE ORIGINAL PICTURE IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BATH

persons should have assembled together to have killed any privy-counsellor, and upon proclamation they had not dispersed themselves, it was treason: or if such twelve had been by any malicious artifice brought together for any riot, and being warned did not disperse themselves, it was felony, without benefit of clergy or sanctuary. It seemed very strange that the three peers, Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, who were his professed enemies, and against the first of whom it was pretended in the indictment that he had conspired, should sit his judges: for though by the law no peer can be challenged in a trial, yet the law of nations, that is superior to all other laws, makes that a man cannot be judge in his own cause: and which was very unusual, the lord chancellor, though then a peer, was left out of the number; but it is like the reconciliation between the duke of Somerset and him was then suspected, which made him not be called to be one of his judges.

The duke of Somerset being, it seems, little acquainted with law, did not desire counsel to plead, or assist him in point of law, but only answered to matters of fact. He prefaced, that he desired no advantage might be taken against him for any idle or angry word that might have at any time fallen from him. He protested he never intended to have raised the northern parts, but had only, upon some reports, sent to sir William Herbert to be his friend: that he had never determined to have killed the duke of Northumberland, or any other person, but had only talked of it, without any intention of doing it: that for the design of destroying the gendarmory, it was ridiculous to think that he with a small troop could destroy so strong a body of men, consisting of 900; in which though he had succeeded, it could have signified nothing: that he never designed to raise any stirs in London, but had always looked on it as a place where he was most safe: that his having men about him in Greenwich was with no ill design, since when he could have done mischief with them, he had not done it, but upon his attachment rendered himself a prisoner without any resistance. He objected also many things against the witnesses, and desired they might be brought face to face. He particularly spake much against sir Tho. Palmer, the chief witness: but the witnesses were not brought, only their examinations were read. Upon this, the king's counsel pleaded against him, that to levy war was certainly treason; that to gather men with intention to kill privy-counsellors was also treason; that to have men about him to resist the attachment was felony; and to assault the lords, or contrive their deaths, was felony. Whether he made any defence in law or not, does not appear; for the material defence is not mentioned in all the accounts I have seen of it; which was, that these conspiracies and gatherings of the king's subjects were only treasonable and felonious after they had been required to disperse themselves, and had refused to give obedience. And in all this matter, that is never so much as alleged, no not in the indictment itself, to have been done. It is plain it was not done; for if any such proclamation or charge had been sent him, it is probable he would either have obeyed it, or gone into London, or to the country, and tried what he could have done by force: but to have refused such a command, and so to have come within the guilt of treason, and yet not to stir from his house, are not things consistent.

When the peers withdrew, it seems the proofs about his design of raising the north, or the city, or of the killing the gendarmes, did not satisfy them; for all these had been without question treasonable. So they only held to that point of conspiring to imprison the duke of Northumberland. If he, with twelve men about him, had conspired to do that, and had continued together after proclamation, it was certainly felony: but that not being pretended, it seems there was no proclamation made. The duke of Suffolk was of opinion, that no contention among private subjects should be on any account screwed up to be treason. The duke of Northumberland said, he would never consent that any practice against him should be reputed treason. After a great difference of opinion, they all acquitted him of treason; but the greater number found him guilty of felony. When they returned him not guilty of treason, all the people, who were much concerned for his preservation, shouted for joy, so loud and so long, that they were heard at Charing-Cross. But the joy lasted not long, when they heard that he was condemned of felony, and sentence was thereupon given that he should die as a felon.

And is acquitted of Treason, but found guilty of Felony.

The duke had carried himself all the while of the trial with great temper and patience;

and though the king's counsel had, in their usual way of pleading, been very bitter against him—perhaps the rather that thereby they might recommend themselves to the duke of Northumberland—yet he never took notice of these reflections, nor seemed much affected with them. When sentence was given, he thanked the lords for their favour, and asked pardon of the duke of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, for his ill intentions against them; and made suit for his life, and for his wife and children. From thence he was carried back to the Tower. Whether this asking the lords' pardon had in it a full confession of the crime charged on him, or was only a compliment to them, that they might not obstruct his pardon, is but a matter of conjecture. He confessed he had spoken of killing them, and this made it reasonable enough for him to ask their pardon; so that it does not imply a confession of the crime. All people thought that being acquitted of treason, and there being no felonious action done by him, but only an intention of one, and that only of imprisoning a peer, proved; that one so nearly joined to the king in blood would never be put to death on such an occasion. But to possess the king much against him, a story was brought him, and put by him in his Journal; that at the duke's coming to the Tower, he had confessed that he had hired one Bartuile to kill the lords, and that Bartuile himself acknowledged it; and that Hammond knew of it. But whether this was devised to alienate the king wholly from him, or whether it was true, I can give no assurance. But though it was true, it was felony in Bartuile, if he were the king's servant; but not in the duke, who was a peer. Yet no doubt this gave the king a very ill opinion of his uncle, and so made him more easily consent to his execution: since all such conspiracies are things of that inhuman and barbarous cruelty, that it is scarce possible to punish them too severely. But it is certain that there was no evidence at all of any design to kill the duke of Northumberland, otherwise the indictment had not been laid against him only for designing to seize on and imprison him, as it was; the conspiring to kill him not being so much as mentioned in the indictment; but it was maliciously given out to possess the world, and chiefly the king, against him.

See the Indictment. Coke's Entries, fol. 482.

The king also in his letter to Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, who was like to be his favourite, and was then sent over for his breeding into France, writ that the duke seemed to have acknowledged the felony, and that after sentence he had confessed it, though he had formerly vehemently sworn the contrary. From whence it is plain, that the king was persuaded of his being guilty. Sir Michael Stanhope, sir Tho. Arundel, sir Ralph Vane, and sir Miles Partridge, were next brought to their trials. The first and the last of these were little pitied. For as all great men have people about them who make use of their greatness only for their own ends, without regarding their master's honour or true interest; so they were the persons upon whom the ill things which had been done by the duke of Somerset were chiefly cast. But sir Tho. Arundel was much pitied, and had hard measure in his trial, which began at seven o'clock in the morning, and continued till noon. Then the jury went aside, and they did not agree on their verdict till next morning, when those who thought him not guilty, yet, for preserving their own lives, were willing to yield to the fierceness of those who were resolved to have him found guilty. Sir Ralph Vane was the most lamented of them all. He had done great services in the wars, and was esteemed one of the bravest gentlemen of the nation. He pleaded for himself, that he had done his country considerable service during the wars; though now in time of peace, the coward and the courageous were equally esteemed. He scorned to make any submissions for life. But this height of mind in him did certainly set forward his condemnation, and to add more infamy to him in the manner of his death, he and Partridge were hanged, whereas the other two were beheaded.

Some of his Friends also condemned.

The duke of Somerset was using means to have the king better informed, and disposed towards him; and engaged the lord chancellor to be his friend: who thereupon sent him an advertisement of somewhat designed against him by the council, and being in haste, writ only on the back of his letter, "To the duke;" and bid one of his servants carry it to the Tower, without giving him particular directions to the duke of Somerset. But his servant having known of the familiarities between his master and the duke of Norfolk, who was still in the Tower, and knowing

The Seals are taken from the Lord Rich.



none between him and the other duke, carried the letter to the duke of Norfolk. When the lord chancellor found the mistake at night, he knew the duke of Norfolk, to make Northumberland his friend, would certainly discover him; so he went in all haste to the king, and desired to be discharged of his office, and thereby prevented the malice of his enemies: and upon this he fell* sick, either pretending he was ill, that it might raise the more pity for him, or perhaps the fright in which he was did really cast him into sickness. So the seal was sent for, by the marquis of Winchester, the duke of Northumberland, and the lord Darcy, on the 21st of December, and put into the hands of the bishop of Ely, who was made keeper during pleasure; and when the session of parliament came on, he was made lord chancellor. But this was much censured. When the Reformation was first preached in England, Tindal, Barns, and Latimer took an occasion, from the great pomp and luxury of cardinal Wolsey, and the secular employments of the other bishops and clergymen, to represent them as a sort of men that had wholly neglected the care of souls, and those spiritual studies and exercises that disposed men to such functions; and only carried the names of bishops and churchmen, to be a colour to serve their ambition and covetousness. And this had raised great prejudices in the minds of the people against those who were called their pastors, when they saw them fill their heads with cares, that were at least impertinent to their callings, if not inconsistent with the duties that belonged to them. So now upon Goodrick's being made lord chancellor, that was a reformed bishop, it was said by their adversaries, these men only condemned secular employments in the hands of churchmen, because their enemies had them, but changed their minds as soon as any of their own party came to be advanced to them. But as Goodrick was raised by the popish interest in opposition to the duke of Somerset, and to Cranmer, that was his firm friend: so it appeared in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, that he was ready to turn with every tide; and that whether he joined in the Reformation only in compliance to the time, or was persuaded in his mind concerning it; yet he had not that sense of it that became a bishop, and was one of those who resolved to make as much advantage by it as he could, but would suffer nothing for it. So his practice in this matter is neither a precedent to justify the like in others, nor can it cast a scandal on those to whom he joined himself. Christ being spoke to, to divide an inheritance between two brethren, said, "Who made me a judge, or a divider?" St. Paul, speaking of churchmen, says, "No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life:" which was understood by St. Cyprian as a perpetual rule against the secular employments of the clergy. There are three of the apostolical canons against it; and Cyprian, reckoning upon the sins of his time, that had provoked God to send a persecution on the church, names this, that many bishops forsaking their sees undertook secular cares. In which he was so strict, that he thought the being tutor to orphans was a distraction unsuitable to their character; so that one priest leaving another tutor to his children, because by the Roman law he to whom this was left was obliged to undergo it, the priest's name who made that testament was appointed to be struck out of the list of those churchmen who had died in the faith and were remembered in the daily offices. Samosatenus is represented as one of the first eminent churchmen that involved himself much in secular cares. Upon the emperor's turning Christian, it was a natural effect of their conversion for them to cherish the bishops much, and many of the bishops became so much in love with the court and public employments, that canons were made against their going to court, unless they were called, and the *canalis* or road to the court was kept by the bishop of Rome, so that none might go without his warrant. Their meddling in secular matters was also condemned in many provincial councils, but most copiously and amply by the general council at Chalcedon. It is true the bishops had their courts for the arbitration of civil differences; which were first begun upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, against their going to law before unbelievers, and for submitting their suits to some among themselves. The reasons of this ceased when the judges in the civil courts were become Christians; yet these episcopal audiences were still continued after Constantine's time, and their jurisdiction was sometimes enlarged, and some-

And given to the Bishop of Ely.

* He was sick before, for a commission was granted to some to do the business of the Chancery.—STRYPE's CORRECT.

times abridged, as there was occasion given. St. Austin, and many other holy bishops, grew weary even of that, and found that the hearing causes, as it took up much of their time, so filled their heads with thoughts of another nature than what properly belonged to them.

The bishops of Rome and Alexandria, taking advantage from the greatness and wealth of their sees, began first to establish a secular principality of the church; and the confusions that fell out in Italy after the fifth century, gave the bishops of Rome great opportunities for it, which they improved to the utmost advantage. The revolutions in Spain gave a rise to the Spanish bishops meddling much in all civil matters. And when Charles the Great and his son had given great territories and large jurisdictions to many sees and monasteries, bishops and abbots came after that not only to have a share in all the public councils of most of the states of Europe, to which their lands gave them a right, but to be chiefly employed in all affairs and offices of state. The ignorance of these ages made this in a manner necessary: and church-preferments were given as rewards to men who had served in the state in embassies, or in their prince's courts of justice. So that it was no wonder if men advanced upon that merit continued in their former method and course of life. Thus the bishops became for the greatest part only a sort of men who went in peculiar habits, and upon some high festivities performed a few offices; but for the pastoral care, and all the duties incumbent on them, they were universally neglected: and that seriousness, that abstraction from the world, that application to study and religious exercises, and chiefly the care of souls, which became their function, seemed inconsistent with that course of life which secular cares brought on men who pursued them. Nor was it easy to persuade the world that their pastors did very much aspire to heaven, when they were thrusting themselves so indecently into the courts of princes, or ambitiously pretending to the administration of matters of state; and it was always observed, that churchmen who assumed to themselves employments, and an authority that was eccentric to their callings, suffered so much in that esteem, and lost so much of that authority, which of right belonged to their character and office.

But to go on with the series of affairs. There was all possible care taken to divert and entertain the king's mind with pleasing sights, as will appear by his journal, which it seems had the effect that was desired, for he was not much concerned in his uncle's preservation.

An order was sent for beheading the duke of Somerset on the 22nd of January, on which day he was brought to the place of execution on Tower-hill. His whole deport-
1552. ment was very composed, and no way changed from what it had ordinarily been: he first kneeled down and prayed; and then he spake to the people in these words:—

The duke of Somerset's Speech at his execution.

"Dearly beloved friends, I am brought here to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the king neither by word nor deed, and have been always as faithful and true to this realm as any man hath been. But, for so much as I am by law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myself, as well as others, to be subject thereto. Wherefore, to testify my obedience which I owe unto the laws, I am come hither to suffer death: whereunto I willingly offer myself with most hearty thanks to God, that hath given me this time of repentance; who might through sudden death have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him nor myself. Moreover, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching Christian religion; which, so long as I was in authority, I always diligently set forth, and furthered to my power; neither repent I me of my doings, but rejoice therein, sith that now the state of Christian religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the primitive church: which thing I esteem as a great benefit given of God both to you and me; most heartily exhorting you all, that this which is most purely set forth to you, you will with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living; which thing if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow."

When he had gone so far, there was an extraordinary noise heard, as if some house had been blown up with gunpowder; which frighted all the people, so that many run away, they knew not for what: and the relator, who tarried still, says, it brought into his remembrance the astonishment that the band was in that came to take our Saviour, who thereupon fell backwards to the ground. At the same time sir Ant. Brown came riding towards the



EDWARD SEYMOUR, DUKE OF SOMERSET.

OB. 1552

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BATH

scaffold, and they all hoped he had brought a pardon; upon which there was a general shouting, "Pardon, pardon, God save the king!" many throwing up their caps; by which the duke might well perceive how dear he was to the people. But as soon as these disorders were over, he made a sign to them with his hand to compose themselves, and then went on in his speech thus:—

"Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient to. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer. And let us now join in prayer to the Lord for the preservation of the king's majesty, unto whom hitherto I have always showed myself a most faithful and firm subject. I have always been most diligent about his majesty, in his affairs both at home and abroad; and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole realm (upon this the people cried out it was most true); unto whose majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity, and all prosperous success. Moreover, I do wish unto all his counsellors the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with justice: unto whom I exhort you all in the Lord to show yourselves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the king's majesty. Moreover, forasmuch as heretofore I have had affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man, therefore if there have been any that have been offended or injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness; but especially Almighty God, whom throughout all my life I have most grievously offended: and all other whatsoever they be that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive them." Then he desired them to be quiet, lest their tumults might trouble him; and said, "Albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering; and through your quietness I shall be much more quieter. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness, that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ, desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same to my life's end."

His Death; Then Dr. Cox, who was with him on the scaffold, put a paper in his hand, which was a prayer he had prepared for him. He read it on his knees, then he took leave of all about him, and undressed himself to be fitted for the axe. In all which there appeared no change in him, only his face was a little ruddier than ordinary: he continued calling, "Lord Jesus, save me," till the executioner severed his head from his body.

And Character. Thus fell the duke of Somerset; a person of great virtues, eminent for piety, humble, and affable in his greatness, sincere and candid in all his transactions. He was a better captain than a counsellor: had been oft successful in his undertakings, was always careful of the poor and the oppressed, and, in a word, had as many virtues and as few faults as most great men, especially when they were so unexpectedly advanced, have ever had. It was generally believed that all this pretended conspiracy, upon which he was condemned, was only a forgery. For both Palmer and Crane, the chief witnesses, were soon after discharged, as were also Bartuile and Hamond, with all the rest that had been made prisoners on the pretence of this plot. And the duke of Northumberland continued after that in so close a friendship with Palmer, that it was generally believed he had been corrupted to betray him. And, indeed, the not bringing the witnesses into the court, but only the depositions, and the parties sitting judges, gave great occasion to condemn the proceedings against him. For it was generally thought that all was an artifice of Palmer's, who had put the duke of Somerset in fears of his life, and so got him to gather men about him for his own preservation; and that he afterwards being taken with him, seemed through fear to acknowledge all that which he had before contrived. This was more confirmed by the death of the other four formerly mentioned, who were executed on the 26th of February, and did all protest they had never been guilty of any design, either against the king, or to kill the lords. Vane added, that his blood would make Northumberland's pillow uneasy to him. The people were generally much affected with this execution; and many threw handkerchiefs into the duke of Somerset's blood, to preserve it in remembrance of him. One lady that met the duke of Northumberland when he was led through the City in queen

Mary's reign, shaking one of these bloody handkerchiefs, said, "Behold, the blood of that worthy man, that good uncle of that excellent king, which was shed by thy malicious practice, doth now begin apparently to revenge itself on thee." Sure it is, that Northumberland, as having maliciously contrived this, was ever after hated by the people.

But, on the other hand, great notice was taken that the duke of Norfolk (who, with his son, the earl of Surrey, were believed to have fallen in all their misery by the duke of Somerset's means) did now outlive him, and saw him fall by a conspiracy of his own servants, as himself and his son had done. The proceeding against his brother was also remembered, for which many thought the judgments of God had overtaken him. Others blamed him for being too apt to convert things sacred to his own use, and because a great part of his estate was raised out of the spoils of many churches: and some late writers have made an inference from this, upon his not claiming the benefit of clergy, that he was thus left of God not to plead that benefit, since he had so much invaded the rights and revenues of the church. But in this they showed their ignorance. For by the statute, that felony of which he was found guilty was not to be purged by clergy. Those who pleased themselves in comparing the events in their own times with the transactions of the former ages, found out many things to make a parallel between the duke of Somerset and Humphrey the good duke of Gloucester in Henry the Sixth's time; but I shall leave the reader in that to his own observation.

Now was the duke of Northumberland absolute at court, all offices being filled with those that were his associates. But here I stop to give a general view of affairs beyond sea this year, though I have a little transgressed the bounds of it to give an account of the duke of Somerset's fall altogether. The siege of Magdeburg went on in Germany. But it was coldly followed by Maurice, who had now other designs. He had agreed with the French king, who was both to give him assistance, and to make war on the emperor, at the same time when he should begin. Ferdinand was also not unwilling to see his brother's greatness lessened; for he was pressing him, not without threatenings, to lay down his dignity as king of the Romans, and thought to have established it on his son. All the other princes of Germany were also oppressed by him, so that they were disposed to enter into any alliance for the shaking off of that yoke. Maurice did also send over to try the inclinations of England; if they would join with him, and contribute 400,000 dollars towards the expense of a war, for the preservation of the Protestant religion, and recovering the liberty of Germany. The ambassadors were only sent to try the king's mind, but were not empowered to conclude anything. They were sent back with a good answer, that the king would most willingly join in alliance with them that were of the same religion with himself; but he desired that the matter of religion might be plainly set down, lest under the pretence of that, war should be made for other quarrels. He desired them also to communicate their designs with the other princes, and then to send over others more fully empowered. Maurice seeing such assistances ready for him, resolved both to break the emperor's designs, and by leading on a new league against him, to make himself more acceptable to the empire, and thereby to secure the electoral dignity in his family. So after Magdeburg had endured a long siege, he, giving a secret intimation to some men in whom they confided, persuaded them about the end of November to surrender to him, and then broke up his army: but they fell into the dominions of several of the popish princes, and they put them under very heavy contributions. This alarmed all the empire; only the emperor himself, by a fatal security, did not apprehend it till it came so near him, that he was almost ruined before he dreamed of any danger.

The affairs of Germany.

This year the transactions of Trent were remarkable. The pope had called the council to meet there, and the 1st of May this year there was a session held. There was a war now broken out between the pope and the king of France on this occasion. The pope had a mind to have Parma in his own hands; but that prince, fearing that he would keep it, as the emperor did Placentia, and so he should be ruined between them, implored the protection of France, and received a French garrison for his safety. Upon this the pope cited him to Rome, declaring him a traitor if he appeared not: and this engaged the pope in a war with France. At first he sent a threatening message to that king, that if he would not restore Parma to him, he would take France from him. Upon this the king of France protested against the council of Trent, and threatened that he would call a national council in France. The council was adjourned to the 10th of September. In the mean while the emperor pressed the Germans to go to it. So Maurice, and the other princes of the Augsburg Confession, ordered their divines to consider of the matters which they would propose to the council. The electors of Mentz and Trier went to Trent. But the king of France sent the abbot of Bellosana thither, to make a protestation, that by reason of the war that the pope had raised, he could not send his bishops to the council; and that therefore he would not observe their decrees: (for they had declared in France that absent churches were not bound to obey the decrees of a council:—for which many authorities were cited from the primitive time). But at Trent they proceeded for all this, and appointed the articles about the Eucharist to be first examined; and the presidents recommended to the divines to handle them according to Scripture, tradition, and ancient authors, and to avoid unprofitable curiosities. The Italian divines did not like this. For they said, to argue so, was but an act of the memory, and was an old and insufficient way, and would give great advantage to the Lutherans, who were skilled in the tongues; but the school-learning was a mystical and sublime way, in which it was easier to set off or conceal matters as was expedient. But this was done to please the Germans; and, at the suit of the emperor, the matter of communicating in both kinds was postponed till the German divines could be heard. A safe-conduct was desired by the Germans, not only from the emperor, but from the council. For at Constance, John Huss and Jerome of Prague were burnt upon this pretence, that they had not the council's safe-conduct; and therefore when the council of Basil called for the Bohemians, they sent them a safe conduct, besides that which the emperor gave them. So the princes desired one in the same form that was granted by those of Basil. One was granted by the council, which in many things differed from that of Basil, particularly in one clause, that all things should be determined according to the Scriptures, which was in that safe-conduct of Basil, but was now left out. In October an ambassador from the elector of Brandenburg came to Trent, who was endeavouring to get his son settled in the archbishopric of Magdeburg, which made him more compliant. In his first address to the council, he spake of the respect his master had to the fathers in it, without a word of submitting to their decrees. But in the answer that was made in the name of the council, it was said, they were glad he did submit to them, and would obey their decrees. This being afterwards complained of, it was said, that they answered him according to what he should have said, and not according to what he had said. But in the mean while, the council published their decrees about the Eucharist; in the first part of which they defined that the way of the presence could hardly be expressed, and yet they called transubstantiation a fit term for it. But this might be well enough defended, since that was a thing as hard to be either expressed or understood as anything they could have thought on. They went on next to examine confession and penitence. And now, as the divines handled the matter, they found the gathering proofs out of Scripture grew endless and trifling; for there was not a place in Scripture where I confess was to be found, but they drew it in to prove auricular confession. From that they went on to extreme unction. But then came the ambassadors of the duke of Wittenberg, another prince of the Augsburg Confession, and showed their mandate to the emperor's ambassadors, who desired them to carry it to the presidents; but they refused to do that, since it was contrary to the protestation which the princes of their confession had made against a council in which the pope should preside. On the 25th of November they published the decree of the necessity of auricular confession, that so the priest might thereby know how to proportion the penance to the sin. It was much censured, to see it defined that Christ had instituted confession to a priest, and not showed where or how it was instituted. And the reason for it, about the proportioning the penance, was laughed at, since it was known what slight penances were universally enjoined to expiate the greatest sins. But the ambassadors of Wittenberg moving that they might have a safe-conduct for their divines to come and propose their doctrine, the legate answered, that they would not upon any terms enter into a disputation with them; but if their divines had any scruple in which they desired satisfaction

Proceedings at Trent.

with a humble and obedient mind, they should be heard. And for a safe-conduct, he thought it was a distrusting the council, to ask any other than what was already granted. Soon after this, there arrived ambassadors from Strasburg and from other five cities, and those sent from the duke of Saxe were on their journey, so the emperor ordered his ambassadors to study to gain time till they came; and then an effectual course must be taken for compassing that about which he had laboured so long in vain to bring it to a happy conclusion. And thus this year ended.

The parliament was opened on the 23rd of January, and sate till the 15th of April. So I shall begin this year with the account of the proceedings in it. The first act that was put into the house of lords was for an order to bring men to divine service; which was agreed to on the 26th, and sent down to the commons, who kept it long before they sent it back. On the 6th of April, when it was agreed to, the earl of Derby, the bishops of Carlisle and Norwich, and the lords Sturton and Windsor, dissented. The lords afterwards brought in another bill, for authorizing a new Common-Prayer Book, according to the alterations which had been agreed on the former year. This the commons joined to the former, and so put both in one act. By it was first set forth, "That an order of divine service being published, many did wilfully abstain from it, and refused to come to their parish churches; therefore all are required, after the feast of All-hallows next, to come every Sunday and holiday to common-prayers, under pain of the censures of the church. And the king, the lords temporal, and the commons, did, in God's name, require all archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, to endeavour the due execution of that act, as they would answer before God for such evils and plagues with which he might justly punish them for neglecting that good and wholesome law: and they were fully authorized to execute the censures of the church on all that should offend against this law." To which is added, "That there had been divers doubts raised about the manner of the ministration of the service, rather by the curiosity of the ministers and mistakers than of any other worthy cause; and that for the better explanation of that, and for the greater perfection of the service in some places, where it was fit to make the prayer and fashion of service more earnest and fit, to stir Christian people to the true honouring of Almighty God, therefore it had been, by the command of the king and parliament, perused, explained, and made more perfect." They also annexed to it the "Form of making bishops, priests, and deacons; and so appointed this new book of service to be everywhere received after the feast of All-Saints next, under the same penalties that had been enacted three years before, when the former book was set out."

1552. A Session of Parliament.

An Act authorizing the new Common-Prayer Book.

It was, upon this act, said by the papists, that the Reformation was like to change as oft as the fashion did; since they seemed never to be at a point in anything, but new models were thus continually framing. To which it was answered, that it was no wonder that the corruptions which they had been introducing for above a thousand years were not all discovered or thrown out at once; but now the business was brought to a fuller perfection, and they were not like to see any more material changes. Besides, any that would take the pains to compare the offices that had been among the papists, would clearly perceive, that in every age there was such an increase of additional rites and ceremonies, that though the old ones were still retained, yet it seemed there would be no end of new improvements and additions. Others wondered why the execution of this law was put off so long as till the end of the year. All the account I can give of this is, that it was expected that by that time the new body of the ecclesiastical laws, which was now preparing, should be finished; and, therefore, since this act was to be executed by the clergy, the day in which it was to be in force was so long delayed, till that reformation of their laws were concluded.

Which was much censured.

On the 8th of February, a bill of treasons was put in, and agreed to by all the lords, except the lord Wentworth. It was sent down to the commons, where it was long disputed, and many sharp things were said of those who now bore the sway; that whereas they who governed in the beginning of this reign had put in a bill for lessening the number of such offences, now they saw the change of councils, when severer laws were proposed. The commons at last rejected the bill, and then drew a

An Act concerning Treasons.



new one, which was passed. By it they enacted, "That if any should call the king, or any of his heirs named in the statute of the 35th of his father's reign, heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown, for the first offence they should forfeit their goods and chattels, and be imprisoned during pleasure; for the second, should be in a *præmunire;* for the third, should be attainted of treason; but any who should advisedly set that out in printing or writing, was, for the first offence, to be held a traitor. And that those who should keep any of the king's castles, artillery, or ships, six days after they were lawfully required to deliver them up, should be guilty of treason; that men might be proceeded against for treasons committed out of the kingdom as well as in it." They added a proviso, "That none should be attainted of treason on this act, unless two witnesses should come, and to their face aver the fact for which they were to be tried, except such as, without any violence, should confess it; and that none should be questioned for anything said or written, but within three months after it was done."

This proviso seems clearly to have been made with relation to the proceeding against the duke of Somerset, in which the witnesses were not brought to aver the evidence to his face, and by that means he was deprived of all the benefit and advantage which he might have had by cross-examining them. It is certain that though some false witnesses have practised the trade so much that they seem to have laid off all shame, and have a brow that cannot be daunted; yet, for the greatest part, a bright serenity and cheerfulness attends innocence, and a lowering dejection betrays the guilty when the innocent and they are confronted together.

On the 3rd of March, a bill was brought in to the lords for holidays and fasting-days, and sent down to the commons on the 15th of March, by whom it was passed, and had the royal assent. In the preamble it is set forth, "That men are not at all times so set on the performance of religious duties as they ought to be; which made it necessary that there should be set times in which labour was to cease, that men might on these days wholly serve God; which days were not to be accounted holy of their own nature, but were so called because of the holy duties then to be set about; so that the sanctification of them (was not any magical virtue in that time, but) consisted in the dedicating them to God's service; that no day was dedicated to any saint, but only to God, in remembrance of such saints; that the Scripture had not determined the number of holidays, but that these were left to the liberty of the church. Therefore they enact, that all Sundays, with the days marked in the calendar and liturgy, should be kept as holidays: and the bishops were to proceed by the censures of the church against the disobedient. A proviso was added for the observation of St. George's feast by the knights of the Garter; and another, that labourers or fishermen might, if need so required, work on those days either in or out of harvest. The eves before holidays were to be kept as fasts; and in Lent, and on Fridays and Saturdays, abstinence from flesh was enacted; but if a holiday fell to be on a Monday, the eve for it was to be kept on Saturday, since Sunday was never to be a fasting-day. But it was generally observed, that in this and all such acts, the people were ready enough to lay hold on any relaxation made by it, but did very slightly observe the stricter parts of it; so that the liberty left to tradesmen to work in cases of necessity was carried further than it was intended, to a too public profanation of the time so sanctified, and the other parts of it, directing the people to a conscientious observing of such times, was little minded.

An Act about Fasts and Holidays.

On the 5th of March, a bill concerning the relief of the poor was put into the house of lords. The form of passing it has given occasion to some to take notice, that though it is a bill for taxing the subjects, yet it had its first birth in the lords' house, and was agreed to by the commons. By it the churchwardens were empowered to gather charitable collections for the poor; and if any did refuse to contribute, or did dissuade others from it, the bishop of the diocese was to proceed against them. On the 9th of March, the bishops put in a bill for the security of the clergy from some ambiguous words that were in the submission which the convocation had made to king Henry in the 21st year of his reign, by which they were under a *præmunire* if they did any things in their courts contrary to the king's prerogative; which was thought hard, since some through ignorance might transgress. Therefore it was desired that no prelate should be brought under a *præmunire*, unless they had proceeded in

anything after they were prohibited by the king's writ. To this the lords consented, but it was let fall by the commons.

An Act for the Marriage of the Clergy.

There was another act brought in for the marriage of the clergy, which was agreed to by the lords; the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Rutland, and Bath, and the lords Abergaveny, Stourton, Mounteagle, Sands, Windsor, and Wharton, protesting against it. The commons also passed it, and it was assented to by the king. By it was set forth, "That many took occasion, from words in the act formerly made about this matter, to say that it was only permitted, as usury and other unlawful things were, for the avoiding greater evils; who thereupon spake slanderously of such marriages, and accounted the children begotten in them to be bastards, to the high dishonour of the king and parliament, and the learned clergy of the realm, who had determined that the laws against priests' marriages were most unlawful by the law of God; to which they had not only given their assent in the convocation, but signed it with all their hands. These slanders did also occasion that the word of God was not heard with due reverence; whereupon it was enacted, that such marriages, made according to the rules prescribed in the book of service, should be esteemed good and valid, and that the children begot in them should be inheritable according to law."

The marquis of Northampton did also put in a bill for confirming his marriage, which was passed; only the earl of Derby, the bishops of Carlisle and Norwich, and the lord Stourton, dissented. By it "the marriage is declared lawful," as by the law of God indeed it was, "any decretal, canon, ecclesiastical law, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding." This occasioned another act, that no man might put away his wife and marry another, unless he were formerly divorced; to which the bishop of Norwich dissented, because he was of opinion that a divorce did not break the marriage-bond. But this bill fell in the house of commons, being thought not necessary; for the laws were already severe enough against such double marriages.

By another act, the bishopric of Westminster was quite suppressed, and re-united to the see of London; but the collegiate church, with its exempted jurisdiction, was still continued.

An Act against Usury.

Another bill was put in against usury; which was sent from the lords to the commons, and passed by both, and assented to. By it an act passed in parliament, in the 37th year of the late king's reign, "that none might take above twenty per cent. for money lent, was repealed; which, they say, was not intended for the allowing of usury, but for preventing further inconveniences: and since usury was by the word of God forbidden, and set out in divers places of Scripture as a most odious and detestable vice, which yet many continued to practise for the filthy gain they made by it; therefore, from the 1st of May, all usury or gain for money lent was to cease; and whosoever continued to practise to the contrary, were to suffer imprisonment, and to be fined at the king's pleasure."

This act has been since repealed, and the gain for money lent has been at several times brought to several regulations. It was much questioned, whether these prohibitions of usury by Moses were not judicial laws, which did only bind the nation of the Jews; whose land being equally divided among the families by lot, the making gain by lending money was forbid to them of that nation—yet it did not seem to be a thing of its nature sinful, since they might take increase of a stranger. The not lending money on use was more convenient for that nation, which abounding in people, and being shut up in a narrow country, they were necessarily to apply themselves to all the ways of industry for their subsistence; so that every one was, by that law of not lending upon use, forced to employ his money in the way of trade or manufacture, for which they were sure to have vent, since they lay near Tyre and Sidon, that were then the chief places of traffic and navigation of the world: and without such industry the soil of Judea could not possibly have fed such vast numbers as lived on it. So that it seemed clear that this law in the Old Testament properly belonged to that policy; yet it came to be looked on by many Christians as a law of perpetual obligation. It came also to be made a part of the canon law; and absolution could not be given to the breakers of it without a special faculty from Rome. But for avoiding the severity of the law, the invention of mortgages was fallen on; which at first were only purchases made,



and let back to the owner for such rent as the use of the money came to: so that the use was taken as the rent of the land thus bought. And those who had no land to sell thus, fell upon another way: the borrower bought their goods, to be paid within a year (for instance, an hundred and ten pound), and sold them back for a sum to be presently laid down as they should agree (it may be an hundred pound); by this means the one had a hundred pound in hand, and the other was to have ten pound or more at a year's end. But this being in the way of sale was not called usury. This law was looked on as impossible to be observed in a country like England: and it could not easily appear where the immorality lay, of lending money upon moderate gain, such as held proportion to the value of land; provided that the perpetual rule of Christian equity and charity were observed, which is, not to exact above the proportion duly limited by the law, and to be merciful in not exacting severely of persons who, by inevitable accidents, have been disabled from making payment. This digression I thought the more necessary, because of the scruples that many good and strict persons have still in that matter.

A Bill against Simony.

Another act passed both houses, against all simoniacal pactions, the reservation of pensions out of benefices, and the granting advowsons while the incumbent was yet alive. It was agreed to by the lords; the earls of Derby, Rutland, and Sussex, the viscount Hereford, and the lords Mounteagle, Sands, Wharton, and Evers, dissenting. But upon what reason I do not know, the bill was not assented to by the king, who being then sick, there was a collection made of the titles of the bills which were to have the royal assent, and those the king signed, and gave commission to some lords to pass them in his name. These abuses have been oft complained of, but there have been still new contrivances found out, to elude all laws against simony: either bargains being made by the friends of the parties concerned without their express knowledge; or bonds of resignation given, by which incumbents lie at the mercy of their patrons, and in these, the faultiness of some clergymen is made the colour of imposing such hard terms upon others, and of robbing the church oftentimes by that means.

A Repeal of the Entail of the Duke of Somerset's Estate.

There was a private bill put in, about the duke of Somerset's estate, which had been by act of parliament entailed on his son in the 23d year of the last king's reign. On the 3d of March it was sent to the house of commons, signed by the king: it was for the repeal of that act. Whether the king was so alienated from his uncle, that this extraordinary thing was done by him for the utter ruin of his family or not, I cannot determine; but I rather incline to think it was done in hatred to the duchess of Somerset and her issue. For the estate was entailed on them by that act of parliament, in prejudice of the issue of the former marriage, of whom are descended the Seymours of Devonshire; who were disinherited and excluded from the duke of Somerset's honours by his patents, and from his estate by act of parliament; partly upon some jealousies he had of his former wife, but chiefly by the power his second wife had over him. This bill of repeal was much opposed in the house, though sent to them in so unusual a way, by the king himself. And though there was on the 8th of March a message sent from the lords, that they should make haste towards an end of the parliament, yet still they stuck long upon it; looking on the breaking of entails that were made by act of parliament as a thing of such consequence, that it dissolved the greatest security that the law of England gives for property. It was long argued by the commons, and was fifteen several days brought in. At last a new bill was devised, and that was much altered too; it was not quite ended till the day before the parliament was dissolved. But near the end of the session, a proviso was sent from the lords, to be added to the bill, confirming the attainder of the duke and his complices. It seems his enemies would not try this at first, till they had by other things measured their strength in that house; and finding their interest grew there, they adventured on it; but they mistook their measures, for the commons would not agree to it. In conclusion, the bill of repeal was agreed to. But whereas there had been some writings for a marriage between the earl of Oxford's daughter and the duke of Somerset's son, and a bill was put in for voiding these; upon a division of the house the 28th of March there were sixty-eight that agreed, and sixty-nine that rejected it, so this bill was cast out. By this we see what a thin house of commons there was at that time,

the whole being but 137 members. But this was a natural effect of a long parliament; many of those who were at first chosen, being infirm; and others not willing to put themselves to the charge and trouble of such constant and long attendance. It is also from hence clear, how great an interest the duke of Somerset had in the affections of the parliament.

The Commons refuse to attaint the Bishop of Durham by Bill.

Another bill gave a more evident discovery how hateful the duke of Northumberland was to them. The bishop of Durham was, upon some complaint brought against him of misprision of treason, put into the Tower about the end of December last year. What the particulars were I do not find; but it was visible that the secret reason was, that he being attainted, the duke of Northumberland intended to have had the dignities and jurisdiction of that principality conferred on himself; so that he should have been made count palatine of Durham. Tonstall had in all points given obedience to every law, and to all the injunctions that had been made; but had always in parliament protested against the changes in religion: which he thought he might with a good conscience submit to and obey; though he could not consent to them. Only in the matter of the corporal presence, he was still of the old persuasion, and writ about it. But the Latin style of his book is much better than the divinity and reasonings in it. So what he would have done, if he had been required to subscribe the articles that were now agreed on, did not appear, for he was all this while prisoner. There was a constant good correspondence between Cranmer and him; though in many things they differed in opinion; yet Tonstall was both a man of candour and of great moderation, which agreed so well with Cranmer's temper, that no wonder they lived always on good terms. So when the bill for attainting him as guilty of misprision of treason was passed in the house of lords, on the 31st of March, being put in on the 28th, Cranmer spoke so freely against it, that the duke of Northumberland and he were never after that in friendship together. What his arguments were I could not recover; but when he could do no more, he protested against it, being seconded only by the lord Stourton. How it came to pass that the other popish lords and bishops that protested against the other acts of this parliament did not join in this, I cannot imagine; unless it was that they were the less concerned for Tonstall, because Cranmer had appeared to be so much his friend, or were awed by their fear of offending the duke of Northumberland. But when the bill was carried down to the commons, with the evidences against him, which were some depositions that had been taken, and brought to the lords; they who were resolved to condemn that practice for the future, would not proceed upon it now. So on the 5th of April they ordered the privy-counsellors of their house to move the lords, that his accusers and he might be heard face to face: and that not being done, they went no further in the bill.

The Parliament is dissolved.

By these indications the duke of Northumberland saw how little kindness the house of commons had for him. The parliament had now sate almost five years, and being called by the duke of Somerset, his friends had been generally chose to be of it. So that it was no wonder, if upon his fall they were not easy to those who had destroyed him; nor was there any motion made for their giving the king a supply. Therefore the duke of Northumberland thought it necessary for his interest to call a new parliament. And accordingly on the 15th of April the parliament was dissolved; and it was resolved to spend this summer in making friends all over England, and to have a new parliament in the opening of the next year.

The convocation at this time agreed to the articles of religion that were prepared the last year; which, though they have been often printed, yet since they are but short, and of so great consequence to this history, I have put them into the Collection, as was formerly told.

Thus the Reformation of doctrine and worship were brought to their perfection; and were not after this in a tittle mended or altered in this reign, nor much afterwards; only some of the articles were put in more general words under queen Elizabeth.

A Reformation of Ecclesiastical Courts considered.

Another part of the Reformation was yet unfinished, and it was the chief work of this year: that was, the giving rules to the ecclesiastical courts, and for all things relating to the government of the church, and the exercise of the several functions in it. In the former volume it was told, that an act had passed for this effect; yet it had not taken effect, but a commission was made upon it, and these



appointed by king Henry had met and consulted about it, and had made some progress in it, as appears by an original letter of Cranmer's to that king in the year 1545, in which he speaks of it as a thing then almost forgotten, and quite laid aside; for from the time of the six articles till then, the design of the Reformation had been going backward: at that time the king began to reassume the thoughts of it, and was resolved to remove some ceremonies, such as the creeping to the cross, the ringing of bells on St. Andrew's Eve, with other superstitious practices; for which Cranmer sent him the draught of a letter to be written in the king's name, to the two archbishops, and to be by them communicated to the rest of the clergy. In the postscript of his letter he complains much of the sacrilegious waste of the cathedral church of Canterbury, where the dean and prebendaries had been made to alienate many of their manors upon letters obtained by courtiers from the king, as if the lands had been desired for the king's use; upon which they had surrendered those lands, which were thereupon disposed of to the courtiers that had an eye upon them. This letter should have come in in the former volume, but I had not seen it then, so I took hold on this occasion to direct the reader to it in the Collection. Collection, Number 61.

It was also formerly told, that an act had passed in this reign, to empower thirty-two persons, who should be named by the king, to make a reformation of the ecclesiastical laws, which was to be finished within three years. But the revolutions of affairs, and the other more pressing things that were still uncompleted, had kept them hitherto from setting to that work. On the 11th of November last year, a commission was given to eight persons to prepare the matter for the review of the two and thirty, that so it might be more easily compiled, being in a few hands, than could well be done if so many had been to set about it. These eight were, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of Ely, Dr. Cox, and Peter Martyr, two divines; Dr. May and Dr. Taylor, two doctors of the law; and John Lucas and Richard Goodrick, two common lawyers. But on the 14th of November the commission was renewed, and the bishop of London was named in the room of the bishop of Ely; one Traheron* in the room of May; and Gosnald in Goodrick's room. These, it seems, desiring more time than one year to finish it in, for two of the years were now lapsed, in the last session of the parliament they had three years more time offered them. But it seems the work was believed to be in such a forwardness, that this continuation was not judged necessary, for the royal assent was not given to that act. After the parliament was ended, they made haste with it. But I find it said in the preface to the book, as it was printed in queen Elizabeth's reign, that Cranmer did the whole work almost himself†; which will justify the character some give of him, that he was the greatest canonist then in England. Dr. Haddon, who was the king's professor of civil law in the university of Cambridge, and sir Jo. Cheek, were employed to put it in Latin. And they did so imitate the style of the Roman laws, that any who reads the book, will fancy himself to be reading a work of the purer ages of that state, when their language was not yet corrupted with those barbarous terms which the mixture of other nations brought in, and made it nowhere more nauseously rude than in the canon law.

The work was digested and cast into fifty-one titles: to bring it near the number of the books of the Pandects, into which Justinian had digested the Roman law. It was prepared by February this year; and a commission was granted to thirty-two persons, of whom the former eight were a part—consisting of eight bishops, eight divines, among whom John à Lasco was one, eight civilians, and eight common lawyers. They were to revise, correct, and perfect the work, and so to present it to the king. They divided themselves into four classes, eight to a classis; and every one of these were to prepare their corrections, and so to communicate them to the rest. And thus was the work carried on, and finished; but before it received the royal confirmation, the king died, and this fell with him: nor do I find it was ever since that time taken up, or prosecuted with the care that a thing of such conse-

* Bartholomew Traheron, afterwards made lecturer of divinity at Frankfort, on the new moulding of the congregation there in queen Mary's days; and dean of Chichester in queen Elizabeth's.—Granger's Correct.

† All that I find in that preface is that these thirty-two were divided into four classes; and that what was concluded in one class was to be communicated to the rest, and that "Summæ negotii præfuit Tho. Cranmerus, Archiep. Cant.":—as it was fit he should preside.—Anon. Correct.

quence deserved: and therefore I shall not think it improper for me, having before showed what was done, in the next place to give an account of what was then intended to be done; and is now very fit to be well considered.

The chief Heads of it.

The first title was of the Trinity and the catholic faith; in which those who denied the Christian religion were to suffer death, and the loss of their goods. The books of Scripture were numbered, those called Apocryphal being left out of the canon; which, though they were read in the church, it was only for the edification of the people, but not for the proof of the doctrine. The power of the church was subjected to the Scriptures: the four general councils were received; but all councils were to be examined by the Scripture; as were also the writings of the fathers, who were to be much reverenced; but, according to what themselves have written, they were only to be submitted to when they agreed with the Scriptures.

The second title contains an enumeration of many heresies, viz. against the Trinity, Jesus Christ, the Scriptures, about original sin, justification, the mass, purgatory; and censured those who denied magistracy to be lawful, or asserted the community of goods or wives; or who denied the pastoral office, and thought any might assume it at pleasure; or who thought the sacraments naked signs, who denied the baptism of infants, or thought none could possibly be saved that were not baptized; or who asserted transubstantiation, or denied the lawfulness of marriage, particularly in the clergy; or who asserted the pope's power; or such as excused their ill lives by the pretence of predestination, as many wicked men did: from which and other heresies all are dissuaded, and earnestly exhorted to endeavour the extirpation of them.

The third was about the judgments of heresy before the bishop of the diocese, even in exempted places. They were to proceed by witnesses; but the party, upon fame, might be required to purge himself: if he repented, he was to make public profession of it in those places where he had spread it, and to renounce his heresy, swearing never to return to it any more: but obstinate heretics were to be declared infamous, incapable of public trust, or to be witnesses in any court, or to have power to make a testament, and were not to have the benefit of the law: clergymen falling into heresy were not to return to their benefices, unless the circumstances were such that they required it; and thus all capital proceedings for heresy were laid down.

The fourth was about blasphemy flowing from hatred or rage against God, which was to be punished as obstinate heresy was.

The fifth was about the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper. To which is added, that imposition of hands is to be retained in the ordination of pastors; that marriages are to be solemnly made; that those who renew their baptismal vow, be confirmed by the bishop; and that the sick should be visited by their pastors.

The sixth was about idolatry, magic, witchcraft, or consulting with conjurers; who were to be arbitrarily punished, if they submitted; otherwise to be excommunicated.

The seventh was about preachers; whom the bishops were to examine carefully, before they licensed them; and were once a year to gather together all those who were licensed in their dioceses, to know of them the true state of their flock; what vices abounded, and what remedies were most proper. Those who refused to hear sermons, or did make disturbance in them, were to be separated from the communion. It seems it was designed, that there should be in every diocese some who should go round a precinct and preach like Evangelists, as some then called them.

The eighth was about marriage; which was to be after asking bans, three Sundays or holidays. Those who were married in any other form than that in the book of service were not to be esteemed lawfully married: those who corrupted virgins were to be excommunicated if they did not marry them; or if that could not be done, they were to give them the third part of their goods, besides other arbitrary punishments. Marriages made without the consent of parents or guardians were declared null. Then follow the things that may void marriages; they are left free to all: polygamy is forbid, marriages made by force are declared void, mothers are required to suckle their children.

The ninth is about the degrees of marriage. All these in the Levitical law, or those that are reciprocal to them, are forbidden: but spiritual kindred was not to hinder marriage, since there was nothing in Scripture about it, nor was there any good reason for it.



The tenth was about adultery. A clergyman guilty of it was to forfeit all his goods and estate to his wife and children; or if he had none, to the poor, or some pious use; and to lose his benefice, and be either banished or imprisoned during life. A layman was to restore his wife's portion, and to give her the half of his goods, and be imprisoned or banished during life. Wives that were guilty, were to be in like manner punished. But the innocent party might marry again; yet such were rather exhorted, if they saw hope of amendment, to be reconciled to the offending party. No marriage was to be dissolved without a sentence of divorce. Desertion, long absence, capital enmities where either party was in hazard of their life, or the constant perverseness or fierceness of a husband against his wife, might induce a divorce: but little quarrels might not do it; nor a perpetual disease, relief in such a misery being one of the ends of marriage. But all separation from bed and board, except during a trial, was to be taken away.

The 11th was about admission to ecclesiastical benefices. Patrons were to consider the choice of the person was trusted to them, but was not to be abused to any sacrilegious or base ends: if they did otherwise, they were to lose their right for that time. Benefices were not to be given or promised before they were void; nor let lie destitute above six months, otherwise they were to devolve to the bishop. Clergymen before their ordination were to be examined by the archdeacons, with such other triers as the bishop should appoint to be assistant to them; and the bishop himself was to try them, since this was one of the chief things upon which the happiness of the church depended. The candidate was to give an oath to answer sincerely, upon which he was to be examined about his doctrine, chiefly of the whole points of the catechism, if he understood them aright: and what knowledge he had of the Scriptures; they were to search him well whether he held heretical opinions: none was to be admitted to more cures than one; and all privileges for pluralities were for ever to cease: nor was any to be absent from his cure, except for a time and a just cause, of which he was to satisfy his ordinary. The bishops were to take great care to allow no absence longer than was necessary: every one was to enter upon his cure within two months after he was instituted by the bishop. Prebendaries who had no particular cure were to preach in the churches adjacent to them. Bastards might not be admitted to orders, unless they had eminent qualities. But the bastards of patrons were upon no account to be received, if presented by them. Other bodily defects, unless such as did much disable them, or made them very contemptible, were not to be a bar to any. Beside the sponsions in the office of ordination, they were to swear that they had made no agreement to obtain the benefice to which they were presented, and that if they come to know of any made by others on their account, they should signify it to the bishop; and that they should not do anything to the prejudice of their church.

The 12th and 13th were about the renouncing or changing of benefices.

The 14th was about purgation upon common fame, or when one was accused for any crime which was proved incompletely, and only by presumptions. The ecclesiastical courts might not re-examine anything that was proved in any civil court; but upon a high scandal a bishop might require a man to purge himself, otherwise to separate him from holy things. The form of a purgation was, to swear himself innocent; and he was also to have four compurgators of his own rank, who were to swear that they believed he swore true: upon which the judge was to restore him to his fame. Any that were under suspicion of a crime might by the judge be required to avoid all the occasions from which the suspicion had risen: but all superstitious purgations were to be rejected.

The 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th, were about dilapidations, the letting of the goods of the church, the confirming the former rules of election in cathedrals or colleges, and the collation of benefices. And there was to be a purgation of simony, as there should be occasion for it.

The 19th was about divine offices. In the morning on holidays, the Common-prayer was to be used with the communion-service joined to it. In cathedrals there was to be

communion every Sunday and holiday; where the bishop, the dean, and the prebendaries, and all maintained by that church, were to be present. There was no sermon to be in cathedrals in the morning, lest that might draw any from the parish churches; but only in the afternoons. In the anthems, all figured music, by which the hearers could not understand what they sung, was to be taken away. In parish churches, there were only to be sermons in the morning, but none in the afternoon, except in great parishes. All who were to receive the sacrament, were to come the day before and inform the minister of it, who was to examine their consciences and their belief. On holidays in the afternoon, the catechism was to be explained for an hour. After the evening prayers, the poor were to be looked to, and such as had given open scandal were to be examined, and public penitence was to be enjoined them; and the minister, with some of the ancients of the parish, were to commune together about the state of the people in it: that if any carried themselves indecently, they might be first charitably admonished; and if that did not prevail, subjected to severer censures; but none were to be excommunicated without the bishop were first informed, and had consented to it. Divine offices were not to be performed in chapels or private houses, lest the churches should under that pretence be neglected, and errors more easily disseminated, excepting only the houses of peers and persons of great quality, who had numerous families; but in these, all things were to be done according to the book of Common-prayer.

The 20th was about those that bore office in the church; sextons, churchwardens, deacons, priests, and rural deans. This last was to be a yearly office: he that was named to it by the bishop, being to watch over the manners of the clergy and people in his precinct, was to signify the bishop's pleasure to them, and to give the bishop an account of his precinct every sixth month. The archdeacons were to be general visitors over the rural deans. In every cathedral, one of the prebendaries, or one procured by them, was thrice a week to expound some part of the Scriptures. The bishops were to be over all, and to remember that their authority was given to them for that end, that many might be brought to Christ, and that such as had gone astray might be restored by repentance. To the bishop all were to give obedience according to the word of God. The bishop was to preach often in his church; was to ordain none for rewards, or rashly; was to provide good pastors, and to deprive bad ones: he was to visit his diocese every third year, or oftener as he saw cause; but then he was to do it at his own charge: he was to have yearly synods, and to confirm such as were well instructed. His family was to consist of clergymen, whom he should bring up to the service of the church (so was St. Austin's and other ancient bishops' families constituted). This being a great means to supply the great want of good and faithful ministers. Their wives and children were also to avoid all levity or vain dressing. They were never to be absent from their dioceses, but upon a public and urgent cause: and when they grew sick or infirm, they were to have coadjutors. If they became scandalous or heretical, they were to be deprived by the king's authority. The archbishops were to exercise the episcopal function in their diocese; and were once to visit their whole province, and to oversee the bishops, to admonish them for what was amiss, and to receive and judge appeals, to call provincial synods upon any great occasion, having obtained warrant from the king for it. Every bishop was to have a synod of his clergy some time in Lent, so that they might all return home before Palm-Sunday. They were to begin with the Litany, a sermon, and a communion; then all were to withdraw into some private place, where they were to give the bishop an account of the state of the diocese, and to consult of what required advice; every priest was to deliver his opinion, and the bishop was to deliver his sentence, and to bring matters to as speedy a conclusion as might be; and all were to submit to him, or to appeal to the archbishop.

The 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th titles are about churchwardens, universities, tithes, visitations, testaments, ecclesiastical censures, suspension, sequestration, deprivation.

The 30th is about excommunication, of which, as being the chief ecclesiastical censure, I shall set down their scheme the more fully.



Their design concerning the use of Excommunication.

Excommunication they reckon an authority given of God to the church, for removing scandalous or corrupt persons from the use of the sacraments, or fellowship of Christians, till they give clear signs of their repentance, and submit to such spiritual punishments, by which the flesh may be subdued, and the spirit saved. This was trusted to churchmen, but chiefly to archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deans, and any other appointed for it by the church. None ought to be excommunicated but for their obstinacy in great faults; but it was never to be gone about rashly: and therefore the judge who was to give it, was to have a justice of peace with him, and the minister of the parish where the party lived, with two or three learned presbyters, in whose presence the matter was to be examined, and sentence pronounced, which was to be put in writing. It was to be intimated in the parish where the party lived, and in the neighbouring parishes, that all persons might be warned to avoid the company of him that was under excommunication; and the minister was to declare what the nature and consequences of excommunication were, the person so censured being cut off from the body of Christ: after that, none was to eat, or drink, or keep company with him, but those of his own family; whosoever did otherwise, if being admonished they continued in it, were also to be excommunicated. If the person censured continued forty days without expressing any repentance, it was to be certified into the chancery, and a writ was to issue for taking and keeping him in prison, till he should become sensible of his offences; and when he did confess these, and submitted to such punishments as should be enjoined, the sentence was to be taken off, and the person publicly reconciled to the church. And this was to take place against those who, being condemned for capital offences, obtained the king's pardon, but were notwithstanding to be subject to church-censures. Then follows the office of receiving penitents. They were first to stand without the church, and desire to be again received into it, and so to be brought in: the minister was to declare to the people the heinousness of sin, and the mercies of God in the gospel, in a long discourse, of which the form is there prescribed: then he was to show the people, that as they were to abhor hardened sinners, so they were to receive with the bowels of true charity all sincere penitents: he was next to warn the person, not to mock God, and deceive the people, by a feigned confession; he was thereupon to repeat, first a general confession, and then more particularly to name his sin, and to pray to God for mercy to himself, and that none by his ill example might be defiled; and finally, to beseech them all to forgive him, and to receive him again into their fellowship: then the minister was to ask the people, whether they would grant his desires, who were to answer they would: then the pastor was to lay his hand on his head, and to absolve him from the punishment of his offences, and the bond of excommunication; and so to restore him to his place in the church of God. Then he was to lead him to the communion-table, and there to offer up a prayer of thanksgiving to God for reclaiming that sinner. For the other titles, they relate to the other parts of the law of those courts, for which I refer the reader to the book itself.

How far any of those things, chiefly the last about excommunication, may be yet brought into the church, I leave to the consultations of the governors of it, and of the two houses of parliament. It cannot be denied, that vice and immorality, together with much impiety, have overrun the nation; and though the charge of this is commonly cast on the clergy, who certainly have been in too many places wanting to their duty, yet, on the other hand, they have so little power, or none at all, by law, to censure even the most public sins, that the blame of this great defect ought to lie more universally on the whole body of the nation, that have not made effectual provision for the restraining of vice, the making ill men ashamed of their ways, and the driving them from the holy mysteries till they change their course of life.

A Project for relieving the Clergy reduced to great Poverty.

There was another thing proposed this year for the correcting the great disorders of clergymen, which were occasioned by the extreme misery and poverty to which they were reduced. There were some motions made about it in parliament, but they took not effect: so one writ a book concerning it, which he dedicated to the lord chancellor, then the bishop of Ely. He showed, that without rewards or encouragements few would apply themselves to the pastoral function, and

that those in it, if they could not subsist by it, must turn to other employments; so that at that time many clergymen were carpenters and tailors, and some kept ale-houses. It was a reproach on the nation, that there had been so profuse a zeal for superstition, and so much coldness in true religion. He complains of many of the clergy who did not maintain students at the universities according to the king's injunctions; and that in schools and colleges, the poor scholars' places were generally filled with the sons of the rich, and that livings were most scandalously sold, and the greatest part of the country-clergy were so ignorant, that they could do little more than read. But there was no hope of doing anything effectually for redressing so great a calamity, till the king should be of age himself to set forward such laws as might again recover a competent maintenance for the clergy.

Heath and Day turned out of their Bishopries.

This year, both Heath of Worcester and Day bishop of Chichester were put out of their bishopries. For Heath, it has been already said, that he was put in prison for refusing to consent to the book of ordinations. But for Day, whether he refused to submit to the new book, or fell into other transgressions, I do not know. Both these were afterwards deprived, not by any court consisting of churchmen, but by secular delegates, of whom three were civilians, and three common lawyers, as king Edward's Journal informs us. Day's sentence is something ambiguously expressed in the patent that Scory bishop of Rochester had to succeed him; which bears date the 24th of May, and mentions his being put there in the room of George late bishop of that see, who had been deprived or removed from it: in June following, upon Holbeach bishop of Lincoln's death, Taylor, that had been dean of Lincoln, was made bishop. This year the bishopric of Gloucester was quite suppressed and converted into an exempted archdeaconry, and Hooper was made bishop of Worcester. In the December before, Worcester and Gloucester had been united, by reason of their voisinage and their great poverty, and that they were not very populous; so they were to be for ever after one bishopric with two titles, as Coventry and Litchfield, and Bath and Wells were; and Hooper was made bishop of Worcester and Gloucester. But now they were put into another method, and the bishop was to be called only bishop of Worcester. In all the vacancies of sees, there were a great many of their best lands taken from them; and the sees that before had been profusely enriched, were now brought to so low a condition, that it was scarce possible for the bishops to subsist; and yet, if what was so taken from them had been converted to good uses, to the bettering the condition of the poor clergy over England, it had been some mitigation of so heinous a robbery; but these lands were snatched up by every hungry courtier, who found this to be the easiest way to be satisfied in their pretensions; and the world had been so possessed with the opinion of their excessive wealth, that it was thought they never could be made poor enough.

The Affairs of Ireland.

This year a passage fell out, relating to Ireland, which will give me occasion to look over to the affairs of that kingdom. The kings of England had formerly contented themselves with the title of lords of Ireland; which king Henry VIII., in the 33d year of his reign, had in a parliament there changed into the title of a kingdom. But no special crown or coronation was appointed, since it was to follow the crown of England. The popes and the emperors have pretended that the conferring titles of sovereign dignity belonged to them. The pope derived his claim from what our Saviour said, "That all power in heaven and in earth was given to him," and by consequence to his vicar. The emperors, as being a dead shadow of the Roman empire, which title, with the designation of Cæsar, they still continued to use, and pretended, that as the Roman emperors did anciently make kings, so they had still the same right; though because those emperors made kings in the countries which were theirs by conquest, it was an odd stretch to infer, that those who retained nothing of their empire, but the name, should therefore make kings in countries that belonged not to them; and it is certain, that every entire or independent crown or state may make for or within itself what titles they please. But the authority the crown of England had in Ireland was not then so entire as, by the many rebellions that have fallen out since, it is now become. The heads of the clans and names had the conduct of all their several tribes, who were led on by them to what designs they pleased; and though within the English pale the king was obeyed, and his laws executed almost as in England, yet the native Irish were an uncivilised and barbarous nation, and not yet brought under the yoke; and for the greatest part of Ulster, they were united to the Scots, and followed their interests.



There had been a rebellion in the second year of this reign. But sir Anthony St. Leiger, then deputy, being recalled, and sir Edw. Bellinghame sent in his room, he subdued O'Canor, and O'More, that were the chief authors of it; and not being willing to put things to extremities, when England was otherwise distracted with wars, he persuaded them to accept of pensions of 100*l.* a-piece, and so they came in and lived in the English pale. But the winter after, there was another rebellion designed in Ulster, by O'Neal, O'Donnel, O'Docart, and the heads of some other tribes; who sent to the queen dowager of Scotland, to procure them assistance from France, and they would keep up the disorders in Ireland. The bishop of Valence, being then in Scotland, was sent by her to observe their strength, that he might accordingly persuade the king of France to assist them. He crossed the seas and met with them, and with Wauchop, a Scotchman, who was the bishop of Armagh of the pope's making, and who, though he was blind*, was yet esteemed one of the best at riding post in the world. They set out all their greatness to the French bishop to engage him to be their friend at the court of France; but he seemed not so well satisfied of their ability to do any great matter, and so nothing followed on this. One passage fell out here which will a little discover the temper of that bishop. When he was in O'Docart's house, he saw a fair daughter of his, whom he endeavoured to have corrupted, but she avoided him carefully. Two English gray-friars, that had fled out of England for their religion, and were there at that time, observing the bishop's inclinations, brought him an English whore, whom he kept for some time. She one night looking among his things, found a glass full of somewhat that was very odoriferous, and poured it all down her throat; which the bishop perceiving too late, fell into a most violent passion; for it had been presented to him by Soliman the Magnificent, at his leaving that court, as the richest balm in Egypt, and was valued at 2000 crowns. The bishop was in such a rage, that all the house was disturbed with it; whereby he discovered both his lewdness and passion at once. This is related by one that was then with him, and was carried over by him to be a page to the Scotch queen, sir James Melvil, who lived long in that court under the constable of France, and was afterwards much employed by the prince elector Palatine in many negotiations; and coming home to his own country, was sent on many occasions to the court of England, where he lived in great esteem. He in his old age writ a narrative of all the affairs that himself had been concerned in, which is one of the best and perfectest pieces of that nature that I have seen. The original is yet extant under his own hand in Scotland: a copy of it was showed me by one descended from him, from which I shall discover many considerable passages, though the affairs in which he was most employed were something later than the time of which I am to write. But to return to Ireland. Upon the peace made with France and Scotland, things were quieted there: and sir Ant. St. Leiger was in August 1550 again sent over to be deputy there. For the Reformation, it made but a small progress in that kingdom. It was received among the English, but I do not find any endeavours were used to bring it in among the Irish. This year Bale was sent into Ireland. He had been a busy writer upon all occasions, and had a great deal of learning, but wanted temper, and did not write with the decency that became a divine, or was suitable to such matters; which it seems made those who recommended men to preferment in this church, not think him so fit a person to be employed here in England. But the bishopric of Ossery being void, the king proposed him to be sent thither. So in August this year Dr. Goodaker was sent over to be bishop of Armagh, and Bale to be bishop of Ossery. There were also two others who were Irishmen, to be promoted. When they came thither, the archbishop of Dublin intended to have consecrated them according to the old pontifical; for the new book of ordination had not been yet used among them. Goodaker and the two others were easily persuaded to it, but Bale absolutely refused to consent to it; who being assisted by the lord chancellor, it was carried that they should be ordained according to the new book. When Bale went into his diocese,

* He was not blind, only short-sighted: "Il quale correr alla posta meglio d'huomo del mondo."—*Hist. del Conc. Trid.* l. 2. p. 144.—Anon. Correct.

he found all things there in dark popery; but before he could make any reformation there, king Edward's death put an end to his and all such designs.

In England, nothing else that had any relation to the Reformation passed this year, unless what belongs to the change made in the order of the Garter may be thought to relate to it. On the 23rd of April, the former year, being St. George's Day, a proposition was made to consider the order and statutes, since there was thought to be a great deal of superstition in them; and the story upon which the order was founded, concerning St. George's fighting with the dragon, looked like a legend formed in the darker ages to support the humour of chivalry, that was then very high in the world. And as the story had no great credibility in itself, so it was delivered by no ancient author. Nor was it found that there had been any such saint: there being among ancient writers none mentioned of that name, but George of Alexandria, the Arian bishop, that was put in when Athanasius was banished. Upon this motion in the former year, the duke of Somerset, the marquis of Northampton, and the earls of Wiltshire and Warwick, were appointed to review the statutes of the order. So this year the whole order was changed; and the earl of Westmorland and sir Andrew Dudley, who were now to be installed, were the first that were received according to the new model (which the reader will find in the Collection, as it was translated into Latin out of the English by the king himself, written all with his own hand, and it is the third paper after his Journal). The preamble of it sets forth the noble design of the order, to animate great men to gallant actions, and to associate them into a fraternity, for their better encouragement and assistance; but says, it had been much corrupted by superstition, therefore the statutes of it were hereafter to be these:

A Change made in the Order of the Garter.

King Edward's Remains, Number 3.

It was no more to be called the order of St. George, nor was he to be esteemed the patron of it; but it was to be called the order of the Garter. The knights of this order were to wear the blue riband or garter as formerly; but at the collar, instead of a George, there was to be, on one side of the jewel, a knight carrying a book upon a sword-point; on the sword to be written *Protectio*, on the book *Verbum Dei*; on the reverse, a shield, on which should be written *Fides*—to express their resolution, both with offensive and defensive weapons, to maintain the Word of God. For the rest of the statutes, I shall refer the reader to the paper I mentioned. But this was repealed by queen Mary; and so the old rules took place again, and do so still. This design seems to have been chiefly intended, that none but those of the reformed religion might be capable of it; since the adhering to and standing for the Scriptures was then taken to be the distinguishing character between the papists and the reformers.

This is the sum of what was either done or designed this year with relation to religion. As for the state, there was a strict inquiry made of all who had cheated the king in the suppression of chantries, or in any other thing that related to churches; from which the visitors were believed to have embezzled much to their own uses, and there were many suits in the Star-chamber about it. Most of all these persons had been the friends or creatures of the duke of Somerset: and the inquiry after these things seems to have been more out of hatred to him than out of any design to make the king the richer by what should be recovered for his use. But on none did the storm break more severely than on the lord Paget. He had been chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and was charged with many misdemeanours in that office, for which he was fined in 6000*l*. But that which was most severe, was, that on St. George's Eve he was degraded from the order of the Garter, for divers offences, but chiefly because he was no gentleman, neither by father's side nor mother's side. His chief offence was his greatest virtue. He had been on all occasions a constant friend to the duke of Somerset: for which the duke of Northumberland hated him mortally, and so got him to be degraded to make way for his own son. This was much censured, as a barbarous action; that a man, who had so long served the crown in such public negotiations, and was now of no meaner blood than he was when king Henry first gave him the order, should be so dishonoured, being guilty of no other fault but what is common to most courtiers, of enriching himself at his master's cost; for which his fine was severe enough for the expiation. But the duke of Northumberland was

Paget degraded from being a Knight of the Garter.



WILLIAM, FIRST LORD PAGET.

OB. 1563.

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF ANGLESEA.

a person so given up to violence and revenge, that an ordinary disgrace did not satisfy his hatred.

Sir Ant. St. Leiger, another knight of the order, was at the same time accused, upon complaint sent from the archbishop of Dublin, in Ireland, for some high words that he had used. But these being examined, he was cleared, and admitted to his place among the knights of the Garter. Many others that were obnoxious came in, upon this violent prosecution, to purchase the favour of Northumberland, who was much set on framing a parliament to his mind, and so took those methods which he thought likeliest to work his ends. It being ordinary for men of insolent and boisterous tempers, who are generally as abject when they are low as they are puffed up with prosperity, to measure other people by themselves; therefore, knowing that the methods of reason and kindness would have no operation on themselves, and that height and severity are the only ways to subdue them, they use that same way of gaining others which they find most effectual with themselves.

The increase of Trade.

This year, the king went on in paying his debts, reforming the coin, and other ways that might make the nation great and wealthy. And one great project was undertaken, which has been the chief beginning and foundation of the great riches and strength of shipping to which this nation has attained since that time. From the days of king Henry III. the free towns of Germany, who had assisted him in his wars, obtained great privileges in England: they were made a corporation, and lived together in the Still-yard near the Bridge. They had, in Edward IV.'s time, been brought into some trouble for carrying their privileges further than their charter allowed them; and so judgment was given that they had forfeited it, but they redeemed themselves out of that by a great present which they made to the king. That which chiefly supported them at court was, that they, trading in a body, were not only able to take the trade out of all other persons' hands by underselling them, but they had always a great stock of money; and so, when the government was in a strait, they were ready, upon a good security, to lend great sums; and on lesser occasions could obtain the favour of a statesman by the presents they made him. But now trade was raised much above what it had been, and courts becoming more magnificent than formerly, there was a greater consumption, particularly of cloth, than had ever been known. The discovery of the Indies had raised both trade and navigation, so that there was a quicker circulation of the wealth of the world than had been in former ages.

Antwerp and Hamburgh lying both conveniently, the one in the mouth of the Elbe, and the other near the mouth of the Rhine, which were the two greatest rivers that fell into those seas, the merchants of those two cities at that time had the chief trade of the world. The English began to look on those Easterlings with envy. All that was imported or exported came for most part in their bottoms: all markets were in their hands, so that commodities of foreign growth were vented by them in England, and the product of the kingdom was bought up by them. And all the nation being then set much on pasture, they had much advanced their manufacture, insomuch that their own wool, which had been formerly wrought at Antwerp, was now made into cloth in England, which the Still-yard men obtained leave to carry away. At first they shipped not above eight cloths in a year; after that, an hundred, then a thousand, then six thousand; but this last year there was shipped in their name forty-four thousand cloths, and not above eleven hundred by all others that traded within England.

The merchant adventurers found they could not hold out unless this company was broke. So they put in their complaint against them in the beginning of this year, to which the Still-yard men made answer, and they replied. Upon this, the council made a decree that the charter was broken, and so dissolved the company. Those of Hamburgh and Lubeck, and the regent of Flanders, solicited the council to have this redressed, but in vain: for the advantage the nation was to have by it was too visible to admit of any interposition. But the design of trade being thus set on foot, another project of a higher nature followed it. The war was now begun between the emperor and the king of France; and that, with the persecution raised in Flanders against all that leaned to the doctrine of the Protestants, made many there think of changing their seats. It was therefore proposed, here in England, to

open a free trade, and to appoint some mart towns, that should have greater privileges and securities for encouraging merchants to live in them, and should be easier in their customs than they were anywhere else. Southampton for the cloth trade, and Hull for the northern trade, were thought the two fittest places. And for the advantages and disadvantages of this design, I find the young king had balanced the matter exactly; for there is a large paper, all written with his own hand, containing what was to be said on both sides. But his death, and queen Mary's marrying the prince of Spain, put an end to this project; though all the addresses her husband made, seconding the desires of the Easterlings, could never prevail to the setting up of that company again. If the reader would understand this matter more perfectly, he may find a great deal of it in the king's Journal, and in the fourth paper that follows it, where the whole affair seems to be considered on all hands: but men that know merchandise more perfectly will judge better of these things.

King Edward's Remains, Number 4.

This summer, Cardan, the great philosopher of that age, passed through England. He was brought from Italy on the account of Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who was then desperately sick of a dropsy. Cardan cured him of his disease; but being a man much conversant both in astrology and magic, as himself professed, he told the archbishop, that though he had at present saved his life, yet he could not change his fate, for he was to die on a gallows. In his going through England, he waited on king Edward, where he was so entertained by him, and observed his extraordinary parts and virtues so narrowly, that on many occasions he writ afterwards of him with great astonishment, as being the most wonderful person he had ever seen.

Cardan in England.

But the mention of the Scotch archbishop's sickness leads me now to the affairs of Scotland. The queen had passed through England from France to Scotland last year. In her passage she was treated by the king with all that respect that one crowned head could pay to another. The particulars are in his Journal, and need not be recited here. When she came home, she set herself much to persuade the governor to lay down the government, that it might be put in her hands; to which he, being a soft man, was the more easily induced, because his brother, who had great power over him, and was a violent and ambitious man, was then so sick that there was no hope of his life. He had also received letters from France, in such a style that he saw he must either lay down the government, or not only lose the honour and pension he had there, but be forced to struggle for what he had in his own country. Whether the French understood anything by their spies in the court of England, that it had been proposed there to persuade him to pretend to the crown, and were therefore the more earnest to have the government out of his hands, I do not know: but though I have seen many hundreds of letters that passed in those times between England and Scotland, I could not find by any of them that he ever entered into any treaty about it.

The Affairs of Scotland.

It seems his base brother had some thoughts of it. For when he was so far recovered that he could inquire after news, and heard what his brother had done, he flew out in a passion, and called him "a beast for parting with the government, since there was none but a lass between him and the crown." I set down his own words, leaving a space void for an epithet he used of the young queen, scarce decent enough to be mentioned. There had been a great consultation in France what to do with the queen of Scotland. Her uncles pressed the king to marry her to the dauphin; for thereby another kingdom would be added to France, which would be a perpetual thorn in the side of England; she had also some prospect of succeeding to the crown of England; so that on all accounts it seemed the best match in Europe for the dauphin. But the wise constable had observed, that the Spaniards lost by their dominions that lay so remote from the chief seat of their government; though these were the richest countries in Europe; namely, Sicily, Naples, Milan, and the Netherlands; and wisely apprehended that France might suffer much more by the accession of such a crown, which not only was remote, but where also the country was poor, and the people not easily governed. It would be a vast charge to them to send navies and to pay armies there: the nobility might when they would, by confederating with England, either shake off the French government, or put them to a great expense to keep it: so that whereas



Scotland had been hitherto by a pension, and sometimes by a little assistance, kept in a perpetual alliance with France, he apprehended by such a union it might become their enemy, and a great weight on their government. This the constable pressed much, both out of his care of his master's interest, and in opposition to the house of Guise. He advised the king rather to marry her to some of his subjects, of whom he was well assured, and to send her and her husband home into Scotland, by which means the perpetual amity of that kingdom might be preserved on easy terms. But the king was so possessed with the notion of the union of that crown to France, that he gave no ear to this wise advice; thinking it flowed chiefly from the hatred and enmity which he knew the constable bore the family of Guise. This the constable himself told Melvil, from whose narrative I have it. The queen mother of Scotland being possessed of the government, found two great factions in it. The head of the one was the archbishop, who now recovering, and finding himself neglected, and the queen governed by other councils, set himself much against her, and drew the clergy for the most part into his interests. The other faction was of those who hated him, and them both, and inclined to the Reformation. They set up the prior of St. Andrew's, who was their young queen's natural brother, as their head, and by his means offered their service to the queen, now made regent: they offered that they would agree with her to send the matrimonial crown to the dauphin, and consent to the union of both kingdoms: only they desired her protection from the violence of the clergy, and that they might have secretly preachers in their houses to instruct them in the points of religion. This offer the queen readily accepted of, and so by their assistance carried things till near the end of her regency with great moderation and discretion. And now the affairs of Scotland were put in a channel, in which they held long steady and quiet, till about six years after this, that upon the peace with the king of Spain there were cruel councils laid down in France, and from thence sent over into Scotland, for extirpating heresy. But of that we shall discourse in its proper place.

As for the affairs of Germany, there was this year a great and sudden turn of things there; with which the emperor was surprised by a strange supineness that proved as fatal to him as it was happy to the empire; though all the world besides saw it coming on him. Upon the delivery of Magdeburg, Maurice of Saxe's army, pretending there was an arrear due to them, took up their winter-quarters near Saxe, in the dominions of some popish princes; where they were very unwelcome guests. The sons of the Landgrave being required by their father, pressed the duke of Saxe on his honour, to free their father, or to become their prisoner in his room, since they had his faith for his liberty: so he went to them, and offered them his person; but though he did not trust them with his whole design, yet he told them so much, that they were willing to let him go back. The emperor's counsellors were alarmed with what they heard from all hands. And the duke of Alva (well known afterwards by his cruelties in the Netherlands) advised him to send for Maurice to come and give an account of all those suspicious passages, to take the army out of his hands, and to take such securities from him as might clear all the jealousies for which his carriage had given great cause. But the bishop of Arras was, on the other hand, so assured of him, that he said, the giving him any suspicion of the emperor's distrust might really engage him into such designs; and that such deep projects as they heard he was in, were too fine conceits for Dutch drunken heads. He also assured them he had two of his secretaries in pension, so that he was advertised of all his motions. But the duke of Saxe came to know that those his secretaries were the emperor's pensioners; and dissembled it so well, that he used them in all appearance with more confidence than formerly: he held all his consultations in their presence, and seemed to open his heart so to them, that they possessed the bishop with a firm confidence of his sincerity and steadiness to the emperor's interests. Yet his lingering so at the town of Magdeburg, with the other dark passages concerning him, made the emperor conceive at last a jealousy of him, and he writ for him to come and clear himself: then he refined it higher; for having left orders with the officers whom he had made sure to him to follow with the army in all the haste they could, he himself took post with as small a train as his dignity could admit of, and carried one of those corrupted secretaries with him; but on the way he complained of pains

The Affairs of Germany.

in his side, so that he could not hold on his journey; but sent forward his secretary, who gave such an account of him, that it, together with his coming so readily a great part of his way in so secure a manner, made the emperor now lay down all his former distrusts. The emperor writ to Trent and to many other places, that there was no cause of fear from Maurice. And Maurice, to colour the matter more completely, had sent his ambassadors to Trent, and had ordered Melancthon, and his other divines, to follow them slowly, that as soon as the safe-conduct was obtained, they might go on and defend their doctrine.

Proceedings at Trent.

Upon their coming to Trent, and proposing their desires, that all might be again considered, the legates rejected the proposition with much scorn. The emperor's ambassadors and prelates pressed that they might be well received. The archbishop of Toledo showed how much Christ had borne with the scribes and pharisees; and that in imitation of him, they ought to leave nothing undone that might gain upon them. So it was resolved, that the council should make a protestation, that the usage they gave them was out of charity, which is above all law; since it was against the decretals to have any treaty with professed heretics. At the same time the imperialists dealt no less earnestly with the ambassadors from the Protestant princes, not to ask too much at once, but to go on by degrees; and assured them they had a mind to lessen the pope's greatness as much as they had. The ambassadors' first step was to be for obtaining a safe-conduct. They excepted to that which the council had given, as different from that the council of Basil had sent to the Bohemians, in four material points. The first was, that their divines should have a decisive voice. 2. That all points should be determined according to the Scriptures; and according to the fathers, as they were conformable to those. The third, that they should have the exercise of their religion within their own houses. 4. That nothing should be done in contempt of their doctrine. So they desired that the safe-conduct might be word for word the same with that of Basil.

But the legates abhorred the name of that council, that had endeavoured so much to break the power of the popedom, and had consented to that extraordinary safe-conduct, only to unite Germany, and to gain them by such compliance to be of their side against the pope. Yet the legates promised to consider of it. The ambassadors were received in a congregation, which differed from a session of the council, just as a committee of a whole house of parliament differs from the house, when set according to its forms. They began their speech with this salutation, "Most reverend and most mighty fathers and lords;" they added a cold compliment, and desired a safe-conduct. At this time the pope hearing that the emperor was resolved to bring on the old designs of some councils for lessening his greatness, and that the Spanish bishops were much set on it, united himself to France, and resolved to break the council as soon as it was possible; and therefore he ordered the legates to proceed in the decision of the doctrine, hoping that the Protestants would despair of obtaining anything, and so go away. So the safe-conduct they had desired was not granted them, and another was offered in its room, containing only full security for their persons. Upon this security, such as it was, divines came both from Wirtemberg and the town of Strasburg. But as they were going on to treat of matrimony, the war of Germany broke out, and the bishops of the empire, with the other ambassadors, immediately went home. The legates laid hold on this so readily, that though the session was to have been held on the 2nd of May, they called an extraordinary one on the 28th of April, and suspended the council for two years.

An Account of the Council of Trent.

And being to have no other occasion to say anything more of this council, I shall only add, that there had been a great expectation over Christendom of some considerable event of a general council for many years. The bishops and princes had much desired it, hoping it might have brought the differences among divines to a happy composure; and have settled a reformation of those abuses, which had been long complained of, and were still kept up by the court of Rome, for the ends of that principality that they had assumed in sacred things. The popes for the same reasons were very apprehensive of it, fearing that it might have lessened their prerogatives, and by cutting off abuses, that brought in a great revenue to them, have abridged their profits. But it was, by the cunning of the legates, the dissensions of princes, the great number of poor Italian bishops, and the ignorance of the greatest part of the other, so managed, that instead of composing differences in religion, things were so nicely defined, that they were made irreconcilable. All those abuses, for which there had been nothing but practice, and that much questioned before, were now by the provisos and reservations, excepted for the privileges of the Roman see, made warrantable. So that it had in all particulars an issue quite contrary to what the several parties concerned had expected from it, and has put the world ever since out of the humour of desiring any more general councils, as they are accustomed to call them. The history of that council was writ with as much life, and beauty, and authority, as had been ever seen in any human writing, by friar Paul of Venice, within half an age of the time in which it was ended; when the thing was yet fresh in men's memories, and many were alive who had been present: and there was not one in that age that engaged to write against it. But about forty years after, when father Paul and all his friends who knew from what vouchers he writ were dead, Pallavicini, a jesuit, who was made a cardinal for this service, undertook to answer him, by another history of that council, which, in many matters of fact, contradicts father Paul; upon the credit (as he tells us) of some journals and memorials of such as were present, which he perused, and cites upon all occasions. We see that Rome hath been in all ages so good at forging those things which might be of use to its interests, that we know not how to trust that shop of false wares in any one thing that comes out of it. And therefore it is not easy to be assured of the truth and genuineness of any of the materials out of which the jesuit composed his work. But as for the main thread of the story, both his and father Paul's accounts do so agree, that whosoever compares them, will clearly see that all things were managed by intrigues and secret practices; so that it will not be easy for a man of common sense, after he has read over Pallavicini's history, to fancy that there was any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghost hovering over and directing their councils. And the care they took for palliating all the corruptions then complained of was so apparent, that their historian had no other way by which to excuse it, but to set up a new hypothesis, which a French writer since has wittily called "the Cardinal's New Gospel;"—"That there must be a temporal principality in the church, that all things which support that principality are to be at least tolerated, though they be far contrary to the primitive patterns, and to the first delivery of the gospel by Christ and his apostles. That which was then set up, he accounts a state of infancy, to which milk was proper; but the church being since grown to its full state and strength, other things are now necessary for the maintaining and preserving of it."

And a Judgment of the Histories of it.



But to return to Maurice, he having possessed the emperor with an entire confidence in him, gathered his army together, took Augsburg, with many other imperial cities; and displaced the magistrates which the emperor had put in them, and restored their old ones, with the banished ministers; so that everything began to put on a new face. Ferdinand, king of the Romans, did mediate; both on his own account, for the Turks were falling into Hungary, and on the empire's, for the king of France was come with a great army to the confines of the empire: and the constable, pretending that he only desired passage through the town of Metz, entered it, and possessed himself of it. Toul and Verdun fell also into his hands; and the French were endeavouring to be admitted into Strasburg. The emperor was now in great disorder; he had no army about him; those he had confided in were declared against him: his own brother was not ill pleased at his misfortune; the French were like to gain ground on his hereditary dominions. Being thus perplexed and irresolved, he did not send a speedy answer to Maurice's demands, which he had sent by his brother; for the setting of the landgrave at liberty, restoring the freedoms of the empire, and particularly in matters of religion. But to lose no time the mean while, Maurice marched on to Inspruck, where the emperor lay, and surprised a pass to which he had trusted; so that he was within two miles of him before he was aware of it. Upon this the emperor rose from supper in great haste, and by torch-light fled away to make his escape into Italy. He gave the duke of Saxe his liberty; but he generously resolved to follow him in this his calamity; and perhaps he was not willing to owe his liberty to his cousin Maurice. Thus all that design which the emperor had been laying so many years was now broken off on a sudden: he lost all the advantages

he had of his former victories, and was forced to set the prisoners at liberty, and to call in the proscriptions; and in conclusion, the edict of Passau was made, by which the several princes and towns were secured in the free exercise of their religion.

I have made this digression, which I thought not disagreeable to the matter of my history, to give account of the extreme danger in which religion was in Germany, and how strangely it was recovered; in which he, who had been the chief instrument of the miseries it had groaned under, was now become its unlooked-for deliverer. I have enlarged on some passages that are in none of the printed histories, which I draw from Melvil's Memoirs, who says he had them from the elector palatine's own mouth.

The Emperor is much cast down.

But the emperor's misfortunes redoubled on him: for having made peace in the empire, he would, against all reason or probability of success, sit down before Metz. But the duke of Guise defended the place so against him, and the time of the year was so unseasonable, being in December, that after a great loss of men, and vast expense of treasure, he was forced to raise his siege. From thence he retired into Flanders, where his afflictions seized so violently on him, that for some time he admitted none to come near him: some said he was frantic, others that he was sullen and melancholy. The English ambassadors at Brussels, for many weeks, could learn nothing certain concerning him. Here, it is said, he began to reflect on the vanity of the world; when he, who had but a year before given law to Christendom, was now driven to so low an ebb, that as he had irrecoverably lost all his footing in Germany, so in all other things his councils were unlucky. It was one of the notablest turns of fortune that had been in many ages; and gave a great demonstration both of an overruling Providence that disposes of all human affairs at pleasure, and of a particular care that God had of the Reformation, in thus recovering it when it seemed gone without hope in Germany.

These reflections made deep impressions on his mind, and were believed to have first possessed him with the design, which not long after he put in execution, of laying down his crowns, and retiring to a private course of life. In his retirement, having time to consider things more impartially, he was so much changed in his opinion of the Protestant religion, that he, who hitherto had been a most violent opposer of it, was suspected of being turned to it before he died.

Thus ended this year; and now I come to the last and fatal year of this young king's life and reign. The first thing done in it was a regulation of the privy-council, which was divided into so many committees, and every one of these had its proper work, and days appointed for the receiving and despatching of all affairs. In all these things a method was prescribed to them, of which the reader will see a full account in the sixth paper of those that follow king Edward's Journal; which paper, though it is not all written with his hand, as the others be, yet it is in so many places interlined by him, that he seems to have considered it much, and been well pleased with it. His second parliament was opened on the 1st of March. On the 6th of March, it was moved in the house of commons to give the king two-tenths and two-fifteenths, with a subsidy, for two years. It was long argued at first; and at the passing the bill, it was again argued, but at last the commons agreed to it. The preamble of it is a long accusation of the duke of Somerset for involving the king in wars, wasting his treasure, engaging him in much debt, embasing the coin, and having given occasion to a most terrible rebellion. In fine, considering the great debt the king was left in by his father, the loss he put himself to in the reforming the coin, and they finding his temper to be set wholly on the good of his subjects, and not on enriching himself; therefore they give him two-tenths and two-fifteenths, with one subsidy, for two years. Whether the debate in the house of commons was against the subsidies in this act, or against the preamble, cannot be certainly known: but it is probable the debate, at the engrossing the bill, was about the preamble, which the duke of Northumberland and his party were the more earnestly set on to let the king see how acceptable they were, and how hateful the duke of Somerset had been. The clergy did also, for an expression of their affection and duty, give the king six shillings in the pound of their benefices. There was also a bill sent down from the lords, that none might hold any spiritual promotion unless he were either

1553.

A Regulation of the Privy-Council.

King Edward's Remains, Number 6.

A new Parliament.



priest or deacon: but after the third reading it was cast out. The reason of it was, because many noblemen and gentlemen's sons had prebends given them on this pretence, that they intended to fit themselves by study for entering into orders; but they kept these, and never advanced in their studies: upon which the bishops prevailed to have the bill agreed to by the lords, but could carry it no further.

The Bishopric of Durham suppressed, and two new ones appointed.

Another act passed for the suppressing the bishopric of Durham, which is so strangely misrepresented by those who never read more than the title of it, that I shall therefore give a more full account of it. It is set forth in the preamble, "that that bishopric being then void of a prelate, so that the gift thereof was in the king's pleasure; and the compass of it being so large, extending to so many shires so far distant, that it could not be sufficiently served by one bishop; and since the king, according to his godly disposition, was desirous to have God's holy word preached in these parts, which were wild and barbarous for lack of good preaching and good learning; therefore he intended to have two bishoprics for that diocese: the one at Durham, which should have 2000 marks revenue; and another at Newcastle, which should have 1000 marks revenue: and also to found a cathedral church at Newcastle, with a deanery and chapter, out of the revenues of the bishopric: therefore the bishopric of Durham is utterly extinguished and dissolved, and authority is given for letters patents to erect the two new bishopries, together with the deanery and chapter at Newcastle; with a proviso that the rights of the deanery, chapter, and cathedral of Durham should suffer nothing by this act."

When this bill is considered, that dissolution that was designed by it will not appear to be so sacrilegious a thing as some writers have represented it. For whosoever understands the value of old rents, especially such as these were near the marches of an enemy, where the service of the tenants in the war made their lands be set at very low rates, will know that 3000 marks of rent being reserved, besides the endowing of the cathedral, which could hardly be done under another 1000 marks, there could not be so great a prey of that bishopric as has been imagined. Ridley, as himself writes in one of his letters, was named to be bishop of Durham, being one of the natives of that country; but the thing never took effect. For in May, and no sooner, was the temporalty of the bishopric turned into a county palatine, and given to the duke of Northumberland: but the king's sickness, and soon after his death, made that and all the rest of these designs prove abortive.

How Tonstall was deprived, I cannot understand. It was for misprision of treason, and done by secular men; for Cranmer refused to meddle in it. I have seen the commission given by queen Mary to some delegates to examine it, in which it is said, that the sentence was given only by laymen; and that Tonstall, being kept prisoner long in the Tower, was brought to his trial, in which he had neither counsel assigned him, nor convenient time given him for clearing himself; and that after divers protestations, they had, notwithstanding his appeal, deprived him of his bishopric. He was not only turned out, but kept prisoner till queen Mary set him at liberty.

At the end of this parliament the king granted a free pardon, concerning which this is only remarkable, that whereas it goes for a maxim, that the acts of pardon must be passed without changing anything in them, the commons, when they sent up this act of pardon to the lords, desired that some words might be amended in it; but it is not clear what was done, for that same day the acts were passed, and the parliament was dissolved.

In it the duke of Northumberland had carried this point, that the nation made a public declaration of their dislike of the duke of Somerset's proceedings; which was the more necessary, because the king had let fall words concerning his death, by which he seemed to reflect on it with some concern, and looked on it as Northumberland's deed. But the act had passed with such difficulty, that either the duke did not think the parliament well enough disposed for him, or else he resolved totally to vary from the measures of the duke of Somerset, who continued the same parliament long, whereas this that was opened on the 1st, was dissolved on the last day of March.

Visitors were soon after appointed to examine what church-plate, jewels, and other furniture, was in all cathedrals and churches, and to compare their account with the inventories made in former visitations; and to see what was embezzled, and how it was done. And because the king was resolved to have churches and chapels furnished with that that was comely and convenient for the administration of the sacraments, they were to give one or two chalices of silver, or more, to every church, chapel, or cathedral, as their discretions should direct them; and to distribute comely furniture for the communion-table, and for surplices; and to sell the rest of the linen, and give it to the poor: and to sell copes and altar-cloths, and deliver all the rest of the plate and jewels to the king's treasurer, sir Edm. Pecham. This is spitefully urged by one of our writers, who would have his reader infer from it that the king was ill-principled as to the matters of the church, because, when this order was given by him, he was now in the sixteenth year of his age. But if all princes should be thus judged by all instructions that pass under their hands, they would be more severely censured than there is cause. And for the particular matter that is charged on the memory of this young prince, which, as it was represented to him, was only a calling for the superfluous plate and other goods that lay in churches more for pomp than for use; though the applying of it to common uses, except upon extreme necessities, is not a thing that can be justified; yet it deserved not so severe a censure, especially the instructions being signed by the king in his sickness; in which it is not likely that he minded affairs of that kind much, but set his hand easily to such papers as the council prepared for him.

A Visitation for the Plate in the Churches.

These instructions were directed, in the copy that I have perused, to the earl of Shrewsbury lord president of the North: upon which occasion, I shall here make mention of that which I know not certainly in what year to place, namely, the instructions that were given to that earl when he was made president of the North. And I mention them the rather because there have been since that time some contests about that office, and the court belonging to it. There was by his instructions a council to be assistant to him; whereof some of the members were at large, and not bound to attendance, others were not to leave him without licence from him; and he was in all things to have a negative voice in it. For the other particulars, I refer the reader to the copy, which he will find in the Collection. One instruction among them belongs to religion; that he and the other councillors, when there was at any time assemblies of people before them, should persuade them to be obedient chiefly to the laws about religion, and especially concerning the service set forth in their own mother-tongue. There was also a particular charge given them concerning the abolished power of the bishop of Rome; whose abuses they were by continual inculcation so to beat into the minds of the people, that they might well apprehend them, and might see that those things were said to them from their hearts, and not from their tongues only for form's sake. They were also to satisfy them about the abrogation of many holidays appointed by the same bishop, who endeavoured to persuade the world that he could make saints at his pleasure; which by leading the people to idleness, gave occasion to many vices and inconveniences. These instructions were given after the peace was made with Scotland; otherwise there must have been a great deal in them relating to that war; but the critical time of them I do not know.

Instructions for the President of the North.

Collection, Number 56.

This year Harley was made bishop of Hereford, instead of Skip, who died the last year. And he being the last of those who were made so by letters patents, I shall give the reader some satisfaction concerning that way of making bishops. The patents began with the mention of the vacancy of the see, by death or removal; upon which the king being informed of the good qualifications of such a one, appoints him to be bishop during his natural life, or so long as he shall behave himself well; giving him power to ordain and deprive ministers, to confer benefices, judge about wills, name officials and commissaries, exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, visit the clergy, inflict censures, and punish scandalous persons, and to do all the other parts of the episcopal function that were found by the word of God to be committed to bishops; all which they

The Form of the Bishops' Letters Patents.



were to execute and do in the king's name and authority. After that in the same patent follows the restitution of the temporalties. The day after, a certificate in a writ called a *significavit* was to be made of this, under the great seal, to the archbishop, with a charge to consecrate him.

The first that had his bishopric by the king's patents was Barlow, that was removed from St. David's to Bath and Wells. They bear date the 3d of February, in the second year of the king's reign: and so Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was not the first, as some have imagined, for he was made bishop the 1st of August that year. This Ferrar was a rash, indiscreet man, and drew upon himself the dislike of the prebendaries of St. David's. He was made bishop upon the duke of Somerset's favour to him. But last year many articles were objected to him: some, as if he had incurred a *præmunire* for acting in his courts not in the king's, but his own name; and some for neglecting his charge; and some little indecencies were objected to him, as going strangely habited, travelling on foot, whistling impertinently, with many other things, which, if true, showed in him much weakness and folly. The heaviest articles he denied; yet he was kept in prison, and commissioners were sent into Wales to examine witnesses, who took many depositions against him. He lay in prison till queen Mary's time; and then he was kept in on the account of his belief. But his suffering afterwards for his conscience, when Morgan, who had been his chief accuser before on those other articles, being then made his judge, condemned him for heresy, and made room for himself to be bishop by burning him, did much turn the people's censures from him upon his successor.

By these letters patents it is clear that the episcopal function was acknowledged to be of divine appointment, and that the person was no other way named by the king than as lay-patrons present to livings; only the bishop was legally authorised, in such a part of the king's dominions, to execute that function which was to be derived to him by imposition of hands. Therefore here was no pretence for denying that such persons were true bishops, and for saying, as some have done, that they were not from Christ, but from the king.

Upon this occasion it will not be improper to represent to the reader how this matter stands according to the law at this day: which is the more necessary, because some superficial writers have either misunderstood or misrepresented it. The act that authorised those letters patents, and required the bishops to hold their courts in the king's name, was repealed both by the 1 Mar. chap. 2, and 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, chap. 8. The latter of these, that repealed only a part of it, was repealed by the 1 Eliz. chap. 1, and the former by the 1 Jac. chap. 25. So some have argued, that since those statutes which repealed this act of Edward VI. 1 Par. chap. 2, are since repealed, that it stands now in full force. This seems to have some colour in it, and so it was brought in question in parliament in the fourth year of king James; and great debate being made about it, the king appointed the two chief justices to search into the matter. They, upon a slight inquiry, agreed that the statute of Edw. VI. was in force by that repeal: but the chief baron and the other judges searching the matter more carefully, found that the statute had been in effect repealed by the first of Eliz. ch. 1, where the act of the 25 Hen. VIII., concerning the election and jurisdiction of bishops, as formerly they had exercised it, was revived; so that being in full force, the act of Edw. VI. that repealed it was thereby repealed. To this all the learned men of the law did then agree; so that it was not thought so much as necessary to make an explanatory law about it; the thing being indeed so clear, that it did not admit of any ambiguity.

Coke 2. Inst. F. 684, 685.

In May this year the king by his letters patents authorised all schoolmasters to teach a new and fuller catechism, compiled by Alexander Noel.

These are all the passages in which the church is concerned this year. The foreign negotiations were important. For now the balance began to turn to the French side; therefore the council resolved to mediate a peace between the French and the emperor. The emperor had sent over an ambassador in September last year, to desire the king would consider the danger in which Flanders was now, by the French king's having Metz, with the other towns in Lorraine, which did in a great measure divide it from the assistance of the empire; and therefore moved, that according to the ancient league between England and

the house of Burgundy, they would enter into a new league with him. Upon this occasion the reader will find how the secretaries of state bred the king to the understanding of business, with relation to the studies he was then about; for secretary Cecil set down all the arguments for and against that league, with little notes on the margin relating to such topics from whence he brought them; by which it seems the king was then learning logic. It is the fifth of those papers after his journal.

King Edward's Remains, Number 5.

It was resolved on to send sir Richard Morison with instructions to compliment the emperor upon his coming into Flanders, and to make an offer of the king's assistance against the Turks, who had made great depredations that year both in Hungary, Italy, and Sicily. If the emperor should upon that complain of the French king, and say that he had brought in the Turks, and should have asked assistance against him, he was to move the emperor to send over an ambassador to treat about it, since he that was then resident in England was not very acceptable. These instructions (which are in the Collection) were signed in September, but not made use of till January this year. And then new orders were sent to propose the king to be a mediator between France and the emperor. Upon which the bishop of Norwich and sir Phil. Hobbey were sent over to join with sir Richard Morison; and sir William Pickering, and sir Tho. Chaloner were sent into France. In May the emperor fell sick, and the English ambassadors could learn nothing certainly concerning him; but then the queen of Hungary and the bishop of Arras treated with them. The bishop of Arras complained that the French had begun the war, had taken the emperor's ship at Barcelona, had robbed his subjects at sea, had stirred up the princes of Germany against him, had taken some of the towns of the empire from him; while the French ambassadors were all the while swearing to the emperor, that their master intended nothing so much as to preserve the peace: so that now, although the French were making several overtures for peace, they could give no credit to anything that came from them. In fine, the queen and bishop of Arras promised the English ambassadors to let the emperor know of the king's offering himself to mediate, and afterwards told them that the emperor delayed giving answer till he were well enough to do it himself.

A Treaty with the Emperor.

Collection, Number 57.

On the 26th of May, the ambassadors writ over that there was a project sent them out of Germany, of an alliance between the emperor, Ferdinand king of the Romans, the king of England, and the princes of the empire. They did not desire that the king should offer to come into it of his own accord; but John Frederick of Saxe would move Ferdinand to invite the king into it. This way they thought would give least jealousy. They hoped the emperor would easily agree to the conditions that related to the peace of Germany, since he was now out of all hopes of making himself master of it. The princes neither loved nor trusted him; but loved his brother, and relied much on England. But the emperor having proposed that the Netherlands should be included in the perpetual league of the empire, they would not agree to that, unless the quotas of their contribution were much changed; for these provinces were like to be the seats of wars, therefore they would not engage for their defence but upon reciprocal advantages and easy terms.

When the English ambassadors in the court of France desired to know on what terms a peace might be mediated, they found they were much exalted with their success; so that (as they writ over on the 1st of May) they demanded the restitution of Milan, and the kingdoms of Sicily, Naples, and Navarre, the sovereignty of Flanders, Artois, and the town of Tournay; they would also have Siena to be restored to its liberty, and Metz, Toul, and Verdun, to continue under the protection of France. These terms the council thought so unreasonable, that though they writ them over as news to their ambassadors in Flanders, yet they charged them not to propose them. But the queen of Hungary asked them what propositions they had for a peace, knowing already what they were; and from thence studied to inflame the ambassadors, since it appeared how little the French regarded their mediation, or the peace of Christendom, when they asked such high and extravagant things upon a little success.

On the 9th of June, the emperor ordered the ambassadors to be brought into his bed-chamber, whither they were carried by the queen of Hungary. He looked pale and lean; but his eyes were lively, and his speech clear. They made him a compliment upon his sickness, which he returned with another for their long attendance. Upon the matter of their embassy he said, the king of France had begun the war, and must likewise begin the propositions of peace. But he accepted of the king's offer very kindly, and said they should always find in him great inclinations to a just peace. On the 1st of July, the council writ to their ambassadors, first assuring them that the king was still alive, and they hoped he should recover; they told them they did not find that the French would offer any other terms than those formerly made, and they continued still in that mind, that they could not be offered by them as mediators; yet they ordered them to impart them unto the emperor as news, and carefully to observe his looks and behaviour upon their opening of every one of them.



But now the king's death broke off this negotiation, together with all his other affairs. He had last year, first the measles, and then the small-pox, of which he was perfectly recovered. In his progress, he had been sometimes violent in his exercises, which had cast him into great colds; but these went off, and he seemed to be well after it. But in the beginning of January this year, he was seized with a deep cough, and all medicines that were used did rather increase than lessen it; upon which a suspicion was taken up, and spread over all the world (so that it is mentioned by most of the historians of that age), that some lingering poison had been given him; but more than rumours, and some ill-favoured circumstances, I could never discover concerning this. He was so ill when the parliament met, that he was not able to go to Westminster, but ordered their first meeting and the sermon to be at Whitehall. In the time of his sickness, bishop Ridley preached before him, and took occasion to run out much on works of charity, and the obligation that lay on men of high condition to be eminent in good works. This touched the king to the quick, so that presently after sermon he sent for the bishop; and after he had commanded him to sit down by him, and be covered, he resumed most of the heads of the sermon, and said he looked on himself as chiefly touched by it: he desired him, as he had already given him the exhortation in general, so to direct him how to do his duty in that particular. The bishop, astonished at this tenderness in so young a prince, burst forth in tears, expressing how much he was overjoyed to see such inclinations in him; but told him he must take time to think on it, and craved leave to consult with the lord mayor and court of aldermen. So the king writ by him to them to consult speedily how the poor should be relieved. They considered there were three sorts of poor: such as were so by natural infirmity or folly, as impotent persons and madmen, or idiots; such as were so by accident, as sick or maimed persons; and such as by their idleness did cast themselves into poverty. So the king ordered the Gray-friars' church, near Newgate, with the revenues belonging to it, to be a house for orphans; St. Bartholomew's, near Smithfield, to be an hospital; and gave his own house of Bridewell to be a place of correction and work for such as were wilfully idle. He also confirmed and enlarged the grant for the hospital of St. Thomas, in Southwark, which he had erected and endowed in August last. And when he set his hand to these foundations, which was not done before the 26th of June this year, he thanked God that had prolonged his life till he had finished that design. So he was the first founder of those houses which, by many great additions since that time, have risen to be among the noblest in Europe.

The King's Sickness.

His care of the Relief of the Poor.

He expressed, in the whole course of his sickness, great submission to the will of God, and seemed glad at the approaches of death; only the consideration of religion and the church touched him much, and upon that account he said he was desirous of life. About the end of May or beginning of June, the duke of Suffolk's three daughters were married: the eldest, lady Jane, to the lord Guilford Dudley, the fourth son of the duke of Northumberland (who was the only son whom he had yet unmarried); the second, the lady Katharine, to the earl of Pembroke's eldest son, the lord Herbert; the third, the lady Mary, who was crooked, to the king's groom-porter, Martin Keys. The duke of Northumberland married his two daughters; the eldest to sir Henry Sidney, son to sir William Sidney, that had been steward to the king when he was prince; the other was married to the lord Hastings, son to the earl of Huntington. The people were mightily

Several Marriages.

inflamed against this insolent duke; for it was generally given out that he was sacrificing the king to his own extravagant ambition. He seemed little to regard their censures, but attended on the king most constantly, and expressed all the care and concern about him that was possible. And finding that nothing went so near his heart as the ruin of religion, which he apprehended would follow upon his death, when his sister Mary should come to the crown: upon that, he and his party took advantage to propose to him to settle the crown by his letters-patents on the lady Jane Gray. How they prevailed with him to pass by his sister Elizabeth, who had been always much in his favour, I do not so well understand. But the king being wrought over to this, the duchess of Suffolk, who was next in king Henry's will, was ready to devolve her right on her daughter, even though she should come afterwards to have sons: so, on the 11th of June, Montague, that was chief justice of the common-pleas, and Baker and Bromley, two judges, with the king's attorney and solicitor, were commanded to come to council. There they found the king, with some privy-councillors about him. The king told them, he did now apprehend the danger the kingdom might be in if, upon his death, his sister Mary should succeed, who might marry a stranger, and so change the laws and the religion of the realm. So he ordered some articles to be read to them of the way in which he would have the crown to descend. They objected, that the act of succession, being an act of parliament, could not be taken away by any such device; yet the king required them to take the articles, and draw a book according to them: they asked a little time to consider of it. So having examined the statute of the first year of this reign concerning treasons, they found that it was treason, not only after the king's death, but even in his life, to change the succession. Secretary Petre in the mean while pressed them to make haste. When they came again to the council, they declared they could not do any such thing, for it was treason; and all the lords should be guilty of treason if they went on in it. Upon which the duke of Northumberland, who was not then in the council-chamber, being advertised of this, came in great fury, calling Montague a traitor, and threatened all the judges; so that they thought he would have beaten them: but the judges stood to their opinion. They were again sent for, and came, with Gosnald added to them, on the 15th of June. The king was present, and he somewhat sharply asked them, why they had not prepared the book as he had ordered them. They answered, that whatever they did would be of no force without a parliament. The king said, he intended to have one shortly. Then Montague proposed that it might be delayed till the parliament met: but the king said, he would have it first done, and then ratified in parliament; and therefore he required them on their allegiance to go about it; and some councillors told them, if they refused to obey that, they were traitors. This put them in a great consternation; and old Montague, thinking it could not be treason whatever they did in this matter while the king lived, and at worst that a pardon under the great seal would secure him, consented to set about it, if he might have a commission requiring him to do it, and a pardon under the great seal when it was done. Both these being granted him, he was satisfied. The other judges being asked if they would concur, did all agree, being overcome with fear, except Gosnald, who still refused to do it: but he also, being sorely threatened, both by the duke of Northumberland and the earl of Shrewsbury, consented to it the next day. So they put the entail of the crown in form of law, and brought it to the lord chancellor to put the seal to it. They were all required to set their hands to it, but both Gosnald and Hales refused: yet the former was wrought on to do it; but the latter, though a most steady and zealous man for the Reformation, would upon no consideration yield to it. After that, the lord chancellor, for his security, desired that all the councillors might set their hands to it; which was done on the 21st of June by thirty-three of them—it is like, including the judges in the number. But Cranmer, as he came seldom to council after the duke of Somerset's fall, so he was that day absent on design. Cecil, in a relation which he made one write of this transaction, for clearing himself afterwards, says, that when he had heard Gosnald and Hales declare how much it was against law, he refused to set his hand to it as a councillor, and that he only signed as a witness to the king's subscription. But Cranmer still refused to do it, after they had all signed it, and said he

He is persuaded to leave the Crown to the lady Jane.

Which the judges at first opposed.

But through fear all yielded except Judge Hales.



would never consent to the disinheriting of the daughters of his late master. Many consultations were had to persuade him to it; but he could not be prevailed on till the king himself set on him, who used many arguments from the danger religion would otherwise be in, together with other persuasions; so that by his reasons, or rather importunities, at last he brought him to it. But whether he also used that distinction of Cecil's, that he did it as a witness and not as a councillor, I do not know: but it seems probable that if that liberty was allowed the one, it would not be denied the other.

Cranmer was very hardly brought to consent to it.

But though the settling this business gave the king great content in his mind, yet his distemper rather increased than abated, so that the physicians had no hope of his recovery: upon which a confident woman came and undertook his cure, if he might be put into her hands. This was done, and the physicians were put from him upon this pretence, that they having no hopes of his recovery in a desperate cause, desperate remedies were to be used. This was said to be the duke of Northumberland's advice in particular; and it increased the people's jealousy of him, when they saw the king grow very sensibly worse every day after he came under the woman's care; which becoming so plain, she was put from him, and the physicians were again sent for, and took him into their charge: but if they had small hopes before, they had none at all now. Death thus hastening on him, the duke of Northumberland, who knew he had done but half his work except he had the king's sisters in his hands, got the council to write to them in the king's name, inviting them to come and keep him company in his sickness. But as they were on the way, on the 6th of July, his spirits and body were so sunk, that he found death approaching; and so he composed himself to die in a most devout manner. His whole exercise was in short prayers and ejaculations. The last that he was heard to use was in these words: "Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen; howbeit not my will but thine be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet, for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God, bless my people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy Holy Name, for Jesus Christ his sake." Seeing some about him, he seemed troubled that they were so near, and had heard him; but, with a pleasant countenance, he said he had been praying to God: and soon after, the pangs of death coming on him, he said to sir Henry Sidney, who was holding him in his arms, "I am faint; Lord have mercy on me, and receive my spirit;" and so he breathed out his innocent soul. The duke of Northumberland, according to Cecil's relation, intended to have concealed his death for a fortnight, but it could not be done.

The King's Sickness becomes desperate.

His last Prayer.

Thus died king Edward VI., that incomparable young prince. He was then in the sixteenth year of his age, and was counted the wonder of that time. He was not only learned in the tongues and other liberal sciences, but knew well the state of his kingdom. He kept a book, in which he writ the characters that were given him of all the chief men of the nation, all the judges, lord-lieutenants, and justices of the peace, over England: in it he had marked down their way of living, and their zeal for religion. He had studied the matter of the Mint, with the exchange and value of money; so that he understood it well, as appears by his Journal. He also understood fortification, and designed well. He knew all the harbours and ports, both of his own dominions and of France and Scotland; and how much water they had, and what was the way of coming into them. He had acquired great knowledge in foreign affairs; so that he talked with the ambassadors about them in such a manner that they filled all the world with the highest opinion of him that was possible; which appears in most of the histories of that age. He had great quickness of apprehension; and being mistrustful of his memory, used to take notes of almost everything he heard: he writ these first in Greek characters, that those about him might not understand them, and afterwards writ them out in his Journal. He had a copy brought him of everything that passed in council, which he put in a chest, and kept the key of that always himself.

His Death and Character.

In a word, the natural and acquired perfections of his mind were wonderful; but his virtues and true piety were yet more extraordinary. He was such a friend to justice, that though he loved his uncle the duke of Somerset much, yet when he was possessed of a belief of his designing to murder his fellow-councillors, he was alienated from him: and being then but fourteen, it was no wonder if that was too easily infused in him. His chief favourite was Barnaby Fitzpatrick, to whom he writ many letters and instructions when he sent him to be bred in France. In one of his letters to him, he writ, that he must not think to live like an ambassador, but like a private gentleman, who was to be advanced as he should deserve it. He allowed him to keep but four servants: he charged him to follow the company of gentlemen rather than of ladies; that he should not be superfluous in his apparel; that he should go to the campaign, and observe well the conduct of armies and the fortification of strong places; and let the king know always when he needed money, and he would supply him. All these with many other directions the king writ with his own hand: and at his return, to let him see he intended to raise him by degrees, he gave him a pension only of 150*l*. This Fitzpatrick did afterwards fully answer the opinion this young king had of him. He was bred up with him in his learning, and, as it is said, had been his whipping-boy, who, according to the rule of educating our princes, was alway to be whipt for the king's faults. He was afterwards made by queen Elizabeth baron of Upper Ossory in Ireland, which was his native country.

King Edward was tender and compassionate in a high measure, so that he was much against the taking away the lives of heretics; and therefore said to Cranmer, when he persuaded him to sign the warrant for the burning of Joan of Kent, that he was not willing to do it, because he thought that was to send her quick to hell. He expressed great tenderness to the miseries of the poor in his sickness, as hath been already shown. He took particular care of the suits of all poor persons; and gave Dr. Cox special charge to see that their petitions were speedily answered, and used oft to consult with him how to get their matters set forward. He was an exact keeper of his word; and therefore, as appears by his Journal, was most careful to pay his debts, and to keep his credit: knowing that to be the chief nerve of government; since a prince that breaks his faith, and loses his credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himself liable to perpetual distrusts, and extreme contempt.

He had above all things a great regard to religion. He took notes of such things as he heard in sermons which more specially concerned himself; and made his measures of all men by their zeal in that matter. This made him so set on bringing over his sister Mary to the same persuasions with himself, that when he was pressed to give way to her having mass, he said, that he would not only hazard the loss of the emperor's friendship, but of his life, and all he had in the world, rather than consent to what he knew was a sin: and he cited some passages of Scripture that obliged kings to root out idolatry; by which he said he was bound in conscience not to consent to her mass, since he believed it was idolatry; and did argue the matter so learnedly with the bishops, that they left him, being amazed at his knowledge in divinity. So that Cranmer took Cheke by the hand upon it, and said, he had reason all the days of his life to rejoice that God had honoured him to breed such a scholar. All men who saw and observed these qualities in him, looked on him as one raised by God for most extraordinary ends; and when he died, concluded that the sins of England must needs be very great, that had provoked God to take from them a prince under whose government they were like to have seen such blessed times. He was so affable and sweet-natured, that all had free access to him at all times, by which he came to be most universally beloved, and all the high things that could be devised were said by the people to express their esteem of him. The fable of the Phœnix pleased most; so they made his mother one phœnix, and him another, rising out of her ashes. But graver men compared him to Josiah; and long after his death I find both in letters and printed books they commonly named him Our Josias: others called him Edward the Saint.

A prince of such qualities, so much esteemed and loved, could not but be much lamented at his death; and this made those of the Reformation abhor the duke of Northumberland, who they suspected had hastened him to such an untimely end; which contributed as much



as anything to the establishing of queen Mary on the throne; for the people reckoned none could be so unworthy to govern as those who had poisoned so worthy a prince and so kind a master. I find nothing of opening his body for giving satisfaction about that which brought him to his end; though his lying unburied till the 8th of August makes it probable that he was opened.

But, indeed, the sins of England did at this time call down from Heaven heavy curses on the land. They are sadly expressed in a discourse that Ridley writ soon after, under the title of the Lamentation of England: he says lechery, oppression, pride, covetousness, and a hatred and scorn of religion, were generally spread among all people, chiefly those of the higher rank. Cranmer and he had been much disliked; the former for delivering his conscience so freely on the duke of Somerset's death, and both of them for opposing so much the rapine and spoil of the goods of the church, which was done without law or order. Nor could they engage any to take care of relieving the poor, except only Dobbs, who was then lord mayor of London. These sins were openly preached against by Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knox, who did it more severely, and by others who did it plainly, though more softly. One of the main causes Ridley gives of all these evils was, that many of the bishops, and most of the clergy, being all the while papists in heart, who had only complied to preserve their benefices, took no care of their parishes, and were rather well pleased that things were ill managed. And of this that good bishop had been long very apprehensive when he considered the sins then prevailing, and the judgments which they had reason to look for; as will appear by an excellent letter which he sent about to his clergy to set them on to such duties as so sad a prospect required: it will be found in the Collection; and though it belongs to the former year, yet I choose rather to bring it in on this occasion. These things having been fully laid open in the former parts of this work, I shall not insist on them here, having mentioned them only for this cause, that the reader may from hence gather what we may still expect, if we continue guilty of the same or worse sins, after all that illumination and knowledge with which we have been so long blest in these kingdoms.

Collection, Number 58.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

# PART II.—BOOK II.

## THE LIFE AND REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

Q. Mary succeeds, but is in great danger.

UPON the death of king Edward, the crown devolved, according to king Henry's will, and the act of parliament, made in the 35th year of his reign, on his eldest sister, the now queen Mary. She was on her way to London, in obedience to the letters that had been writ to her, to come and comfort her brother in his sickness; and was come within half a day's journey of the court, when she received an advertisement from the earl of Arundel that her brother was dead, together with an account of what was done about the succession. The earl also informed her, that the king's death was concealed, on design to entrap her before she knew of it; and therefore he advised her to retire. Upon this, she knowing that the duke of Northumberland was much hated in Norfolk, for the great slaughter he had made of the rebels, when he subdued them in the third year of the last reign, therefore chose to go that way to the castle of Framlingham in Suffolk; which place being near the sea, she might, if her designs should miscarry, have an opportunity from thence to fly over to the emperor, that was then in Flanders.

And retires to Suffolk.

At London, it seems, the whole business of setting up the lady Jane had been carried very secretly; since if queen Mary had heard any hint of it, she had certainly kept out of the way, and not adventured to have come so near the town. It was an unaccountable error in the party for the lady Jane, that they had not immediately after the seal was put to the letters patents, or at furthest presently after the king's death, sent some to make sure of the king's sisters; instead of which, they thus lingered, hoping they would have come into their toils in an easier and less violent way. On the 8th of July*, they writ to the English ambassadors at Brussels the news of the king's death, but said nothing of the succession.

She writes to the Council.

On the 9th of July, they perceived the king's death was known; for queen Mary writ to them, from Kenning-hall, that she understood the king her brother was dead; which how sorrowful it was to her, God only knew, to whose will she did humbly submit her will. The provision of the crown to her, after his death, she said, was well known to them all; but she thought it strange, that he being three days dead, she had not been advertised of it by them. She knew what consultations were against her, and what engagements they had entered into; but was willing to take all their doings in good part, and therefore she was ready to remit and pardon all that was past, to such as would accept of it; that she could take their doings in good part; and required them to proclaim her title to the crown in London.

Upon this letter they saw the death of the king could no longer be concealed; so the duke of Suffolk and the duke of Northumberland went to Durham-house, where the lady Jane lay, to give her notice of her being to succeed to the crown, in the room of the deceased king. She received the news with great sorrow for king Edward's death; which was not at all lessened but rather increased by that other part of their message, concerning her being to succeed him.

Who declare for the Lady Jane.

She was a lady that seemed indeed born for a great fortune; for as she was a beautiful and graceful person, so she had great parts, and greater virtues. Her tutor was Dr. Elmer, believed to be the same that was afterwards made bishop of London by queen Elizabeth. She had learned from him the Latin and Greek tongues to great perfection; so that being of the same age with the late king, she seemed superior to him in those languages. And having acquired the helps of knowledge, she spent her time

Lady Jane's Character.

* On the 8th of July also they sent for the mayor and certain aldermen, and told them of the king's death and of the succession; but bade them keep it secret.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.



QUEEN MARY.

OB. 1558

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF EXETER

much in the study of it. Roger Ascham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, coming once to wait on her at her father's house in Leicestershire, found her reading Plato's works in Greek, when all the rest of the family were hunting in the park: he asked her how she could be absent from such pleasant diversions; she answered, the pastimes in the park were but a shadow to the delight she had in reading Plato's Phedon, which then lay open before her; and added, that she esteemed it one of the greatest blessings that God ever gave her, that she had sharp parents, and a gentle schoolmaster, which made her take delight in nothing so much as in her study. She read the Scriptures much, and had attained great knowledge in divinity. But with all these advantages of birth and parts, she was so humble, so gentle, and pious, that all people both admired and loved her, and none more than the late king. She had a mind wonderfully raised above the world, and at the age wherein others are but imbibing the notions of philosophy, she had attained to the practice of the highest precepts of it. She was neither lifted up with the hope of a crown, nor cast down when she saw her palace made afterwards her prison; but carried herself with an equal temper of mind in those great inequalities of fortune that so suddenly exalted and depressed her. All the passion she expressed in it was, that which is of the noblest sort, and is the indication of tender and generous natures, being much affected with the troubles her father and husband fell in on her account.

The mention of the crown when her father with her father-in-law saluted her queen, did rather heighten her disorder upon the king's death. She said, she knew by the laws of the kingdom, and by natural right, the crown was to go to the king's sisters; so that she was afraid of burdening her conscience by assuming that which belonged to them; and that she was unwilling to enrich herself by the spoils of others. But they told her all that had been done was according to the law to which all the judges and councillors had set their hands. This, joined with their persuasions, and the importunities of her husband, who had more of his father's temper than of her philosophy in him, at length prevailed with her to submit to it; of which her father-in-law did afterwards say in council, she was rather, by enticement of the councillors, and force, made to accept of the crown, than came to it by her own seeking and request.

Her unwillingness to accept of the Crown.

Upon this, order was given for proclaiming her queen the next day. And an answer was writ to queen Mary, signed by the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, the marquesses of Winchester and Northampton; the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Huntington, Bedford, and Pembroke; the lords Cobham and Darcy; sir Thomas Cheyney, sir Richard Cotton, sir William Petre, sir William Cecil, sir John Cheke, sir John Mason, sir Edward North, and sir Robert Bowes, in all one-and-twenty; letting her know, "that queen Jane was now their sovereign, according to the ancient laws of the land, and the late king's letters patents, to whom they were now bound by their allegiance. They told her, that the marriage between her father and mother was dissolved by the ecclesiastical courts, according to the laws of God and of the land; that many noble universities in Christendom had consented to it; that the sentence had been confirmed in parliaments, and she had been declared illegitimate, and uninheritable to the crown. They therefore required her to give over her pretences, and not to disturb the government; and promised, that if she showed herself obedient, she should find them all ready to do her any service which in duty they could."

Council writes to Q. Mary.

The day following they proclaimed queen Jane. The proclamation will be found in the Collection. It sets forth "that the late king had by his letters patents limited the crown; that it should not descend to his two sisters, since they were both illegitimated by sentences in the spiritual courts and acts of parliament, and were only his sisters by the half-blood, who (though it were granted they had been legitimate) are not inheritable by the law of England. It was added, that there was also great cause to fear that the king's sisters might marry strangers, and so change the laws of the kingdom, and subject it to the tyranny of the bishops of Rome, and other foreign laws. For these reasons they were excluded from the succession; and the lady Frances, duchess of Suffolk, being next the crown, it was provided that if she had no sons at the death of the king, the crown should devolve immediately on her eldest daughter

Lady Jane proclaimed Queen. Collection, Number I.

Jane, and after her and her issue to her sisters; since she was born within the kingdom, and already married in it. Therefore she was proclaimed queen, promising to be most benign and gracious to all her people, to maintain God's holy word and the laws of the land, requiring all the subjects to obey and acknowledge her." When this was proclaimed, great multitudes were gathered to hear it; but there were very few that shouted with the acclamations ordinary on such occasions. And whereas a vintner's boy did someway express his scorn at that which was done, it was ordered that he should be made an example the next day by being set on a pillory, and having his ears nailed to it, and cut off from his head; which was accordingly done, a herald in his coat reading to the multitude that was called together, by sound of trumpet, the nature of his offence.

Censures passed upon it.

Upon this all people were in great distraction; the proclamation, opening the new queen's title, came to be variously descanted on. Some who thought the crown descended by right of blood, and that it could not be limited by parliament, argued that the king having his power from God, it was only to descend in the natural way of inheritance; therefore they thought the next heir was to succeed. And whereas the king's two sisters were both by several sentences and acts of parliament declared bastards; and whether that was well judged or not, they were to be reputed such as the law declared them to be, so long as it stood in force; therefore they held that the queen of Scotland was to succeed; who, though she pretended this upon queen Mary's death, yet did not claim now, because by the papal law the sentence against queen Mary was declared null. Others argued, that though a prince were named by an immediate appointment from heaven, yet he might change the course of succession, as David did, preferring Solomon before Adonijah; but this, it was said, did not belong to the kings of England, whose right to the crown with the extent of their prerogative did not come from any divine designation, but from a long possession, and the laws of the land; and that therefore the king might by law limit the succession, as well as he and other kings had in some points limited the prerogative (which was clearly sir Thomas More's opinion); and that therefore the act of parliament for the succession of the king's sisters was still strong in law. It was also said, that if the king's sisters were to be excluded for bastardy, all Charles Brandon's issue were in the same predicament; since he was not lawfully married to the French queen, his former wife Mortimer being then alive, and his marriage with her was never dissolved (for though some English writers say they were divorced, yet those who wrote for the queen of Scots' title in the next reign denied it); but in this the difference was great between them; since the king's sisters were declared bastards in law, whereas this against Charles Brandon's issue was only a surmise. Others objected, that if the blood gave an indefeasible title, how came it that the lady Jane's mother did not reign? It is true, Maud the empress, and Margaret countess of Richmond, were satisfied that their sons, Henry II. and Henry VII., should reign in their rights; but it had never been heard of, that a mother had resigned to her daughter, especially when she was yet under age. But this was imputed to the duke of Suffolk's weakness, and the ambition of the duke of Northumberland. That objection concerning the half-blood, being a rule of common law in the families of subjects, to cut off from step-mothers the inclinations and advantages of destroying their husbands' children, was not thought applicable to the crown; nor was that of one's being born out of the kingdom, which was hinted at to exclude the queen of Scotland, though pertinent to this case; since there was an exception made in the law for the king's children, which was thought to extend to all their issue. But all people agreed in this, that though, by act of parliament, king Henry was empowered to provide or limit the crown, by his letters patents; yet that was a grant particularly to him, and did not descend to his heirs; so that the letters patents made by king Edward could have no force to settle the crown, and much less when they did expressly contradict an act of parliament. The proceeding so severely against the vintner's boy was imputed to the violent temper of the duke of Northumberland. And though when a government is firm, and factions are weak, the making some public examples may intimidate a faction otherwise disheartened; yet severities, in such a juncture as this, when the council had no other support but the assistance of the people, seemed very unadvised, and all thought it was a great error to punish him in that manner.



The Duke of Northumberland much hated.

This made them reflect on the rest of Northumberland's cruelties; his bringing the duke of Somerset with those gentlemen that suffered with him to their end, by a foul conspiracy; but, above all things, the suspicions that lay on him of being the author of the late king's untimely death, enraged the people so much against him, that without considering what they might suffer under queen Mary, they generally inclined to set her up.

Many declare for Q. Mary.

The lady Jane was proclaimed in many towns near London, yet the people were generally running to queen Mary: many from Norfolk came to her, and a great body of Suffolk men gathered about her, who were all for the Reformation. They desired to know of her, whether she would alter the religion set up in king Edward's days; to whom she gave full assurances, that she would never make any innovation or change, but be contented with the private exercise of her own religion. Upon this they were all possessed with such a belief of her sincerity, that it made them resolve to hazard their lives and estates in her quarrel. The earls of Bath and Sussex raised forces and joined with her; so did the sons of the lord Wharton and Mordant, with many more.

The Council orders Forces to be sent against her.

Upon this the council resolved to gather forces for the dispersing of theirs, and sent the earl of Huntington's brother to raise Buckinghamshire, and others to other parts, ordering them to meet the forces that should come from London, at Newmarket. It was at first proposed to send the duke of Suffolk to command them; but the lady Jane was so much concerned in her father's preservation, that she urged he might not be sent; and he being but a soft man, was easily excused. So it fell next on the duke of Northumberland, who was now much distracted in his mind. He was afraid if he went way, the city might declare for queen Mary; nor was he well assured of the council, who seemed all to comply with him, rather out of fear than good-will. Cecil would not officiate as secretary, as himself relates; the judges would do nothing; and the duke plainly saw, that if he had not (according to the custom of our princes on their first coming to the crown) gone with the lady Jane and the council into the Tower, whereby he kept them as prisoners, the council were inclined to desert him. This divided him much in his thoughts. The whole success of his design depended on the dispersing of the queen's forces; and it was no less necessary to have a man of courage continue still in the Tower. There was none there whom he could entirely trust but the duke of Suffolk, and he was so mean-spirited that he did not depend much on him. But the progress the queen's forces made, pressed him to go, and make head against her. So he laid all the heavy charges he could on the council, to look to queen Jane, and to stand firmly to her interests; and left London on the 14th of July, marching out with two thousand horse and six thousand foot. But as he rode through Bishopsgate-street and Shoreditch, though there were great crowds looking on, none cried out to wish him success, which gave a sad indication how ill they were affected to him.

And write to the Emperor.

The council writ to the emperor by one Shelley, whom they sent to give notice of the lady Jane's succession, complaining that the lady Mary was making stirs, and that his ambassador had officiously meddled in their affairs; but that they had given orders for reducing the lady Mary to her duty. They also desired the continuance of his friendship, and that he would command his resident to carry himself as became an ambassador. Sir Philip Hobbey was continued ambassador there; the others were ordered to stay and prosecute the mediation of the peace; but the emperor would not receive those letters; and in a few days there went over others from queen Mary.

Ridley preaches for the L. Jane's title.

Ridley was appointed to set out queen Jane's title in a sermon at Paul's, and to warn the people of the dangers they would be in if queen Mary should reign: which he did, and gave an account in his sermon of what had passed between him and her, when he went and offered to preach to her. At the same time the duke of Northumberland, at Cambridge, where himself was both chancellor of the university and steward of the town, made the vice-chancellor preach to the same purpose. But he held in more general terms, and managed it so that there was no great offence taken on either hand.

But now the queen had made her title be proclaimed at Norwich; and sent letters all

over England, requiring the peers and others of great quality to come to her assistance. Some ships had been sent about to lie on that coast for intercepting her if she should fly away; but those who commanded them were so dealt with, that instead of acting against her, they declared for her. Sir Edward Hastings having raised four thousand men in Buckinghamshire, instead of joining with the duke of Northumberland, went over with them into her service. Many were also from all places every day running to her; and in several counties of England she was proclaimed queen. But none came in to the duke of Northumberland, so he writ earnestly to the lords at London to send him more supplies.

Q. Mary's Party grows strong.

They understanding from all the corners of England that the tide grew everywhere strong for the queen, entered into consultations how to redeem their past faults, and to reconcile themselves to her. The earl of Arundel hated Northumberland on many accounts. The marquis of Winchester was famous for his dexterity in shifting sides, always to his own advantage. To them joined the earl of Pembroke, the more closely linked to the interests of the lady Jane, since his son had married her sister, which made him the more careful to disentangle himself in time. To those, sir Thomas Cheney, warden of the Cinque-ports, and sir John Mason, with the two secretaries, came over. It was said that the French and Spanish ambassadors had desired an audience in some place in the city; and it was proposed to give it in the earl of Pembroke's house, who being the least suspected, it was agreed to by the duke of Suffolk that they should be suffered to go from the Tower thither. They also pretended, that since the duke of Northumberland had writ so earnestly for new forces, they must go and treat with my lord mayor and the city of London about it. But as soon as they were got out, the earl of Arundel pressed them to declare for queen Mary: and to persuade them to it, he laid open all the cruelty of Northumberland, under whose tyranny they must resolve to be enslaved if they would not now shake it off. The other consenting readily to it, they sent for the lord mayor, with the recorder and the aldermen; and having declared their resolutions to them, they rode together into Cheapside, and there proclaimed queen Mary, on the 19th of July: from thence they went to Saint Paul's, where *Te Deum* was sung.

And the Council turn to her.

And proclaimed her Queen.

An order was sent to the Tower to require the duke of Suffolk to deliver up that place, and to acknowledge queen Mary, and that the lady Jane should lay down the title of Queen. To this, as her father submitted tamely, so she expressed no sort of concern in losing that imaginary glory, which now had for nine days been rather a burden than any matter of joy to her. They also sent orders to the duke of Northumberland to disband his forces, and to carry himself as became an obedient subject to the queen. And the earl of Arundel, with the lord Paget, were sent to give her an account of it, who continued still at Framlinghan in Suffolk.

The duke of Northumberland had retired back to Cambridge to stay for new men from London; but hearing how matters went there before ever the council's orders came to him, he dismissed his forces, and went to the market-place and proclaimed the queen, flinging up his own hat for joy, and crying, "God save Queen Mary!" But the earl of Arundel being sent by the queen to apprehend him, it is said, that when he saw him, he fell abjectly at his feet to beg his favour. This was like him, it being not more unusual for such insolent persons to be most basely sunk with their misfortunes, than to be out of measure blown up with success. He was, on the 25th of July, sent to the Tower with the earl of Warwick, his eldest son, Ambrose and Henry, two of his other sons. Some other of his friends were made prisoners, among whom was sir Thomas Palmer, the wicked instrument of the duke of Somerset's fall, who was become his most intimate confidant, and Dr. Sands, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge.

The Duke of Northumberland submits, and is taken:

With many more Prisoners, who were sent to the Tower of London.

Now did all people go to the queen to implore her mercy. She received them all very favourably, except the marquis of Northampton, Dr. Ridley, and lord Robert Dudley. The first of these had been a submissive fawner on the duke of Northumberland; the second had incurred her displeasure by his sermon, and she gladly laid hold on any colour to be more severe to him, that way might be made for bringing Bonner to London again; the



third had followed his father's fortunes. On the 27th, the lords chief justices, Cholmley and Montague, were sent to the Tower; and the day after, the duke of Suffolk and sir John Cheke went after them; the lady Jane and her husband being still detained in the Tower. Three days after an order came to set the duke of Suffolk at liberty, upon engagement to return to prison when the queen required it, for it was generally known that he had been driven on by Dudley; and as it was believed that he had not been faulty out of malice, so his great weakness made them little apprehensive of any dangers from him; and therefore the queen being willing to express a signal act of clemency at her first coming to the crown, it was thought best to let it fall on him.

Now did the queen come towards London, being met on the way by her sister Elizabeth with a thousand horse, who had gathered about her, to show their zeal to maintain both their titles, which in this late contest had been linked together. She made her entry to London on the 3rd of August with great solemnity and pomp. When she came to the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been almost seven years in it; Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, that had been five years there; the duchess of Somerset, that had been kept there near two years; and the lord Courtney (whom she made afterwards earl of Devonshire), that was son to the marquis of Exeter, and had been kept there ever since his father was attainted, had their liberty granted them. So now she was peaceably settled in the throne without any effusion of blood, having broke through a confederacy against her, which seemed to be so strong, that if he that was the head of it had not been universally odious to the nation, it could not have been so easily dissipated. She was naturally pious and devout, even to superstition; had a generous disposition of mind, but much corrupted by melancholy, which was partly natural in her, but much increased by the cross accidents of her life, both before and after her advancement; so that she was very peevish and splenetic towards the end of her life. When the differences became irreconcilable between her father and mother, she followed her mother's interests, they being indeed her own; and for a great while could not be persuaded to submit to the king; who being impatient of contradiction from any, but especially from his own child, was resolved to strike a terror in all his people, by putting her openly to death; which her mother coming to know, writ her a letter of a very devout strain, which will be found in the Collection. In which "she encouraged her to suffer cheerfully, to trust to God, and keep her heart clean. She charged her in all things to obey the king's commands, except in the matters of religion. She sent her two Latin books, the one of the Life of Christ (which was perhaps the famous book of Thomas à Kempis), and the other St. Jerome's Letter. She bid her divert herself at the virginals or lute, but above all things to keep herself pure, and to enter into no treaty of marriage till these ill times should pass over; of which her mother seemed to retain still good hopes." This letter should have been in my former volume if I had then seen it, but it is no improper place to mention it here. At court, many were afraid to move the king for her; both the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner looked on, and were unwilling to hazard their own interests to preserve her. But (as it was now printed, and both these appealed to) Cranmer was the only person that would adventure on it. In his gentle way, he told the king, that she was young and indiscreet, and therefore it was no wonder if she obstinately adhered to that which her mother and all about her had been infusing into her for many years: but that it would appear strange if he should for this cause so far forget he was a father, as to proceed to extremities with his own child: that if she were separated from her mother and her people, in a little time there might be ground gained on her; but to take away her life, would raise horror through all Europe against him. By these means he preserved her at that time.

The Queen enters London.

She had been in danger in her Father's time.

Collection, Number 2.

And was preserved by Cranmer's means.

After her mother's death, in June following, she changed her note; for besides the declaration she then signed, which was inserted in the former part of this work, she writ letters of such submission as show how expert she was in dissembling. Three of these to her father, and one to Cromwell, I have put in the Collection; "in which she, with the most studied expressions, declaring her sorrow for her

She submitted to her Father.

Collect. Num. 3, 4, 5, 6.

past stubbornness, and disobedience to his most just and virtuous laws, implores his pardon, as lying prostrate at his feet: and considering his great learning and knowledge, she puts her soul in his hand, resolving that he should for ever thereafter direct her conscience, from which she vows she would never vary." This she repeats in such tender words, that it shows she could command herself to say anything that she thought fit for her ends. And when Cromwell writ to her, to know "what her opinion was about pilgrimages, purgatory, and relics, she assures him she had no opinion at all but such as she should receive from the king, who had her whole heart in his keeping; and he should imprint upon it, in these and all other matters, whatever his inestimable virtue, high wisdom, and excellent learning should think convenient for her." So perfectly had she learned that style that she knew was most acceptable to him. Having copied these from the originals, I thought it not unfit to insert them, that it may appear how far those of that religion can comply when their interest leads them to it.

From that time, this princess had been in all points most exactly compliant to everything her father did. And after his death, she never pretended to be of any other religion than that which was established by him: so that all that she pleaded for, in her brother's reign, was only the continuance of that way of worship that was in use at her father's death. But now, being come to the crown, that would not content her; yet when she thought where to fix, she was distracted between two different schemes that were presented to her.

The Designs for changing Religion.

On the one hand, Gardiner and all that party were for bringing religion back to what it had been at king Henry's death; and afterward, by slow degrees, to raise it up to what it had been before his breach with the papacy. On the other hand, the queen, of her own inclination, was much disposed to return immediately to the union of the catholic church, as she called it: and it was necessary for her to do it, since it was only by the papal authority that her illegitimation was removed. To this it was answered, that all these acts and sentences that had passed against her might be annulled without taking any notice of the pope. Gardiner finding these things had not such weight with her as he desired, for she looked on him as a crafty temporizing man, sent over to the emperor, on whom she depended much, to assure him, that if he would persuade her to make him chancellor, and to put affairs into his hands, he should order them so that everything she had a mind to should be carried in time. But Gardiner understood she had sent for cardinal Pole; so he writ to the emperor, that he knew *his zeal* for the exaltation of the popedom would undo all; therefore he pressed him to write to the queen for moderating her heat, and to stop the cardinal's coming over. He said, that Pole stood attainted by law, so that his coming into England would alarm the nation. He observed, that upon a double account they were averse to the papacy: the one was, for the church lands, which they had generally bought from the crown on very easy terms, and they would not easily part with them. The other was, the fear they had of papal dominion and power, which had been now for about twenty-five years set out to the people as the most intolerable tyrany that ever was: therefore, he said, it was necessary to give them some time to wear out these prejudices; and the precipitating of councils might ruin all. He gave the emperor also secret assurances of serving him in all his interests. All this Gardiner did the more warily, because he understood that cardinal Pole hated him as a false and deceitful man. Upon this the emperor writ to the queen several letters with his own hand, which is so hardly legible that it was not possible for me, or some others to whom I showed them, to read them so well as to copy them out; and one that was written by his sister, the queen of Hungary, and signed by him, is no better; but from many half sentences, I find that all was with a design to temper her, that she should not make too much haste, nor be too much led by Italian counsels. Upon the return of this message, the seal, which had been taken from Goodrick, bishop of Ely, and put for some days in the keeping of Hare, master of the rolls,

Gardiner's Policy.

He is made Chancellor.

was, on the 13th of August, given to Gardiner, who was declared lord chancellor of England, and the conduct of affairs was chiefly put in his hands. So that now the measure of the queen's councils was to do everything slowly, and by such sure steps as might put them less in hazard.



The first thing that was done, was the bringing the duke of Northumberland to his trial.

The Duke of Northumberland and others tried.

The old duke of Norfolk was made lord high steward; the queen thinking it fit to put the first character of honour on him, who had suffered so much for being the head of the popish party. And here a subtle thing was started, which had been kept a great secret hitherto. It was said, the duke of Norfolk had never been truly attainted, and that the act against him was not a true act of parliament; so that without any pardon, or restitution in blood, he was still duke of Norfolk *. This he had never mentioned all the last reign, lest that should have procured an act to confirm his attainder. So he came now in upon his former right, by which all the grants that had been given of his estate were to be declared void by common law. The duke of Northumberland, with the marquis of Northampton and the earl of Warwick, were brought to their trials. The duke desired two points might be first answered by the judges in matter of law. The one, whether a man, acting by the authority of the great seal and the order of the privy-council, could become thereby guilty of treason? The other was, whether those who had been equally guilty with him, and by whose direction and commands he had acted, could sit his judges? To these the judges made answer, that the great seal of one that was not lawful queen could give no authority nor indemnity to those that acted on such a warrant; and that any peer that was not, by an attainder upon record, convicted of such accession to his crime, might sit his judge, and was not to be challenged upon a surmise or report. So these points, by which only he could hope to have defended himself, being thus determined against him, he confessed he was guilty, and submitted to the queen's mercy. So did the marquis of Northampton and the duke's son, the earl of Warwick, who (it seems by this trial) had a writ for sitting in the house of peers: they were all three found guilty. Judgment also passed next day, in a jury of commoners, against sir John Gates and his brother, sir Henry; sir Andrew Dudley and sir Thomas Palmer confessing their indictments. But of all these it was resolved that only the duke of Northumberland, and sir John Gates and sir Thomas Palmer, should be made examples: Heath, bishop of Worcester, was employed to instruct the duke, and to prepare him for his death. Whether he had been always in heart what he then professed, or whether he only pretended it, hoping that it might procure him favour, is variously reported: but certain it is that he said he had been always a catholic in his heart; yet this could not save him. He was known to be a man of that temper, so given both to revenge and dissimulation, that his enemies saw it was necessary to put him out of the way, lest, if he had lived, he might have insinuated himself into the queen's favour, and then turned the danger upon them. So the earl of Arundel, now made lord steward of the household, with others, easily obtained that his head should be cut off, together with sir John Gates's and sir Thomas Palmer's.

And condemned.

At his Death he professes he had been always a Papist.

On the 22d of August, he was carried to the place of execution. On the way, there was some expostulation between Gates and him; they, as is ordinary for complices in ill actions, laying the blame of their miseries on one another: yet they professed they did mutually forgive, and so died in charity together. It is said that he made a long speech, accusing his former ill life, and confessing his treasons: but that part of it which concerned religion is only preserved. In it he exhorted the people to stand to the religion of their ancestors, and to reject that of latter date, which had occasioned all the misery of the foregoing thirty years; and desired, as they would prevent the like for the future, that they would drive out of the nation these trumpets of sedition, the new preachers; that for himself, whatever he had otherwise pretended, he believed no other religion than that of his forefathers; in which he appealed to his ghostly father, the bishop of Worcester, then present with him; but being blinded with ambition, he had made wreck of his conscience by temporising, for which he professed himself sincerely penitent. So did he, and the other two, end their days. Palmer was little pitied, as being believed a treacherous conspirator against his former master and friend, the duke of Somerset.

* Yet in the second session of this parliament, a private act passed to make void the duke of Norfolk's attainder.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

Thus died the ambitious duke of Northumberland. He had been, in the former parts of his life, a great captain, and had the reputation of a wise man: he was generally successful; and they that are so, are always esteemed wise. He was an extraordinary man in a lower size, but had forgot himself much when he was raised higher, in which his mind seemed more exalted than his fortunes. But as he was transported by his rage and revenge out of measure, so he was as servile and mean in his submissions. Fox, it seems, was informed that he had hopes given him of his life, if he should declare himself to be of the popish religion, even though his head were laid on the block: but which way soever he made that declaration, either to get his life by it, or that he had really been always what he now professed, it argued that he regarded religion very little either in his life or at his death. But whether he did anything to hasten the late king's death, I do not find it was at all inquired after: only those who considered how much guilt disorders all people, and that they have a black cloud over their minds, which appears either in the violence of rage or the abjectness of fear, did find so great a change in his deportment in these last passages of his life, from what was in the former parts of it, that they could not but think there was some extraordinary thing within him from whence it flowed.

His Character.

And for king Edward's death, those who had affairs now in their hands were so little careful of his memory, and indeed so glad of his death, that it is no wonder they made little search about it. It is rather strange that they allowed him such funeral rites: for the queen kept a solemn exequy, with all the other remembrances of the dead, and masses for him, used in the Roman church, at the Tower, on the 8th of August, the same day that he was buried at Westminster; the lord treasurer (who was the marquis of Winchester, still continued in that trust), the earls of Shrewsbury and Pembroke, being the principal mourners. Day, that was now to be restored to his see of Chichester, was appointed to preach the funeral sermon: in which he commended and excused the king, but loaded his government severely, and extolled the queen much, under whom he promised the people happy days. It was intended that all the burial rites should have been according to the old forms that were before the Reformation; but Cranmer opposed this vigorously, and insisted upon it, that as the king himself had been a zealous promoter of that Reformation, so the English service was then established by law. Upon this he stoutly hindered any other way of officiating, and himself performed all the offices of the burial; to which he joined the solemnity of a communion *. In these, it may be easily imagined, he did everything with a very lively sorrow; since, as he had loved the king beyond expression, so he could not but look on his funeral as the burial of the Reformation, and in particular as a step to his own.

King Edward's Funeral.

On the 12th of August, the queen made an open declaration in council, that although her conscience was staid in the matters of religion, yet she was resolved not to compel or strain others, otherwise than as God should put into their hearts a persuasion of that truth she was in; and this she hoped should be done by the opening his word to them, by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers. Now all the deprived bishops looked to be quickly placed in their sees again. Bonner went to St. Paul's on the 13th of August, being Sunday, where Bourn, that was his chaplain, preached before him. He spake honourably of Bonner, with sharp reflections on the proceedings against him in the time of king Edward. This did much provoke the whole audience, who as they hated Bonner, so could not hear anything said that seemed to detract from that king. Hereupon there was a great tumult in the church; some called to pull him down, others flung stones, and one threw a dagger towards the

The Queen declares she will force no Man's Conscience.

A Tumult at Paul's Cross.

* It is highly improbable that he, who was now under displeasure, about this time confined to his house, and soon after to the Tower, should be allowed to perform these offices in such a manner. *Godwin* [anno 1553] *Annal.* says, "Concionem habente Dalo. Cicestr. Episcopo, qui etiam sacrum peregit vernacula usus Anglicana et Eucharistiam præsentibus exhibuit," &c. To the same purport, Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 1089.—ANON. CORRECT. [The bishop's statement is confirmed by Strype in his *Ecclesiastical Memoirs*; although it is remarkable that he omits mention of the fact in his Life of Cranmer. Its truth has been acknowledged by writers on both sides; and the circumstance is accounted for, when the danger of exciting popular feeling too highly at such a critical moment is considered; and Mary is supposed to have acted under the advice of the emperor's agents in giving way on the occasion.—ED.]



JOHN DUDLEY, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

OB. 1553.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PICTURE IN THE COLLECTION OF

SIR JOHN SHELLEY SIDNEY BART.

pulpit with that force, that it stuck fast in the timber of it; Bourn, by stooping, saved himself from that danger; and Rogers and Bradford, two eminent preachers, and of great credit with the people, stood up, and gently quieted the heat; and they, to deliver Bourn out of their hands, conveyed him from the pulpit to a house near the church.

This was such an accident as the papists would have desired; for it gave them a colour to proceed more severely, and to prohibit preaching, which was the first step they intended to make. There was a message sent to the lord mayor, to give a strict charge that every citizen should take care of all that belonged to him, and see that they went to their own parish church, and kept the peace; as also to acquaint them with what the queen had declared in council on the 13th of August. And on the 18th there was published an inhibition in the queen's name, to this effect: "that she, considering the great danger that had come to the realm, by the differences in religion, did declare for herself, that she was of that religion that she had professed from her infancy, and that she would maintain it during her time, and be glad that all her subjects would charitably receive it; yet she did not intend to compel any of her subjects to it, till public order should be taken in it by common assent; requiring all, in the mean while, not to move sedition or unquietness, till such order should be settled, and not to use the names of Papist or Heretic, but to live together in love, and in the fear of God: but if any made assemblies of the people, she would take care they should be severely punished; and she straitly charged them, that none should preach or expound Scripture, or print any books or plays, without her special license. And required her subjects, that none of them should presume to punish any on pretence of the late rebellion, but as they should be authorised by her; yet she did not thereby restrain any from informing against such offenders: she would be most sorry to have cause to execute the severity of the law, but she was resolved not to suffer such rebellious doings to go unpunished, but hoped her subjects would not drive her to the extreme execution of the laws."

An Inhibition of all Preaching.

When this was published, it was much descanted on. The profession she made of her religion to be the same it had been from her infancy, showed it was not her father's religion, but entire popery that she intended to restore. It was also observed that whereas before she had said plainly she would compel none to be of it: now that was qualified with this, till public order should be taken in it; which was, till they could so frame a parliament, that it should concur with the queen's design. The equal forbidding of assemblies, or ill names, on both sides, was thought intended to be a trap for the reformed, that they should be punished if they offended, but the others were sure to be rather encouraged. The restraint of preaching without license, was pretended to be copied from what had been done in king Edward's time; yet then there was a liberty left for a long time to all to preach in their own churches, only they might preach nowhere else without a license; and the power of licensing was also lodged at first with the bishops in their several dioceses, and at last with the archbishop of Canterbury, as well as with the king; whereas now, at one stroke, all the pulpits of England that were in the hands of the reformed, were brought under an interdict; for they were sure to obtain no licenses. But the cunningest part of these inhibitions was, the declaring that the queen would proceed with rigour against all that were guilty of the late rebellion, if they should provoke her; many about London had some way or other expressed themselves for it, and these were the hottest among the reformed; so that here was a sharp threatening hanging over them, if they should express any more zeal about religion.

Censures passed upon it.

When this was put out, the queen understanding that in Suffolk those of that profession took a little more liberty than their neighbours, presuming on their great merit, and the queen's promises to them; there was a special letter sent to the bishop of Norwich's vicar, himself being at Brussels, to see to the execution of these injunctions against any that should preach without license. Upon this some came from Suffolk to put the queen in mind of her promise. This was thought insolent; and she returned them no other answer, but that they being members, thought to rule her that was their head; but they should learn that the members ought to obey the head, and not to think to bear rule over it. One of these had spoken of her promise with more confidence

She requites the Service of the Men of Suffolk ill.

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than the rest; his name was Dobbe; so he was ordered to stand three days in the pillory, as having said that which tended to the defamation of the queen. And from hence all saw what a severe government they were to come under, in which the claiming of former promises that had been made by the queen when she needed their assistance, was to be accounted a crime. But there was yet a more unreasonable severity showed to Bradford and Rogers, who had appeased the tumult the Sunday before, and rescued the preacher from the rage of the people. It was said that their appeasing it so easily, showed what interest they had with the people, and was a presumption that they had set it on; so without any further proof, the one was put in the Tower, and the other confined to his house.

The Popish Bishops restored.

But now the deprived bishops, who were Bonner of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Tonstall of Durham, Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester, were to be restored to their sees. I have only seen the commission for restoring Bonner and Tonstall; but the rest were no doubt in the same strain, with a little variation. The commission for Bonner, bearing date the 22d of August, was directed to some civilians, setting forth that he had petitioned the queen to examine the appeal he had made from the delegates that had deprived him; and that therefore the sentence against him being unjust and illegal, he desired it might be declared to be of no effect. Upon which these did, without any great hesitation, return the sentences void and the appeals good. So thus they were restored to their sees. But because the bishopric of Durham was by act of parliament dissolved, and the regalities of it, which had been given to the duke of Northumberland, were now by his attainder fallen into the queen's hand, she granted Tonstall letters patents, erecting that bishopric again of new; making mention that some wicked men, to enrich themselves by it, had procured it to be dissolved.

The Consultations among the Reformed Doctors.

On the 29th of August commission was granted to Gardiner to give licenses under the great seal to such grave, learned, and discreet persons, as he should think meet and able to preach God's word. All who were so licensed, were qualified to preach in any cathedral or parochial church, to which he should think it convenient to send them. By this the reformers were not only out of hope to obtain any licenses, but likewise saw a way laid down for sending such men as Gardiner pleased into all their pulpits, to infect their people. Upon this they considered what to do. If there had been only a particular interdiction of some private persons, the considerations of peace and order being of a more public nature than the consequence of any one man's open preaching could be, they judged it was to be submitted to; but in such a case, when they saw this interdiction was general, and on design to stop their mouths till their enemies should seduce the people, they did not think they were bound in conscience to give obedience. Many of them therefore continued to preach openly; others, instead of preaching in churches, were contented to have only the prayers and other service there; but for instructing their people, had private conferences with them. The council hearing that their orders had been disobeyed by some in London, two in Coventry, and one in Amersham, they were sent for, and put in prison. And Coverdale bishop of Exeter, and Hooper of Gloucester, being cited to appear before the council, they came and presented themselves on the 29th and 30th of August; and on the 1st of September, Hooper was sent to the Fleet, and Coverdale appointed to wait their pleasure.

At this time the popish party, growing now insolent over England, began to be as forward in making changes before the laws warranted them, as those of the Reformation had been in king Edward's time; so that in many places they set up images, and the Latin service, with the old rites again. This was plainly against law, but the council had no mind to hinder it; but on the other hand encouraged it all they could. Upon which judge Hales, who thought he might with the more assurance speak his mind, having appeared so steadily for the queen, did at the quarter sessions in Kent, give a charge to the justices to see to the execution of king Edward's laws, which were still in force and unrepealed. Upon this he was, without any regard to his former zeal, put first into the King's Bench; from thence he was removed to the Counter, and after that to the Fleet; where the good old man was so disordered with the cruelties that the warden told him

The barbarous usage of Judge Hales.



were contriving against all that would not change their religion*, that it turned his brain, so that he endeavoured to have killed himself with a penknife. He was after that, upon his submission, set at liberty; but never came to himself again: so he not being well looked to, drowned himself. This, with the usage of the Suffolk men, was much censured; and from thence it was said, that no merits or services could secure any from the cruelties of that religion. And it appeared in another signal instance, how the actions of men were not so much considered as their religion. The lord chief justice Montague, who had very unwillingly drawn the letters patents for the lady Jane's succession, was turned out of his place, kept six weeks in prison, fined in a thousand pounds, and some lands that had been given him by king Edward were taken from him; though he had sent his son with twenty men to declare for the queen, and had a great family of seventeen children, six sons and eleven daughters: whereas judge Bromley that had concurred in framing the letters patents without any reluctancy, was made lord chief justice: the true reason was, Bromley was a papist in his heart, and Montague was for the Reformation.

In many other places where the people were popishly affected, they drove away their pastors. At Oxford, Peter Martyr was so ill used, that he was forced to fly for his safety to Lambeth, where he could not look for any long protection, since Cranmer himself was every day in expectation of being sent to prison. He kept himself quiet, and was contriving how to give some public and noble testimonies to the doctrine that he had so long professed, and indeed had been the chief promoter of in this church. But his quiet behaviour was laid hold on by his enemies, and it was given out that he was resolved to comply with everything the queen had a mind to. So I find Bonner wrote to his friend Mr. Lechmore on the 6th of September, in that letter which is in the Collection. "He gives him notice that the day before he had been restored to his bishopric, and Ridley repulsed; for which he is very witty. Ridley had a steward for two manors of his, whose name was Shipside, his brother-in-law; upon which he plays as if he had been sheep's-head. He orders Lechmore to look to his estate, and he should take care at the next parliament that both the sheep's-heads and the calves'-heads should be used as they deserved. He adds that Cranmer, whom in scorn he calls Mr. Canterbury, was become very humble, and ready to submit himself in all things; but that would not serve his turn: and it was expected that he should be sent to the Tower that very day." These reports being brought to Cranmer, some advised him to fly beyond seas: he said he would not dissuade others from that course, now that they saw a persecution rising; but considering the station he was in, and the hand he had in all the changes that were made, he thought it so indecent a thing for him to fly, that no entreaties should ever persuade him to it. So he by Peter Martyr's advice, drew up a writing, that I have put in the Collection (in Latin, as it was at that time translated). The substance of it was to this effect; "that as the devil had at all times set on his instruments by lies to defame the servants of God, so he was now more than ordinarily busy. For whereas king Henry had begun the correcting of the abuses of the mass, which his son had brought to a further perfection; and so the Lord's supper was restored to its first institution, and was celebrated according to the pattern of the primitive church; now the devil intending to bring the mass again into its room, as being his own invention, had stirred up some to give out that it had been set up in Canterbury by his the said Cranmer's order; and it was said that he had undertaken to sing mass to the queen's majesty, both at king Edward's funeral, at Paul's, and other places; and though for these twenty years he had despised all such vain and false reports as were spread of him, yet now he thought it not fit to lie under such misrepresentations. Therefore he protested to all the world, that the mass was not set up at Canterbury by his order; but

Cranmer declared openly against the Mass.

Bonner's Insolence. Collection, Number 7.

Cranmer's Declaration. Collection, Number 8.

* Judge Hales changed his religion: so Fox, vol. iii. p. 597. "Judge Hales never fell into that inconvenience before he had consented to papistry." This, probably, was one great occasion of his melancholy. So Fox, more expressly, in the first edition of his book, p. 1116: "He was cast forthwith into a great repentance of the deed, and into a terror of conscience." And Bradford [Letters of the Martyrs, p. 294] proposes him as an example of one, "that was fearfully left of God to our admonition."—Anon. Correct. The reason of the wounding himself was the trouble of mind that he felt for his compliance, upon bishop Day's communication with him the day before.—Strype's Correct.

that a fawning hypocritical monk (this was Thornton, suffragan of Dover), had done it without his knowledge; and for what he was said to have undertaken to the queen, her majesty knew well how false that was; offering, if he might obtain her leave for it, to maintain, that everything in the communion service that was set out by their most innocent and good king Edward, was according to Christ's institution, and the practice of the apostles, and the ancient church for many ages; to which the mass was contrary, being full of errors and abuses; and although Peter Martyr was by some called an ignorant man, he with him, or other four or five, such as he should choose, would be ready to defend not only their book of Common-prayer, and the other rites of their service, but the whole doctrine and order of religion, set forth by the late king, as more pure, and more agreeable to the word of God, than any sort of religion that had been in England for a thousand years before it; provided that all things should be judged by the Scriptures, and that the reasonings on both sides should be faithfully written down."

Published without his knowledge.

This he had drawn, with a resolution to have made a public use of it; but Scory, who had been bishop of Chichester, coming to him, he showed him the paper, and bade him consider of it. Scory indiscreetly gave copies of it; and one of these was publicly read in Cheapside on the 5th of September. So on the 8th of that month he was called before the Star Chamber, and asked whether he was the author of that seditious bill that was given out in his name; and if so, whether he was sorry for it. He answered, that the bill was truly his; but he was very sorry it had gone from him in such a manner, for he had resolved to have enlarged it in many things, and to have ordered it to be affixed to the doors of Paul's, and of the other churches in London, with his hand and seal to it. He was at that time, contrary to all men's expectation, dismissed. Gardiner plainly saw he could not expect to succeed him, and that the queen had designed that see for cardinal Pole; so he resolved to protect and preserve Cranmer all he could. Some moved that he should be only put from his bishopric, and have a small pension assigned him, with a charge to keep within a confinement, and not to meddle with matters of religion. He was generally beloved for the gentleness of his temper; so it was thought that proceeding severely with him might alienate some from them, and embroil their affairs in the next parliament. Others objected, that if he, who had been the chief promoter of heresy, was used with such tenderness, it would encourage the rest to be more obstinate. And the queen, who had forgot the services he did her in her father's time, remembering rather that he had pronounced the sentence of divorce against her mother, was easily induced to proceed severely. So on the 13th of September, both he and Latimer were called before the council. Latimer was that day committed; but Cranmer was respited till next day, and then he was sent to the Tower, both for matters of treason against the queen, and for dispersing of seditious bills. Tylor, of Hadlee, and several other preachers, were also put in prison; and upon an information brought against Horn, dean of Durham, he was sent for.

But owned by him before the Council.

He and Latimer sent to the Tower.

The foreigners that were come over upon public faith and encouragement, were better used: for Peter Martyr was preserved from the rage of his enemies, and suffered to go beyond sea. There was also an order sent to John à Lasco and his congregation to be gone; their church being taken from them, and their corporation dissolved. And a hundred and seventy-five of them went away in two ships to Denmark, on the 17th of September, with all their preachers, except two, who were left to look to those few which staid behind, and being engaged in trade resolved to live in England, and follow their consciences in the matters of religion in private, with the assistance of those teachers. But à Lasco, after a long and hard passage, arriving at Denmark, was as ill received there as if it had been a popish country, when they understood that he and his company were of the Helvetian confession: so that, though it was December, and a very severe winter, they were required to be gone within two days, and could not obtain so much as liberty to leave their wives or children behind them, till they could provide a place for them. From thence they went, first to Lubeck, then to Wismar and Hamburgh, where they found the disputes about the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament had raised such violent animosities, that after much barbarous usage, they were banished out of all those

The Foreigners sent out of England.



towns, and could find no place to settle in till about the end of March, that they came to Friesland, where they were suffered to plant themselves.

Many in England, seeing the government was set on severe courses so early, did infer that this would soon grow up to an extreme persecution; so that above a thousand persons fled beyond seas: most of them went in the company, and as the servants of French protestants, who having come over in king Edward's time, were now required, as the Germans had been, to return into their own country. The council understanding this, took care that no Englishman should escape out of their hands; and therefore sent an order to the ports, that none should be suffered to go over as Frenchmen, but those who brought certificates from the French ambassador. Among those that had got over, some eminent divines went, who, either having no cures, or being turned out of their benefices, were not under such ties to any flock, so that they judged themselves disengaged, and therefore did not, as hirelings, leave their flock to the persecution then imminent, but rather went to look after those who had now left England. The chief of these that went at first were Cox, Sands, Grindal, and Horn. Cox was, without any good colour, turned out both of his deanery of Christ Church and his prebendary at Westminster. He was put into the Marshalsea, but on the 19th of August was discharged. Sands was turned out for his sermon before the duke of Northumberland at Cambridge: on what account Grindal was turned out I know not; Horn, soon after he got beyond sea, printed an apology for his leaving his country: he tells that he heard there was some crimes against the state objected to him, which made him come up from Durham to clear himself; it was said that three letters had been written to him in the queen's name, requiring him to come up, and intimating that they were resolved to charge him with contempt, and other points of state. He protests that he had never received but one, which was given him on the road; but seeing how he was like to be used, he withdrew out of England: upon which he takes occasion in that discourse to vindicate the preachers in king Edward's time, against whom it was now objected, that they had neglected fasting and prayer, and had allowed the people all sorts of liberty: this he said was so false, that the ruling men in that time were much offended at the great freedom which the preachers then took, so that many of them would hear no more sermons; and he says for himself, that though Tonstall was now his great enemy, he had refused to accept of his bishopric, and was ill-used and threatened for denying to take it.

Many English fly beyond Sea.

All these things tended much to inflame the people. Therefore great care was taken, first, to oblige all those noblemen who had assisted the queen at her coming to the crown; since a grateful acknowledgment of past services is the greatest encouragement, both to the same persons to renew them, and to others to undertake the like upon new occasions. The earl of Arundel was made lord steward; sir Edward Hastings was made master of the horse, and afterwards lord Hastings; sir John Gage, lord chamberlain; sir John Williams, who had proclaimed the queen in Oxfordshire, was made lord Williams; and sir Henry Jerningham, that first gathered the men of Norfolk about her, was made captain of her guard: but Ratcliff, earl of Sussex, had done the most considerable service of them all; for to him she had given the chief command of her army, and he had managed it with that prudence, that others were thereby encouraged to come in to her assistance; so an unusual honour was contrived for him, that he might cover his head in her presence: which passed under the great seal the 2nd of October; he being the only peer of England on whom this honour was ever conferred, as far as I know *. The like was granted to the lord Courcy, baron of Kingsale in Ireland, whose posterity enjoy it to this day: but I am not so well informed of that family as to know by which of our kings it was first granted. The queen having summoned a parliament to the 5th of October, was crowned on the 1st of that month by Gardiner, who with ten other bishops, all in their mitres, copes, and crosiers, performed that ceremony with great solemnity; Day preaching the coronation

The Queen rewards those who had served her.

The Queen is crowned, and discharges all Taxes.

* Dr. Fuller assures us, in his Church History, book ix. p. 167, that he had seen a charter granted by king Henry VIII. the 16th of July, in the eighteenth of his reign, and confirmed by act of parliament, to Francis Brown, a commoner, giving him leave to put on his cap in the presence of the king and his heirs, and not to put it off but for his own ease and pleasure.—Granger's Correct.

sermon, who, it seems, was accounted the best preacher among them, since he was ordered to preach both at the late king's funeral, and now again at the coronation.

But Gardiner had prepared a largess of an extraordinary nature for the queen to distribute that day among her people, besides her general pardon; he caused a proclamation to be published, which did set forth, "That whereas the good subjects of England had always exhibited aid to their princes when the good of the public and honour of the realm required it; and though the queen, since her coming to the crown, found the treasury was marvellously exhausted by the evil government of late years, especially since the duke of Northumberland bare rule; though she found herself charged with divers great sums of her father and brother's debts, which for her own honour and the honour of the realm she determined to pay in times convenient and reasonable; yet having a special regard to the welfare of her subjects, and accounting their loving hearts and prosperity the chiefest treasure which she desired, next to the favour and grace of God; therefore, since in her brother's last parliament, two-tenths, two-fifteenths, and a subsidy both out of lands and goods, were given to him for paying his debts, which were now due to her; she of her great clemency did fully pardon and discharge these subsidies; trusting her said good subjects will have loving consideration thereof for their parts, whom she heartily requires to bend themselves wholly to God, to serve him sincerely, and with continual prayer, for the honour and advancement of the queen and the commonwealth."

A Parliament summoned.

And thus matters were prepared for the parliament, which was opened the 5th of October. In the writ of summons, and all other writs, the queen retained still the title of Supreme Head. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, and Harley, bishop of Hereford, came thither, resolving to justify their doctrine. Most of the other reformed bishops were now in prison: for besides those formerly mentioned, on the 4th of October the archbishop of York was put in the Tower, no cause being given, but heinous offences only named in general. When the mass began, it is said that those two bishops withdrew, and were upon that never suffered to come to their places again. But one Hales, the clerk of the council in queen Elizabeth's time, reports this otherwise, and more probably; that bishop Taylor took his place in his robes, but refusing to give any reverence to the mass, was violently thrust out of the house. He says nothing of Harley, so it is probable that he followed the other. The same writer also informs us, that in many places of the country, men were chosen by force and threats; in other places those employed by the court did by violence hinder the commons from coming to choose; in many places false returns were made; and that some were violently turned out of the house of commons: upon which reasons he concludes that it was no parliament, since it was under a force; and so might be annulled, as the parliament held at Coventry in the thirty-eighth year of king Henry the Sixth was, upon evidence of the like force, declared afterwards to be no parliament. The Journals of the house of lords in this parliament are lost; so there is no light to be had of their proceedings, but from the imperfect Journals of the house of commons.

Bishops violently thrust out for not worshipping the Mass.

Great disorder in Elections.

On the second day of the session, one moved in the house of commons for a review of king Edward's laws. But that being a while argued, was at this time laid aside, and the bill for tonnage and poundage was put in. Then followed a debate upon Dr. Nowell's being returned from Loo in Cornwall, whether he being a prebendary of Westminster could sit in that house? and the committee being appointed to search for precedents, it was reported, that he being represented in the convocation-house, could not be a member of that house; so he was cast out *. The bill of tonnage and poundage was sent up to the lords, who sent it down to the commons to be reformed in two provisoes that were not according to former precedents. How far this was contrary to the rights of the commons, who now say that the lords cannot alter a bill of money, I am not able to determine. The only public bill that passed in this short session was for a declaration of treasons and felonies: by which it was ordained that nothing should be judged treason but what was within the statute of treasons in the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third; and nothing should be so judged felony that was not so before the first

An Act for moderating some severe Laws.

* Yet Tregonnel, a prebendary of Westminster, sat in the house in the second sessions of this parliament.—Strype's Correct.



year of king Henry the Eighth, excepting from any benefit of this act all such as had been in prison for treason, petty-treason, or misprision of treason: such were also excepted who stood attainted or imprisoned the last day of September; who were also excepted out of the queen's pardon at her coronation. Two private bills also passed; the one for the restoring of the wife of the late marquis of Exeter, who had been attainted in the thirty-second year of king Henry's reign; and the other for her son Edward Courtney, earl of Devonshire. And so the parliament was prorogued from the 21st to the 24th of October, that there might be a session of parliament consisting only of acts of mercy; though this repeal of additional treasons and felonies was not more than what had passed in the beginning of king Edward's reign, without the clog of so severe a proviso, by which many were cut off from the favour designed by it.

Some have thought, that since treasons had been reduced by the second act of Edward VI. to the standard of the 25th of Edward III., that therefore there was somewhat else designed by this act than barely the repealing some late severe acts; which being done, the 1st of Edward VI. needed not be now repealed, if it imported no more. And since this act, as it is worded, mentions, or rather excepts, those treasons that are declared and expressed in the 25th of Edward III., they have inferred that the power of parliaments, declaring of treasons *ex post facto*, which was reserved by that statute, is hereby taken away, and that nothing is now to be held treason but what is enumerated in that statute. Yet this is still liable to debate, since the one may be thought to be declared and expressed in general words, as well as the other specialties are in more particular words, and is also still in force. So nothing seems comprehended within this repeal but the acts passed in king Edward's reign, declaring other crimes to be treason: some are added in the same act, and others in that of the 3rd and 4th of his reign, chap. 5. Nor is it likely, that if the parliament had intended to have delivered the subjects from the apprehensions of all acts of attainder upon a declaration of new treasons, they would not have expressed it more plainly; since it must have been very grateful to the nation, which had groaned heavily under arbitrary attainders of late years.

When the parliament met again, the first bill the commons entered on was that of tonnage and poundage, which they passed in two days. Then was the bill about king Henry's marriage with the queen's mother sent down on the 26th by the lords, and the commons passed it on the 28th; so strangely was the stream turned, that a divorce, that had been for seven years much desired by the nation, was now repealed upon fewer days' consultation. In the preamble it was said, "That truth, how much soever obscured and borne down, will in the end break out; and that therefore they declared that king Henry VIII., being lawfully married to queen Katherine by the consent of both their parents, and the advice of the wisest men in the realm, and of the best and notablest men for learning in Christendom, did continue that state twenty years, in which God blessed them with her majesty and other issue, and a course of great happiness; but then a very few malicious persons did endeavour to break that happy agreement between them, and studied to possess the king with a scruple in his conscience about it; and to support that, caused the seals of some universities to be got against it, a few persons being corrupted with money for that end. They had also, by sinistrous ways and secret threatenings, procured the seals of the universities of this kingdom; and finally, Thomas Cranmer did most ungodlily and against law judge the divorce upon his own unadvised understanding of the Scriptures, upon the testimonies of the universities, and some bare and most untrue conjectures; and that was afterwards confirmed by two acts of parliament, in which was contained the illegitimacy of her majesty: but that marriage not being prohibited by the law of God, and lawfully made, could not be so broken; since what God hath joined together no man could put asunder: all which they considering, together with the many miseries that had fallen on the kingdom since that time, which they did esteem plagues sent from God for it; therefore they declare that sentence given by Cranmer to be unlawful, and of no force from the beginning: and do also repeal the acts of parliament that had confirmed it."

The Marriage of Queen Katherine to King Henry confirmed.

By this act, Gardiner had performed his promise to the queen, of getting her illegitima-

tion taken off without any relation to the pope's authority. But in the drawing of it, he showed that he was past all shame; when he could frame such an act of a business which himself had so violently and servilely promoted. The falsehood of that pretence of corrupting universities has been shown in the former volume: but it was all they had now to say. The laying it all upon Cranmer was as high a pitch of malice and impudence as could be devised: for as Gardiner had been setting it on long before Cranmer was known to king Henry, so he had been joined with him in the commission, and had given his assent to the sentence which Cranmer gave. Nor was the divorce grounded merely upon Cranmer's understanding of the Scriptures, but upon the fullest and most studied arguments that had perhaps been in any age brought together in one particular case: and both houses of convocation had condemned the marriage before his sentence; but because in the right of his see he was legate to the pope, therefore, to make the sentence stronger, it went only in his name, though he had but a small share in it compared to what Gardiner had.

Which was much censured.

By this act, there was also a second illegitimation brought on the lady Elizabeth, to whom hitherto the queen had been very kind, using her on all occasions with the tenderness of a sister; but from this time forwards she handled her more severely. It was perhaps occasioned by this act, since before they stood both equally illegitimated; but now the act that legitimated the queen making her most certainly a bastard in law, the queen might think it now too much to use her as she had done formerly. Others suggest a more secret reason of this distaste. The new earl of Devonshire was much in the queen's favour, so that it was thought she had some inclinations to marry him; but he, either not presuming so high, or really having an aversion to her, and an inclination to her sister, who, of that moderate share of beauty that was between them, had much the better of her, and was nineteen years younger, made his addresses with more than ordinary concern to the lady Elizabeth; and this did bring them both in trouble, as shall be afterwards shown.

The Queen carries it severely to the Lady Elizabeth.

The next bill that was sent from the lords to the commons was for the repealing king Edward's laws about religion. It was sent down on the 31st of October, and argued six days in the house of commons; but in the end it was carried, and sent back to the lords. The preamble of it sets forth the great disorders that had fallen out in the nation by the changes that had been made in religion from that which their forefathers had left them by the authority of the catholic church: thereupon all the laws that had been made in king Edward's time about religion were now repealed; and it was enacted, that from the 20th of December next there should be no other form of divine service but what had been used in the last year of king Henry VIII., leaving it free to all till that day, to use either the books appointed by king Edward, or the old ones, at their pleasure.

The Laws made by King Edward repealed.

Another act was passed, which the commons sent up to the lords, against all those who by any overt act should molest or disquiet any preacher because of his office, or for any sermon that he might have preached; or should any way disturb them when they were in any part of the divine offices, that either had been in the last year of king Henry, or should be afterwards set forth by the queen; or should break or abuse the holy sacrament, or break altars, crucifixes, or crosses: those that did any of these things should be presented to the justices of peace, and be by them put in prison, where they should lie three months, or till they were penitent for their offences; and if any rescued them, they should be liable to the same punishment. But to this a proviso was added by the lords, that this act should no way derogate from the authority of the ecclesiastical laws and courts, who might likewise proceed upon such offences: and a certificate from the ordinaries, that such offenders were punished by them, being brought to the justices of peace, they were to proceed no further: or if the justices made a certificate that they had punished them according to law, the ordinary might not punish them a second time. But the commons were now so heated, that they sent up another bill to the lords against those who came not to church, nor to sacraments, after the old service should be again set up; the inflicting of the punishments in these cases being left to the ecclesiastical courts. This fell

An Act against the affronting Priests.



in the house of lords, not so much from any opposition that was made, as that they were afraid of alarming the nation too much by many severe laws at once.

Another law was made for securing the public peace against unlawful and rebellious assemblies: that if any, to the number of twelve or above, should meet to alter anything of religion established by law, and being required by any, having the queen's authority, to disperse themselves, should continue after that an hour together, it should be felony: or if that number met to break hedges or parks, to destroy deer or fish, &c., and did not disperse upon proclamation, it should be felony: or if any, by ringing of bells, drums, or firing of beacons, gathered the people together, and did the things before mentioned, it was felony: if the wives or servants of persons so gathered, carried meat, money, or weapons to them, it should be felony: and if any above the number of two, and within twelve, should meet for these ends, they should suffer a year's imprisonment; empowering the sheriffs or justices to gather the country for the resistance of persons so offending, with penalties on all, between eighteen and sixty, that, being required to come out against them, should refuse to do it. When this act was known, the people then saw clearly how they had been deceived by the former act, that seemed so favourable, repealing all acts of new treasons and felonies; since there was so soon after it an act passed that renewed one of the severest laws of the last reign, in which so many things that might flow from sudden heats were made felonies, and a great many new and severe provisoes were added to it. The queen's discharge of the subsidy was confirmed by another act.

Act against unlawful Assemblies.

There followed two private acts, which occasioned more debate than the public ones had done. The one was, the repeal of the act that had confirmed the marquis of Northampton's marriage: it was much argued in the house of commons, and on the 28th of November it was agreed to. It contains, that the act of confirming the divorce and the second marriage was procured more upon untrue surmises and private respects than for any public good and increase of virtue; and that it was an encouragement for sensual persons to practise by false allegations that they might be separated from their wives, rather than a precedent to induce people to live with their wives in a godly sort: thereupon the act was repealed, and declared void and of no effect. In this, it seems, the arguments that were against it in the house of commons had so moderated the style of it, that it was not repealed as an act sinful in itself, but it was only declared that in that particular case the divorce was unlawfully made: for it is reasonable to believe that the bishops had put in the first draught of the bill a simple repeal of it, and of all such divorces, founded on the indissolubleness of the marriage bond.

The Marquis of Northampton's second Marriage is annulled.

The other act was about the duke of Norfolk, for declaring his attainder void. The patentees that had purchased some parts of his estate from the crown, desired to be heard to plead against it: but the session of the parliament being near at an end, the duke came down himself to the house of commons on the 4th of December, and desired them earnestly to pass his bill; and said that the difference between him and the patentees was referred to arbiters, and if they could not agree it, he would refer it to the queen. It was long argued after that, but in the end it was agreed to. It sets forth, that the act by which he was attainted had no special matter in it, but only treasons in general, and a pretence that out of the parliament's care for the king, and his son the prince, it was necessary to attaint him: that the reasons they pretended, were his using coats-of-arms, which he and his ancestors had and might lawfully use. It further says, that the king died the next night after the commission was given for passing the bill; and that it did not appear that the king had given his assent to it. That the commission was not signed by the king's hand, but only by his stamp; and that was put to the nether end, and not to the upper part of the bill, which showed it was done in disorder; and that it did not appear that those commissioned for it had given the royal assent to it. Upon which considerations that pretended act is declared void and null by the common laws of the land. And it is further declared, that the law was, and ever hath been, that the royal assent should be given either by the king being present, or, in his absence, by a commission under the great seal, signed with his hand, and publicly notified to the lords and commons.

And the Duke of Norfolk's Attainder.

The last act of which I shall give an account, was the confirmation of the attainders that

had been made. On the 13th of November, archbishop Cranmer, the lord Guilford Dudley, and the lady Jane his wife, with two other sons of the duke of Northumberland, (which were all, except the lord Robert, who was reserved for greater fortunes,) were brought to their trial. These all confessed their indictments. Only Cranmer appealed to those that judged him, how unwillingly he had consented to the exclusion of the queen; that he had not done it, till those whose profession it was to know the law had signed it: upon which he submitted himself to the queen's mercy. But they were all attainted of high treason, for levying war against the queen, and conspiring to set up another in her room. So these judgments, with those that had passed before, were now confirmed by act of parliament.

Cranmer and others attainted.

And now Cranmer was legally divested of his archbishopric, which was hereupon void in law, since a man that is attainted can have no right to any church benefice; his life was also at the queen's mercy. But it being now designed to restore the ecclesiastical exemption and dignity to what it had been anciently, it was resolved, that he should be still esteemed archbishop, till he were solemnly degraded according to the canon law. The queen was also inclined to give him his life at this time, reckoning, that thereby she was acquitted of all the obligations she had to him; and was resolved to have him proceeded against for heresy, that so it might appear she did not act out of revenge, or on any personal account. So all that followed on this against Cranmer, was a sequestration of all the fruits of his archbishopric; himself was still kept in prison: nor were the other prisoners proceeded against at this time. The queen was desirous to seem willing to pardon injuries done against herself, but was so heated in the matters of religion, that she was always inexorable on that head.

But the See of Canterbury is not declared void.

Having given this account of public transactions, I must relate next what were more secretly carried on, but breaking out at this time, occasioned the sudden dissolution of the parliament.

Cardinal Dandino, that was then the pope's legate at the emperor's court, sent over Commendone (afterwards a cardinal) to bring him a certain account of the queen's intentions concerning religion; he gave him in charge, to endeavour to speak with her in private, and to persuade her to reconcile her kingdom to the apostolic see. This was to be managed with great secrecy, for they did not know whom to trust in so important a negotiation: it seems, they neither confided in Gardiner, nor in any of the other bishops. Commendone, being thus instructed, went to Newport, where he gave himself out to be the nephew of a merchant that was lately dead at London, and hired two servants to whom he was unknown, and so he came over unsuspected to London. There he was so much a stranger, that he did not know to whom he should address himself. By accident he met with one Lee, a servant of the queen's, that had fled beyond sea during the former reign, and had been then known to him; so he trusted him with the secret of his business in England. He procured him a secret audience of the queen, in which she freely owned to him her resolution of reconciling her kingdom to the see of Rome, and so of bringing all things back to the state in which they had been before the breach made by her father: but she said it was absolutely necessary to manage that design with great prudence and secrecy, lest in that confusion of affairs, the discovery of it might much disturb her government, and obstruct her design. She writ by him to the pope, giving him assurance of her filial obedience, and so sent Commendone to Rome. She also writ by him to cardinal Pole, and ordered Commendone to move the pope, that he might be sent over with a legatine power. Yet he that writ that cardinal's life insinuates, that the queen had another design in desiring that Pole might be sent over; for she asked him, whether the pope might not dispense with the cardinal to marry, since he was only in deacon's orders? Before Commendone left England, he saw the duke of Northumberland executed, and soon after he made all the haste that was possible to carry those acceptable tidings to Rome; and by his dexterity in this negotiation, he laid the foundation of those great fortunes, to which he was afterwards advanced. There was no small joy in the consistory when the pope and the cardinals understood that a kingdom from which they had drawn so much wealth in former times was now to become again tributary to them. So

The Queen treats about a Reconciliation with Rome.



there was a public rejoicing for three days, in which the pope said mass himself, and distributed his ordinary largess of indulgences, of which he was the more bountiful, because he hoped they should come in credit again, and be purchased at the rates at which they had been formerly sold. Yet in the consistory, Commendone did not positively say he was sent by the queen, that being only communicated to the pope: all he told the cardinals was, that he understood from very good hands, that the queen was very well disposed to that see, and that she desired that a legate might be sent over with full powers. Many of the cardinals thought this was too bare a message; and that it was below the papal dignity to send a legate till the pope was earnestly desired to do it, by an express message, and an embassy sent by the queen. But it was said, that Commendone had said nothing but by the queen's express orders, who was yet in so unsettled a condition, that till she held a session of parliament, it might much endanger her to appear openly in such a matter: they were to remember how England had been lost by too much stiffness formerly; and they were to imitate the shepherd in the parable, who left his ninety-nine sheep to seek the one that was strayed. So it was granted, that Pole should go legate with a full power. But Gardiner coming to know this, sent to the emperor to stop his journey, assuring him that things were going well on, and that his coming over would spoil all. At this time the emperor began to think of marrying his son Philip to the queen, who, though she was above nine years elder than he, yet being but thirty-seven years old, was not out of hopes of having children. The emperor saw, that if England were united to the Spanish crown, it would raise that monarchy to a great height; they should have all the trade of the world in their hands, and so inclose France, that it seemed as probable a step to the universal monarchy, as that he had lately lost in Germany. When this match was first proposed I do not know; but I have read some parts of a letter concerning it (for it is not all legible) which was written by the queen of Hungary, and signed by the emperor in the beginning of November: this, though it was not the first proposition, yet seems to have followed soon after it. The queen entertained the motion easily, not trusting to the affections of her people, nor thinking it possible to have the papal authority set up, nor the church-lands restored, without a foreign force to assist her. It is said, and I have shown some ground to believe, that she had some inclinations to cardinal Pole; and that the emperor fearing that might be an hindrance to his design, therefore the cardinal's coming over was stopped till the queen was married to his son Philip. But of this I find no certain footsteps. On the contrary, Gardiner, whose eye was chiefly upon the archbishopric of Canterbury, would rather have promoted Pole's pretensions to the queen; since her marrying a subject, and not a stranger, would have made the government much easier, and more acceptable to the people; and it would have been the best thing he could do for himself, if he could have persuaded her to marry him, who alone was like to stand between him and that dignity.

But stopped in his Journey by the Emperor.

The true account of it is: the emperor pressed her, first to settle the state and consummate her marriage, and that would more easily make way for what was to follow: for Gardiner had assured him, the bringing in of the papal power, and making up the marriage both at once, would be things of such ill digestion, that it would not be easy to carry them together; and therefore it was necessary to let a considerable interval go between. This being resolved on, it was apparent the marriage ought to go first, as that which would give them more strength to conclude the other. And this was the true reason of stopping cardinal Pole at Dilling*; which the emperor at first did by his own authority, but afterwards got the queen to send one to him to the same purpose. She sent Goldwell (afterwards bishop of St. Asaph) to him with the two acts that were passed, for the justifying of her mother's marriage, and for bringing all things back to the state in which they were at her father's death. Thereby she let him see, that she was going forward in the business for which he was sent; but withal she told him, that the commons, in passing those acts, had expressed great aversion to the taking of the supremacy from the crown, or the restoring of the pope's power; and that they were much alarmed to hear he

The Queen sent one to him.

* Cardinal Pole was stopped in his journey by Mendoza, sent post to him from the emperor, desiring him not to proceed in his journey, upon which he went back to Dilling, a town on the Danube belonging to the cardinal of Augsburg.—STRYPE's CORRECT.

was coming over legate; and it prejudiced her affairs, that the message she had sent by Commendone had been published in the consistory. Therefore she desired him to keep out of England till he were further advertised. But to let him see how much she depended on his counsels, she desired he would send her a list of such persons as should be made bishops, for many were now to be turned out. To this (besides the answer which he might have writ to herself, that I have not seen), he writ a copious answer in a tedious paper of instructions, which he gave to Goldwell; the conclusion of which, summing up his whole mind fully enough, I thought sufficient to put into the Collection, for the instructions are extreme long, and very full of words to little purpose. They seem to be of his own hand-writing; but of that I am not well assured, having seen nothing else of his hand, except his subscription.

Collection, Number 9.

The substance of it was this: "He rejoiced much at the two acts that were passed, but yet he censures them both, because he observed some defects in them: in the act for confirming her mother's marriage, he found fault that there was no mention made of the pope's bulls, by the authority of which only it could be a lawful marriage. In the other, he did not like it, that the worship of God, and the sacraments, were to be as they were in the end of her father's reign; for then the people were yet in a state of schism, and schismatics have no right to the sacraments; the pope's interdict still lay on the nation, and till that were taken off, none could without sin either administer or receive them. He told her that Commendone had said nothing in her name to the consistory, but had spoken to them only on the reports which he said he had heard of her from good hands; and it was necessary to say somewhat, in order to the sending a legate: that many in the consistory had opposed the sending of him, because there was no express desire sent about it; but it was carried, that he should come over with very full graces, and power to reconcile the kingdom on very easy terms. He also told her, he was afraid that when the pope and cardinals should hear that he was stopped, they would repent their benignity, and take this as an affront, and recall him and his powers, and send another that would not be so tender of the nation, or bring with him such full powers: that to prevent this, he had sent one to the pope and cardinals, to mitigate their displeasure, by letting them know, he was only stopped for a little while, till the act of attainder that stood against him was repealed; and to make a show of going forward, he had sent his household stuff to Flanders, but would stay where he was till he had further orders. He said he knew this flowed chiefly from the emperor, who was for using such political courses as himself had followed in the business of the Interim, and was earnest to have the state settled before she meddled with religion: he had spoke with his confessor about it, and had convinced him of the impiety of such courses, and sent him to work on him. He also told the queen, he was afraid carnal policy might govern her too much, and that she might thereby fall from her simplicity in Christ in which she had hitherto lived. He encouraged her therefore to put on a spirit of wisdom and courage, and to trust in God who had preserved her so long, and had settled her on the throne in so unlooked-for a manner. He desired she would show as much courage in rejecting the supremacy, as her father had done in acquiring it. He confessed he knew none in either house of parliament fit to propose that matter: the spiritualty had all complied so far, had written and declared for it so much, that it could not flow from them decently; and the temporalty being possessed of the church lands, would not willingly move it; therefore he thought it best for herself to go to the parliament, having beforehand acquainted some few both of the spiritualty and temporalty with her design; and that she should tell both houses, she was touched in her conscience, that she and her people were in a schism from the catholic church and the apostolic see, and that therefore she had desired a legate to come over to treat about it; and should thereupon propose that the attainder might be taken off from him, that he might be capable to come on that message. And he protested, that he had never acted against the king or kingdom, but only with design to reduce them to the unity of the church; neither before nor after the attainder: and whereas some might apprehend a thraldom from the papacy, she might give them assurance that they should see all things so well secured, that there should no danger come to the nation from it; and he assured them that he, for his part, should take as much care of that as any of all the temporalty could desire." What recommendations he sent for the sees that were to be declared vacant, I do not know.

The Advice he sent to the Queen.



When this dispatch of his was brought into England, Gardiner, by the assistance of the emperor, convinced the queen that his method was unpracticable, and that the marriage must be first dispatched: and now Gardiner and he did declare open enmity to one another. Gardiner thought him a weak man, that might have some speculative knowledge of abstracted ideas, but understood not the world, nor the genius of the English nation. Pole, on the other hand, thought him a false man, that made conscience of nothing, and was better at intrigues and dissimulation than the government of the church. But the emperor saw Gardiner had so prudently managed this parliament, that he concluded his measures were rather to be followed than the cardinal's.

But Gardiner's Methods are preferred to him.

In the house of commons it was given out, that it was necessary to gain the queen to the interest of the nation, and to turn her from foreign councils and aid, by being easy to her in the matter of religion, and therefore they were ready both to repeal the divorce, and king Edward's laws. But when they saw the design of the marriage, and uniting with Rome, was still carried on, they were all much alarmed; so they sent their speaker and twenty of their house with him, with an earnest and humble address to her, not to marry a stranger. This had so inflamed the house, that the court saw more could not be expected from them, unless they were satisfied in that point. So on the 6th of December the parliament was dissolved. Upon that Gardiner sent to the emperor, to let him know that the marriage was like to meet with such opposition, that unless extraordinary conditions were offered, which all should see were much to the advantage of the English crown, it could not be carried without a general rebellion. He also assured him, that if great sums of money were not sent over to gratify the chief nobility and leading men in the country, both for obliging them to his interest, and enabling them to carry elections for the next parliament, the opposition would be such, that the queen must lay down all thoughts of marrying his son. Upon this, the emperor and his son resolved to offer what conditions the English would demand: for Philip reckoned, if he once had the crown on his head, it would be easy for him, with the assistance which his other dominions might give him, to make all these signify little. And for money the emperor borrowed 1,200,000 crowns (which in English money was 400,000*l.*, for the crown was then a noble), and promised to send it over to be distributed as Gardiner and his ambassadors should think fit; but made his son bind himself to repay him that sum, when he had once attained the crown of England. And this the emperor made so little a secret, that when, a year after, some towns in Germany, that had lent a part of this money, desired to be repaid, he answered them, that he had lent his son 1,200,000 crowns to marry him to the queen of England, and had yet received of him only 300,000 crowns, but he had good security for the rest, and the merchants were bound to pay him 100,000 lib. sterling, and therefore he demanded a little more time of them. All this was printed soon after at Strasburgh by the English there, in a book which they sent over to England; in which, both the address made by the commons in parliament, and this answer of the emperor's to the towns, is mentioned. And that whole discourse (which is in the form of an address to the queen, the nobility, and the commons) is written with such gravity and simplicity of style, that as it is by much the best I have seen of this time, so in these public transactions there is no reason to think it untrue. For the things which it relates are credible of themselves; and though the sum there mentioned was very great, yet he that considers that England was to be bought with it, will not think it an extraordinary price. In that discourse, it is further said, that as Gardiner corrupted many by bribes, so in the court of chancery, common justice was denied to all but those who came into these designs.

The House of Commons displeased with the Marriage with Spain.

The Parliament is dissolved.

1,200,000 Crowns sent into England to procure the Consent of the Nation to the Marriage.

Having thus given an account of what was done in the parliament, I shall next show how the convocation proceeded. Bonner being to preside in it, as being the first bishop of the province of Canterbury, appointed John Harpsfield his chaplain to preach; who took his text out of the 20th of the Acts, verse 20, "Feed the flock." He ran out in his bidding prayers most profusely on the queen's praises, comparing her to

The Proceedings of the Convocation.

Deborah and Esther, Judith, Mary the sister of Martha, and the Virgin Mary, with all the servilest flatteries he could invent; next he bid them pray for the lady Elizabeth; but when he came to mention the clergy, he enlarged on the praises of Bonner, Gardiner, Tonstall, Heath, and Day so grossly, that it seems the strains of flattering churchmen at that time were very coarse; and he ran out so copiously in them, as if he had been to deliver a panegyric, and not to bid the beads. In his sermon he inveighed against the late preachers for not observing fasts, nor keeping Lent, and for their marriages, which he severely condemned.

Weston, dean of Westminster, was presented prolocutor by the lower house, and approved of by Bonner. Whether any of the bishops that had been made in king Edward's time sat among them, I do not know. But in the lower house there was great opposition made. There had been care taken that there should be none returned to the convocation, but such as would comply in all points. But yet there came six non-compliers, who being deans or archdeacons, had a right to sit in the convocation. These were Philpot archdeacon of Winchester, Philips dean of Rochester, Haddon dean of Exeter, Cheyney archdeacon of Hereford, Ailmer archdeacon of Stow, and Young chanter of St. David's. Weston the prolocutor proposed to them, on the 18th of October, that there had been a catechism printed in the last year of king Edward's reign in the name of that synod, and as he understood it was done without their consents, which was a pestiferous book, and full of heresies; there was likewise a very abominable book of Common-prayer set out; it was therefore the queen's pleasure that they should prepare such laws about religion, as she would ratify with her parliament. So he proposed that they should begin with condemning those books, particularly the articles in them contrary to the sacrament of the altar; and he gave out two questions about it: whether in the sacrament, upon the sanctification of the bread and wine, all their substance did not vanish, being changed into the body and blood of Christ? and whether the natural body of Christ was not corporally present in the eucharist, either by the transubstantiation of the elements into his body and blood, or by the conjunction of concomitance, as some expressed it? The house was adjourned till the 20th, on which day every man was appointed to give in his answer to these questions. All answered and subscribed in the affirmative, except the six before mentioned. Philpot said, whereas it was given out that the catechism was not approved by the convocation, though it was printed in their name, it was a mistake; for the convocation had authorised a number of persons to set forth ecclesiastical laws, to whom they had committed their synodal authority; so that they might well set out such books in the name of the convocation. He also said, that it was against all order, to move men to subscribe in such points, before they were examined; and since the number of these on the one side was so unequal to those on the other side, he desired that Dr. Ridley, Mr. Rogers, and two or three more, might be allowed to come to the convocation. This seemed very reasonable. So the lower house proposed it to the bishops. They answered, that these persons being prisoners, they could not bring them; but they should move the council about it. A message also was sent from some great lords, that they intended to hear the disputation; so the house adjourned till the 23d.

Disputes concerning the Sacrament.

There was then a great appearance of noblemen and others. The prolocutor began with a protestation, that by this dispute they did not intend to call the truth in doubt, to which they had all subscribed; but they did it only to satisfy the objections of those few who refused to concur with them. But it was denied to let any prisoners or others assist them; for it was said, that that being a dispute among those of the convocation, none but members were to be heard in it. Haddon and Ailmer, foreseeing they should be run down with clamour and noise, refused to dispute: Young went away: Cheyney, being next spoke to, did propose his objections; that St. Paul calls the sacrament, bread, after the consecration; that Origen said it went into the excrement; that Theodoret said the bread and wine did not in the sacrament depart from their former substance, form, and shape. Moreman was called on to answer him: he said, that St. Paul calling it bread was to be understood thus,—the sacrament, or form of bread. To Origen's authority he answered nothing; but to Theodoret he said, the word they render "substance" stood in a more general signification, and so might signify accidental substance. Upon this, Ailmer, who had resolved not to dispute, could not contain himself, but said the Greek word, *οὐσία*, could not be so understood; for the following words of form and shape belonged to the accidents, but that only belonged to the substance of the elements. Upon this there followed a contest about the signification of that word. Then Philpot struck in, and said the occasion of Theodoret's writing plainly showed that was a vain cavil; for the dispute was with the Eutychians, whether the body and human nature of Christ had yet an existence distinct from the divine nature? The Eutychians said it was swallowed up by his Godhead; and argued, from some expressions used concerning the sacrament, as if the presence of Christ in it had swallowed up the elements: against which Theodoret, according to the orthodox doctrine, argued to prove that there was in Christ a human nature not swallowed up; and said that, as in the sacrament, notwithstanding the union of Christ with the elements, they did not depart from their substance, form, and shape: so the human nature of Christ was not absorbed by its union to the Godhead. So it plainly appeared this word substance stood for the nature of the elements. Moreman being straitened in answering this, Philpot said, if he had not an answer ready, he would desire him to think on one against their next meeting; upon this the prolocutor checked him, as if he were bragging too soon. He insisted on his argument, but was commanded to be silent. Haddon, upon that, proposed another argument from these words of our Saviour: "The poor you have always with you, but Me you have not always;" that, therefore, his body was not in the sacrament. To this the prolocutor answered, that Christ was not to be always with us so as to receive our alms; which is all that was intended by that place. But Haddon brought a copious citation out of St. Austin, applying that very place to prove that Christ's natural presence was no more on earth after his ascension into heaven. To this Dr. Watson opposed another place of St. Austin; and some dispute was about those places. After that Haddon read more authorities of fathers, asserting that Christ was in heaven and not on earth: the words of the institution did plainly express it; both because the sacrament was to be in remembrance of Christ, and because it was to continue until his coming again. But to this they said, he was not on earth in a bodily manner; and they endeavoured to take away the force of the argument from the words, until his coming again, by some other acceptations of the word [until]. But Haddon asked them, whether they thought Christ did eat his own natural body, when he instituted and took the sacrament? They said he did. Upon that he answered, that that was so absurd, that he thought it needless to argue more with those who could yield it, and so he sate down. Philpot argued, that Christ could not receive his own body in the sacrament, since it was given for the remission of sins, of which he was not capable, having no sin. Weston answered, he might receive it as well as be baptised. But Philpot answered, he was baptised, as he said himself, to be an example to others. So ended this day's dispute.

On the 25th, Philpot, who was ordered to begin that day, had prepared a long discourse in Latin: but Weston interrupted him, and said he must make no speech, he was only to propose his arguments, and that in English; though it had been before ordered that the dispute should be in Latin. Then Philpot went to explain what sort of presence he would dispute against, and what he allowed. Here Weston again interrupted him, and bid him form his argument. Upon that he fell down on his knees, and begged of the lords and privy-counsellors that were present, that he might have leave to speak his mind: which they granted him. So he said, for their sacrifice of the mass he would prove that it was no sacrament at all, and that Christ was no way present in it; which if he should not do before the queen and her council, against any six that would maintain the contrary, he should be willing to be burnt before the court-gates. Upon this there was great outcrying that he was mad, and talked idly; and Weston threatened to send him to prison. But this noise being laid, and he claiming the privilege of the house for the freedom of speech, was required to go on to an argument. Then he proved that Christ was in heaven; for himself said, "I leave the world, and go to my Father:" and to prove there was no ambiguity in these words, he observed that his disciples said upon this, "Now thou speakest plainly, without any parable." It was answered by Dr. Chedsey, that those words were only meant of his visible ascension, but did not exclude his invisible presence; and he cited some words of Chryso-

stom's, that Christ took his flesh with him, and also left his flesh behind him. Weston and the rest said, that authority was unanswerable, and for a while would not hear his answer. But Philpot showed him that Chrysostom's words must be understood in a large sense, as believers are said to be flesh of his flesh; for that father applies that also to baptism, from these words, "As many as are baptised into Christ, have put on Christ;" so the flesh that Christ left on earth, according to him, is not the corporal presence in the sacrament. Upon this Pye, dean of Chichester, whispered somewhat to the prolocutor, who thereupon said to Philpot that he had disputed enough. He answered, that he had a dozen of arguments, and they were enjoining him silence before he had got through one of them. They threatened to send him to prison if he spoke more. He said, that was far from the promise they had made of hearing them fully; and from what was preached last Sunday at Paul's, that all things should be answered in this disputation. But Pye said, he should be answered another way. Philpot replied, there was a company of them now got together, who had heretofore dissembled with God and the world, and were now met to suppress God's truth, and to set forth false devices which they were not able to maintain. After this Ailmer stood up, and brought many authorities out of Greek authors to prove that *οὐσία*, in Theodoret, could only be understood of the substance of bread and wine: and Moreman desired a day's time to consider of them. Then Pern, though he had subscribed with the rest, brought some arguments against transubstantiation: for which the prolocutor chid him, since he had before subscribed. Ailmer answered, that it was against the freedom of the house for any to be so chid for delivering his conscience. It was now become late, so they adjourned to the 27th.

Then they again disputed about Theodoret's words, where Haddon showed that he said the symbols retained the same substance that they had before. After that, Cheyney fell to argue about those words; he acknowledged a real presence, but denied transubstantiation, and pressed Theodoret's authority so close, that Watson said he was a Nestorian; and if Theodoret, who was but one, was of their side, there was above a hundred fathers against them. Upon this Cheyney quoted Irenæus, who had said that our flesh was nourished by the bread and wine in the sacrament. He also cited Hesychius, who said that in the church of Jerusalem the symbols that were not consumed in the communion were burnt afterwards: he desired to know whether the ashes were the body of Christ, or what it was that was burnt? To all this Harpsfield made a long answer concerning God's omnipotence, and the weakness of men's understandings, that could not comprehend divine mysteries: but Cheyney still asked what it was that was burnt? Harpsfield replied, it was either the substance of bread or the body of Christ; and afterwards said it was a miracle. At that Cheyney smiled, and said, then he could say no more. Weston asked, whether there was not enough said in answer to these men's objections. Many of the clergy cried out, "Yes, yes;" but the multitude, with repeated cries, said, "No, no." Weston said, he spake to those of the house, and not to the rude multitude. Then he asked those divines, whether they would now, for three days, answer the arguments that should be put to them. Haddon, Cheyney, and Ailmer, said they would not; but Philpot offered to do it. Weston said he was a madman, and fitter to be sent to Bedlam. Philpot said, he that had carried himself with so much passion, and so little indifferency, deserved a room there much better. Weston, neglecting him, turned to the assembly and said, they might see what sort of men these were, whom they had now answered three days; but though they had promised it, and the order of disputation did require it, that they should answer in their turn three days, they now declined it. Upon that Ailmer stood up and answered, that they had made no such promise, nor undertaken any such disputation; but being required to give their reasons why they would not subscribe with the rest, they had done it, but had received no answer to them, and therefore would enter into no further disputation before such judges, who had already determined and subscribed those questions. So the house was adjourned to the 30th; and then Philpot appeared to answer, but desired first leave to prosecute his former argument, and urged, that since Christ as man is like us in all things without sin, therefore as we are restrained to one place at a time, so is Christ but in one place, and that is heaven; for St. Peter says, the "heavens must contain him till the restitution of all things." To this it was answered, that Christ being God, his omnipotence was above our understanding; and that to shut him in



one place was to put him in prison. Philpot said he was not speaking of his divine nature, but that as he was man, he was like us: and for their saying that Christ was not to be imprisoned in heaven, he left to all men to judge whether that was a good answer or not. Much discourse following upon this, the prolocutor commanded him to come no more into the house. He answered, he thought himself happy to be out of their company. Others suggesting to the prolocutor, that it would be said the meeting was not free, if men were put out of the house for speaking their minds; he said to him he might come, so he were decently habited, and did not speak but when he commanded him. To this he answered, that he had rather be absent altogether. Weston concluded all by saying, "You have the word, but we have the sword:" truly pointing out wherein the strength of both causes lay.

This was the issue of that disputation, which was soon after printed in English: and in Latin by Volerandus Polanus, and is inserted at large in Fox's Acts and Monuments. What account the other side gave of it, I do not find. But upon all such occasions, the prevailing party, when the inequality was so disproportioned, used to carry things with so much noise and disorder, that it was no wonder the reformers had no mind to engage in this dispute. And those who reflected on the way of proceeding in king Edward's time, could not but confess things had been managed with much more candour and equality. For in this very point there had been, as was formerly shown, disputes for a year together, before there was any determination made: so that all men were free at that time to deliver their opinions without any fear, and then the disputes were in the universities, where as there were a great silence and collection of books, so the auditors were more capable of being instructed by them: but here the point was first determined, and then disputed: and this was in the midst of the disorder of the town, where the privy council gave all possible encouragement to the prevailing party.

Censures past upon it.

The last thing I find done this year, was the restoring Veisey to be bishop of Exeter, which was done on the 28th of December. In his warrant for it under the great seal, it is said that he, for some just troubles both in body and mind, had resigned his bishopric to king Edward, to which the queen now restored him. And thus ended this year. Foreign affairs did not so much concern religion as they had done in the former reign, which as it made me give some account of them then, so it causes me now not to prosecute them so fully.

1554. In the beginning of the next year, the emperor sent over the count of Egmont and some other ambassadors to make the proposition and treaty of marriage, betwixt his son and the queen. In the managing of this treaty, Gardiner had the chief hand: for he was now the oracle at the council-board: he had thirty years' experience in affairs, a great knowledge of the courts of Christendom, and of the state of England, and had great sagacity, with a marvellous cunning, which was not always regulated by the rules of candour and honesty. He in drawing the articles of the marriage had a double design: the one was, to have them so framed, that they might easily pass in parliament; and the other was to exclude the Spaniards from having any share in the government of England, which he intended to hold in his own hands. So the terms on which it was agreed were these.

Ambassadors sent from the emperor for the marriage.

The queen should have the whole government of England, with the giving of offices and benefices in her own hands, so that though Philip was to be called king, and his name was to be on the coin, and the seals, and in writs, yet her hand was to give force to everything without his. Spaniards should not be admitted into the government, nor to any offices at court. The laws should not be altered, nor the pleadings put into any other tongue. The queen should not be made to go out of England, but upon her own desire. The children born in the marriage should not go out of England, but by the consent of the nobility. If the queen outlived the prince, she should have 60,000*l.* a year out of his estate, 40,000*l.* out of Spain, and 20,000*l.* of it out of the Netherlands. If the queen had sons by him, they should succeed both to her own crowns, and the Netherlands and Burgundy; and if the archduke Charles, Philip's only son, died, they should succeed to all her and his dominions: if she had only daughters, they should succeed to her crowns and the Netherlands, if they married by their brother's consent; or otherwise, they

The Articles agreed.

should have such portions as were ordinarily given to those of their rank: but if the queen had no issue, the king was not to pretend to any part of the government after her death; but the crown was to descend, according to the laws of England, to her heirs. There was to be a perpetual league betwixt England and Spain; but this was not to be in prejudice of their league with France, which was still to continue in force.

These were the conditions agreed on, and afterwards confirmed in parliament; by which it appears the Spaniards were resolved to have the marriage on any terms, reckoning that if prince Philip were once in England, he could easily enlarge his authority, which was hereby so much restrained.

It was now apparent the queen was to marry the prince of Spain, which gave a universal discontent to the whole nation. All that loved the Reformation saw, that not only their religion would be changed, but a Spanish government and inquisition would be set up in its stead. Those who considered the civil liberties of the kingdom, without great regard to religion, concluded that England would become a province to Spain; and they saw how they governed the Netherlands, and heard how they ruled Milan, Naples, and Sicily; but above all, they heard the most inhuman things that ever any age produced, had been acted by them in their new conquest in the West Indies.

The Match generally disliked.

It was said, what might they expect, but to lie at the mercy of such tyrannical masters who would not be long kept within the limits that were now prescribed? All the great conditions now talked of, were but the gilding the pill, but its operation would be fatal, if they once swallowed it down. These things had influence on many; but the chief conspirators were the duke of Suffolk, sir Thomas Wiat, and sir Peter Carew: the one was to raise the midland counties, the other to raise Cornwall, and Wiat was to raise Kent; hoping by rising in such remote places, so to distract the government, that they should be able to engage the commons, who were now as much distasted with the queen, as they had been formerly fond of her.

Plots to oppose it.

But as Carew was carrying on his design in the west, it came to be discovered; and one that he had trusted much in it was taken; upon that Carew fled over into France. Wiat was in Kent when he heard this, but had not yet laid his business as he intended. Therefore, fearing to be undone by the discovery that was made, he gathered some men about him, and on the 25th of January went to Maidstone: there he made proclamation, that he intended nothing but to preserve the liberty of the nation, and keep it from coming under the yoke of strangers, which, he said, all the council, one or two excepted, were against; and assured the people, that all the nobility and chief men of England would concur with them. He said nothing of religion, but in private assured those that were for the Reformation, that he would declare for them. One Roper came and declared him and his company traitors; but he took him with some gentlemen that were gathering to oppose him. From thence he went to Rochester, and writ to the sheriff of Kent, desiring his assistance against the strangers, for there were already, as he said, a hundred armed Spaniards landed at Dover. The sheriff sent him word, that if he and those with him had any suits, they were to make them to the queen on their knees, but not with swords in their hands; and required them to disperse under pain of treason. Wiat kept his men in good order, so that they did no hurt, but only took all the arms they could find.

Are discovered.

Wiat breaks out.

At the same time, one Isley and Knevet gathered people together about Tunbridge, and went to join with Wiat. The queen sent down a herald to him with a pardon, if he would disperse his company in twenty-four hours; but Wiat made him deliver his message at the end of Rochester bridge, and so sent him away. The high sheriff gathered together as many as he could, and showed them how they were abused by lies; there were no Spaniards landed at all, and those that were to come, were to be their friends and confederates against their enemies. Those that he brought together went to Gravesend to meet the duke of Norfolk, and sir Hen. Jerningham, who were come thither with six hundred men from London; and they hearing that Knevet was on his way to Rochester, went and intercepted and routed him; sixty of his men were killed, the rest saved themselves in the woods.



The news of this disheartened Wiat much, who was seen to weep, and called for a coat which he stuffed with angels, designing to have escaped. But the duke of Norfolk marching to Rochester with two hundred horse and six hundred foot, commanded by one Bret, they were wrought on by a pretended deserter, Harper, who seemed to come over from Wiat: he persuaded the Londoners that it was only the preservation of the nation from the Spaniards that they designed; and it was certain none would suffer under that yoke more than they. This had such an effect on them, that they all cried out, "We are all Englishmen!" and went over to Wiat: so the duke of Norfolk was forced to march back. And now Kent was all open to Wiat, who thereupon sent one to the duke of Suffolk, pressing him to make haste and raise his country; but the bearer was intercepted. Upon that the earl of Huntington was sent down with some horse to seize on him. The duke was at all times a mean-spirited man, but it never appeared more than now: for after a faint endeavour to raise the country, he gave it over, and concealed himself in a private house; but was betrayed by him to whom he had trusted himself into the hands of the earl of Huntington, and so was brought to the Tower.

The Londoners revolt.

Wiat's party increasing, they turned towards London. As they came to Deptford, sir Edward Hastings and sir Thomas Cornwallis came to them in the queen's name, to ask what would content them? Wiat desired that he might have the command of the Tower, that the queen might stay under his guard; and that the council might be changed. Upon these extravagant propositions there passed high words, and the privy-councillors returned to the queen. After this she went into Guildhall, and there gave an account of her message to Wiat, and his answer. And for her marriage, she said, she did nothing in it but by advice of her council, and spoke very tenderly of the love she bore to her people and to that city. On the 31st, Wiat was become four thousand strong, and came near Southwark. On the 2nd of February he fell into Southwark. Some of his company had a mind to have broken into Winchester-house and robbed it, but he threatened to hang any that should do it. He was put in hope, that upon his coming to Southwark, London would have declared for him, but in that he was deceived. The bridge was fortified, so that he found it was not possible to force it. Here he held a council of war with his officers; some were for turning back into Kent to disperse a body of men that the lord Abergavenny had gathered together; but he said, that was a small game. The strength of their party was in London, and therefore it was necessary for him to be there as soon as he could; for though they could not open the bridge to him, yet he was assured, if he were on the other side, many would come out to him. Some were for crossing over to Essex, where they heard the people were well-affected to them, but they had not boats enough, so he marched to get over at Kingston-bridge.

Wiat's Demands.

He came to Southwark.

On the 4th they came to Kingston, where the queen had ordered the bridge to be cut; but his men repairing it, he crossed the river that night; and though he lost much time by the mending of one of his carriages that broke by the way, he was at Hyde Park by nine of the clock next morning, it being Ash-Wednesday.

He crossed the Thames at Kingston.

The earl of Pembroke had gathered a good body of men to have fallen on him, for his men were now in great disorder; but they looked on, to let him cast himself into their hands. He did not march by Holborn, as some advised, but came down to Charing Cross. There the lord Clinton fell in between the several bodies of his men, and dispersed them so, that he had not five hundred left about him; but with those that remained, he passed through the Strand and Fleet-street to Ludgate, where he stopped, in hope to have found the gates opened to him. That hope failing, he returned back; and being now out of all heart, was taken at Temple Bar by a herald. All this while the queen showed great courage, she would not stir out of Whitehall, nor go by water to the Tower, as some advised her, but went with her women and priests to her devotions.

But is defeated.

And taken.

This was a rebellion, both raised and dispersed in as strange a manner as could have been imagined. Wiat was a popular and stout man, but had not a head for such an undertaking, otherwise the government was so feeble, that it had not been a difficult thing to have driven

the queen to great straits. It was not at all raised upon pretence of religion, which, according to the printed account set out by the queen's order, was not so much as once named. And yet some of our own writers say, that Poinet, the late bishop of Winchester, was in it *. But this is certainly false, for so many prisoners being taken, it is not to be imagined but this would have been found out and published, to make that religion more odious; and we cannot think but Gardiner would have taken care that he should have been attainted in the following parliament.

Poinet was not in that Rebellion.

Christophorson soon after writ a book against rebellion, in which he studies to fasten this rising on the preachers of the new religion, as he calls it; and gives some presumptions that amount to no more but little flourishes of his wit, but never names this, which had been a decisive proof. So that it is but a groundless fiction, made by those who have either been the authors, or at least have laid down the principles of all the rebellions in the Christian world, and yet would cast that blame on others, and exempt themselves from it; as if they were the surest friends of princes, while they design to enslave them to a foreign power, and will neither allow them to reign nor to live but at the mercy of the head of that principality to which all other powers must bend; or break, if they meet with an age that is so credulous and superstitious as to receive their dictates.

This raw and soon-broken rebellion was as lucky to Gardiner, and those who set on the marriage, as if they had projected it; for now the people were much disheartened, and their own designs as much fortified: since as some fevers are critical, and cast out those latent distempers which no medicines could effectually purge away; and yet if they were not removed, must in the end corrupt the whole mass of blood; so in a weak government, to which the people are ill-affected, ill-digested rebellions raise the prince higher, and add as much spirit to his friends as they take from the faction against him, and give a handle to do some things, for which, otherwise, it were not easy either to find colours or instruments.

One effect of this was, the proceeding severely against the lady Jane and her husband, the lord Guilford, who both suffered on the 12th of February. The lady Jane was not much disordered at it, for she knew upon the first jealousy she must be the sacrifice, and therefore had now lived six months in the continual meditations of death. Feckenham, afterwards abbot of Westminster, was sent to her by the queen, three days before, to prepare her to die. He had a long conversation with her; but she answered him with that calmness of mind and clearness of reason, that it was an astonishing thing to hear so young a person of her sex and quality look on death so near her with so little disorder, and talk so sensibly both of faith and holiness, of the sacrament, the Scriptures, and the authority of the church. Feckenham left her, seeing he could work nothing on her; but procured, as is said, the continuance of her life three days longer, and waited on her on the scaffold. She writ to her father to moderate his grief for her death (which must needs have been great, since his folly had occasioned it). She expressed "her sense of her sin in assuming the royal dignity, though he knew how unwillingly she was drawn to it; and that in her royal estate her enforced honour had never defiled her innocent heart. She rejoiced at her approaching end, since nothing could be to her more welcome than to be delivered from that valley of misery into that heavenly throne to which she was to be advanced, where she prayed that they might meet at last."

The L. Jane and her Husband executed.

Her preparation for Death.

There was one Harding †, that had been her father's chaplain, and that was a zealous preacher in king Edward's days, before whose death he had animated the people much to prepare for persecution, and never to depart from the truth of the gospel; but he had now fallen away himself. To him she writ a letter full of severe expostulations and threatenings for his apostacy, but it had no effect on him. It is of an extraordinary strain, full of life in the thoughts, and of zeal, if there is not too much in the expressions. The night before her execution, she sent her Greek Testament, which she had always used, to her sister; with a letter in the same language ‡, in which, in most pathetic expressions, she sets out the value

* Poinet wrote a book to justify resisting the queen.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

† Thomas Harding, afterwards antagonist to bishop Jewel.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

‡ The letter I suppose must have been wrote in English, as it stands in FOX, vol. iii. p. 35, and is printed amongst the letters of the martyrs, p. 662.—ANON. CORRECT.



LADY JANE GREY.

OB. 1554

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF STAMFORD AND WARRINGTON

that she had of it, and recommended the study and practice of it earnestly to her. She had also composed a very devout prayer for her retirements; and thus had she spent the last moments of her life. She expressed great tenderness when she saw her husband led out first, but soon overcame it when she considered how closely she was to follow him. He had desired to take leave of her before he died, but she declined it, since it would be rather an increase of grief than any addition of comfort to them. She said she hoped they would shortly meet, and be united in a happier state, and with a settled countenance she saw them bring back the beheaded body to the chapel where it was to be buried. When she was brought to the scaffold, which was raised for her within the Tower to prevent the compassion which her dying more publicly might have raised, she confessed she had sinned in taking the queen's honour when it was given her; she acknowledged the act was unlawful, as was also her consenting to it; but she said it was neither procured nor desired by her. She declared that she died a true Christian, and hoped to be saved only by the mercy of God in the blood of Christ. She acknowledged that she had too much neglected the word of God, and had loved herself and the world too much, for which that punishment had come justly to her from God: but she blessed him that had made it a means to lead her to repentance. Then having desired the people's prayers, she kneeled down and repeated the 51st Psalm: then she undressed herself, and stretched out her head on the block, and cried out, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit;" and so her head was cut off.

All people lamented her sad and untimely end, which was not easily consented to, even by the queen herself. Her death had a most violent operation on judge Morgan, that had pronounced the sentence: soon after he fell mad, and in all his ravings still called to take away the lady Jane from him. Indeed the blame of her death was generally cast on her father rather than on the queen, since the rivalry of a crown is a point of such niceness that even those who bemoaned her death most could not but excuse the queen, who seemed to be driven to it rather from considerations of state than any resentment of her own. On the

Her Father's Execution.

17th of February was the duke of Suffolk tried by his peers, and condemned: he suffered on the 23rd. He would have died more pitied for his weakness, if his practices had not brought his daughter to her end. Next, Wiat was brought to his trial, where in most abject words he begged his life, and offered to promote the queen's marriage if they would spare him; but for all that he was beheaded. Bret was hanged in chains at Rochester. In all fifty-eight were executed in several places, whose attainders were confirmed by an act of the following parliament; six hundred of the rabble were appointed to come before the queen with halters about their necks, and to beg their lives, which she granted them; and so was this storm dissipated: only the effusion of blood after it was thought too liberal; and this excess of punishment was generally cast on Gardiner, and made him become very hateful to the nation, which has been always much moved at a repetition of such sad spectacles.

The Lady Elizabeth unjustly suspected for plotting.

The earl of Devonshire and the lady Elizabeth came to be suspected of the plot, as if the rising in the west had been set on by the earl, with design, if it had succeeded, to have married the lady Elizabeth, and put her in the queen's room. Wiat did at his death clear them of any accession to his confederacies. Yet the queen, who was much alienated from her sister upon old scores, was not unwilling to find a pretence for using her ill; so she was made a prisoner. And the earl of Devonshire had, upon the account formerly mentioned, offended the queen, who thought her kindness ill requited when she saw he neglected her and preferred her sister; so he was again put into

Many severe proceedings.

prison. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was also charged with that same guilt, and brought to his trial, which lasted ten hours, but was acquitted by the jury: upon which they were cast into prison, and severely fined; some in 2000*l.*, and some in 1000 marks. This was fatal to his brother sir John, who was cast by the jury upon the same evidence that his brother had been acquitted; but he protested his innocence to the last. Sir John Cheke had got beyond sea, finding he was also suspected and sought after; and both sir Peter Carew and he, hoping that Philip would be glad, at his first admission to the crown of England, to show acts of favour, went into Flanders, where, upon assurances given

of pardon and mercy, they rendered themselves*: but upon their coming into England, they were both put into the Tower. Carew made his escape, and was afterwards employed by queen Elizabeth in her affairs in Ireland. Cheke was at this time discharged; but upon some new offence he was taken again in Flanders, in May 1556, and was prevailed upon to renounce his religion, and then he was set at liberty; but was so sadly affected at the unworthiness of that action, that it was believed to have cast him into a languishing, of which he soon after died.

The Imposture of the Spirit in the Wall.

There was a base imposture set up at this time, of one that seemed to speak from a wall with a strange sort of voice. Many seditious things were uttered by that voice, which was judged of variously. Some called it the Spirit of the Wall; some said it was an angel that spake; and many marvellous things were reported of it. But the matter being narrowly inquired into, it was found to be one Elizabeth Crofts, a girl, who, from a private hole in the wall, with the help of a whistle, had uttered those words. She was made to do penance openly at Paul's for it: but by the account then printed of it, I do not find any complices were found, except one Drake, to whom no particular character is added†. So it seems it was a trick laid betwixt these two; for what purpose I cannot find. Sure enough, in those times, it was not laid to the charge of the preachers of the Reformation: which I the rather take notice of, because of the malignity of one of our historians who has laid this to the charge of the Zuinglian gospellers; though all the proof he offers for casting it on them is in these words: "For I cannot consider this but as a plot of theirs;" and sets it up in opposition to the notorious imposture of the Maid of Kent, mentioned in the former volume; and says, "Let not the papists be more charged with that, since these were now as faulty."

The Instructions to the Bishops. Col. Number 10.

The nation being now settled, the queen did next give instructions to the bishops to proceed to visit the clergy, according to some articles which she sent them, which will be found in the Collection. In those, after a long and invidious preamble of the disorders that had been in the time of king Edward, she commanded them to execute all such ecclesiastical laws as had been in force in her father's reign. That the bishops should in their courts proceed no more in the queen's name: that the oath of supremacy should be no more exacted of any of the clergy: that none suspect of heresy should be admitted to orders: that they should endeavour to repress heresy, and punish heretics: that they should suppress all naughty books and ballads: that they should remove all married clergymen, and separate them from their wives; but for those that renounced their wives, they might put them into some other cure, or reserve a pension out of their benefice for them: that no religious man who had professed chastity should be suffered to live with his wife: that care should be taken of vacant churches: that till they were provided, the people should go to the neighbouring churches: that all the ceremonies, holidays, and fasts, used in king Henry's time, should be again observed: that those who were ordained by the new book in king Edward's time, not being ordained in very deed, the bishop, if they were otherwise sufficient, should supply what was wanting before, and so admit them to minister: that the bishops should set forth an uniform doctrine of homilies, and compel the people to come to church and hear divine service: that they should carefully look to all schoolmasters and teachers of children: and that the bishops should take care to set forth the premises, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and good example, and endeavour to keep down all sort of vice.

Proceedings against the Bishops that adhered to the Reformation.

These were signed on the 4th of March and printed, and sent over the kingdom. But to make the married bishops examples of the severity of their proceedings; the queen gave a special commission to Gardiner, Tonstall, Bonner, Parfew bishop of St. Asaph, Day, and Kitchin of Landaff, making mention, that with great grief of heart, "she had heard, that the archbishop of York, the bishops of St. David's, Chester and Bristol, had broken their vows and defiled their function,

* Cheke was sent to the Tower with the duke of Suffolk, and had licence to travel. They did not render themselves, but were seized on their journey, bound, and thrown into a cart, and sent prisoners to England.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

† Seven persons were discovered to be complices: the words spoken from the wall were against the queen, the prince of Spain, the mass, and confession.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.



HENRY GREY, DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

OB. 1554.

[illegible] IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE, THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

by contracting marriage; therefore those, or any three of them, are empowered to call them before them; and if the premises be found to be true, to deprive and turn them out of their bishoprics. This I have put into the Collection, with another commission to the same persons, to call the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester and Hereford, before them; in whose patents it was provided that they should hold their bishoprics so long as they behaved themselves well; and since they, by preaching erroneous doctrine and by inordinate life and conversation, as she credibly understood, had carried themselves contrary to the laws of God, and the practice of the universal church, these or any two of them should proceed against them, either according to ecclesiastical canons or the law of the land, and declare their bishoprics void, as they were indeed already void: thus were seven bishops all at a dash turned out. It was much censured, that there having been laws made, allowing marriage to the clergy, the queen should by her own authority, upon the repealing these laws, turn out bishops for things that had been so well warranted by law; for the repeal was only an annulling of the law for the future, but did not void it from the beginning; so that however it might have justified proceedings against them for the future, if they had lived with their wives; yet it could not warrant the punishing them for what was past; and even the severest popes, or their legates, who had pressed the cœlibate most, had always, before they proceeded to deprive any priests for marriage, left it to their choice, whether they would quit their wives, or their benefices; but had never summarily turned them out for being married: and for the other bishops, it was an unheard-of way of procedure for the queen, before any process was made, to empower delegates to declare their sees void, as they were indeed already void. This was to give sentence before hearing. And all this was done by virtue of the queen's supremacy; for though she thought that a sinful and schismatical power, yet she was easily persuaded to use it against the reformed clergy, and to turn them out of their benefices upon such unjust and illegal pretences. So that now the proceedings against Gardiner and Bonner, in which were the greatest stretches made that had been in the last reign, were far outdone by those new delegates. For the archbishop of York, though he was now turned out, yet he was still kept prisoner, till king Philip, among the acts of grace he did at his coming over, procured his liberty. But his see was not filled till February next; for then Heath had his *congé d'élire*. On or before the 18th of March this year, were those other sees declared vacant. For that day did the *congé d'élire* go out to the deans and chapters of St. David's, Lincoln, Hereford, Chester, Gloucester and Bristol; for Morgan, White, Parfew, Coates, Brooks, and Holyman. Goodrick of Ely died in May this year. He seems to have complied with the time, as he had done often before; for he was not at all cast into any trouble which it cannot be imagined he could have escaped, since he had put the great seal to the patents for the lady Jane, if he had not redeemed it by a ready consenting to the changes that were to be made. He was a busy secular-spirited man, and had given himself up wholly to factions and intrigues of state; so that though his opinion had always leaned to the Reformation, it is no wonder if a man so tempered would prefer the keeping of his bishopric before the discharge of his conscience. Thirleby of Norwich was translated to Ely, and Hopton was made bishop of Norwich*. But Scory, that had been bishop of Chichester, though upon Day's being restored, he was turned out of his bishopric, did comply merely; he came before Bonner, and renounced his wife, and did penance for it, and had his absolution under his seal, the 14th of July this year; which is in the Collection. But it seems this was out of fear; for he soon after fled out of England, and lived beyond sea until queen Elizabeth's days; and then he came over; but it was judged indecent to restore him to his former see, where it is likely this scandal he had given was known, and so he was made bishop of Hereford. The bishop of Bath and Wells, Barlow, was also made to resign, as appears by the *congé d'élire* for Bourn to succeed him, dated the 19th of March. Therein it is said that the see was vacant by the resignation of the former bishop; though in the election that was made on the 28th of March, it is said the see was vacant by the removal or deprivation of their former bishop. But I incline to believe it

Collection, Numb. 11, 12.

Number 13.

* Hopton, by the Regist. of Cant., was consecrated on the 28th of October; Anthony Harmer, p. 134, says it was the 25th of October.—Strype's Correct.

truer that he did resign; since he is not mentioned in the commissions formerly spoken of. But that was not all; for at this time a book was set out in his name, whether written by him, or forged and laid on his name, I cannot judge; in which he retracts his former errors, and speaks of Luther and Oecolampadius, and many others with whom he says he had familiarly conversed, with great bitterness. He also accuses the gospellers in England of gluttony, hypocrisy, pride, and ill-nature: and indeed it is one of the most virulent invectives against the Reformation that was written at that time; but it is not likely, if he had turned so heartily as the strain of that book runs, that he would have been quite thrown out; especially since he had never married*; so I rather look on it as a forgery cast on his name to disgrace the Reformation. He fled beyond sea, where he lived till the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign; and then it seems there was some offence taken at his former behaviour; for he was not restored to Bath and Wells, but put into Chichester, that was a much meaner bishopric†. Thus I have given a clear account, and free of all partiality or reservation, of the changes made in the most of the sees in England. The two archbishops, Cranmer and Holgate; the bishops Ridley, Poinet, Scory, Coverdale, Taylor, Harley‡, Bird, Bush, Hooper, Ferrar and Barlow, were all removed: Rochester was void, and Griffins was put into it this April. Goodrick dying now, Thirleby succeeded him; and Sampson of Coventry and Lichfield dying soon after, Bayn succeeded him. So here were sixteen new bishops brought in, which made no small change in the church.

When this was done, the bishops went about the executing of the queen's injunctions. The new service was everywhere cast out, and the old ceremonies and service were again set up. In this business none was so hot as Bonner; for the act that repealed king Edward's laws, being agreed to by the commons, to whom the lords had sent it; he, without staying for the royal assent, did that very night set up the old worship at Paul's on St. Catherine's day; and it being the custom that on some holidays, the choir went up to the steeple to sing the anthems, that fell to be on that night; which was an antic way of beginning a form of worship, to which the people had been long disused, and the next day being St. Andrew's, he did officiate himself and had a solemn procession.

The Mass everywhere set up.

The most eminent preachers in London were either put in prison, or under confinement; and as all their mouths had been stopped by the prohibiting of sermons, unless a licence were obtained; so they were now to be fallen on for their marriages. Parker estimates it, that there were now about 16,000 clergymen in England; and of these 12,000 were turned out upon this account; some, he says, were deprived without conviction, upon common fame; some were never cited to appear, and yet turned out; many that were in prison were cited, and turned out for not appearing; though it was not in their power: some were induced to submit and quit their wives for their livings: they were all summarily deprived. Nor was this all; but after they were deprived, they were also forced to leave their wives; which piece of severity was grounded on the vow that (as was pretended) they had made; though the falsehood of this charge was formerly demonstrated.

To justify this severity of procedure, many were set to write against the marriage of the clergy. Smith, of whom I made mention in the former Book, that had then so humbly recanted and submitted, did now appear very boldly, and reprinted his book with many additions. But the most studied work was set out by Martin, a doctor of the laws. It was certainly for most part Gardiner's work, and I have seen the proof-sheets of a great part of it dashed and altered in many places by Gardiner's hand. This Martin had made his court to Cranmer in former times. He had studied the law at Bourges, where Francis Balduin, one of the celebrated lawyers of that time, had publicly noted him for his

Books against the marriage of the Clergy.

* Query, whether he were not at that time married. Sir John Harring, in his continuation of bishop Godwin, and who, by his being of Somersetshire, was the better capacitated to know, says he had some sons, one whereof in his time was a worthy member of the church of Wells; and five daughters.—GRANGER'S CORRECT. [It seems almost certain that Barlow had no hand in the book mentioned above, and that it was a forgery. See the "Remarks by an unknown person," No. III. in the Appendix at the end of the work.—ED.]

† Wells had lately been much impoverished by the alienations in Barlow's time; the regret whereof might probably make him less desirous of returning to it. Afterwards its profits were raised by the lead-mines, about bishop Stillingfleet's time: however, it is valued in the king's books but £535. whereas Chichester is £677.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

‡ Bishop Harley is said to have been deprived because married, by Fox and Godwin, though no notice is taken of it in the order.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.



lewdness, and as being a corrupter of all the university; which Balduin certified in a letter to one in England, that took care to print it.

It was also printed, that Bonner had many bastards; and himself was believed to be the bastard of one Savage, a priest in Leicestershire, that had been bastard to sir John Savage of Cheshire. Which priest, by Elizabeth Frodshum, the wife of one Edmond Bonner, had this Edmond now bishop of London; and it seems his mother did not soon give over those her lewd courses, for Wymsly, archdeacon of London, was another of her bastards. That kennel of the uncleanness of the priests and religious houses was again on this occasion raked and exposed with too much indecency; for the married priests, being openly accused for the impurity and sensuality of their lives, thought it was a just piece of self-defence, to turn these imputations back on those who pretended to chastity, and yet led most irregular lives, under that appearance of greater strictness.

This was the state in which things were when the new parliament met on the 2d of April. Gardiner had beforehand prepared the commons, by giving the most considerable of them pensions; some had 200*l.* and some 100*l.* a year, for giving their voices to the marriage. The first act that passed, seemed of an odd nature, and has a great secret under it. The speaker of the house of commons brought in a bill, declaring, that whereas the queen had of right succeeded to the crown; but because all the laws of England had been made by kings, and declared the prerogatives to be in the king's person; from thence some might pretend that the queen had no right to them; it was therefore declared to have been the law, that these prerogatives did belong to the crown, whether it were in the hands of male or female; and whatsoever the law did limit and appoint for the king, was of right also due to the queen, who is declared to have as much authority as any other of her progenitors.

A New Parliament.

The Regal Power asserted to be in a Queen as well as a King.

Many in the house of commons wondered what was the intention of such a law; and as people were at this time full of jealousy, one Skinner, a member of the house, (who in queen Elizabeth's time took orders, and was made dean of Durham) said, he could not imagine why such a frivolous law was desired, since the thing was without dispute; and that that which was pretended of satisfying the people, was too slight; he was afraid there was a trick in these words, that the queen had as great authority as any of her progenitors; on which perhaps it might be afterwards said she had the same power that William the Conqueror exercised in seizing the lands of the English and giving them to strangers; which also Edward I. did upon the conquest of Wales. He did not know what relation this might have to the intended marriage, therefore he warned the house to look well to it; so a committee being appointed to correct it, such words were added as brought the queen's prerogative under the same limitations, as well as it exalted it to the height of her progenitors. But one Fleetwood, afterwards recorder of London, told the earl of Leicester the secret of this in queen Elizabeth's time, who writ down his discourse, and from thence I have copied it. There was one that had been Cromwell's servant, and much employed by him in the suppression of monasteries; he was a man of great notions, but very busy and factious; so having been a great stickler for the lady Jane, he was put in the Fleet upon the queen's first coming to the crown; yet within a month he was discharged; but upon the last rising was again put up, and indicted of high treason; he had great friends, and made application to one of the emperor's ambassadors, that was then the chancellor of the duchy of Milan, and by his means he obtained his liberty. Being brought to him, he showed him a new platform of government, which he had contrived for the queen. She was to declare herself a conqueror; or that she having succeeded to the crown by common law, was not at all to be limited by the statute laws, since those were only restrictions upon the kings, but not on the queens of England; and that therefore all those limitations of the prerogative were only binding in the persons of kings, but she was free from them: upon this, he showed how she might establish religion, set up the monasteries, raise her friends, and ruin her enemies, and rule according to her pleasure. The ambassador carried this to the queen, and seemed much pleased with it, but desired her to read it carefully, and keep it as a great secret.

The Secret Reasons for that Act.

Ex M. SS. D. Gul. Petyt.

As she read it, she disliked it, and judged it contrary to the oath she had made at her

coronation; and thereupon sent for Gardiner, and charged him, as he would answer before the judgment-seat of God, at the general day of the holy doom, that he would consider the book carefully, and bring her his opinion of it next day, which fell to be Maundy-Thursday. So as the queen came from her Maundy, he waited on her into her closet, and said these words: "My good and most gracious lady, I intend not to pray your highness with any humble petitions to name the devisers of this new invented platform; but here I say, that it is pity that so noble and virtuous a lady should be endangered with the pernicious devices of such lewd and subtle sycophants; for the book is naught, and most horrible to be thought on." Upon this the queen thanked him, and threw the book into the fire; and charged the ambassador, that neither he, nor any of his company, should receive more such projects from any of her people. This made Gardiner apprehend, that if the Spaniards began so soon to put such notions into the queen's head, they might afterwards, when she was in their hands, make somewhat of them; and therefore, to prevent such designs for the future, he drew the act; in which though he seemed to do it as an advantage to the queen, for the putting of her title beyond dispute, yet he really intended nothing by it but that she should be restrained by all those laws that the former kings of England had consented to; and because king Henry VII., though his best right to the crown flowed from his marriage to the heir of the house of York, had yet taken the government wholly into his own hands, he, fearing lest the Spaniards should pretend to such a power by the authority, which marriage gives the husband over the wife, got the articles of the marriage to be ratified in parliament, by which they not only confirmed those agreed on, but made a more full explanation of that part of them which declared the entire government of the kingdom to belong only to the queen.

Great jealousies of the Spanish Power.

To this the Spaniards gave too great an occasion by publishing king Philip's pedigree, whom they derived from John of Gaunt *. They said this was only done to conciliate the favour of the nation, by representing him not a stranger, but a native; but this gave great offence, concerning which I have seen a little book that was then printed; it was there said, that king Henry the Seventh came in pretending only to marry the heir of the house of York: but he was no sooner on the throne, than he declared his own title, and kept it his whole life. So it was said, the Spaniard would call himself heir of the house of Lancaster, and upon that pretension, would easily wrest the power out of the queen's hands, who seemed to mind nothing but her devotions. This made Gardiner look the better to the securing of the liberties of the crown and nation; so that it must be acknowledged, that the preserving of England out of the hands of the Spaniards at that time seems to be almost wholly owing to him.

The Bishopric of Durham restored.

In this parliament the marquis of Northampton was restored in blood. And the act for restoring the bishopric of Durham not having gone through the last parliament when it was dissolved, was now brought in again. The town of Newcastle opposed it much when it came down to the commons. But the bishop of Durham came to them on the 18th of April, and gave them a long account of all his troubles from the duke of Northumberland, and desired that they would despatch his bill. There were many provisos put into it, for some that were concerned in Gateshead; but it was carried in the house, that, instead of these provisos, they should send a desire to him, recommending those persons to his favour: so upon a division, there were one hundred and twenty against it, and two hundred and one for it. After this came the bill confirming the attainders of the duke of Suffolk and fifty-eight more, who were attainted for the late rebellion. The lords put in a proviso, excepting entailed lands out of their forfeitures; but the commons rejected the proviso, and passed the bill. Then did the commons send up a bill for reviving the statutes made against Lollardy, which being read twice by the lords †, was laid aside. The commons intended next to have revived the statute of the Six Articles: but it did not agree with the design at court, to take any notice of king Henry's acts; so this was let fall. Then they brought in another bill to extirpate erroneous opinions and books; but that was at the third reading laid aside. After that they passed a particular bill against

* If John Bale be good authority, the English were forward enough in setting forth genealogies from John of Gaunt: Gardiner, White, and Harpsfield maintaining the same.—ANON. CORRECT.

† The bill was to *avoid* and not to *revive* the statute of the Six Articles.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.



Lollardy in some points, as the eating of flesh in Lent; but that also being sent up to the lords, was at the third reading laid aside by the major part of the house; so forward were the commons to please the queen, or such operation had the Spanish gold on them, that they contrived four bills in one session for the prosecution of those they called heretics. But to give some content on the other hand, they passed a bill that neither the bishop of Rome nor any other should have any power to convene or trouble any for possessing abbey lands: this was sent up to the lords, but laid aside at that time, assurance being given, that the owners of those lands should be fully secured. The reason of laying it aside was that since by law the bishop of Rome had no authority at all in England, it was needless to pass an act against his power in that particular, for that seemed to assert his power in other things: and since they were resolved to reconcile the nation to him, it was said that it would be indecent to pass an act that should call him only bishop of Rome, which was the compellation given him during the schism; and it was preposterous to begin with a limitation of his power, before they had acknowledged his authority: so this was laid aside, and the parliament ended on the 25th of May.

But the matters of the convocation are next to be related. Those of the Reformation complained everywhere, that the disputes of the last convocation had not been fairly carried; that the most eminent men of their persuasion were detained in prison, and not admitted to it: that only a few of them that had a right to be in the house were admitted to speak, and that these were much interrupted. So that it was now resolved to adjourn the convocation for some time, and to send the prolocutor with some of their number to Oxford, that the disputations might be in the presence of that whole university. And since Cranmer and Ridley were esteemed the most learned men of that persuasion, they were, by a warrant from the queen, removed from the Tower of London to the prisons at Oxford. And though Latimer was never accounted very learned, and was then about eighty years of age, yet he having been a celebrated peacher, who had done the Reformation no less service by his labours in the pulpit, than others had done by their abler pens; he was also sent thither to bear his share in the debates.

Some sent to Oxford to dispute with Reformed Bishops.

Those who were sent from the convocation, came to Oxford on the 13th of April, being Friday. They sent for those bishops on Saturday, and assigned them Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, every one of them his day for the defending of their doctrine, but ordered them to be kept apart. And that all books and notes should be taken from them. Three questions were to be disputed.

1. Whether the natural body of Christ was really in the sacrament?
2. Whether any other substance did remain but the body and blood of Christ?
3. Whether in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the dead and living?

When Cranmer was first brought before them, the prolocutor made an exhortation to him, to return to the unity of the church. To which he answered, with such gravity and modesty, that many were observed to weep: he said he was as much for unity as any, but it must be a unity in Christ, and according to the truth. The articles being showed him, he asked whether by the body of Christ they meant an organical body: they answering, it was the body that was born of the Virgin: then he said he would maintain the negative of these questions.

Cranmer disputes.

On the 16th, when the dispute with Cranmer was to begin, Weston, that was prolocutor, made a stumble in the beginning of his speech; for he said, "Ye are this day assembled to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the Sacrament." This mistake set the whole assembly a laughing; but he recovered himself and went on: he said it was not lawful to call these things in doubt, since Christ had so expressly affirmed them, that to doubt of them was to deny the truth and power of God. Then Chedsey urged Cranmer with the words, "this is my body:" to which he answered, that the Sacrament was effectually Christ's body as broken on the cross; that is, his passion effectually applied. For the explanation of this, he offered a large paper containing his opinion, of which I need say nothing, since it is a short abstract of what he writ on that head formerly, and of that a full account was given in the former

Book. There followed a long debate about these words. Oglethorp, Weston, and others, urged him much, that Christ making his testament, must be supposed to speak truth, and plain truth; and they run out largely on that. Cranmer answered, that figurative speeches are true; and when the figures are clearly understood, they are then plain likewise. Many of Chrysostom's high expressions about the sacrament were also cited; which Cranmer said, were to be understood of the spiritual presence received by faith. Upon this much time was spent, the prolocutor carrying himself very indecently towards him, calling him an unlearned, unskilful, and impudent man: there were also many in the assembly that often hissed him down, so that he could not be heard at all, which he seemed to take no notice of, but went on as often as the noise ceased. Then they cited Tertullian's words, "The flesh is fed by the body and blood of Christ, that so the soul may be nourished by God." But he turned this against them and said, hereby it was plain the body as well as the soul received food in the sacrament; therefore the substance of bread and wine must remain, since the body could not be fed by that spiritual presence of the body of Christ. Tresham put this argument to him, Christ said, as he lived by the Father, so they that eat his flesh should live by him; but he is by his substance united to his Father, therefore Christians must be united to his substance: to this Cranmer answered, that the similitude did not import an equality, but a likeness of some sort; Christ is essentially united to his Father; but believers are united to him by grace; and that in baptism as well as in the eucharist. Then they talked long of some words of Hilary's, Ambrose's, and Justin's. Then they charged him as having mistranslated some of the passages of the fathers in his book; from which he vindicated himself, saying that he had all his life, in all manner of things, hated falsehood.

After the dispute had lasted from the morning till two of the clock, it was broke up; and there was no small triumph, as if Cranmer had been confounded in the opinion of all the hearers, which they had expressed by their laughter and hissing. There were notaries that took everything that was said; from whose books Fox did afterwards print the account of it that is in his great volume.

The next day Ridley was brought out; and Smith, who was spoke of in the former Book, was now very zealous to redeem the prejudice which that compliance was like to be to him in his preferment: so he undertook to dispute this day. Ridley began with a protestation, declaring, that whereas he had been formerly of another mind from what he was then to maintain, he had changed upon no worldly consideration, but merely for love of the truth, which he had gathered out of the word of God and the holy fathers: but because it was God's cause he was then to maintain, he protested that he might have leave afterwards to add, or to change, as upon better consideration he should see cause for it. He also desired he might have leave to speak his mind without interruption; which, though it was promised him, yet he was often stopped as he went on explaining his doctrine. He argued against the corporal presence, as being contrary to the Scriptures that spoke of Christ's leaving the world; as being against the article of his sitting at the right hand of God; and against the nature of the sacrament, which is a remembrance; he showed that by it the wicked receive Christ no less than the godly; that it is against nature to swallow down a living man; that this doctrine introduced many extraordinary miracles without any necessity, and must have given advantage to the heretics, who denied Christ had a real body or a true human nature: and that it was contrary to the doctrine of the fathers: he acknowledged that it was truly the communion of his body, that is, of Christ's death, and of the heavenly life given by him; and did in a strong nervous discourse, as any I ever saw on that subject, gather together the chief arguments for his opinion.

And Ridley.

Smith argued, that notwithstanding Christ's being at the right hand of God, he was seen on earth. Ridley said he did not deny but he might come and appear on earth, but that was for a moment, to convince some and comfort others, as St. Paul and St. Stephen; though he said it might be they saw him in heaven; but he could not be at the same time both in heaven and on earth. They returned oft to Chrysostom's words, and pressed him with some of Bernard's: but as he answered the sayings of the former, that they were rhetorical and figurative; so he excepted against the judgment of the latter, as living in an age when their opinion was generally received. The dispute held till Weston grew weary,



and stopped all, saying, "You see the obstinate, vain-glorious, crafty, and inconstant mind of this man; but you see also the force of truth cannot be shaken; therefore cry out with me, Truth has the victory!" This being echoed again by the audience, they went away with great triumph; and now they reckoned the hardest part of their work was over, since Latimer only remained.

Latimer being next day brought forth, told them he had not used Latin much these twenty years, and was not able to dispute; but he would declare his faith, and then they might do as they pleased. He declared, that he thought the presence of Christ in the sacrament to be only spiritual, since it is that by which we obtain eternal life, which flows only from Christ's abiding in us by faith; therefore it is not a bare naked sign: but for the corporal presence, he looked on it as the root of all the other errors in their church. He enlarged much against the sacrifice of the mass, and lamented that they had changed the communion into a private mass; that they had taken the cup away from the people; and instead of service in a known tongue, were bringing the nation to a worship that they did not understand. He perceived they laughed at him; but he told them they were to consider his great age, and to think what they might be when they came to it. They pressed him much to answer their arguments: he said his memory was gone, but his faith was grounded on the word of God: he was fully convinced by the book which Dr. Cranmer had written on that subject.

And Latimer.

In this whole disputation, as Ridley wrote of it, there was great disorder, perpetual shoutings, tauntings, and reproaches, so that it looked liker a stage than a school of divines; and the noise and confusions with which he had been much offended when he was in the Sorbonne, were modest compared to this.

Censures passed upon it.

On April 28, they were again brought to St. Mary's, where Weston told them they were overcome in the disputation; therefore he required them to subscribe with the rest. Cranmer objected against their way of disputing: he said, they would not hear any one argue against their errors, or defend the truth; that oftentimes four or five of them were speaking at once, so that it was impossible for any to hear, or to answer all these. In conclusion, he refused to subscribe. Ridley and Latimer made the same answers: so they were all judged heretics and the fautors of heresy. Then they were asked, whether they intended to turn; they answered, that they would not turn: so they were judged obstinate heretics, and declared to be no more members of the church.

Upon which Cranmer answered: "From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of Almighty God, trusting to be present with him in heaven; for whose presence on the altar I am thus condemned."

Ridley answered: "Although I be not of your company, yet I doubt not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should by the course of nature have come."

Latimer answered: "I thank God most heartily that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God with this kind of death."

To them Weston answered: "If you go to heaven with this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded."

After this, there was a solemn procession in Oxford, the host being carried by Weston, the prolocutor, who had been (as himself said in his disputation) six years in prison in king Edward's time. This gave him now great repute, though he was known to be a constant drunkard. Ridley wrote to him, desiring to see what the notaries had written, and that he might have leave to add in any part, as had been promised him; but he had no answer. On the 23d of April, the commissioners sent from the convocation returned to London. Cranmer sent a petition, sealed, by Weston, to be delivered to the council; in which he earnestly begged their favour with the queen that he might be pardoned for his treason, since they knew how unwillingly he consented to the patents for excluding her. He also complained of the disorder in the disputes lately had; saying that he was not heard, nor suffered to propose his arguments, but all was shuffled up in a day, though he had matter on that subject for twenty days' work; that it looked like a design to shut up all things in haste, and make a triumph, and so to condemn them of heresy. He left it to their wisdom to con-

sider if this was an indifferent way of handling such a matter. Weston carried this petition half way, and then opening it, and finding what it contained, he sent it back, and said he would deliver no such petition. Cranmer was so kept, that though Ridley and Latimer could send to one another, yet it was not easy for them to send to him without giving money to their keepers. In one of Ridley's letters to Cranmer, he said, he heard they intended to carry down Rogers, Crome, and Bradford, to Cambridge, and to make such a triumph there as he had lately made of them at Oxford. He trusted the day of their deliverance out of all their miseries, and of their entrance into perpetual rest, and perpetual joy and felicity, drew nigh: he prayed God to strengthen them with the mighty spirit of his grace: he desired Cranmer to pray for him, as he also did for Cranmer. As for the letters which these and the other prisoners writ in their imprisonment, Fox gathered the originals from all people that had them: and sir Walter Mildmay, the founder of Emanuel college, procured them from him, and put them into the library of that college, where I saw them. But they are all printed by Fox, so that the reader who desires to see them may find them in his Acts and Monuments *. Of them all, Ridley writ with the greatest connexion and force, both in the matter and in the way of expression.

The Prisoners in London set out in writing their Reasons against disputing by word of mouth.

This being now over, there was great boasting among all the popish party, as if the champions of the Reformation had been foiled. The prisoners in London hearing they intended to insult over them as they had done over those at Oxford, set out a paper, to which the late bishops of Exeter, St. David's, and Gloucester, with Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, Crome, Sanders, Rogers, and Lawrence, set their hands, on the 8th of May. The substance of it was, "That they being prisoners neither as rebels, traitors, nor transgressors of any law, but merely for their conscience to God and his truth, hearing it was intended to carry them to Cambridge to dispute, declared they would not dispute but in writing, except it were before the queen and her council, or before either of the houses of parliament; and that for these reasons:—

"1. It was clear that the determinations of the universities were already made; they were their open enemies, and had already condemned their cause before they had heard it, which was contrary both to the word of God and the determinations they had made in king Edward's time.

"2. They saw the prelates and clergy were seeking neither to find out the truth, nor to do them good, otherwise they would have heard them when they might have declared their consciences without hazard; but that they sought only their destruction, and their own glory.

"3. They saw that those who were to be the judges of these disputes were their inveterate enemies; and by what passed in the convocation-house last year, and lately at Oxford, they saw how they must expect to be used.

"4. They had been kept long prisoners, some nine or ten months, without books or papers, or convenient places of study.

"5. They knew they should not be heard to speak their minds fully, but should be stopped as their judges pleased.

"6. They could not have the nomination of their notaries, who would be so chosen that they would write and publish what their enemies had a mind to. Therefore they would not engage in public disputes except by writing; but they would give a summary of their faith, for which they would be ready to offer up their lives to the halter or the fire, as God should appoint.

"They declared, that they believed the Scriptures to be the true word of God, and the judge of all controversies in the matters of religion; and that the church is to be obeyed as long as she follows this word. That they believed the Apostles' Creed, and those creeds set out by the councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and by the first and fourth councils of Toledo; and the symbols of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Damasus. That they believed justification by faith; which faith was not only an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost, which did illuminate the mind, and

* Most of these letters are printed by Fox; but the letters of the martyrs were published in a distinct volume, with a preface by Coverdale (probably the publisher), and printed by John Day, anno 1564.—Anon. Correct.



suppled the heart to submit itself unfeignedly to God. That they acknowledged an inherent righteousness, yet justification and the pardon of sins they believed came only by Christ's righteousness imputed to them. They thought the worship of God ought to be in a tongue understood by the people; that Christ only, and not the saints, was to be prayed to; that immediately after death the souls pass either to the state of the blessed or of the damned, without any purgatory between; that baptism and the Lord's-supper are the sacraments of Christ, which ought to be administered according to his institution, and therefore they condemned the denying the chalice, transubstantiation, the adoration, or the sacrifice of the mass; and asserted the lawfulness of marriage to every rank of men. These things they declared they were ready to defend, as they often had before offered: and concluded, charging all people to enter into no rebellion against the queen, but to obey her in all points, except where her commands were contrary to the law of God."

In the end of this month, the lady Elizabeth was taken out of the Tower, and put into the custody of the lord Williams, who waited on her to Woodstock, and treated her with great civility, and all the respect due to her quality: but this not being so acceptable to those who governed, she was put under the charge of sir Hen. Bedingfeld, by whom she was more roughly handled.

On the 20th of July, prince Philip landed at Southampton. When he set foot to land first, he presently drew his sword, and carried it a good way naked in his hand. Whether this was one of the forms of his country, I know not; but it was interpreted as an omen that he intended to rule England with the sword, though others said it showed he intended to draw his sword in defence of the nation. The mayor of Southampton brought him the keys of the town, an expression of duty always paid to our princes; he took them from him, and gave them back without speaking a word, or expressing by any sign that he was pleased with it. His stiffness amazed the English, who use to be treated by their kings with great sweetness on such occasions: and so much gravity in so young a man was not understood, but was looked on as a sign of vast pride and moroseness.

Prince Philip lands.

The queen met him at Winchester, where, on the 25th of July, Gardiner married them in the cathedral, the king being then in the twenty-seventh, and the queen in the thirty-eighth year of her age. They were presented from the emperor, by his ambassador, with a resignation of his titular kingdom of Jerusalem, and his more valuable one of Naples, which were pledges of that total resignation that followed not long after.

And is married to the Queen.

So on the 27th of July they were proclaimed by their new titles, "Philip and Mary, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland; princes of Spain and Sicily, defenders of the faith; archdukes of Austria; dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol;" Spain having always delighted in a long enumeration of pompous titles.

It was observed how happy marriages had been to the Austrian family, who, from no extraordinary beginnings, had now, in eighty years' time, been raised by two marriages; first with the heir of Burgundy and the Netherlands, and then with the heir of Spain, to be the greatest family in Christendom: and the collateral family, by the marriage of the heir of Bohemia and Hungary, was now the greatest in the empire. And surely, if issue had followed this marriage, the most extraordinary success possible would have seemed to be entailed on them. But there was no great appearance of that; for as the queen was now far advanced in years, so she was in no good state of health; a long course of discontent had corrupted both the health of her body and the temper of her mind: nor did the matter alter much by her marriage, except for the worse. The king's wonderful gravity and silence gained nothing upon the English; but his magnificence and bounty was very acceptable.

He brings a great Treasure with him to England.

He brought after him a vast mass of wealth; seven-and-twenty chests of bullion, every chest being a yard and some inches long, which were drawn in twenty carts to the Tower; after which came ninety-nine horse and two carts loaded with coined gold and silver. This great wealth was perhaps the sum that was formerly mentioned, which was to be distributed among the English; for it is not improbable, that though he empowered his ambassadors and Gardiner to promise great sums to such as should

promote his marriage, yet that he would not part with so much money till it was made sure; and therefore he ordered this treasure to be brought after him. (I mention it here, yet it came not into England till October and January following.) He made his entry into London with great state.

Act of Favour done by him.

At his first settling in England, he obtained of the queen that many prisoners should be set at liberty, among whom the chief were, the archbishop of York, and ten knights, with many other persons of quality. These, I suppose, had been committed either for Wiat's rebellion or the business of the lady Jane; for I do not believe any were discharged that were imprisoned on the account of religion. As for this archbishop, though he went along in the Reformation, yet I find nothing that gives any great character of him. I never saw any letter of his, nor do I remember to have seen any honourable mention made of him anywhere; so that he seems to have been a soft and weak man; and except those little fragments of his opinions in some points about the mass, (which are in the Collection) I know no remains of his pen. It seems he did at this time comply in matters of religion, for without that, it is not probable that either Philip would have moved for him, or that the queen would have been easily entreated.

He preserves the Lady Elizabeth.

The intercessions that Philip made for the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, did gain him the hearts of the nation more than anything else that he ever did. Gardiner was much set against them, and studied to bear down the declaration that Wiat had made of their innocency all that he could; but it was made so openly on the scaffold, that it was not possible to suppress it. Before, in his examinations, Wiat had accused them, hoping to have saved himself by so base an action, but he redeemed it all he could at his death. This had broken Gardiner's design, who thought all they did about religion was but half work, unless the lady Elizabeth were destroyed. For he knew, that though she complied in many things, yet her education had been wholly under the reformed; and which was more to him, who judged all people by their interest, he reckoned that interest must make her declare against the papacy (since otherwise she was a bastard) if ever she should outlive her sister.

Philip opposed this, at first, upon a generous account, to recommend himself, by obtaining such acts of favour to be done by the queen. But afterwards, when the hopes of issue failed him by his marriage, he preserved her out of interest of state; for if she had been put out of the way, the queen of Scotland (that was to be married to the Dauphin) was to succeed; which would have made too great an accession to the French crown; and besides, as it afterwards appeared, he was not without hopes of persuading her to marry himself, if her sister should die without issue. For the earl of Devonshire, he more easily obtained his freedom, though not till some months had passed. That earl being set at liberty, finding he was to lie under perpetual distrusts, and that he might be, perhaps upon the first disorder, again put into the Tower, to which his stars seemed to condemn him, resolved to go beyond sea; but died within a year after, as some say, of poison.

He was little beloved by the English.

All this I have laid together, (though it fell not out all at once) that I might give a full account of all the acts of grace that Philip did in England; but for the rest of his behaviour, it was no way acceptable to the people, for as he engaged the nation in all his interests, so that henceforth during this reign England had no share in the consultations of Europe, but was blindly led by him, which proved fatal to them in the conclusion, by the ignominious loss of Calais; so his temper and way of deportment seemed most ridiculous and extravagantly formal to the English genius, which naturally loves the mean between the excessive jollity and talkativeness of the French, and the sullen staidness of the Spaniard; rather inclining more to the briskness of the one than the superciliousness of the other: and indeed his carriage was such here, that the acting him and his Spaniards was one of the great diversions of queen Elizabeth's court. The hall of the court was almost continually shut all his time, and none could have access, unless it were first demanded with as much formality as ambassadors use in asking audience: so that most of the nobility left the court, few staying but the officers of the household.

Gardiner had now the government put entirely in his hands; and he, to make his court



Engraved by [illegible]

EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

OB. 1556.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE [illegible]

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

the better with the new king, preached at St. Paul's the 30th of September; where, after he had inveighed long against the preachers in king Edward's time, which was the common subject of all their sermons, he ran out much in commendation of the king; affirming him to be as wise, sober, gentle and temperate, as any prince that ever was in England, and if he did not prove so, he was content that all his hearers should esteem him an impudent liar. The state of the court continued in this posture till the next parliament.

Gardiner magnifies him much in a Sermon.

But great discontents did now appear everywhere. The severe executions after the last rising, the marriage with Spain, and the overturning of religion, concurred to alienate the nation from the government. This appeared nowhere more confidently than in Norfolk, where the people reflecting on their services, thought they might have the more leave to speak.

There were some malicious rumours spread that the queen was with child before the king came over. This was so much resented at court, that the queen writ a letter to the justices there (which is in the Collection) to inquire into those false reports, and to look to all that spread false news in the county. The earl of Sussex, upon this, examined a great many, but could make nothing out of it. It flowed from the officiousness of Hopton, the new bishop of Norwich, who thought to express his zeal to the queen, whose chaplain he had long been, by sending up the tales of the country to the council-table; not considering how much it was below the dignity of the government to look after all vain reports.

Collection, Number 14.

This summer the bishops went their visitations to see everything executed according to the queen's injunctions. Bonner went his with the rest. He had ordered his chaplains to draw a book of Homilies with an exposition of the Christian religion. He says in his preface to it, that he and his chaplains had compiled it; but it is likely he had only the name of it, and that his chaplains composed it. Yet the greatest, and indeed the best part of it was made to their hands, for it was taken out of the Institution of a Christian Man, set out by king Henry; only varied in those points in which it differed from what they were now about to set up; so that concerning the pope's power, since it was not yet established, he says nothing for or against it.

Bonner's Carriage in his Visitation.

The articles upon which he made his visitation will be found in the Collection, and by these we may judge of all the other visitations over England. "In the Preface he protests he had not made his articles out of any secret grudge or displeasure to any, but merely for the discharge of his conscience towards God and the world. The articles were, whether the clergy did so behave themselves in living, teaching, and doing, that in the judgment of indifferent men, they seemed to seek the honour of God, of the church, and of the king and queen? Whether they had been married, or were taken for married? and whether they were divorced, and did no more come at their wives? or whether they did defend their marriages? Whether they did reside, keep hospitality, provide a curate in their absence? And whether they did devoutly celebrate the service, and use processions? Whether they were suspect of heresy? Whether they did haunt alehouses and taverns, bowling-alleys, or suspect houses? Whether they favoured or kept company with any suspect of heresy? Whether any priest lived in the parish that absented himself from church? Whether these kept any private conventicles? Whether any of the clergy was vicious, blasphemed God or his saints, or was guilty of simony? Whether they exhorted the people to peace and obedience? Whether they admitted any to the Sacrament that was suspect of heresy, or was of an ill conversation, an oppressor, or evil doer? Whether they admitted any to preach that were not licensed, or refused such as were? Whether they did officiate in English? Whether they did use the Sacraments aright? Whether they visited the sick and administered the Sacraments to them? Whether they did marry any without asking the bans three Sundays? Whether they observed the fasts and holidays? Whether they went in their habits and tonsures? Whether those that were ordained schismatically, did officiate without being admitted by the ordinary? Whether they set leases for many years of their benefices? Whether they followed merchandise or usury? Whether they carried swords or daggers in times or places not convenient? Whether they did once every quarter expound to the people in the vulgar tongue the Apostles'

Collection, Number 15.

Creed, ten commandments, the two commandments of Christ for loving God and our neighbour, the seven works of mercy, seven deadly sins, seven principal virtues, and the seven Sacraments?" These were the most considerable heads on which he visited.

No Reordination of those ordained in King Edward's Time.

One thing is remarkable, that it appears both by these and the queen's injunctions, that they did not pretend to reordain those that had been ordained by the new book in king Edward's time; but to reconcile them, and add those things that were wanting, which were the anointing and giving the priestly vestments, with other rites of the Roman pontifical. In this point of reordaining such as were ordained in heresy or schism, the church of Rome has not gone by any steady rule: for though they account the Greek church to be guilty both of heresy and schism, they receive their priests without a new ordination. Yet after the time of the contests between pope Nicolaus and Photius, and much more after the outrageous heats at Rome between Sergius and Formosus, in which the dead bodies of the former popes were raised and dragged about the streets by their successors, they annulled the ordinations which they pretended were made irregularly.

Afterwards again, upon the great schism between the popes of Rome and Avignon, they did neither annul nor renew the orders that had been given: but now in England, though they only supplied at this time the defects which they said were in their former ordination; yet afterwards, when they proceeded to burn them that were in orders, they went upon the old maxim, that orders given in schism were not valid; so they did not esteem Hooper nor Ridley bishops, and therefore only degraded them from priesthood, though they had been ordained by their own forms, saving only the oath to the pope; but for those who were ordained by the new book, they did not at all degrade them, supposing now they had no true orders by it.

Bonner, in his visitation, took great care to see all things were everywhere done according to the old rules, which was the main thing intended; other points being put in for form. When he came to Hadham, he prevented the doctor, who did not expect him so soon by two hours, so that there was no ringing of bells, which put him in no small disorder; and that was much increased when he went into the church, and found neither the Sacrament hanging up, nor a rood set up; thereupon he fell a railing, swearing most intemperately, calling the priest an heretic, a knave, with many other such goodly words. The priest said, all these things should be amended speedily; and knowing that a good dinner was the best way to temper bishop Bonner, he desired him to go and dine at his house: but Bonner took it so ill, that Hadham, which was one of his own churches, was an ill example to those about it, that he lost all patience; and reaching at Dr. Bricket (that was the parson's name) to beat him, he misguided the stroke, which fell on sir Thomas Josselin's ear with great force. Fecknam, then dean of Paul's in Dr. May's room, studied to appease Josselin, and said to him, that the bishop's being so long in the Marshalsea had so disordered him, that in his passion he knew not what he did; but when he came to himself he would be sorry for what he had done. Josselin answered, he thought now that he was taken out of the Marshalsea, he should be carried to Bedlam. But Bonner continued in his fury; and though he had purposed to stay at his house there some days, and had ordered provisions to be made; yet he would needs be gone, though it disordered the rest of his visitation, for he came to every place sooner than he intended, or had given notice.

Bonner's rage.

The carvers and makers of statues had now a quick trade for roods and other images, which were to be provided for all places. Bonner had observed, that in most churches the walls were painted with places of Scripture; and in many places there were passages written, that either favoured the marriage of the clergy, or were against the corporal presence and the sacrifice of the mass, and the multiplicity of the ceremonies of the church; so he did, at his return, send out episcopal letters on the 24th of October, to raze all those paintings. Upon this it was generally said, that the Scriptures must be dashed out to make way for the images, since they were so contrary one to another, that they could not decently stand together. There were many ludicrous things everywhere done in derision of the old forms and of the images: many poems were printed, with other ridiculous representations of the Latin service, and the pageantry of their worship. But none occasioned more laughter than



what fell out at Paul's the Easter before; the custom being to lay the Sacrament into the sepulchre at the even song on Good Friday, and to take it out by break of day on Easter morning: at the time of the taking of it out the quire sung these words, *Surrexit, non est hic*, "He is risen, he is not here:" but then the priest looking for the host, found it was not there indeed, for one had stolen it out, which put them all in no small disorder, but another was presently brought in its stead. Upon this a ballad followed, that their God was stolen and lost, but a new one was made in his room. This raillery was so salt, that it provoked the clergy much. They offered large rewards to discover him that had stolen the host, or had made the ballad, but could not come to the knowledge of it. But they resolved ere long to turn that mirth and pleasantness of the heretics into severe mourning.

The Sacrament stolen.

And thus matters went on to the 11th of November, when the third parliament was summoned. In the writ of summons, the title of "Supreme Head of the Church" was left out, though it was still by law united to the other royal titles: and therefore this was urged in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, as a good reason for annulling that parliament, since it was not called by a lawful writ. Now was cardinal Pole allowed to come into England. The emperor had this summer brought him to Flanders, where, to make amends for the rudeness of stopping him on his way, he desired him to mediate a peace between France and him; but that had no effect. It soon appeared that all things were so well prepared by Gardiner's policy and the Spanish gold, that it would be an easy matter to carry everything in this session. The lord Paget and the lord Hastings were sent from the king and queen to bring the cardinal over. At the opening of the parliament, it was an unusual sight to see both king and queen ride in state, and come into it with two swords of state and two caps of maintenance carried before them: the swords were carried, one by the earl of Pembroke, the other by the earl of Westmoreland, and the caps by the earls of Arundel and Shrewsbury. The first bill put into the lords' house, was the repeal of the attainder of cardinal Pole: it began on the 17th, and was sent down to the commons on the 19th, who read it three times in one day, and sent it up. This bill being to be passed before he could come into England, it was questioned in the house of commons, whether the bill could be passed without making a session, which would necessitate a prorogation? It was resolved it might be done; so on the 22nd the king and queen came and passed it. It set forth, that the only reason of his attainder was, because he would not consent to the unlawful separation and divorce between king Henry and his most godly, virtuous, and lawful wife, queen Katherine: therefore they considering the true and sincere conscience of the cardinal in that point, and his other many godly virtues and qualities, did repeal that act.

A New Parliament.

The Attainder of Cardinal Pole repealed.

On the 24th he came to London, but without the solemnities of a legate's entry, because the pope's authority was not yet set up by law. What cardinal Pole's instructions were I do not know, nor is it fully understood by learned men what was the power of a legate à latere in those days. But I found in the king's paper-office the original bull of cardinal Beaton's legatine power in Scotland, which it seems was intercepted by some of the king's ships in the passage by sea thither; or was sent up to London by those who killed him, and possessed themselves of his castle and goods. And I having mentioned this bull to those learned men, by whose direction I have governed myself in this work, I did, by their advice, give it a room in the Collection, though it be large; since, no doubt, cardinal Pole's bull was in the same form. In it the reader will clearly perceive what authority was lodged in the legates to overthrow and dispense with almost all the rules and canons of the church; only some peculiar things (which were more conspicuously scandalous), were still reserved to the apostolic see itself; whose singular privilege it has been always esteemed to dispense with the best things, and allow of the worst; so the pretenders to those graces paid proportionably for them; this authority was too sacred to be trusted even to a legate, it being the prerogative of the popes themselves, to be the most eminent transgressors of all canons and constitutions.

He comes to London.

Collection, Number 17.

The cardinal first declared what his designs and powers were to the king and queen; and then on the 27th a message was sent to the parliament to come and hear him deliver his legation; which they doing, he made them a long speech, inviting them to a reconciliation with the apostolic see, from whence he was sent, by the common pastor of Christendom, to reduce them who had long strayed from the inclosure of the church. This made some emotion in the queen, which she fondly thought was a child quickened in her belly: this redoubled the joy, some not sparing to say, that as John Baptist leaped in his mother's belly at the salutation of the Virgin, so here a happy omen followed on this salutation from Christ's vicar. In this, her women, seeing that she firmly believed herself with child, flattered her so far, that they fully persuaded her of it. Notice was given of it to the council, who that night writ a letter to Bonner about it, ordering a *Te Deum* to be sung at St. Paul's and the other churches of London, and that collects should be constantly used for bringing this to a happy perfection. All that night and next day there was great joy about the court and city.

And makes a Speech to the Parliament.

The Queen is believed to be with Child.

On the 29th the speaker reported to the commons the substance of the cardinal's speech; and a message coming from the lords for a conference of some of their house with the lord chancellor, four earls, four bishops, and four lords, to prepare a supplication for their being reconciled to the see of Rome—it was consented to: and the petition being agreed on at the committee, was reported and approved of by both houses. It contained an address to the king and queen—

"That whereas they had been guilty of a most horrible defection and schism from the apostolic see, they did now sincerely repent of it; and in sign of their repentance were ready to repeal all the laws made in prejudice of that see: therefore, since the king and queen had been no way defiled by their schism, they pray them to be intercessors with the legate to grant them absolution, and to receive them again into the bosom of the church."

The Parliament's petition to be reconciled to the See of Rome.

So this being presented by both houses on their knees to the king and queen, they made their intercession with the cardinal, who thereupon delivered himself in a long speech.

"He thanked the parliament for repealing the act against him, and making him a member of the nation, from which he was by that act cut off. In recompence of which, he was now to reconcile them to the body of the church. He told them the apostolic see cherished Britain most tenderly, as the first nation that had publicly received the Christian faith. The Saxons were also afterwards converted by the means of that see; and some of their kings had been so devoted to it, that Offa and others had gone to visit the thresholds of the apostles. That Adrian IV., an English pope, had given Ireland to the crown of England; and that many mutual marks of reciprocal kindness had passed between that common father of Christendom and our kings, their most beloved sons; but none more eminent than the bestowing on the late king the title of Defender of the Faith. He told them, that in the unity with that see consisted the happiness and strength of all churches; that since the Greeks had separated from them they had been abandoned by God, and were now under the yoke of Mahometans. That the distractions of Germany did further demonstrate this; but most of all, the confusions themselves had felt ever since they had broken that bond of perfection. That it was the ambition and craft of some, who for their private ends began it, to which the rest did too submissively comply, and that the apostolic see might have proceeded against them for it by the assistance of other princes; but had stayed looking for that day, and for the hand of Heaven." He run out much on the commendation of the queen, and said, "God had signally preserved her to procure this great blessing to the church." At last, "he enjoined them for penance, to repeal the laws they had made, and so, in the pope's name, he granted them a full absolution, which they received on their knees; and he also absolved the whole realm from all censures."

The Cardinal makes a long Speech.

And grants them Absolution.

The rest of the day was spent with great solemnity and triumph: all that had been done was published next Sunday at Paul's. There was a committee appointed by both houses to prepare the statute of repeal, which was not finished before the 25th of December; and



then, the bishop of London only protesting against it, because of a proviso put in for the lands which the lord Wentworth had out of his bishopric, it was agreed to, and sent to the commons. They made more haste with it; for they sent it back the 4th of January, with a desire that twenty lines in it, which concerned the see of London and the lord Wentworth, might be put out, and two new provisos added. One of their provisos was not liked by the lords, who drew a new one; to which the viscount Montacute and the bishops of London and Coventry dissented. The twenty lines of the lord Wentworth's proviso were not put out; but the lord chancellor took a knife and cut them out of the parchment, and said, "Now I do truly the office of a chancellor," the word being ignorantly derived by some from cancelling. It is not mentioned in the Journal that this was done by the order of the house; but that must be supposed, otherwise it cannot be thought the parliament would have consented to so unlimited a power in the lord chancellor as to raze or cut out provisos at his pleasure.

By the act is set forth "their former schism from the see of Rome, and their reconciliation to it now; upon which all acts passed since the 20th of Henry VIII. against the see were specially enumerated and repealed. There it is said, that for the removing of all grudges that might arise, they desired that the following articles might, through the cardinal's intercession, be established by the pope's authority:

The Act of repealing all Laws against that See.

"1. That all bishoprics, cathedrals, or colleges, now established, might be confirmed for ever.

"2. That marriages made within such degrees as are not contrary to the law of God, but only to the laws of the church, might be confirmed, and the issue by them declared legitimate.

"3. That all institutions into benefices might be confirmed.

"4. That all judicial processes might be also confirmed.

"And finally, that all the settlements of the lands of any bishopries, or monasteries, or other religious houses, might continue as they were, without any trouble by the ecclesiastical censures or laws."

A Proviso for Church-lands.

And to make this pass the better, a petition was procured from the convocation of Canterbury, setting forth, "that whereas they, being the defenders and guardians of the church, ought to endeavour with all their strength to recover those goods to the church which, in the time of the late schism, had been alienated; yet having considered well of it, they saw how difficult, and indeed impossible, that would prove, and how much it would endanger the public peace of the realm and the unity of the church; therefore they, preferring the public welfare and the salvation of souls to their own private interests, did humbly pray the king and queen to intercede with the legate that, according to the powers given him by the pope, he would settle and confirm all that had been done in the alienation of the church and abbey lands, to which they, for their interests, did consent: and they added an humble desire, that those things which concerned the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and liberty might be re-established, and so they might be able to discharge the pastoral cure committed to them." Upon this, the cardinal granted a full confirmation of those things: ending it with a heavy charge on those who had the goods of the church in their hands, that they would consider the judgments of God that fell on Belshazzar for his profane using the holy vessels, though they had not been taken away by himself, but by his father. And he most earnestly exhorted them, that at least they would take care that, out of the tithes and parsonages or vicarages, those who served the cures might be sufficiently maintained and encouraged. This was confirmed in parliament; where also it was declared, "that all suits about these lands were only to be in the queen's courts, and not in the ecclesiastical courts; and if any should, upon the pretence of any ecclesiastical authority, disturb the subjects in their possession, they were to fall into a *premunire*." It was also declared, that "the title of Supreme Head never of right belonged to the crown; yet all writings wherein it was used were still to continue in force; but that hereafter all writings should be of force in which, either since the queen's coming to the crown or afterwards, that title should be or had been omitted. It was also declared, that bulls from Rome might be executed; that all exemptions that had belonged to religious houses, and had been

A Petition from the Convocation about it.

continued by the grants given of them, were repealed; and these places were made subject to the episcopal jurisdiction, excepting only the privileges of the two universities, the churches of Westminster and Windsor, and the Tower of London. But for encouraging any to bestow what they pleased on the church, the statutes of Mortmain were repealed for twenty years to come; provided always, that nothing in this act should be contrary to any of the rights of the crown, or the ancient laws of England: but that all things should be brought to the state they were in at the 20th year of her father's reign, and to continue in that condition."

For understanding this act more perfectly, I shall next set down the heads of the address which the lower house of convocation made to the upper; for most of the branches of this act had their first rise from it; I have put in the Collection, having found it among archbishop Parker's papers. In it they petitioned the lords of the upper house of convocation, "to take care, that by their consent to the settlement of the church-lands, nothing might be done in prejudice of any just title they had in law to them; as also, it being said in the grant of chantries to king Edward, that schools and hospitals were to be erected in several parts of the kingdom; they desired that some regard might be had to that: likewise, that the statutes of Mortmain might be repealed; and whereas tithes had been at all times appointed for the ecclesiastical ministry, therefore they prayed that all impropriations might be dissolved, and the tithes be restored to the church. They also proposed twenty-seven articles of things meet to be considered for the reformation of the church. Namely, that all who had preached any heretical doctrine should be made openly to recant it; that Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, the late service books, with all heretical books, should be burnt; and all that had them should be required to bring them in, otherwise they should be esteemed the favourers of heresy: that great care should be had of the books that were either printed or sold. That the statutes made against Lollards might be revived, and the church restored to its former jurisdiction. That all statutes for pluralities and non-residence might be repealed, that so beneficed men might attend on their cures: that simoniacal pactions might be punished, not only in the clergy that made them, but in the patrons, and in those that mediated in them; that the liberties of the church might be restored according to the Magna Charta; and the clergy be delivered from the heavy burdens of first-fruits, tenths and subsidies; that there might be a clear explanation made of all the articles of the *premunire;* and that none should be brought under it till there were first a prohibition issued out by the queen in that particular; and that disobedience to it should only bring them within that guilt: that all exemptions should be taken away; all usury be forbid; all clergymen obliged to go in their habits." The last was, "that all who had spoiled churches without any warrant, might be obliged to make restitution."

An Address made by the Inferior Clergy. Collection, Number 16.

The next act that was brought in, was for the reviving the statutes made by Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., against heretics; of which an account was given in the first Book of the former Part. The act began in the house of commons; who, as was observed in the former parliament, were much set on severities. It was brought in on the 12th of December, and sent up to the lords on the 15th, who passed it on the 18th of that month. The commons put in also another bill for voiding all leases made by married priests. It was much argued among them; and the first draught being rejected, a new one was drawn, and sent up to the lords on the 19th of December; but they finding it would shake a great part of the rights of the church-lands that were made by married priests or bishops, laid it aside. Thus did the servile and corrupted house of commons run so fast, that the bishops themselves were forced to moderate their heats. They all understood how much the queen was set upon having the church raised as high as could be, and saw there was nothing so effectual to recommend any to her favour, as to move high in these matters; and though their motions were thought too violent and rejected, yet their affections were thereby discovered; so that they knew they should be looked on as men deeply engaged in these interests.

The Laws against Heretics revived.

After this the bill of treasons was brought in. This was also argued for some days in the house of commons, but at last agreed to. By it, any who denied the king's right to the title of the crown, with the queen's, or endeavoured to put

An Act declaring Treasons.



him from it, together with them that did several other offences, were to forfeit all their goods, and to be imprisoned during life; and clergymen were to be deprived by their ordinaries; in these cases, the second offence was to be treason. But if any should compass the king's death, and utter it by any overt deed, during his marriage to the queen, the first offence of this kind should be treason. It was also enacted, that the parliament having petitioned the king, that if the queen died with any issue, he would take on him the government of them till they came of age; to which he had assented; therefore, if the queen died before her children came to be of age, the government of the kingdom should be in the king's hands; if it were a son till he were eighteen, or if a daughter till she was fifteen years of age; and in all that time, the conspiring his death was to be treason. The witnesses were to be brought before the parties, and none was to be tried for any words, but within six months after they were spoken.

Another act passed, upon a report made of some heretical preachers, who had, as was informed, prayed in their conventicles, that God would turn the queen's heart from idolatry to the true faith, or else shorten her days, and take her quickly out of the way: all therefore that so prayed for taking away the queen's life, were to be judged traitors; but if they showed themselves penitent for such prayers, they were not to be condemned of treason, but put to any corporal punishment other than death, at the judge's discretion. This was passed in great haste, for it was thrice read in the house of lords, and passed on the 16th of January, in which the parliament was dissolved.

Another against seditious words.

There was another act passed against those that spread lying reports of any noblemen, judges, or great officers; that such as spread them should be imprisoned till they brought their authors, according to former acts. If any spread such reports of the king and queen, they were to be set on a pillory, and pay 100*l.* or have their ears cut off, and be three months prisoners: and they were to pay 100 marks, and suffer one month's imprisonment, though they had authors for them, if they reported them maliciously. But if their reports tended to the stirring of any insurrection, they were to lose their right hands; and upon a second offence to suffer imprisonment during their lives; but they were to be proceeded against within three months after the words so spoken.

All the bills being ended, the parliament was dissolved on the 16th of January, to Gardiner's no small joy. He had now performed all that he had undertaken to the queen or the emperor: upon which he had the reputation that he was formerly in, of a great statesman and a dexterous manager of affairs, much confirmed and raised; since he had brought about in so small a time so great a change, where the interests of those who consented to it seemed to lead them another way. To those who had apprehended the tyranny of Rome he had said, that as our former kings had always kept it under in a great measure, so there was less danger of that now, since they saw that all princes had agreed to preserve their own rights entire against the pope's pretensions. He showed them that therefore all the old laws against provisions from Rome were still kept in force: and so, upon cardinal Pole's being called over, there was a commission sent him, under the great seal, bearing date the 10th of November, authorising him to exercise his legatine power in England. By this he showed them that no legate should ever come into England to execute any power till his faculties were seen and approved by the queen. Others thought this was but a vain imagination; for if the papacy were once fully established, and people again brought under the old superstition of esteeming the popes Christ's vicars and the infallible heads of the church, it would not be possible to retain the people in their obedience, since all the assistance that the princes of Christendom of this time had from their subjects, in their wars with the popes, flowed chiefly from this, that they generally did no more submit implicitly to their priests: but if once that blind obedience were restored, it would be easy for the priests, by their private dealings in confession, to overturn governments as they pleased.

Gardiner is in great esteem.

But that which stuck most was, that the church lands were by the canon law so indissolubly annexed to the church, that they could not be separated from it. To this it was answered, that they should secure it by a law at Rome, and should confirm all the alienations that had been made, both by consent of the clergy

Great fear about the Church-lands.

and by the pope's authority committed to the legate. Yet even that did not satisfy many, who found some laws in the canon so strict that the pope himself could not dispense with them. If the legate did it, the pope might refuse to confirm it, and then it was nothing: and what one pope did, another often recalled. So it was said that this confirmation was but an artifice to make it pass the more easily. Besides, all observed, that in the cardinal's confirmation of those lands there was a charge given to all to be afraid of the judgments of God that fell on Belshazzar for using the holy vessels; which was to pardon the thing, and yet to call it a sacrilege, for which they might look for the vengeance of God. So that the cardinal did at the same time both bind and loose; and it was plain, both by that clause and the repeal of the statute of Mortmain, that it was designed to possess people with the opinion of the sin of retaining church lands. It was thought this confirmation was rather an indemnity and permission to keep them than a declaring the possessors had any lawful title to them: so that when men were near death, and could no longer enjoy those lands themselves, it was not to be doubted but the terrors of sacrilege, and the punishments due to it, with the hope of that relief and comfort that soul-masses might bring them in purgatory, would prevail with many of them to make at least great, if not entire, restitutions.

This point being carried by those who did not understand what future danger their estates were in, but considered the present confirmation, and the other advantages which they were to have for consenting to this act, all the rest passed with no opposition. The act about the proceeding against heretics passed more easily than anything that had been proposed: so it seems the opposition that was made to other acts came not from any that favoured the Reformation, otherwise this would have found some resistance. But now it was the only way to the queen's favour, and to preferment, to run down that which was called heresy.

Consultations about the way of dealing with Heretics.

After the dissolution of the parliament, the first thing taken into consideration was what way to proceed against the heretics. Cardinal Pole had been suspected to favour the protestants, but seemed now to be much alienated from them: and therefore, when Tremellius, who had declared himself a protestant, came to him at Brussels, he would not see him, though he was his godfather. He came over into England much changed from that freedom of conversation he had formerly practised: he was in reserves to all people, spoke little, and had put on an Italian temper as well as behaviour: he brought over two Italians, Priuli and Ormaneto, who were his only confidants. He was a man of a generous and good disposition, but knew how jealous the court of Rome would be of him if he seemed to favour heretics; therefore he expressed great detestation of them. Nor did he converse much with any that had been of that party but the late secretary Cecil, who, though he lived for the most part privately at his house near Stamford, where he afterwards built a most sumptuous house, and was known to favour the Reformation still in his heart, yet in many things he complied with the time, and came to have more of his confidence than any Englishman.

The Cardinal is for moderate Courses.

The cardinal professed himself an enemy to extreme proceedings. He said pastors ought to have bowels even to their straying sheep: bishops were fathers, and ought to look on those that erred as their sick children, and not for that to kill them. He had seen that severe proceedings did rather inflame than cure that disease: there was a great difference to be made between a nation uninfected, where some few teachers came to spread errors, and a nation that had been overrun with them, both clergy and laity. The people were not so violently to be drawn back, but were to have time given them to recover out of those errors into which they had been led by the compliance and writings of their prelates. Therefore he proposed that there should be a strict reformation of the manners of the clergy carried on. He had observed in every country of Christendom that all the best and wisest men acknowledged that the scandals and ignorance of the clergy had given the entrance to heresy. So he moved, that there might be a reviving of the rules of the primitive church; and then, within a little time, men might by degrees be brought over. I have not found that he proposed the receiving the council of Trent; which is the more strange, since he had been himself one of the legates at the first session of it: but it seems it was not thought seasonable to propose it till the council were first ended and dissolved.

On the other hand Gardiner, who had no great sense of ecclesiastical matters, but as they served intrigues of state; and being himself of such a temper, that severe proceedings wrought much on him, judged that the executing the laws against the Lollards, was that in which they were chiefly to trust. He was confident the preachers then in prison, were men of such tempers, that if they saw they were to be burnt, they would comply; or if they stood out, and were burnt, that would so terrify the rest, that the whole nation would soon change. He remembered well how the Lollards grew in England, only upon cardinal Wolsey's slackening the execution of the laws against them: and upon the passing of the statute of the Six Articles, many submitted; so that if king Henry had not discouraged the vigorous execution of that act, all had turned. He did not deny, but a reformation of the clergy was a good and fit mean; but said, that all times could not bear such things; and if they went to reform their manners, the heretics would from thence take advantage of raising clamours against a scandalous clergy; which would increase, rather than lessen the aversion the people had to their pastors. So Gardiner complained, that Pole, by his intention of coming over too hastily, had almost precipitated all things; and now, by his gentle proceedings, would as much prejudice them another way. All these reasonings were such as became a man of Gardiner's temper, which being servile, and abject, made him measure others by himself.

But Gardiner is for violent ones.



He was also at this time highly provoked, by the reprinting of his books of True Obedience, which he had writ in the time of king Henry, and to which Bonner had made the preface. In these books, Gardiner had not only argued against the pope's supremacy, and for the king's, but had condemned the king's marriage with queen Katherine, calling it often "incestuous," and "unlawful;" and had justified the king's divorcing her, and marrying "his most godly and virtuous wife, queen Ann." This being reprinted in Strasburg, was now conveyed into England; and it was acknowledged to be a handsome piece of spite in the reformed, thus to expose him to the world. But though this nettled him much, yet he was confident enough, and excused himself, that he had erred through fear and weakness, as St. Peter had done; though it was an unreasonable thing, to compare an error of near thirty years' continuance, to the sudden denial of St. Peter, that was presently expiated with so true and sincere a repentance.

To which the Queen inclined.

Between these two councils, the queen would have a mean way taken, to follow both in part. She encouraged Pole to go on in the correcting the manners of the clergy; and likewise pressed Gardiner to proceed against the heretics. She also sent ambassadors to Rome: who were the viscount Montacute, the bishop of Ely, and sir Edward Carn, one to represent every state of the kingdom; to make her obedience to the pope, and to obtain a confirmation of all those graces cardinal Pole had granted in his name.

1555.

On the 23d of January, all the bishops went to Lambeth, to receive the cardinal's blessing and directions. He wished them to return to their cures, and treat their flocks with all gentleness, and to endeavour rather to gain them that way, than to use extremity and rigour. And on the 25th there was a solemn procession through London; there went first one hundred and sixty priests, all in their copes, eight bishops next, and last of all came Bonner himself, carrying the host; to thank God for reconciling them again to his church, and bonfires were burning all the night. And to keep up a constant remembrance of it, it was ordered that St. Andrew's day should be still observed as the anniversary of it, and be called "the feast of the reconciliation;" and processions, with all the highest solemnities they at any time use, were to be on that day.

They begin with Rogers, and others;

But now they turned wholly to the prosecution of the heretics. There had been thirty of them taken at a meeting near Bow church, where one Rose, a minister, gave them the communion according to the English book of service; so they were all put in prison. On the 22d of January, Rogers with others, were brought before the council; he had been a prebendary of Paul's, and in a sermon, after the queen was come to London, had zealously asserted the doctrine he had formerly preached; and as it has been shown, was confined to his house upon the tumult that had been at Paul's. He was much pressed to fly over into Germany, but he would not hearken to it, though the

necessities of ten children were great temptations. He was esteemed one of the most learned of the reformers, so that when those of the convocation were required to dispute, they desired that Ridley and he might be suffered to come and join with them. It was resolved to begin with him, and some others, at the council board, to see if they could be easily brought over.

He was accordingly brought before the council; where being asked by Gardiner, whether he would knit himself to the catholic church, and receive the pope as the supreme head? he said he knew no other head of the church but Christ; and for the pope, he had no more authority in England than any other bishop, either by the word of God, or the authority of the church, for four hundred years after Christ. But they objecting, that he had acknowledged king Henry to be supreme head: he answered, he never acknowledged him so to be supreme, as to forgive sins, bestow the Holy Ghost, or be a judge above the word of God. But as he was going to explain himself, Gardiner pressed him to answer plainly. He objected to Gardiner, that all the bishops had for many years preached against the pope. Gardiner said they were forced to it, by the cruelty of the times; but they would argue no more with him: now mercy was offered, if he rejected it, justice must come next. Rogers said, if they had been pressed to deny the pope's power by cruelty, would they now by the same motives force others to acknowledge it? for his part he would never do it. Other ten were called in, one after another; and only one of them, by the lord Effingham's favour, was let go upon a general question, if he would be an honest man; but all the rest answering resolutely, were sent back to prison, and were kept much stricter than formerly; none being suffered to come near them.

Who refusing to comply,

On the 28th of January, the bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Salisbury, Norwich and Carlisle, sate in St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark; where Hooper was first brought before them*. It needs not to be doubted, but Bonner remembered that he had informed against him when he was deprived in king Edward's time. He had been summoned to appear before the queen soon after she came to the crown; and it was pretended he owed her great sums of money; many advised him not to appear, for that it was but a pretence to put him and a great many more in prison, where they would be kept till laws were made to bring them out to a stake. But he would not withdraw; so now he and Mr. Rogers were singled out and begun with. They were asked, whether they would submit or not? they both refused to submit, Rogers being much pressed, and continuing firm in his resolutions; Gardiner said, it was vain-glory in him to stand out against the whole church. He protested it was his conscience, and not vain-glory, that swayed him; for his part, he would have nothing to do with the antichristian church of Rome. Gardiner said, by that he condemned the queen, and the whole realm, to be of the church of antichrist. Rogers said, the queen would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. Gardiner said the queen went before them in those counsels which proceeded of her own motion. Rogers said he would never believe that. The bishop of Carlisle said they could all bear him witness to it. Rogers said they would all witness for one another. Upon that, the comptroller, and secretary Bourn, being there, stood up in court and attested it. Then they asked Rogers, what he thought of the sacrament? he said it was known he had never meddled in that matter, and was suspected by some to be of a contrary opinion to many of his brethren, but yet he did not allow of their corporal presence. He complained, that after he had been confined half a year in his house, they had kept him a year in Newgate without any fault; for they could not say he had broken any of their laws, since he had been a prisoner all the while; so that merely for his opinion they were now proceeding against him. They gave Hooper and him time till next morning to consider what they would do; but they continuing in their former resolution, were declared obstinate heretics, and appointed to be degraded and so to be delivered into the sheriffs' hands. Hooper was only degraded from the order of priesthood.

Were judged,

And condemned.

* The proceedings against Hooper appeared the more cruel, since he had distinguished himself by his loyalty at the commencement of the queen's reign. "When she was at the worst," he says in his apology, "I rode myself from place to place, as is well known, to win and stay the people to her party; and whereas another was proclaimed, I preferred her notwithstanding the proclamations. I sent horses out of both shires (Gloucester and Worcester) to serve her in her great danger, as sir John Talbot Knight and William Ligon, Esq. can testify.—ED.



Then Rogers desired he might be suffered to speak with his wife, concerning his ten children; they answered, she was not his wife, and so denied it. Upon this they were led away to Newgate.

On the 4th of February, early in the morning, Rogers was called upon to make ready for Smithfield; he was so fast asleep, that he was not easily awakened; he put on his clothes carelessly, being, as he said, so soon to lay them off. When he was brought to Bonner to be degraded, he again renewed his desire to see his wife, but could not obtain it. He was led to Smithfield, were he was not suffered to make any speech to the people; so in a few words, he desired them to continue in that doctrine which he had taught them, and for which he had not only patiently suffered all the bitterness and cruelty that had been exercised on him, but did now most gladly resign up his life, and give his flesh to the consuming fire for a testimony to it. He repeated the fifty-first psalm, and so fitted himself for the stake. A pardon was brought, if he would recant; but he chose to submit to that severe, but short punishment, rather than put himself in danger of everlasting burnings by such an apostacy: so the fire was set to him, which consumed him to ashes.

Rogers' Martyrdom.

For Hooper, after they had degraded him, they resolved to send him to Gloucester; at which he much rejoiced, hoping by his death to confirm their faith, over whom he had been formerly placed. He was carried thither in three days. After he came, he had one day's interval given him, which he spent in fasting and prayer. Some came to persuade him to accept of the queen's mercy, since life was sweet, and death was bitter. He answered, the death that was to come after was more bitter, and the life that was to follow was more sweet. As some of his friends parted with him, he shed some tears, and told them all his imprisonment had not made him do so much.

Hooper burnt at Gloucester.

On the 9th he was led out to his execution; where, being denied leave to speak, but only to pray, in the strain of a prayer he declared his belief. Then the queen's pardon being showed him, he desired them to take it away. He prayed earnestly for strength from God, to endure his torment patiently; and undressed himself, and embraced the reeds. When he was tied to the stake with iron chains, he desired them to spare their pains, for he was confident he should not trouble them. The fire was put to him, but the wood being green, burnt ill, and the wind blew away the flame of the reeds: he prayed oft, "O Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me, and receive my soul;" and called to the people, for the love of God, to bring him more fire, for the fire was burning his nether parts, but did not reach his vitals. The fire was renewed, but the wind still blew it away from rising up to stifle him, so that he was long in the torment. The last words he was heard to say, were, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." One of his hands dropped off before he died; with the other he continued to knock on his breast some time after; and was in all near three quarters of an hour a-burning.

Next these, was Sanders condemned, and sent to Coventry to be burnt, where he suffered on the 8th of February. He had been made a prisoner for preaching, notwithstanding the queen's prohibition, and was condemned for refusing to conform to the new laws. When he was led out to the stake, a pardon was likewise offered him; but he said he held no heresies, but the blessed gospel of Christ; and that he would never recant. When he came to the stake, he embraced it and said, "Welcome the Cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life!" and so he was burnt.

Sanders burnt at Coventry,

Dr. Taylor followed next, who was parson of Hadley. Some of his neighbouring priests came to Hadley, and resolved to say mass in his church. He went thither, and openly declared against it, but was by violence thrust out of the church. Gardiner, being informed of this, writ for him to come up. Many of his friends wished him to go out of the way; he said, he must follow Christ, the good shepherd, who not only fed his flock, but died for it. He was old, and thought he should never be able, at any other time, to do his good God such service as he was then called to; so he went with much cheerfulness. Gardiner received him with his ordinary civilities, of traitor, villain, heretic, and knave. He answered, he was none of these; and put Gardiner in mind of the oaths he had sworn, both to king Henry and king Edward. Gardiner said, an unlawful oath was not to be kept; and charged him for hindering mass to be said at his

and Taylor at Hadley.

church, He said he was by law parson of Hadley, and no man had a right to come thither and defile his church and people with idolatry. After some discourse on that head, he was sent to the King's Bench prison; and being carried before the council on the 22d of January, he refused to turn. After that he was condemned, and degraded; and it was resolved to send him to Hadley to be burnt there. All the way he expressed great cheerfulness. When he was brought to the stake, he said to the people, he had taught them nothing but God's holy word, and was now to seal it with his blood: but one of the guard struck him over the head, and made him give over speaking. Then he went to his prayers, and so to the stake, where he was put in a pitch barrel. As the faggots were laying about him, one flung a faggot at his head, which broke it, and fetched a great deal of blood; but all he said, "Oh friend, I have harm enough, what needed that?" He repeated the fifty-first psalm in English; at which one of the guard struck him over the mouth, and bid him speak Latin. He continued in his ejaculations to God, till the fire was kindled; and one of the guard cut him in the head with his halbert, so that his brains fell out. This was done on the 9th of February.

Bradford was also at the same time condemned, but his execution was respited.

Soon after the condemnation of these men, six others were apprehended on the account of heresy.

By this Gardiner saw, that what he had expected did not follow; for he thought a few severe instances would have turned the whole nation, but finding he was disappointed, he would meddle no more in the condemning of them; but left the whole matter wholly to Bonner, who undertook it cheerfully, being naturally savage and brutal, and retaining deep resentments for what had befallen himself in king Edward's time.

Gardiner is disappointed.

The whole nation stood amazed at these proceedings, and the burning of such men, only for their consciences, without the mixture of any other thing so much as pretended against them. And it was looked upon as a horrible cruelty, because those men had acted nothing contrary to the laws; for they were put in prison at first for smaller matters, and there kept till those laws were passed, by which they were now burnt. So that remembering Gardiner's plea for himself in his imprisonment, when he desired to be first tried, and discharged in the particular for which he was committed, before new matter was brought against him; all men saw now, how much more justly those men might have demanded the like at his hands. But now the spirit of the two religions showed itself. In king Edward's time, papists were only turned out of their benefices, and at most imprisoned; and of those there were but very few; but now, that could not serve turn, but barbarous cruelties must be executed on innocent men, only for their opinions. One piece of severity was taken notice of among the rest: the council sent for those who were to be burnt in the country, and required of them a promise to make no speeches; otherwise they threatened to cut out their tongues immediately; so they, to avoid that butchery, promised to obey those cruel orders.

These Cruelties are much censured.

The manner of Hooper's death made those who judged too critically of divine providences, reflect on the dissension that had been raised by him about the vestments; as if he, who had kindled that fire, had suffered now more than ordinary for that reason. But all that difference was at an end before this; for Ridley and he, between whom there had been the greatest animosity, becoming partners in the same sufferings, were perfectly reconciled to each other. He writ twice to Ridley, who writ him an answer as soon as he could convey it; in which he declared, how entirely he was knit to him, though in some circumstances of religion they had formerly jarred a little: it was Hooper's wisdom, and his own simplicity, that had divided them; every one following the abundance of his own sense; but now he assured him, that in the bowels of Christ he loved him in the truth and for the truth. He encouraged him to prepare for the day of his dissolution; after which they should triumph together in eternal glory: he expressed great joy for what he heard of Cranmer's godly and fatherly constancy, "whose integrity, and uprightness, gravity and innocence, was known to the whole nation; and he blessed God that had given, in his reverend old age, such a man to be the witness of his truth; for

Reflections made on Hooper's death.



miserable and hard-hearted was he, whom the godliness and constant confession of so worthy, so grave, and so innocent a man, would not move to acknowledge and confess his truth."

It had been happy if the fires that consumed those good men, had put an end to these contests; and if those that have been since engaged in the like, will reflect more on the sense they had of them when they were now preparing for eternity, than on the heats they were put in concerning them, when perhaps ease and plenty made their passions keener, they may from thence be reduced to have more moderate thoughts of such matters.

If the English nation was dissatisfied with what was done since the beginning of this reign, it cannot be imagined but their discontent received a great increase by what was now acted. Those that favoured the Reformation were awakened to have more serious thoughts about it, since they saw those that had preached it, died so patiently and resolutely, rather than they would deny it. It begot in them greater tenderness to their memories, and a more violent aversion to their persecutors. The rest of the nation that neither knew nor valued religion much, yet were startled at the severity and strangeness of these proceedings; and being naturally of relenting and compassionate tempers, were highly disaffected to the king, from whom they believed that this flowed. The queen had before declared she would force nobody in these points; so they thought it not reasonable nor decent to charge her with it. Gardiner, with the other bishops and privy-councillors, had openly in court purged themselves of it, and laid it on the queen, being therein more careful of their own credit than of her honour; so now it could fall nowhere but on the king; the sourness of whose temper, together with his bigotry for that religion, made it reasonable enough to impute it to him; besides, he had been bred in Spain, where the inquisition was let loose on all that were suspected of heresy without any restraint: and his father had, during his whole reign, been always, as far as he safely could be, a persecutor of Protestants. Philip could not but see that all was cast on him; and understanding that thereby he should become unacceptable to the nation, and so not be able to carry on his design of making himself master of England, he was something concerned to clear himself of these imputations. Therefore Alphonsus, a Franciscan friar, that was his confessor *, in a sermon before him on the 10th of February, preached largely against the taking away of people's lives for religion; and in plain terms inveighed against the bishops for doing it: he said they had not learned it in Scripture, which taught bishops in the spirit of meekness to instruct those that opposed them; and not to burn them for their consciences. This startled the bishops; since it was now plain that the Spaniards disowned these extreme courses; and hereupon there was a stop for several weeks put to any further severities. But the popish clergy, being once engaged in blood, have been always observed to become the most brutally cruel of any sort of men, so that it was not easy to restrain them; and therefore they resolved, rather than the heretics should not be prosecuted any further, to take the blame of it avowedly on themselves.

These Burnings were disliked by the Nation.

The King purges himself of them.

But they are prosecuted by the Clergy.

There was at this time a petition printed and sent over from some beyond sea to the queen, in which they set before her the danger of her being carried away by a blind zeal to persecute the members of Christ, as St. Paul was before his conversion: they put her in mind how Cranmer had preserved her in her father's time; so that she had more reason to believe he loved her, and would speak truth to her, than all the rest of her clergy, whom they compared to Jezebel's prophets. They gathered many passages out of Gardiner's, Bonner's, and Tonstal's writings against the pope's supremacy, and her mother's marriage; and showed that they were men that, by their own confession, had no conscience in them, but measured their actions and professions by their fears and interests; and averred that it was known that many of that faction did openly profess, that if they lived in Turkey they would comply with the religion of the country. They said that the Turks did tolerate Christians, and the Christians did in most places suffer Jews; but the persecution now set on foot, was like that which the scribes and pharisees raised against the apostles; for they then pretended that they had been once of their religion, and so were apostates and heretics. They also said (but by a common

A Petition against Persecution.

* Alphonsus à Castro, famous for his treatise *De Hæresibus*.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.

mistake), that the first law for burning in England was made by Henry the Fourth, who to gratify the bishops that had helped him to depose king Richard the Second, and to advance himself to the throne, as it were, in recompense of that service, had granted them that law; which was both against all humanity, and more particularly against the mercifulness of the Christian religion.

They remembered her, that in king Edward's time, none of the papists had been so used: and in conclusion they told her, she was trusted by God with the sword for the protection of her people as long as they did well, and was to answer to him for their blood, if she thus delivered them to the mercy of such wolves.

From the queen, the address is turned to the nobility, warning them of the danger of not only losing their abbey lands, but all their liberties; and being brought under a Spanish yoke, which had ruined many of the best countries in the world: they are told they must resolve to come under heavy taxes and a general excise, such as was in the Netherlands; and that all this would come justly on them who had joined in the Reformation for base ends to get the church lands; and now, thinking those were secured to them, forsook it: but for all these things they were to answer heartily to God.

From them it turns to the people, and exhorts them to repent of their great sins, which had brought such judgments on them: and in the end, begs the queen will at least be as favourable to her own people as she had been to the strangers, to whom she allowed a free passage to foreign parts.

This discourse is writ in a strong and good style, much beyond the rate of the other books of that time. Upon this, some were set on work to write in defence of such proceedings; so a book was set out about it, with divers arguments, of which the substance follows:—

They said the Jews were commanded to put blasphemers to death, and those heretics were such, for they blasphemed the sacrament of the altar, which was the body of Christ, and called it a piece of bread. They noted also, that the heathens had persecuted Christians; and if they had that zeal for their false religion, it became Christians to be much more zealous for theirs: they made use of that expression in the parable, "Compel them to enter in;" and of St. Paul's, "I would they were cut off that trouble you." They alleged that St. Peter had, by a divine power, struck Ananias and Sapphira dead, which seemed a good warrant for the magistrate to put such persons to death. They said, that the heretics themselves were for burning when they had power; and that those that died then by their hands, had expressed as much courage in their deaths, and innocence in their lives, as they had ever done: they cited St. Austin, who was for prosecuting the Donatists; and though he had been once of another mind, yet finding severities had a good effect on them, he changed, and was for fining or banishing of them. These were the arguments for and against those proceedings.

Arguments for persecuting Heretics.

But leaving them to the reader's judgment, I proceed in the history. I intend not to write a pompous martyrology, and therefore hereafter I shall only name the persons that suffered, with the reasons for which they were condemned: but except in a very few instances, I shall not enlarge on the manner of their trial and sufferings, which being so copiously done by Fox, there is nothing left for any that comes after him. In some private passages which were brought to him upon flying reports, he made a few mistakes, being too credulous; but in the account he gives from records or papers, he is a most exact and faithful writer; so that I could never find him in any prevarication, or so much as a designed concealment. He tells the good and the bad, the weakness and passion, as well as the constancy and patience of those good men who sealed their faith with their blood; who were not all equal in parts nor in discretion; but the weaker any of them were, it argued the more cruelty in their prosecutors, to proceed so severely against such inconsiderable persons.

The first intermission being over, on the 16th of March, Thomas Thomkins, a weaver in Shoreditch, was burnt in Smithfield, only for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament. Bonner kept him many months in his house, hoping to have wrought on him by fair means; but those having no effect, one day he tore out a great deal of the hair of his beard, but to conceal that, made his beard be clean

They proceed to burn more.



shaved: and another time he held his hand in the flame of the candle so long, till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst, and spurted in Harpsfield's face that was standing by, who, interposing with Bonner, got him to give over any further cruelty at that time.

The next that suffered was one William Hunter, of Brentwood, an apprentice of nineteen years old, who had been drawn on in discourse by a priest, till he brought him to deny the presence in the sacrament, and then was accused by him. His own father was made to search for him to bring him to justice; but he, to save his father from trouble, rendered himself. Bonner offered him forty pounds if he would change, so mercenary a thing did he think conscience to be: but he answered, if they would let him alone, he would keep his conscience to himself, but he would not change; so he was condemned and sent to be burnt near his father's house, where he suffered on the 20th of March.

On the same day, Causton and Higbed, two gentlemen of good estates and great esteem, were burnt near their own houses in Essex.

On the 28th of March, William Pigot was burnt at Braintree, and Stephen Knight at Malden; and on the 29th, John Lawrence, a priest, was burnt at Colchester.

In all their processes, the bishops brought no witnesses against them; but did only exhibit articles to them, according to the way of those courts, called *ex officio*, and required them to make answers; and upon their answers, which were judged heretical, they condemned them; so that all this was singly for their consciences, without the pretence of any other matter.

Ferrar, that had been bishop of St. David's, being dealt with by Gardiner to turn, and refusing to do it, was sent down to Carmarthen, where his successor, Morgan, sat upon him, and gave him articles about the marriage of priests, the mass, and some other things; to which his answers being found heretical, he was condemned. He put in an appeal to cardinal Pole, but it was not received: yet it seems that delayed the execution till they heard from him; for though he was condemned on the 13th, he was not burnt before the 30th of March.

Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, condemned and burnt.

About that time was Rawlins White, an honest poor fisherman, burnt at Cardiff; it was in March, but the day is not mentioned: he was very ancient, and was put in prison, only because he had put his son to school, that he might hear the Bible read by him. After a year's imprisonment, the bishop of Landaff condemned him, upon articles to which he answered as an heretic.

On the 24th of April, George March, a priest, was burnt at Chester, being judged as the others had been; only at his death there was a new invention of cruelty, a firkin of pitch was hung over his head, that the fire melting it, it might scald his head as it dropped on it.

After this one Flower, that had been in orders, but was a rash indiscreet man, went on Easter-day into St. Margaret's church in Westminster, and there, with a knife, struck at and wounded the priest as he was officiating. He for some time justified what he had done, as flowing from zeal; but afterwards he sincerely condemned it. Bonner, upon this proceeding against him as an heretic, condemned him to the fire; and he was burnt on the 24th of April in Westminster churchyard. This fact was condemned by all the reformed, who knew that the wrath of man was not the way to accomplish the righteousness of God. In the Jewish government, some extraordinary persons did execute vengeance on notorious offenders; but that constitution was in all its policy regulated by the laws given by Moses, in which such instances were proposed as examples, whereby they became a part of the law of that land; so that in such cases, it was certainly lawful to execute punishment in that way; so in some kingdoms, any man that finds an outlawed person may kill him: but where there is no law warranting such things, it is certainly against both religion and the laws of all society and government, for private persons to pretend to the magistrate's right, and to execute justice upon any account whatsoever.

One wounds a Priest at the Altar, and is burnt for Heresy, himself condemning his former Act.

There was at this time a second stop put to the execution of heretics, for till the end of May more fires were not kindled; people grew generally so enraged upon it, that they could not bear it. I shall therefore now turn myself to other things, that will give the reader a more pleasing entertainment.

On the 28th of March, the queen called for the lord treasurer, sir Robert Rochester, comptroller, sir William Petre, secretary of state, and sir Francis Inglefield, master of the wards. She said she had sent for them to declare her conscience to them concerning the church lands that continued still in the crown: she thought they were taken away in the time of the schism, and by unlawful means, therefore she could not keep them with a good conscience, so she did surrender and relinquish them. If they should tell her, that her crown was so poor, that she could not well maintain her dignity if she parted with them, she must tell them, she valued the salvation of her soul more than ten kingdoms; and thanked God her husband was of the same mind; and therefore she was resolved to have them disposed, as the pope or his legate should think fit; so she ordered them to go with the lord chancellor, to whom she had spoken of it before, and wait on the legate and signify it to him, together with the value of those lands. This flowed from the strictness of the queen's conscience, who then thought herself near the time of her delivery, and therefore would not have such a load lie on her; of which she was the more sensible, by reason of a bull which pope Julius had made, excommunicating all that kept any abbey or church lands; and all princes, prelates, and magistrates, that did not assist in the execution of such bulls. Some said this related to the business of England; but Gardiner said it was only made for Germany; and that bulls had no authority, unless they were received in England. This did not satisfy the people much; for if it was such a sin in Germany, they could not see but it was as bad in England: and if the pope had his authority from Christ and St. Peter, his bulls ought to take place everywhere.

The Queen resolves to surrender up all the Church Lands that were in her hands.

Pope Julius died soon after this, on the 20th of March; and on the 6th of April after, cardinal Marcellus Cervinus was chosen pope, a man of great gravity and innocence of life. He continued to keep his former name, which had not been done a great while, except by Adrian the Sixth, between whose temper and this man there was a great resemblance. He presently turned all his thoughts (as Adrian had done) to a reformation of the corruptions of that see, and blamed his predecessors much who had always put it off: he thought nothing could make the papacy more reverenced than to cut off their excessive and superfluous pomp, whereby they would be the more esteemed all the world over, and might, on surer grounds, expect the protection of God. He had been one of the legates at Trent, and there observed what was represented as the root of all heresy and disorder, that the clergy were generally corrupted, and had, by many exemptions procured from Rome, broken all the primitive rules. Upon his first election, he called for the cardinal of Mantua, and having observed him to be a man of great probity, told him, he knew it was ordinary for all popes, at their first coming to the throne, to talk of reformation; but he would talk little, being resolved to do more; only he opened his mind to him, that if ever he went back from it, he might have this check upon him, that so honest a man as he was, would know him to be a knave and a hypocrite. He would suffer none of his friends that were in remote parts to come to Rome; nor his nephews, that were in Rome, to come within the court: he was resolved to have sent all priests and bishops home to their benefices; and talked much of their non-residence with great detestation: he would not change his table, nor his custom of making one read to him when he was sitting at it. One day after a long musing at dinner, he said, he remembered the words of Hadrian the Fourth, "that the pope was the most miserable of all men; his whole life was bitterness, his chair was full of thorns, and his way of briars;" and then, leaning with his hand on the table, he said, "I do not see how they can be saved that hold this high dignity." These thoughts did so affect him, that on the twelfth day after that he was chosen pope, he sickened, and died ten days after. These things are reported of him by the learned Onuphrius, who knew him well: and they will not be thought impertinent to have a room in this story.

Pope Julius dies, and Marcellus succeeds.

As soon as the news of his death came to England, the queen writ on the 29th day of May to Gardiner, the earl of Arundel, and the lord Paget, who were then at Calais, mediating a peace between the French and Spaniard, which they could not effect, but only procured a truce: she desired them to deal with the cardinal of Lorraine, the constable, and the other French commissioners, to persuade their master to set up cardinal Pole, that he might succeed in that chair, since he

The Queen recommends Card. Pole to the Popedom upon Marcellus's death.



seemed every way the fittest person for it; adding (as will appear by the letter which is in the Collection), that she had done this without his knowledge or consent. This could not come in time to Rome, where on the 23rd of that month, Caraffa was chosen pope, who was called Paul the Fourth, and who was as different from his predecessor as any man could be. He had put on an appearance of great strictness before; and had set up a religious order of monks, called Theatines; but upon his coming to the popedom, he put on the greatest magnificence possible, and was the highest-spirited and bloodiest pope that had been since Julius the Second's time.

Collection, Number 18.

Paul the 4th chosen Pope.

He took it for a great honour, that on the day of his election, the English ambassadors entered Rome with a great train of one hundred and forty horse of their own attendants. On the 23rd of June, in the first consistory after he was crowned, they were heard. They fell prostrate at his feet, and acknowledged the steps and faults of their schism, enumerating them all, for so the pope had ordered it; confessing they had been ungrateful for the many benefits they had received from that church, and humbly asking pardon for them. The pope held some consultation, whether he should receive them, since in their credentials the queen styled herself queen of Ireland; that title being assumed by king Henry in the time of schism. It seemed hard to use such ambassadors ill: but on the other hand, he stood upon his dignity, and thought it belonged only to his see to erect kingdoms: therefore he resolved so to temper the matter, that he should not take notice of that title, but should bestow it as a mark of his favour. So on the 7th of June he did in private erect Ireland into a kingdom; and conferred that title on the king and queen, and told them, that otherwise he would not suffer them to use it in their public audience. And it is probable it was the contest about this that made the audience be delayed almost a month after their arrival. This being adjusted, he received the ambassadors graciously, and pardoned the whole nation: and said, "that in token of his esteem of the king and queen, he gave them the title of the kingdom of Ireland, by that supreme power which he had from God, who had placed him over all kingdoms, to supplant the contumacious, and to build new ones." But in his private discourses with the ambassadors, he complained that the church lands were not restored; which, he said, was by no means to be endured, for they must render all back to the last farthing; since they belonged to God, and could not be kept without their incurring damnation: he said he would do anything in his power to gratify the king and queen, but in this his authority was not so large as to profane the things dedicated to God. This would be an anathema and a contagion on the nation, which would bring after it many miseries; therefore he required them to write effectually about it: he repeated this to them every time he spake to them; and told them also, that the Peter-pence must be paid in England, and that he would send a collector to raise it: he himself had been employed in that office when he was young, and he said he was much edified to see the forwardness of the people, especially those of the meaner sort, in paying it; and told them they must not expect St. Peter would open heaven to them so long as they usurped his goods on earth.

The English Ambassadors come to Rome.

The Pope presses the restoring of the Church Lands.

History of the Council of Trent.

The ambassadors seeing the pope's haughty temper, that he could endure no contradiction, answered him with great submission, and so gained his favour much, but knew well that these things could not be easily effected; and the viscount Montacute was too deeply concerned in the matter himself to solicit it hard; for almost his whole estate consisted of abbey lands. Thus was this business rather laid over than fully settled.

But now to return to the affairs in England. There came complaints from all places that the justices of peace were remiss in the matters of religion; and particularly in Norfolk, that these things were ill looked to. So instructions were sent thither (which will be found in the Collections) requiring the justices to divide themselves into ten or twelve districts, that they might more narrowly look into all particulars: that they should encourage the preachers sent to instruct that county, and turn out such as did not come to church or conform in all things, but chiefly the preachers of heresy: that the justices and their families should be good

Instructions sent to the Justices for searching after all suspected of Heresy. Collect. Number 19.

examples to the rest: that they should have one or two in every parish to be secretly instructed, for giving information of everything in it; and should look strictly to all vagabonds that wandered about, and to such as spread false reports. This was thought to have so much of the inquisition in it, that it was imputed to the counsels of the Spaniards. And they seemed to have taken their pattern from the base practices of those called Delatores, that are set out by Tacitus as the greatest abuse of power that ever was practised by the ill emperors that succeeded Augustus; who going into all companies, and complying with what might be acceptable to them, engaged men into discourses against the state, and then gave such informations against them which, without their discovering themselves by being brought to prove them, were made use of to the ruin of the accused persons. This was certainly very contrary to the freedom of the English temper, and helped to alienate them the more from the Spaniards. But it may be easily imagined that others were weary of severities, when Bonner himself grew averse to them. He complained that the matter was turned over upon him, the rest looking on, and leaving the execution of these laws wholly to him. So when the justices and sheriffs sent up heretics to him, he sent them back, and refused to meddle further. Upon which the king and queen writ to him on the 24th of May, complaining of this, and admonished him to have from henceforth more regard to the office of a good pastor and bishop; and when such offenders were brought to him, to endeavour to remove them from their errors, or, if they were obstinate, to proceed against them according to law. This letter he caused to be put in his register, from whence I copied it, and have placed it in the Collections. Whether he procured this himself for a colour to excuse his proceedings, or whether it was sent to him by reason of his slackness, is not certain; but the latter is more probable, for he had burnt none during five weeks: but he soon redeemed that loss of time.

Bonner grows unwilling to persecute any more.

But is required to proceed by the King and Queen.

Collect. Number 20.

At this time the nation was in expectation of the queen's delivery: and on the 3d of May the bishop of Norwich writ a letter to the earl of Sussex, of which I have seen the original, that news was brought him from London that the queen had brought forth a noble prince, for which he had *Te Deum* solemnly sung in his cathedral and in the other churches thereabout. He adds in the postscript, that the news was confirmed by two other hands. But though this was without any ground, the queen continued still in her opinion that she was with child: and on the 29th of May, letters were written by the council to the lord treasurer to have money in readiness, that those who were appointed to carry the joyful news of the queen's happy delivery might be speedily despatched. In the beginning of June, she was believed to be in labour, and it flew over London again that she had brought forth a son. The priests had settled all their hopes on that; so they did everywhere sing *Te Deum*, and were transported into no small ecstacies of joy. One more officious than the rest made a sermon about it, and described all the lineaments of their young prince: but they soon found they were abused. It was said that they had been deceived, and that the queen had no great belly: but Melvil, in his Memoirs, says, he was assured from some of her women that she did cast forth at several times some moles and unformed pieces of flesh. So now there was small hopes of any issue from her. This increased the sourness of her temper; and king Philip, being so much younger than she, growing out of conceit with her, did not much care for her, but left her some months after. He saw no hope of children; and finding that it was not possible for him to get England in his hands without that, gave over all his designs about it: so having lived with her about fifteen months after their first marriage, he found it necessary to look more after his hereditary crown, and less after his matrimonial one; and henceforth he considered England rather as a sure ally, that was to adhere firmly to his interests, than as a nation which he could ever hope to add to his other crowns. All these things concurred to increase the queen's melancholy humours, and did cast her into an ill state of health; so that it was not probable she could live long. Gardiner upon that set himself much to have the lady Elizabeth put out of the way; but, as it was formerly said, king Philip preserved her.

The Queen's delivery is expected, but in vain.

And thus affairs went on, as to civil matters, till the meeting of the next parliament, in



October following. But I now return to the proceedings against the poor men called heretics, who were again, after a short intermission, brought to new sufferings. John Cardmaker, that had been divinity-reader at St. Paul's, and a prebendary at Bath, and John Warne, an upholster in London, were both burnt in Smithfield, on the 30th of May, for denying the corporal presence, being proceeded against *ex officio*. On the 4th of June, there was a piece of pageantry acted on the body of one Tooly, who, being executed for a robbery, did at his death say something that savoured of heresy: upon which the council writ to Bonner to inquire into it, and to proceed according to the ecclesiastical laws. He thereupon formed a process, and cited the dead body to answer the points objected to him; but he, to be sure, neither appearing nor answering, was condemned and burnt. After this, on the 10th of June, Thomas Hawkes, a gentleman in Essex, who had lived much in the court, was also burnt at Coggeshall; and on the same day, John Simpson and John Ardeley, two husbandmen, were also burnt in Essex. Thomas Watts, a linendraper, was burnt at Chelmsford. On the 9th, Nicholas Chamberlain, a weaver, was burnt at Colchester; and on the 15th, Thomas Osmond, a fuller, was burnt at Manningtree; and the same day, William Bamford, a weaver, was burnt at Harwich.

Proceedings against Heretics.

These, with several others, had been sent up by the earl of Oxford, to Bonner, because they had not received the sacrament the last Easter, and were suspected of heresy; and articles being given to them, they were upon their answers condemned, and sent to be burnt in the places where they had lived. But upon this occasion, the council fearing some tumult, or violent rescue, writ to the earl of Oxford and the lord Rich, to gather the country, and to see the heretics burnt. The earl of Oxford, being some way indisposed, could only send his people to the lord Rich, who went and obeyed the orders that had been sent him; for which letters of thanks were written to him; and the council understanding that some gentlemen had come to the burning at Colchester that had not been writ to, but as the words of the letter have it, "had honestly and of themselves gone thither," writ to the lord Rich to give them the council's thanks for their zeal. I find in the council-books, many entries made of letters writ to several counties, to the nobility and gentry to assist at these executions; and such as made excuses were always after that looked on with an ill eye, and were still under great jealousy.

The Council writ to the Lords in Essex to gather the Gentry, and assist at these Burnings.

After these followed the execution of Bradford in July; he had been condemned among the first, but was not burnt till now. He had been a prebendary of St. Paul's, and a celebrated preacher, in the end of king Edward's days. He had preserved Bourn in the tumult at Paul's cross, and that afternoon, preaching at Bow church, he severely reproved the people for the disorder at Paul's; but three days after was put in prison, where he lay, removed from one prison to another, near two years; wherever he came, he gained so much on the keepers, that they suffered him to preach and give the sacrament to his fellow prisoners. He was one of those that were carried before the council on the 22d of January, where Bonner accused him of the tumult at Paul's; though all he pretended to prove it by was, that his way of speaking to the people showed he thought he had some authority over them, and was a presumption that he had set on the sedition. Bradford appealed to God that saw his innocency, and how unworthily he was requited for saving his enemies, who rendered him evil for good. At last refusing to conform himself to the laws, he was condemned with the rest on the 31st of January, where that rescue was again laid to his charge, together with many letters he had written over England, which (as the earl of Derby informed the parliament) had done more hurt than he could have done, if he had been at liberty to preach. He said since he understood that they acted by a commission which was derived from the pope, he could not answer them, having sworn never to acknowledge that authority: what he had done in Paul's was at Bourn's earnest desire, who prayed him, for the passion of Christ, to speak to the people; upon which he stepped up to the pulpit, and had almost been killed with the dagger that was thrown at Bourn, for it touched his sleeve. But in the points of religion, he professed his faith so constantly, that for that cause he was condemned. Yet the saving of Bourn was so publicly known, that it was thought undecent to proceed against him so quick as they did with the rest. So both

Bradford's Martyrdom.

Heath archbishop of York, and Day bishop of Chichester, Weston, Harpsfield, and the king's confessor, and Alphonsus à Castro, went to see him, and endeavoured to gain him; but all to no purpose. It looks very ill in Bourn that he never interposed for Bradford, nor came once to visit him; and as when Bradford was before the council, Bourn's brother the secretary was very sharp upon him; so when he was brought to his trial, Bourn himself, then bishop of Bath and Wells, being present, did not open his mouth for him, though he appealed to him, as to the business of the tumult. With Bradford one John Leafe, an apprentice of nineteen years old, was led out to be burnt, who was also condemned upon his answers to the articles exhibited to him. When they came to the stake they both fell down and prayed. Then Bradford took a fagot in his hands and kissed it, and so likewise kissed the stake, expressing thereby the joy he had in his sufferings; and cried, "O England, repent, repent, beware of idolatry and false antichrists!" But the sheriff hindering him to speak any more, he embraced his fellow-sufferer, and prayed him to be of good comfort, for they should sup with Christ that night. His last words were, "Strait is the way and narrow is the gate that leadeth into eternal life, and few there be that find it."

Now the persecution was carried on to other places, Bonner stopping in it again. But Thornton suffragan of Dover, Harpsfield archdeacon of Canterbury, and some others, resolved likewise to show their zeal. This Thornton had from the first change made by king Henry been the most officious and forward in every turn, and had been the first in this reign that had set up the mass at Canterbury. He was much despised for it by cardinal Pole, but Pole could not hinder the fury of those men, without drawing on himself the pope's indignation. The pope was his professed and inveterate enemy; but knew not how to vent his hatred to him, since he had done such an eminent service to the church as the reconciling of England. Gardiner understanding this, sent secretly to Rome, to give ill characters of Pole, which the ill-natured pope was ready enough to receive. Gardiner designed to be made a cardinal; and to get Pole recalled, and himself made archbishop of Canterbury. The pope was resolved, on the first occasion, to take the legatine power from Pole, and give it to Gardiner, but Pole was so much in the queen's favour, that this required some time to bring it about. This made Gardiner study to preserve Cranmer as long as he lived. It seemed more reasonable to have begun with him, who had indeed been the chief author of the Reformation, and promoter of that they called heresy: nor had Gardiner such kindness for him, as to interpose on his account; but he knew, that as soon as he was burnt, Pole would be presently invested in the see of Canterbury. Therefore he suggested, that if he could be any way brought off, it would be the most effectual means possible to extirpate heresy; for if he who had so much set on these doctrines, did forsake them, it would confound the whole party, and bring over at least all that were weak or staggering; whereas, on the other hand, if he died resolutely for it, his death would confirm them all very much. This was a colour good enough to preserve him. But why the see of Canterbury was not declared vacant, since he was now pronounced an obstinate heretic, I do not so well apprehend; whether there was anything in the pall, or the latter inventions of the canonists, that made it necessary not to fill his see so long as he lived, I know not. Pole being in these circumstances, durst neither offend those at Rome, nor openly hinder the prosecution of heretics; which it seems he would have done more steadily, if it had not been for fear of the pope's taking thereby advantages against him, who had before given out in the conclave, that he was a favourer of heresy; and therefore would the more easily be induced to believe anything that might be written over to Rome to his prejudice.

Those that sate in Canterbury to judge the heretics, had four men brought before them, two priests, Bland and Frankesh, and Sheterden and Middleton, two laymen. They were condemned upon their answers to the articles exhibited to them, and burnt at Canterbury the 12th of July; and in the same month, Margery Polley was burnt at Tunbridge on the like account, who was the first woman that suffered in this reign. Christopher Ward was condemned with her, and burnt in Dartford. On the 22d of July, Dirick Carver was burnt at Lewes, and on the 23rd John Launder was burnt at Stening. They had been taken in London, and brought before Bonner; but he would not meddle with them, and desired they might be sent to their own ordinaries: one of them being of

Some burnt at Canterbury.



Surrey, was within Gardiner's jurisdiction, who resolved to proceed no more against the heretics, so he procured a letter from the council to Bonner, requiring him to proceed against them, who thereupon presently condemned them.

There were at this time several discoveries of plottings in several counties, especially in Dorsetshire and Essex; but the nature of these plots is not set down in the council-books. Some were taken and put in the Tower: two or three privy-councillors were sent thither on the 9th of June, with a letter from the council to the lieutenant of the Tower to put them to the torture, according to their discretions; yet nothing following upon this, it is probable these were only surmises devised by the clergy, to set on the council more severely against them, whose ruin they were contriving by all the ways they could think on.

Pretended Plots, and some put to the Torture to make Discovery.

There was also an outrage committed on two friars, Peyto and Elston, who were Franciscans of the Observance. They had spoken sharply against king Henry in the business of the divorce, and had fled beyond sea on that account; therefore the queen had sent for them, and not only procured the attainder that had passed against them to be repealed in the last parliament, but made Peyto her confessor; and being resolved to raise religious houses in England again, she had begun with their order, the Franciscans of the Observance, and with their house at Greenwich, which was the first that was suppressed, as was shown in the former Book; and therefore she ordered that to be rebuilt this summer. So Elston and Peyto going down by water, there were stones flung at them by some that were a-shore in London. This the queen resented highly; so she sent the lord treasurer to the lord mayor, requiring him to make proclamation of a reward to any that should discover those who had done it; but it could not be found out. She ordered all sir Thomas More's works to be printed together in one volume, which were in the press this year; and it was given out as an extraordinary thing, that king Edward had died, and she succeeded to the crown, that very day in which he was beheaded. But in publishing his works, one piece of fraud has occurred to me since the former Part was printed. I have seen the manuscript out of which his letters were printed, where the originals of the letters that he writ to his daughter, Mrs. Roper, are with the copies of those that he writ to Cromwell. But among these, there is a long letter concerning the nun of Kent, in which he speaks fully of her hypocrisy, and other villanies. It contains many remarkable passages concerning her, of the high opinion he at first had of her; how he was led into it, and how he was afterwards convinced, "that she was the most false dissembling hypocrite that had been known, and guilty of the most detestable hypocrisy, and devilish dissembled falsehood; and he believed, that she had communication with an evil spirit." This letter was at that time concealed, but not destroyed: so I find the conjecture I made about it, in my former Part, has proved true; though I did not then hope to come by the letter itself, as I have done since. It seems it was resolved to raise the credit of that story; and since the nun was believed to be both a martyr and a prophetess, it is like she might have been easily gotten to be canonized; and therefore so great a testimony from such a man, was not thought fit to be left in her way. The letter I have put into the Collections.

The Queen rebuilds the Franciscans' house at Greenwich.

Sir Thomas More's Works printed.

But his Letter about the Nun of Kent was left out.

Collection, Number 21.

Concerning this edition of sir Thomas More's works, I shall recall to the reader's mind, what was said in the former Part about his life pretended to be writ by Rastal; who was now the publisher of his works, and so much encouraged in it, that the queen promoted him soon after to be a judge; and so it is not likely that Rastal ever writ any such book, otherwise he had now prefixed it to this edition. Nor is it probable that the stories which Sanders vented in his name afterwards concerning Ann Boleyn, or queen Elizabeth's birth, were then so much as contrived; otherwise it is not credible, that they should not have been printed at this time; since the lady Elizabeth being the only object of the fear and jealousy of the popish party, was now out of the queen's favour, and a prisoner; so that we cannot doubt but all such stories would have been very acceptable to the queen, and the clergy would have taken care to have published them, for the defaming her, and blasting her title. And therefore these things

Rastal published his works, but did not write his Life.

seem to be afterwards contrived in revenge, when queen Elizabeth began to proceed severely against that party, after the many and repeated conspiracies they had engaged in against her life.

The Queen restores all the Church Lands that belonged to the Crown. Col. Number 22.

But now the queen resolved to endow so many religious houses as the revenues of the church that were in her hands could maintain: and about that, and some other particulars, she writ some directions to the council with her own hand, which will be found in the Collections. I have seen two copies of these that differ a little, but I follow that which seemed to me to be best derived from the original. She desired, "that those who had commission to treat with the cardinal about the goods of the church, might wait on him once a week to finish that and some other matters that were to be prepared for the parliament." She particularly recommended "the care of having good preaching encouraged, which she wished might be well looked to; and she advised a general visitation both of the universities and churches to be made, by such as the cardinal and they should think fit. As for the punishment of heretics, she wished it might not be done rashly; yet she would have justice done on those who by learning studied to deceive the simple; but would have it so managed that the people might see they were not condemned but upon just occasions; and therefore ordered that some of the council should be present at all the burnings about London, and that there should be everywhere good sermons at those times. She also verily believed that many benefices should not be in one man's hand; but that every priest ought to look to his cure, and reside upon it. And she looked on the pluralities over England to be a main cause of the want of good preachers, whose sermons, if joined with a good example, would do much good; and without that, she thought their sermons would profit little."

More Heretics burnt.

And now I return to the burnings, from which I am not unwilling frequently to break off, since a continued relation of such things cannot be but an ungrateful entertainment to the reader. In July, one Juxon was burnt at Chichester; on the 2d of August, James Abeys was burnt at Bury, in Suffolk; on the 8th of August, Denly, a gentleman, and Robert Smith, were burnt at Uxbridge; on the 26th, George Tankervil was burnt at St. Alban's; and on the 28th of August, Patrick Packingham also was burnt there. On the 31st of August, one Newman was burnt at Saffron Walden, in Essex; and Robert Samuel, a preacher, was burnt at Ipswich. There were also, in August, six burnt in one fire at Canterbury. Elizabeth Warne, burnt at Stratford-le-Bow; Stephen Harwood, at Stratford; Thomas Fust, at Ware; and William Hall, at Barnet: but of their sufferings the days are not marked. And in this month of August, Richard Hook suffered at Chichester. In September, on the 6th day of the month, George Catmer and four others were burnt at Canterbury. On the 20th, Robert Glover, a gentleman, and one Cornelius Bangey, were burnt at Coventry: the same month, but we know not on what days, William Allen was burnt at Walsingham; Roger Coo, at Yerford; Thomas Cob, in Thetford. Thomas Haywood and John Garaway, at Lichfield, were also burnt on the same account. On the 16th of October following, William Wolsey and Robert Pigot were burnt at Ely; where Shaxton, that had been bishop of Salisbury in king Henry's time, and quitted his bishopric on the account of the Six Articles, but in the end of that reign recanted, and was now suffragan to the bishop of Ely, condemned them*. It is enough to have named all those who were burnt merely by the proceedings *ex officio*; for being forced either to accuse themselves, or to die however, they chose rather plainly to answer those articles that were ministered to them, and so were condemned for their answers.

Ridley and Latimer burnt at Oxford.

But on the 16th of October, Ridley and Latimer offered up their lives at Oxford, on which it may be expected I should enlarge a little. The bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, were sent to Oxford by a special commission from the cardinal to proceed against them. As soon as Ridley heard they proceeded in the name of the pope, by authority from the cardinal, he put on his cap, having stood bareheaded before that, because he would express no sign of reverence to those who acted by such a commission. He said he paid great respect to the cardinal as descended from the royal family, and a man endued with such learning and virtue; that therefore he honoured and reverenced him: but for his legatine authority from the bishop of Rome, he utterly renounced it, and therefore would show no reverence to that character; and so putting off his cap as he spoke of him on other respects, he put it on again when he named his being legate; and being required to put it off, refused to do it on that account, but one of the beadles did it for him. After that the bishop of Lincoln made him a long exhortation to recant, and acknowledge the see of Rome: since Christ had built his church on St. Peter, and the fathers had all acknowledged the pre-eminence of that see, and himself had been once of that opinion. To which he answered, it was upon the faith which St. Peter confessed that Christ had founded his church; he acknowledged the bishops of Rome had been held in great esteem, both for the dignity of the city and the worthiness of the bishops that sate in it; but they were only esteemed Patriarchs of the West; and the church had not then thought of that power to which they had since advanced themselves; he confessed he was once of their mind, but it was as St. Paul had been, a persecutor; he had seen since such spots in the church of Rome, that he could never return to it. Upon this followed much discourse. In conclusion, they objected to him some articles about those opinions which he had maintained a year and a half before that in the schools, and required him to make his answers to them. He began with a protestation, that by answering them he did not acknowledge the pope's authority; and then answered them as he had done before. Latimer used the like protestation and answers. So they were allowed one night's respite to consider better, whether they would recant or not; but next day they appearing, and adhering to the answers they had made, were declared obstinate heretics, and ordered to be degraded, and so delivered over to the secular power.

After that new attempts were made on Ridley to persuade him to accept of the queen's mercy; but all being to no purpose, the writ was sent down to burn them. The night before the execution Ridley was very joyful, and invited the mayor and his wife, in whose house he was kept, to be at his wedding next day: at which, when the mayor's wife wept, he said he perceived she did not love him; but he told her, though his breakfast would be sharp, he was sure his supper would be sweet: he was glad to hear that his sister would come and see him die; and was in such composure of mind that they were all amazed at it. Next morning, being the 16th, they were led out to the place of execution, which was before Baliol-college: they looked up to the prison to have seen Cranmer, but he was then engaged in dispute with some friars, so that he was not in his window; but he looked after them with great tenderness, and, kneeling down, prayed earnestly that God would strengthen their faith and patience in that their last but painful passage. When they came to the stake, they embraced one another with great affection, Ridley saying to Latimer, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or enable us to abide it." Doctor Smith was appointed to preach, and took his text from these words, "If I give my body to be burnt, and have no charity, it profiteth nothing." He compared their dying for heresy to Judas's hanging himself; and warned the people to beware of them, with as much bitterness as he could express. The best of it was, the sermon lasted not above a quarter of an hour. When he had done, Ridley was going to answer him; and the lord Williams, that was appointed by the queen to see the execution, was inclined to hear him; but the vice-chancellor said, except he intended to recant, he was not to be suffered to speak. Ridley answered, "He would never deny his Lord, nor those truths of his of which he was persuaded; God's will be done in him: he committed himself to God, who would indifferently judge all." Then he addressed himself to the lord Williams, and said, "Nothing troubled him so much as that he had received fines of some who took leases of him when he was bishop of London, and these leases were now voided: he therefore humbly prayed that the queen would give order that those might be made good to the tenants, or that the fines might be restored out of his goods which he had left in his house, and were of far greater value than those fines would amount to; and that some pity might be had of Shipside, his brother-in-law, who was turned out of a place he had put him in, and had now attended on him with great care." Then they both prayed, and fitted themselves for the stake; Latimer

* Shaxton did not condemn them: Fuller, the bishop's chancellor, condemned them. Heyward dean of Ely, and Christopherson dean of Norwich, with others, were in the commission, but the chancellor was the chief.—Strype's Correct.

saying to Ridley, "Be of good comfort, we shall this day light such a candle in England as, I trust, by God's grace, shall never be put out." Then gunpowder being hanged about their bodies in great quantities to hasten their death, the fire was put to, and Latimer was, with the first flame, the powder taking fire, put out of pain and died immediately. But Ridley had a more lingering torment, for they threw on the fire so much wood that the flame could not break through it, so that his legs were almost consumed before this was observed; and then one opening the passage to the flame, it put an end to his life.

Thus died these two excellent bishops: the one, for his piety, learning, and solid judgment, the ablest man of all that advanced the Reformation; and the other, for the plain simplicity of his life, esteemed a truly primitive bishop and Christian. Of his care of his bishopric, the instructions he gave at his visitation, chiefly of the monasteries, will give a good evidence; and therefore I have put them in the Collection, as they were copied from the register of Worcester by that ingenious and worthy counsellor Mr. Summers, who, out of his zeal to the Reformation, searched all the books there, that he might gather from them such things as he thought could be of use to this work. Bonner had made an ill retribution to Ridley for the kindness he had showed his friends when he was in possession at London: for he had made Bonner's mother always dine with him when he lived in his country-house of Fulham, and treated her as if she had been his own mother; besides his kindness to his other friends. Heath, then bishop of Worcester, had been kept prisoner a year and a half in Ridley's house, where he lived as if he had been at his own; and Heath used always to call him the best learned of all the party: yet he so far forgot gratitude and humanity that, though he went through Oxford when he was a prisoner there, he came not to see him. When they lay in the Tower, both Cranmer and they were, by reason of the number of prisoners, put into one chamber for some months; but after they came to Oxford, they could scarce send messages to one another: and men had laid off humanity so much, that all the while they lay there none of the university waited on them. Few that favoured their doctrine were then left, and of the rest it is no wonder that none came to visit them; nor did they supply them with anything they needed, for all the charity that was sent to them came from London.

Collect. Number 23.

This summer there was a strict search made after all the goods of the church that had been embezzled; and all that had been visitors, either in king Henry or king Edward's time, were brought into suits about it; but many compounded, and so purchased their quiet by an offer to the church of some large gratuity, and according to the greatness thereof their affection to the church was measured. Many of those did favour the Reformation, which made them give the more bountifully, that so they might come under good characters, and be the less suspected.

Suits about the Spoils of Churches.

The parliament was opened on the 21st of October. The chancellor came thither, both then and on the 23rd, but could come no more. It was reported that he had staid long for dinner that day that Ridley and Latimer were to be burnt, till one should bring him word that the fire was set to them; but the messenger coming post, did not reach London till four o'clock in the afternoon, and that he then went cheerfully to dine; but was at dinner struck with the illness of which he died. It was a suppression of urine, which held him till the 12th of November, on which he died. He had great remorse for his former life; and Day, bishop of Chichester, coming to him, and comforting him with the assurance of justification through the blood of Christ, he answered him, "He might speak of that to him or others in his condition; but if he opened that gap again, and preached that to the people, then farewell all together." He often repeated those words, "Erravi cum Petro, sed non flevi cum Petro:" "I have erred with Peter, but I have not mourned with him." He was of a nobler descent than is commonly known: for though he took the name Gardiner from his supposed father, yet he was then believed to be the base son of Richard Woodvil, that was brother to queen Elizabeth, wife to king Edward IV.; so that he was of kin to king Henry VIII. in the second and third degree of consanguinity, which might be the cause that he was so suddenly advanced to the bishopric of Winchester. This is mentioned by sir Edward Hobby, in a letter he writ to one of those that had fled beyond sea, giving him an account of his death; where he says of him, he was a man of

Gardiner's Sickness and Death.



higher descent than he was commonly reputed; and on the margent it is said he was nephew to a queen of England. This explains that which I find objected both to him and Bonner in one of the books that were written in the defence of the married clergy; that no wonder they were such enemies to marriage, since both of them were born in adultery. He was a man well skilled in the canon and civil laws, and moderately in divinity. He had a good style in Latin, and understood the Greek well; but his strength lay in deep dissimulation, a quickness of apprehension, a great prospect of affairs, a close and artificial way of concealing his mind, and insinuating himself into the affections and confidences of other persons. He did comply all Henry VIII.'s time, and would willingly have done the like in king Edward's time, but that Cranmer knew him too well to be directed by him, and handled him as he deserved. But the usage he then met with so recovered him with queen Mary, that she put him in the greatest trusts; and now, when a cardinal's hat was like to fall on his head, he was carried off, and all his ambitious projects fell with him. Of his servile compliance in promoting king Henry's divorce, I have found fresh instances besides those that are mentioned in the former Part. When he went to Rome, in the year 1529, Anne Boleyn writ a very kind letter to him, which I have put in the Collection. By it the reader will clearly perceive that he was then in the secret of the king's designing to marry her as soon as the divorce was obtained. There is another particular in that letter which corrects a conjecture which I set down in the beginning of the former Book, concerning the cramp-rings that were blessed by king Henry, which I thought might have been done by him after he was declared Head of the Church. That Part was printed before I saw this letter: but this letter shows they were used to be blessed before the separation from Rome, for Anne Boleyn sent them as great presents thither. The use of them had been (it seems) discontinued in king Edward's time; but now, under queen Mary, it was designed to be revived, and the office for it was written out in a fair manuscript yet extant, of which I have put a copy in the Collection. But the silence in the writers of that time makes me think it was seldom, if ever, practised. But to return to Gardiner's officious compliance in the matter of the divorce, I have put in the Collection a letter of his to king Henry, written in such confidence to him that even cardinal Wolsey was not to see it. In it he sets out the pope's timorousness so plainly, that he writes, he saw nothing but the fear he was in of the emperor's forces kept him from granting what was desired; therefore he advised the king to do the business once in England, and then leave it to the emperor to complain, not doubting but he would be put off by as many delays as were now used in the king's business.

Collect. Number 24.

Collect. Number 25.

Collect. Number 26.

Heath, archbishop of York, had the seals on the 1st of January, they having been during that interval in the hands of sir Nicholas Hare, then master of the rolls, and he was made chancellor during the queen's pleasure. The queen also, considering that Whitehall had been taken from the see of York, had a scruple in her conscience against living in it, but Heath and she agreed it thus: Suffolk Place, by the duke's attainder, was now in the queen's hands, so she gave that to the see of York, which Heath sold, and converted it to tenements, and purchased another house near Charing Cross, which from thence forward was called York House.

But for the parliament, it was now much changed; men's minds were much alienated from the clergy and also from the queen, who minded nothing else but to raise them to great wealth and power again. On the 28th of October, it was moved in the house of commons to give a subsidy and two-fifteenths for paying the debts of the crown, but it was opposed with great vehemence. It was said, that the queen had profusely given away the riches of the crown, and then turned to the laity to pay her debts: why did she not rather turn to the spiritualty? But it was answered, that the convocation had given her a subsidy of six shillings in the pound; and the queen asked now, after almost three years' reign, nothing but what she had discharged her subjects of at her first coming to the crown. Yet the heats grew such, that on the 1st of November, secretary Petre brought a message from her, that she thanked them that had moved for two-fifteenths for her, but she refused it; so the subsidy was agreed on. On the 29th of November, the queen sent for the house of commons. When they were come, she

The Temper of the Parliament is much changed.

said to them, she could not with a good conscience take the tenths and first-fruits of spiritual benefices: it was a tax her father laid on the clergy to support his dignity of Supreme Head; of which, since she was divested, she would also discharge that. Then the legate made a speech to show that tithes and impropriations of spiritual benefices were the patrimony of the church, and ought to return to it. The queen upon that declared, that she would surrender them up likewise to the church. Then one Story of the house of commons kneeled down and said to the queen, that the speaker did not open to her their desire that licences might be restrained. This was a great affront to the speaker; so he returning to the house complained of Story. This member thought he might assume more liberty; for in Edward the Sixth's time, when the bill for the first book of the English service passed, he spoke so freely against it, with such reflections on the king and the protector, that he was put in the serjeant's hands, and sent to the Tower. The words he said were, "Wo unto thee, O England, when thy king is a child;" and an impeachment was drawn against him. But upon his submission, the house ordered the privy-councillors to declare to the protector, that it was their resolution that he should be enlarged; and they desired that the king would forgive his offence against him and his council: now he had indiscreetly appeared against all licences from Rome, thinking he had a privilege to talk more freely; but he confessed his fault, and the house "knowing that he spake from a good zeal," forgave him. He was afterwards condemned for treason in queen Elizabeth's reign.

The Queen discharges the Clergy of Tenths and First-fruits.

Eccles. x. 16.

Journ. Dom. Com.

On the 23rd of November the bill for suppressing the first-fruits and tenths, and the resigning up all impropriations that were yet in the queen's gift, to the church, to be disposed of as the legate pleased for the relief of the clergy, was brought into the house. It was once thought fit to have the surrender of impropriations left out; for it was said, the queen might do that as well by letters patents; and if it were put into the bill, it would raise great jealousies, since it would be understood, that the queen did expect that the subjects should follow her example; but it was resolved, by all means possible, to recover the tithes to the church; so it was put into the bill. It was long argued; some said, the clergy would rob the crown and the nation both; and that the laity must then support the dignity of the realm. It was particularly committed to sir William Cecil and others, to be examined by them. On the 3rd of December the house divided about it, one hundred and twenty-six were against it, and one hundred and ninety-three were for it.

There was a bill sent down against the countess of Sussex, who had left her husband, and gone into France, where she lived openly in adultery, and bare children to others. A bill was put in to the same purpose in the first parliament of this reign, to take her jointure from her, and declare her children bastards; and was then cast out by the commons; and had now again the same fate. Another bill was put in against the duchess of Suffolk and others, who had gone beyond sea, to require them to return, under severe punishments: but though it was agreed to by the lords, yet, upon a division of the house of commons, it was carried in the negative. The greatest and wealthiest of those who favoured the Reformation, seeing in how ill a condition they must be if they staid in England, were gone beyond sea; so it was now endeavoured to force them to return, or to make them lose their estates: but the commons thought they had already consented to too severe laws against them, and therefore would add no more. The duchess of Suffolk had been persecuted while she was in the Netherlands, but narrowly escaped. Another bill was put in for the incapacitating of several persons from being justices of peace *; but was cast out by the commons at the first reading. This was chiefly against such as were suspected of remissness in the prosecuting of heretics: but the commons would do nothing to encourage that; nor was it necessary, since it was in the queen's power to leave out of the commission such as she excepted to: but it showed the zeal of some who had a mind to recommend themselves by such motions.

Against those that had fled beyond Sea, rejected.

There was a complaint put into the house of commons by the wife of one Rufford against

* The bill was that no servants to gentlemen, and wearing their clothes (except the king and queen's) should be justices. It was read the second time on the 12th of November.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.



Bennet Smith, who had hired two persons to kill her husband; and which, as the act passed about it says, was one of the most detestable murders that had ever been known in England. But Smith, that had hired and afterwards paid the murderers, might by the law claim, and have the benefit of clergy. It is, and hath been an ancient custom in this nation, that for some crimes, those who can read, are not to suffer death. This was at first done with a declaration, that either they had vowed, or were then resolved to enter into orders, which was the cause that no bigamy, that is, none that had been twice married, or such as married widows, were capable of it, because such could not receive orders; and the reading was only to show that they were in some sort qualified for orders: though afterwards the reading, without any such vow or promise, was all that was required to give one the benefit of clergy. This was granted as an appendix of the ecclesiastical immunity; for the churchmen were not satisfied that their own persons should be exempted from punishment, but would needs have all that resolved to come among them, be likewise preserved from the punishment due to those crimes which they had formerly committed. So Rufford's wife petitioning that Smith might by act of parliament be debarred that benefit, they sent her to the queen to beg that she would order Smith to be brought from the Tower, where he was then kept, to the bar of their house: which being done, the other partners and actors confessed all: and though he at first denied, yet he afterwards confessed. So the bill was sent up by the commons to the lords, where it was much opposed by the clergy, who would not consent that any diminution should be made of their ancient privileges: but the heinousness of the fact wrought so much on the greater part, that it was passed; the earls of Arundel and Rutland, the bishops of London, Worcester, Norwich, and Bristol, the lords Abergavenny, Fitzwater, and Lumley, protesting. Pates was now bishop of Worcester, upon Heath's translation to York. He was (as some say) designed to be bishop of that see by king Henry upon Latimer's resignation; but being engaged in a correspondence with the pope and cardinal Pole, he fled beyond sea. But the truth is, that upon the death of Jerome de Ghinuci, he was at Rome made bishop of Worcester by the pope, and was thereupon attainted: but his attainder had been repealed by the former parliament, and so he was restored to that see.

An Act debarring one from the benefit of Clergy.

On the 9th of December the parliament was dissolved. And the day following sir Anthony Kingston, who had been a main stickler in it, and had one day taken the keys of the house from the serjeant, which (it seems) was not displeasing to the major part of the house, since they did nothing upon it, was sent to the Tower: and that same day (as it is in the council books), the bishop of Ely delivered to the lord treasurer the pope's bull, confirming the king and queen's title to Ireland, bearing date the 7th of June. Kingston lay in the Tower till the 23d of the month, and then he submitted, and asked pardon, and was discharged. But he was next year accused to have engaged in a design with some others, to have robbed the exchequer of 50,000*l.*, and with it to have made a rebellion. Whereupon eight of them, Udal, Throgmorton, Perkham, Daniel, Stanton, Rosses, Bedyland, and Dethick, were executed for high treason. What evidence was brought against them I do not know. But Kingston died on his way to London.

Sir Anthony Kingston put in the Tower for his behaviour in the House of Commons.

Ex Lib. Concil.

From the parliament I turn next to the convocation, where the cardinal was now at more liberty, being delivered from Gardiner's jealousies and opposition. He obtained of the queen on the 2nd of November a warrant under the great seal, giving him licence to hold a synod. The licence he had formerly taken out, is made mention of: and to avoid all ambiguities which might arise from the laws or prerogatives of the crown, she authorised him to call that, or any other synod after, and to decree what canons he should think fit: she also authorised the clergy to meet, consent to, and obey those canons, without any danger of the law. This was thought safe on both sides; both for preserving the rights of the crown, and securing the clergy from being afterwards brought within the statute of premunire, as they had been upon their acknowledging cardinal Wolsey's legatine power. To this convocation Pole proposed a book he had prepared, which was afterwards printed, with the title of "The Reformation of England by the Decree of Cardinal Pole," and is now put into the volumes of the councils.

Card. Pole in Convocation makes Canons for reforming the Clergy.

Rot. Pat. 1st Par. 3. Reg.

The first decree is, that there should be constantly a remembrance of the reconciliation now made with Rome in every mass: besides a procession, with other solemnities, on the anniversary of it. He also confirmed the constitutions of Otho and Othobonus, forbidding the reading of all heretical books; and set forth the Catholic faith, in the words of that exposition of it which P. Eugenius sent from the council of Florence to those of Armenia.

The Heads of Pole's Reformation.

The 2nd was for the careful administering and preserving of the sacraments, and for the putting away of all feasting in the festivities of the dedications of churches.

The 3rd exhorts the bishops to lay aside all secular cares, and give themselves wholly to the pastoral office, and to reside in their diocese, under the highest pains. Their canons are also required to reside, and also other clergymen. All pluralities of benefices with cure, are simply condemned: and those who had more benefices with cure, were required within two months to resign all but one: otherwise it was to be declared that they had forfeited them all.

The 4th is, that whereas the residence of bishops could not be of great use, unless they became truly pastors to their flock, which was chiefly done by their preaching the word of God; that had been, contrary to the apostles' practice, much neglected by many: therefore he requires them to preach every Sunday or holiday; or if they were disabled, to find other fit persons to do it. And they were also in private to instruct and exhort their people, and all the other inferior clergy, and to endeavour to persuade them to the Catholic faith; or if need were, to use threatenings. And because of the great want of good preachers, the cardinal declared he would take care there should be homilies set out for the instruction of the nation. In the mean while every bishop was to be sending such as were more eminent in preaching over their diocese, thereby to supply the defects of the rest.

The 5th is about the lives of the bishops, that they should be most strict and exemplary: that they should lay aside all pride and pomp; should not be clothed in silk, nor have rich furniture; and have frugal tables, not above three or four dishes of meat; and even so many he rather allows, considering the present time, than approves: that at their table, the Scriptures or other good books should be read, mixed with pious discourses; that they should not have too great numbers of servants or horses; but that this parsimony might appear not to flow from avarice, they were to lay out the rest of their revenues on the poor, and for breeding young scholars, and other works of piety. All the same rules he sets to the inferior clergy, with a due proportion to their stations and profits.

The 6th is about giving orders; they were not to be rashly given, but upon a strict previous examen. Every one that was to be ordained, was to give in his name a long time before, that there might be time to inquire carefully about him. The bishops were charged not to turn over the examination upon others, and think their work was only to lay on their hands; but were to examine diligently themselves, and not superficially. And to call to their assistance such as they knew to be pious and learned, and in whom they might confide.

The 7th was about conferring benefices, which in some sort came also within that charge, "Lay hands suddenly on no man." They were to lay aside all partiality in their choice, and seek out the most deserving: and to make such as they put in benefices bind themselves by oath to reside.

The 8th was against giving the advowsons of benefices before they were vacant.

The 9th was about simony.

The 10th against the alienations of any of the goods of the church.

The 11th was, that in every cathedral there should be a seminary for supplying the diocese: of whom two ranks were to be made; the one of those who learned grammar; the other of those who were grown up, and were to be ordained acholyths; and these were to be trained up in study and virtue, till they were fit to serve in the church. And a tax of the fourth penny was laid on the clergy for their maintenance.

The 12th was about visitations.

These were all finished, agreed to, and published by him in February next year.

In these decrees mention is made of homilies, which were intended to be published: and among archbishop Parker's papers, I find the scheme he had of them was thus laid. He designed four books of homilies. The first, of the controverted points, for preserving the people from error: the 2nd, for the exposition of the creed and ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the salutation of the Virgin, and the sacraments: the 3rd, was to be for the saints' days, and the Sundays and holidays of the year; for explaining the epistles and gospels: and the fourth was concerning virtues and vices, and the rites and ceremonies of the church.

Ex Manuscr. Col. C. C. Cant.



By all these it may appear how well tempered this cardinal was. He never set on the clergy to persecute heretics, but to reform themselves: as well knowing, that a strict exemplary clergy can soon overcome all opposition whatsoever, and bear down even truth itself. For the common people are generally either so ignorant, or so distracted with other affairs, that they seldom enter into any exact discussion of speculative points that are disputed among divines: but take up things upon general notions and prejudices; and none have more influence on them than the scandals or strict lives of churchmen. So that Pole intending to correct all those, laid down good rules to amend their lives, to throw out those crying scandals of pluralities and non-residence; to oblige bishops to be exact in their examinations before orders, and in conferring benefices on the most deserving, and not to be biassed by partial affections. In this last thing himself was a great example. For though he had an only brother (so I find him called in one of the cardinal's commissions to him with some others, though I believe he was a bastard brother), David *, that had continued all king Henry's time in his archdeaconry of Derby; he, either to punish him for his former compliance, or to show he had no mind to raise his kindred, did not advance him, till after he had been two years in England; and then he gave him only the bishopric of Peterborough, one of the poorest of the bishoprics; which, considering his nearness to the crown and high birth, was a very small preferment. But above all, that design of his to have seminaries in every cathedral for the planting of the diocese, shows what a wise prospect he had of the right methods of recovering a church which was overrun, as he judged, with heresy. It was the same that Cranmer had formerly designed, but never took effect. Certainly, persons formed from their childhood with other notions, and another method of living, must be much better fitted for a holy character than those that have lived in the pleasures and follies of the world; who, unless a very extraordinary change is wrought in them, still keep some of their old customs about them, and so fall short of that gravity and decency that becomes so spiritual a function.

Pole's Designs for reforming the Church.

He showed the weakness of his spirit in one thing, that being against cruel proceedings with heretics, he did not more openly profess it; but both suffered the other bishops to go on, and even in Canterbury, now sequestered in his hands, and soon after put under his care, he left those poor men to the cruelties of the brutal and fierce popish clergy. In this he was to be pitied, that he had not courage enough to contend with so haughty a pope as Paul IV. was; who thought of no other way of bearing down heresy but by setting up the inquisition everywhere. So Pole, it seems, judged it sufficient for him not to act himself, nor to set on any; and thought he did enough when he discouraged it in private; but yet he granted commissions to the other bishops and archdeacons to proceed against those called heretics. He was not only afraid of being discharged of his legation, and of losing the archbishopric of Canterbury, which was now ready to fall upon him, but he feared to be sent for to Rome, and cruelly used by the pope, who remembered all the quarrels he formerly had with any of the cardinals, and put cardinal Merone (that was Pole's great friend) in prison upon suspicion of heresy. All these things prevailed with Pole to give way to the persecution; and it was thought that he himself hastened the execution of Cranmer, longing to be invested with that see: which is the only personal blemish I find laid on him.

One remarkable thing of him was, his not listening to the proposition the jesuits made him, of bringing them into England. That order had been set up about twelve years before this, and was in its first institution chiefly designed for propagating the doctrines of that

* Cardinal Pole had two brothers, Arthur and Jeffrey, both arraigned in the year 1562, for a conspiracy against queen Elizabeth. David was not his brother, nor a bastard; for there is no bull of dispensation in his favour among those sent over at that time.—Strype's Correct.

church in heretical or infidel countries; to which was afterwards added the education of children. It was not easily allowed of at Rome, because the bishops did universally complain of the great numbers of exempted regulars; and therefore at first it was limited to a small number; which restriction was soon taken off. They, besides the vows of other orders, took one for a blind and universal obedience to the see of Rome. And because they were much to be employed, they were dispensed with as to the hours of the quire, which made them be called a mongrel order, between the regulars and seculars. They have since that time, by their care in educating youth, by their indefatigable industry, and chiefly by their accommodating penances, and all the other rules of religion, to the humours and inclinations of those who confess their sins to them, drawn almost all the world after them; and are raised now to that height, both of wealth and power, that they are become the objects of the envy and hatred of all the rest of their own church. They suggested to Pole, that whereas the queen was restoring the goods of the church that were in her hands, it was but to little purpose to raise up the old foundations; for the Benedictine order was become rather a clog than a help to the church: they therefore desired that those houses might be assigned to them for maintaining schools and seminaries, which they should set on quickly; and they did not doubt, but by their dealing with the consciences of those who were a dying, they should soon recover the greatest part of the goods of the church. The jesuits were out of measure offended with him for not entertaining their proposition, which I gather from an Italian manuscript which my most worthy friend, Mr. Crawford, found in Venice when he was chaplain there to sir Thomas Higgins, his majesty's envoy to that republic: but how it came that this motion was laid aside, I am not able to judge.

There passed nothing else remarkable this year, but that in the end of November, John Web, a gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were burnt all at one stake in Canterbury. And on the 18th of December, Philpot, that had disputed in the convocation, was burnt in Smithfield. He was, at the end of that meeting, put in prison for what he had said in it, though liberty of speech had been promised, and the nature of the meeting did require it. He was kept long in the stocks in the bishop of London's coal-house; and many conferences were had with him to persuade him to change. By what Bonner said in one of them, it appears that he hoped they should be better used upon Gardiner's death: for Bonner told him, he thought, because the lord chancellor was dead, they would burn no more; but he should soon find his error, if he did not recant. He continued steadfast in his persuasion, and pleaded that he had never spoken nor written against their laws since they were made, being all the while a prisoner, except what he had said in conference with them: yet this prevailed not with Bonner, who had as little justice as mercy in his temper. On the 16th of December he was condemned, and delivered to the sheriffs. He was at first laid in irons, because he was so poor that he could not fee the jailor; but next day these were by the sheriff's order taken off. As he was led into Smithfield, on the 18th, he kneeled down, and said, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield!" When he was brought to the stake, he said, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, since my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer on the cross for me?" He repeated the 106th, 107th, and 108th psalms, and then fitted himself for the fire, which consumed him to ashes. So this year ended, in which there were sixty-seven burnt for religion; and of those, four were bishops, and thirteen were priests.

Philpot's Martyrdom.

In Germany, a diet was held at Augsburg, where the peace of Germany was fully settled; and it was decreed that the princes of the Augsburg Confession should have the free liberty of their religion; and that every prince might in his own state establish what religion he pleased; excepting only the ecclesiastical princes, who were to forfeit their benefices if they turned. Those of Austria, and Ferdinand's other hereditary dominions, desired freedom for their consciences: but Ferdinand refused it; yet he appointed the chalice to be given in the sacrament. The duke of Bavaria did the like in his dominions. At all this the pope was highly offended, and talked of deposing Ferdinand. He had nothing so much in his mouth as the authority former popes had exercised in deposing princes at their pleasure. He had sworn to the cardinals, before he was chosen, that he would make but four cardinals in two years; but he created seven within one half

Foreign Affairs.



year, and would not hear the consistory argue against it, or remember him of his promise; but said his power was absolute, and could not be limited. One of these cardinals was Gropper, the dean of Cologne, a man of great learning and virtues, but inconstant and fearful, as was shown in the former Book: he refused to accept of that dignity so generally sought after in their church; and was more esteemed for rejecting it than others were that had by their ambition aspired to it.

In the end of this year, and the beginning of the next, a memorable thing fell out; of which, if I give a large account, I do not fear to be much censured by the reader for it, especially since it is not impertinent to this work, the king and queen being so much concerned in it. It was Charles V.'s laying down, first, some of his hereditary dominions, in October this year; and the rest, with the empire, not long after. He had now enjoyed the one forty years, and the other thirty-six. He was much disabled by the gout, which had held him almost constantly for several years: he had been in the greatest fatigues that ever any prince had undergone, ever since the seventeenth year of his age: he had gone nine times into Germany, six times into Spain, seven times into Italy, four times into France; had been ten times in the Netherlands, had made two expeditions into Africa, and been twice in England, and had crossed the seas eleven times. He had not only been a conqueror in all his wars, but had taken a pope, a king of France, and some princes of Germany, prisoners, besides a vast accession of wealth and empire from the West Indies. But he now growing out of love with the pomp and greatness of the world, began to have more serious thoughts of another life, which were much increased in him by the answer one of his captains gave him, when he desired leave to retire; and being asked the reason, said, that between the affairs of the world and the hour of death there ought to be some interval. He found his fortune turned: his designs in Germany were blasted. In the siege of Metz, he saw he could no more command triumphs to wait on him; for though his army consisted of 100,000 men, yet he was forced to raise his siege with the loss of 40,000 men: and though his wars had been this year more successful, both in Italy and Flanders, yet he thought he was too old to deal with the king of France. It was thought his son set this forward, who had left England in discontent, being weary both of his queen and of holding a titular crown only in her right, being excluded from the government. All these things concurring made the emperor, in a solemn assembly at Brussels, on the 25th of October, in the presence of his son and Maximilian, king of Bohemia, and of the duke of Savoy, and his two sisters, the queen-dowagers of France and Hungary, with a vast number of others of lower quality, first give his son the Golden Fleece, and so resign the headship of that order to him; and then the dukedoms of Burgundy and Brabant, and the other provinces of the Netherlands. Two months after that, he resigned all his other hereditary dominions; and the next year, he sent a resignation of the empire to the diet, who thereupon did choose his brother Ferdinand emperor, to which the pope made great exceptions; for he said the resignation ought to have been only to him, and that being made as it was, it was null; and upon that he would not acknowledge the new emperor.

Charles staid some time in Flanders in a private house: for he left all his palaces, and had but little company about him. It is said that when Seld, his brother's secretary, being sent to him, was leaving him once late at night, all the candles on the stairs being burnt out, and none waiting to light him down, the late emperor would needs carry the candle down after him: the other, as may be well imagined, being much confounded at it, the emperor told him, he was now a private man; and his servants knowing there was nothing now to be had by attending, did not wait carefully. He bade him tell his brother what a change he had seen in him, and how vain a thing the attendance of courtiers was, since he was so soon forsaken by his own servants. He reserved but 100,000 crowns a-year for his own use, and sixty servants. But at his coming into Spain, he found even that small pension was not readily paid; at which he was observed to be much displeased. He retired to a place in the confines of Castile and Portugal, which he had observed in his hunting to be fit for a retreat, by reason of the pleasantness of the situation and the temperateness of the air; and there he had ordered a little apartment of seven rooms, fourteen feet square, to be built for him. He kept only twelve servants about himself, and sent the rest to stay in the neighbouring towns.

Charles V.'s Resignation.

He gave himself at first much to mechanical curiosities, and had great varieties of clocks, and some other motions, which surprised the ignorant monks, who were afraid they were the performances of magic; especially his machines of birds of wood that did fly out and come back, and the representations of armies that by springs engaged and fought. He also designed that great work of carrying the Tago up a hill near Toledo, which was afterwards done at a vast charge. He gave himself to gardening, and used to graft and imp with his own hand; and keeping but one horse, rode abroad sometimes attended only by one footman.

The making of clocks was not then so perfect as it is since, so that he could never bring his clocks to strike in the same minute; and he used upon that to say, he saw the folly of endeavouring to bring all men to be of the same mind in religion, since he could not bring machines to agree exactly.

He set himself also much to study; and in the second year of his retirement, went oftener to the chapel and to the sacrament than he had done at first. He used also to discipline himself with a cord, which, after his death, having some marks of the severity he had put himself to, was laid up among his son's chiefest rarities. But amidst all this, it was believed he became in most points to be of the belief of the protestants before he died: and as his confessor was burnt afterwards for heresy, so Miranda, the archbishop of Toledo, who used to come often to him, was upon the same suspicions kept long in prison. Near the end of two years, at the anniversary of his mother's funeral, who had died but a few years before, having lived long mad, he took a conceit that he would see an *obit* made for himself, and would have his own funeral rites performed; to which he came himself, with the rest of the monks, and prayed most devoutly for the rest of his own soul, which set all the company on weeping. Two days after he sickened of a fever, of which he died on the 21st of September, 1558. A rare and great instance of a mind, surfeited with the pomps and glories of the world, seeking for that quiet in retirement which he had long in vain searched after in palaces and camps.

And now I return to the affairs of England. The 21st of March was Cranmer brought to the end of all his afflictions, and received his crown. On the 12th of September, the former year, Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, came to Oxford, as the pope's sub-delegate: and Martin and Story, commissioners from the king and queen, sate with him in St. Mary's, to judge him. When he appeared before them, he paid a low reverence to them that sate in the king and queen's name; but would give none to Brooks, since he sate by an authority from the pope, to which he would pay no respect. Then Brooks made a long speech, to set forth his apostacy and heresy, his incontinence, and finally, his treason, and exhorted him to repent; and insinuated to him great hopes of being restored to his see upon it. After this Martin made a speech of the difference between the civil and ecclesiastical authority.

Cranmer's Trial.

When they had done, Cranmer first kneeled down and said the Lord's Prayer; next he repeated the Apostles' Creed; then he told them he would never acknowledge the bishop of Rome's authority; he owned his allegiance to the crown, according to the oath he had often sworn, and the submitting to the pope was directly contrary to that; he could not serve two masters. He said the bishops of Rome not only set up pretensions that were contrary to the power of princes, but they had also made laws contrary to those made by God: instancing it in the worship of an unknown tongue, the denying the chalice to the people, the pretending to dispose of crowns, and exalting themselves above every creature, which showed them not to be the vicars of Christ, but to be antichrists, since all these things were manifestly contrary to the doctrine of Christ that was delivered in the gospel. He remembered Brooks, that he had sworn to the king's supremacy. Brooks said it was to king Henry the Eighth, and that Cranmer had made him swear it. To which Cranmer replied, that he did him wrong in that, for it was done in his predecessor Warham's time, who had asserted the king's supremacy; and it was also sent to be discussed in the universities, and they had set their hands and seals to it; and that Brooks, being then a doctor, had signed it with the rest: so that all this being done before he came to be archbishop, it ought not to be called his deed.

After this Story made another speech, of the authority of the church; magnifying the



see of Rome, and enlarging on those arguments commonly insisted on; and desired Brooks would put Cranmer to make a plain answer, and cut off all debates. Then followed a long discourse between Martin and Cranmer; in which Martin objected, that he had once sworn to the pope when he was consecrated, but that aspiring to be archbishop, he had changed his mind in compliance to king Henry; that he had condemned Lambert of heresy, for denying the presence of Christ in the sacrament, and afterwards turned to that himself. To all this Cranmer answered, pretending that never man came more unwillingly into a bishopric than he did to his. That he was so far from having aspired to it, that though the king had sent one post to him, to come over to be consecrated, he being then in Germany, yet he had delayed his journey seven weeks, hoping that in all that time the king might have forgot him; that at his consecration he publicly explained his meaning in what sense he swore to the pope, so that he did not act deceitfully in that particular: and that when he condemned Lambert, he did then believe the corporal presence, which he continued to do, till Dr. Ridley showed him such reasons and authorities as persuaded him to change his mind, and then he was not ashamed to retract his former opinion. Then they objected his having been twice married, his keeping his wife secretly in king Henry's time, and openly in king Edward's reign; his setting out heretical books and articles, and compelling others to subscribe them; his forsaking the catholic church, and denying Christ's presence in the sacrament of the altar, and disputing against it so publicly lately at Oxford. He confessed his living in marriage, and that he thought it was lawful for all men to marry; and that it was certainly better to do so, than to lie with other men's wives, as many priests did: he confessed all the other articles; only he said, he had never forced any to subscribe.

After this Brooks made a long speech to him, with many of the common arguments concerning the pope's power and the presence in the sacrament; to which Cranmer made another large answer. Then many witnesses were examined upon the points they had heard Cranmer defend in the schools; and in conclusion, they cited him to appear before the pope within eighty days, to answer for all those things which were now objected to him. He said he would do it most willingly, if the king and queen would send him; but he could not go if he were still detained a prisoner.

After this he was sent back to prison, where he lay till the 14th of February this year; and then Bonner and Thirleby were sent down to degrade him. Bonner desired this employment as a pleasant revenge on Cranmer, who had before deprived him; but it was forced on the other, who had lived in great friendship with Cranmer formerly, and was a gentle and good-natured man, but very inconstant and apt to change. They had Cranmer brought before them, and then they caused to read their commission, which declared him *contumax* for not coming to Rome, and required them to degrade him. They clothed him in pontifical robes, a mitre, and the other garments, with a crosier in his hand; but the robes were made of canvas, to make him show more ridiculous in them. Then Bonner made a speech full of jeers: "This is the man that despised the pope, and is now judged by him: this is the man that pulled down churches, and is now judged in a church: this is the man that contemned the sacrament, and is now condemned before it:" with other such expressions, at which Thirleby was much offended, and pulled him oft by the sleeve, desiring him to make an end; and challenged him afterwards, that he had broke the promise he had made him before of treating him with respect. And he was observed to weep much all the while; he protested to Cranmer that it was the most sorrowful action of his whole life, and acknowledged the great love and friendship that had been between them; and that no earthly consideration but the queen's command, could have induced him to come and do what they were then about; he shed so many tears, that oft he stopped, and could not go on in his discourse for the abundance of them. But Cranmer said, his degradation was no trouble to him at all; he reckoned himself as long ago cut off from all dependence and communion with the see of Rome, so their doing it now with so much pageantry did not much affect him; only he put in an appeal from the pope to the next free general council. He said he was cited to Rome, but all the while kept a prisoner; so there was no reason to proceed against him in his absence, since he was willing to have gone

thither and defended his doctrine; he also denied any authority the pope had over him, or in England, and therefore appealed from his sentence. But notwithstanding that he was degraded, and all that ludicrous attire was taken, piece after piece, from him, according to the ceremonies of degradation which are in use in the church of Rome.

He is degraded.

But there were new engines contrived against him. Many had been sent to confer with him, both English and Spanish divines, to persuade him to recant; he was put in hopes of life and preferment again, and removed out of prison to the dean's lodgings at Christ Church, where all the arguments that could be invented, were made use of to turn him from his former persuasion: and in conclusion, as St. Peter himself had with curses denied his Saviour, so he who had resisted now almost three years, was at last overcome; and human infirmity, the fears of death, and the hopes that were given him, prevailed with him to set his hand to a paper, renouncing all the errors of Luther and Zuinglius, acknowledging the pope's supremacy, the seven sacraments, the corporal presence in the eucharist, purgatory, prayer for departed souls, the invocation of saints; to which was added, his being sorry for his former errors; and concluded, exhorting all that had been deceived by his example or doctrine to return to the unity of the church; and protesting that he had signed it willingly, only for the discharge of his own conscience.

He recants.

Fox, and other later writers from him, have said, that one reason of this compliance was, that he might have time to finish his answer to Gardiner's book, against that which he had written concerning the sacrament: and Fox has printed the letter which he avouches to prove this by. But the good man (it seems) read the letter very carelessly; for Cranmer says no such thing in it; but only, that he had appealed to the next general council, to try if that could procure him a longer delay, in which he might have time to finish his book; and between these two there is a great difference. How long this was signed before his execution I find it nowhere marked, for there is no date put to his subscription.

Cranmer's recantation was presently printed, and occasioned almost equally great insultings on the one hand, and dejection on the other. But the queen was not at all wrought on by it, and was now forced to discover that her private resentments governed her in this matter; which before she had disowned. She was resolved he should be made a sacrifice for giving the judgment of divorce in her mother's marriage; and hitherto though she had pretended only zeal for religion, yet now when that could be no more alleged, yet she persisted in her resolution of having him burnt: she said, since he had been the great promoter of heresy that had corrupted the whole nation, that must not serve his turn, which would be sufficient in other cases: it was good for his own soul, and might do good to others, that he repented; but yet she ordered the sentence to be executed. The writ went out the 24th of February, which will be found in the Collection. Heath took care not only to enrol the writ, but the warrant sent to him for issuing it, which is not ordinary. It is like he did it, to leave it on record to posterity, that he did it not in course, as he did other writs, but had a special order from the queen for it. The long time that passed between the date of the writ and the execution of it, makes it probable that he made the formerly mentioned recantation after the writ was brought down; and that the fears of death, then before his eyes, did so far work on him, that he signed the writing: but when the second order was sent down to execute the former, he was dealt with to renew his subscription, and then to write the whole over again, which he also did; all this time being under some small hopes of life: but conceiving likewise some jealousies that they might burn him, he writ secretly a paper, containing a sincere confession of his faith, such as flowed from his conscience, and not from his weak fears; and being brought out, he carried that along with him. He was carried to St. Mary's, and set on a place raised higher for him to be more conspicuously seen. Cole, provost of Eton, preached: he ran out in his sermon on the mercy and justice of God, which two attributes do not oppose or jostle out one another; he applied this to princes that were gods on earth, who must be just as well as merciful; and therefore they had appointed Cranmer that day to suffer. He said it was he that had dissolved the marriage between the queen's father and mother, had driven out the pope's authority, had been the fountain of all the heresies in

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England; and since the bishop of Rochester and sir Thos. More had suffered for the church, it was meet that others should suffer for heresy; and as the duke of Northumberland had suffered in More's room, so there was no other clergyman that was equal or fit to be balanced with Fisher but he. Then he turned to Cranmer, and magnified his conversion, which he said was the immediate hand of God; that none of their arguments had done it, but the inward working of God's Spirit; he gave him great hopes of Heaven, and assured him there should be dirges and masses said for his soul in all the churches in Oxford.

All this while Cranmer expressed great inward confusion, lifting up his eyes often to heaven, and then letting them fall downward, as one ashamed of himself; and he often poured out floods of tears. In the end, when Cole bid him declare his faith, he first prayed with many moving expressions of deep remorse and inward horror; then he made his exhortation to the people, first, "Not to love or set their hearts on the things of the world; to obey the king and queen out of conscience to God; to live in mutual love; and to relieve the poor according to their abundance. Then he came to that on which, he said, all his past life, and that which was to come, did hang, being now to enter either into the joys of heaven, or the pains of hell. He repeated the Apostles' creed, and declared his belief of the Scriptures; and then he spake to that which, he said, troubled his conscience more than anything he had ever done in his whole life; which was, the subscribing a paper contrary to the truth, and against his conscience, out of the fear of death and the love of life; and when he came to the fire, he was resolved that hand that had signed it should burn first. He rejected the pope, as Christ's enemy and antichrist; and said, he had the same belief of the sacrament which he had published in the book he writ about it."

Upon this there was a wonderful confusion in the assembly. Those who hoped to have gained a great victory that day, seeing it turning another way, were in much disorder: they called to him to dissemble no more. He said he had ever loved simplicity, and before that time had never dissembled in his whole life. And going on in his discourse with abundance of tears, they pulled him down, and led him away to the stake, which was set in the same place where Ridley and Latimer were burnt. All the way the priests upbraided him for his changing; but he was minding another thing.

When he came to the stake, he first prayed, and then undressed himself; and being tied to it, as the fire was kindling he stretched forth his right hand towards the flame, never moving it, save that once he wiped his face with it, till it was burnt away, which was consumed before the fire reached his body. He expressed no disorder for the pain he was in; sometimes saying, "That unworthy hand!" and oft crying out, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" He was soon after quite burnt. But it was no small matter of astonishment to find his heart entire, and not consumed among the ashes; which, though the reformed would not carry so far as to make a miracle of it, and a clear proof that his heart had continued true, though his hand had erred; yet they objected it to the papists that it was certainly such a thing that, if it had fallen out in any of their church, they had made it a miracle.

He suffers Martyrdom with great constancy of Mind.

Thus did Thomas Cranmer end his days, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was a man raised of God for great services, and well fitted for them. He was naturally of a mild and gentle temper, not soon heated, nor apt to give his opinion rashly of things or persons; and yet his gentleness, though it oft exposed him to his enemies, who took advantages from it to use him ill, knowing he would readily forgive them, did not lead him into such a weakness of spirit as to consent to everything that was uppermost: for as he stood firmly against the Six Articles in king Henry's time, notwithstanding all his heat for them, so he also opposed the duke of Somerset in the matter of the sale and alienation of the chantry lands, and the duke of Northumberland during his whole government; and now resisted unto blood: so that his meekness was already a virtue in him, and not a pusillanimity in his temper. He was a man of great candour; he never dissembled his opinion, nor disowned his friend: two rare qualities in that age, in which there was a continued course of dissimulation almost in the whole English clergy and nation, they going backward and forward as the court turned. But this had got him that esteem with king Henry, that it always preserved him in his days. He knew what complaints soever were brought against him, he would freely tell him the truth; so instead of asking it

His Character.

from other hands, he began at himself. He neither disowned his esteem of queen Anne, nor his friendship to Cromwell and the duke of Somerset in their misfortunes; but owned he had the same thoughts of them in their lowest condition that he had in their greatest state.

He being thus prepared, by a candid and good nature, for the searches into truth, added to these a most wonderful diligence—for he drew out of all the authors that he read everything that was remarkable, digesting these quotations into common-places,—this begat in king Henry an admiration of him: for he had often tried it, to bid him bring the opinions of the fathers and doctors upon several questions, which he commonly did in two or three days' time. This flowed from the copiousness of his common-place books. He had a good judgment, but no great quickness of apprehension; nor closeness of style, which was diffused and unconnected; therefore, when anything was to be penned that required more nerves, he made use of Ridley. He laid out all his wealth on the poor and pious uses: he had hospitals and surgeons in his house for the king's seamen; he gave pensions to many of those that fled out of Germany into England; and kept up that which is hospitality indeed at his table, where great numbers of the honest and poor neighbours were always invited, instead of the luxury and extravagance of great entertainments which the vanity and excess of the age we live in has honoured with the name of hospitality, to which too many are led by the authority of custom to comply too far. He was so humble and affable, that he carried himself in all conditions at the same rate. His last fall was the only blemish of his life; but he expiated it with a sincere repentance, and a patient martyrdom. He had been the chief advancer of the Reformation in his life; and God so ordered it, that his death should bear a proportion to the former parts of his life, which was no small confirmation to all that received his doctrine when they heard how constantly he had at last sealed it with his blood. And though it is not to be fancied that king Henry was a prophet, yet he discovered such things in Cranmer's temper as made him conclude he was to die a martyr for his religion; and therefore he ordered him to change his coat-of-arms, and to give pelicans instead of cranes, which were formerly the arms of his family; intimating withal, that as it is reported of the pelican that she gives her blood to feed her young ones, so he was to give his blood for the good of the church. That king's kindness to him subjected him too much to him; for great obligations do often prove the greatest snares to generous and noble minds. And he was so much overborne by his respects to him, and was so affected with king Henry's death, that he never after that shaved his beard, but let it grow to a great length; which I the rather mention, because the pictures that were afterwards made for him, being taken according to what he was at his death, differ much from that which I have put in my former volume *. Those who compared modern and ancient times, found in him so many and excellent qualities, that they did not doubt to compare him to the greatest of the primitive bishops; not only to the Chrysostoms, Ambroses, and Austins, but to the fathers of the first rate that immediately followed the apostles—to the Ignatiuses, Policarps, and Cyprians. And it seemed necessary that the reformation of this church, which was indeed nothing else but restoring of the primitive and apostolical doctrine, should have been chiefly carried on by a man so eminent in all primitive and apostolical virtues. And to those who upbraided the reformed with his fall, it was answered, that Liberius, whom they so much magnify, had fallen as foully upon a much slighter temptation, only out of a desire to re-enter to his see, from which he had been banished; and that he persisted much longer in it.

Others suffered on the like account.

But now I shall give account of the rest that were burnt this year. On the 27th of January, Thomas Wirtle, a priest, Bartlet Green, a gentleman, Thos. Brown, John Tudson, and John Went, three tradesmen, Isabel Foster, and Joan Warne, having all been presented because they came not to church; articles were put to them, and upon their answers they were all condemned, and burnt in Smithfield at the same stake. And on the 31st of that month, John Lomas and four women were burnt at Canterbury. They were presented because they came not to confession; whereupon articles being given them, they were found guilty of heresy, and burnt in one fire. In the beginning of March, two women were burnt at Ipswich; three tradesmen were burnt in Salisbury on the 24th of March. On the 29th of April, Robert Drakes, a priest, William Tyms, a deacon, and four tradesmen that were sent out of Essex because they came not to church, were condemned,

* The author here refers to the first edition of his work.—ED.



THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OB. 1556

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF GERBIER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

and all burnt together in Smithfield. John Hanpole and Joan Boock were burnt at Rochester on the 1st of April; and on the 2d, John Hallier, a priest, was burnt in Cambridge.

Six tradesmen were sent up from Colchester; and the bishop of London, who had hitherto kept his prisoners for some time to see if he could prevail with them, growing weary of that fruitless labour, and becoming by many acts of cruelty less sensible of those affections which belong to human nature, did, without any more ado, exhibit the articles to them; and they answering in the way he accounted heresy, he gave them time to consider if they would recant till the afternoon; but they continuing in the same mind, he condemned them, and sent them back to Colchester, where they were all burnt in one fire.

On the 15th of May, he gave yet a more astonishing instance of his barbarity. Laverock, an old cripple, a man of sixty-eight years old, and Jo. Apprice, a blind man, were upon the like account condemned, and burnt in the same fire at Stratford-le-Bow, they comforting one another that they were now to be freed of their lameness and blindness. The day after, three women were burnt in Smithfield; another blind man, with a tradesman, were burnt at Gloucester this month. On the 21st of the month, three were burnt at Beccles, in Suffolk. On the 6th of June, four men were burnt at Lewes, in Sussex; another was burnt there on the 20th; and one was burnt at Leicester on the 26th. But on the 27th of June, Bonner made an unheard-of execution of thirteen, whereof eleven were men and two women, all burnt in one fire in Stratford-le-Bow. He had condemned in all sixteen, but, by what intercession I do not know, three of them were preserved by a warrant from cardinal Pole. It seems Bonner thought it not worth the while to burn those singly, and therefore sent them in such droves to the stake: but whether the horror of this action, or the discontent because the cardinal had saved some of them, wrought on him, I know not, the latter being the more likely, he burnt no more till April next year.

The 30th of June three were burnt at Bury, in Suffolk. On the 16th of July, three men were burnt at Newbury: but this July, there was done in Guernsey an act of as great inhumanity as ever was recorded in any age. A mother and her two daughters were burnt at the same stake; and one of them, a married woman, big with child, when she was in the fire, the violence of it bursting her belly, a boy fell out into the flame, that was snatched out of it by one that was more merciful than the rest; but after they had a little consulted about it, the infant was thrown in again, and there was literally baptised with fire. There were many eye-witnesses of this, who attested it afterwards in queen Elizabeth's time, when the matter was inquired into, and special care was taken to have full and evident proofs of it: for, indeed, the fact was so unnatural, that a man must either be possessed with a very ill opinion of the actors, or be well satisfied about the number and credibility of the witnesses, before he could believe it. But lies and forgeries are seldom made of actions done in the face of the sun, and before so great an assembly as was present at this. Therefore complaint being made of it to queen Elizabeth, the dean of Guernsey was put in prison for it; and afterwards he, and nine more that were all accessary to it, took out their pardons: so merciful was the government then to pardon an action of such a monstrous nature, because done with some colour of law; since, it was said, the mother was condemned to be burnt, and no exception was made of her belly. On the 18th of July, two women and one man were burnt at Greenstead. On the 1st of August, Joan Wast, a blind woman, was burnt at Derby. On the 8th of September, one was burnt at Bristol; and another in the same place on the 25th of that month. On the 24th, four were burnt at Mayfield, in Sussex; on the 27th a man and woman were burnt at Bristol; and on the 12th of October, a man was burnt at Nottingham. And thus ended the burning this year: those that suffered were in all eighty-five. All these persons were presented as suspect of heresy, and were required to answer the questions that the bishop put to them; which related to the corporal presence in the sacrament, the necessity of auricular confession, or the sacrifice of the mass; and upon the answers they made were condemned to the fire. But none of them were accused of any violence committed on the persons of any churchmen, or of any affront put on their religion; and all their sufferings were merely for their conscience, which they kept as private as they could: so that it rather appeared in their abstaining from the communion of a church which they thought had corrupted the chief parts of worship, than in anything they had said or

A strange barbarity at Guernsey of burning a Child born in the Fire.

done. It was an unusual and an ungrateful thing to the English nation, that is apt to compassionate all in misery, to see four, five, six, seven, and once thirteen, burning in one fire: and the sparing neither sex nor age, nor blind nor lame, but making havoc of all equally; and above all, the barbarity of Guernsey raised that horror in the whole nation, that there seems, ever since that time, such an abhorrence to that religion to be derived down from father to son, that it is no wonder an aversion so deeply rooted, and raised upon such grounds, does, upon every new provocation, or jealousy of returning to it, break out in most violent and convulsive symptoms.

The Reformation spreads for all the Persecution.

But all those fires did not extinguish the light of the Reformation, nor abate the love of it. They spread it more, and kindled new heats in men's minds; so that what they had read of the former persecutions under the heathens, seemed to be now revived. This made those who loved the gospel meet oft together, though the malice of their enemies obliged them to do it with great caution and secrecy: yet there were sometimes at their meetings about two hundred. They were instructed and watched over by several faithful shepherds, who were willing to hazard their lives in feeding this flock committed to their care. The chief of these were Scambler and Bentham, afterwards promoted by queen Elizabeth to the sees of Peterborough and Litchfield; Foule, Bernher, and Rough, a Scotchman, that was afterwards condemned, and burnt by Bonner. There was also care taken, by their friends beyond sea, to supply them with good books, which they sent over to them for their instruction and encouragement. Those that fled beyond sea went at first for the most part to France, where, though they were well used in opposition to the queen, yet they could not have the free exercise of their religion granted them: so they retired to Geneva, and Zurich, and Arraw, in Switzerland; and to Strasburgh and Frankfort, in the upper Germany, and to Emden in the lower.

The Troubles at Frankfort among the English there.

At Frankfort an unhappy difference fell in among some of them who had used before the English liturgy, and did afterwards comply with it when they were in England, where it had authority from the law; yet they thought that, being in foreign parts, they should rather accommodate their worship to those among whom they lived: so, instead of the English liturgy, they used one near the Geneva and French forms. Others thought that when those in England, who had compiled their liturgy, were now confirming what they had done with their blood, and many more were suffering for it, it was an high contempt of them and their sufferings to depart from these forms. This contradiction raised that heat that Dr. Cox, who lived in Strasburgh with his friend Peter Martyr, went thither; and being a man of great reputation, procured an order from the senate that the English forms should only be used in their church. This dissension being once raised, went further than perhaps it was at first intended; for those who at first liked the Geneva way better, that, being in foreign parts, they might all seem to be united in the same forms, now began to quarrel with some things in the English liturgy. And Knox, being a man of a hot temper, engaged in this matter very warmly; and got his friend Calvin to write somewhat sharply of some things in the English service. This made Knox and his party leave Frankfort, and go to Geneva. Knox had also written indecently of the emperor, which obliged the senate of Frankfort to require him to be gone out of their bounds. There fell in other contests about the censuring of offences, which some of the congregation would not leave in the hands of the ministers only, but would have it shared among the whole congregation. Upon these matters there arose great debates; and many papers were written on both sides, to the great grief of Parker and others, who lived privately in England; and to the scandal of the strangers, who were not a little offended to see a company of people fly out of their country for their consciences, and, instead of spending their time in fasting and prayer for their persecuted brethren at home, to fall into such quarrels about matters which themselves acknowledged were not the substantials of religion, nor points of conscience: in which certainly they began the breach who departed from that way of worship which they acknowledged was both lawful and good. But there followed too much animosity on both sides, which were the seeds of all those differences that have since distracted this church.

They who reflected on the contests that the Novatians raised, both at Rome and Carthage, in Cyprian's time, and the heats the Donatists brought into the African churches soon after the persecution was over, found somewhat parallel both to these schisms now during the persecution, and to those afterwards raised when it was over.



Pole is made Archbishop of Canterbury.

I now return to the affairs of England. On the 22d of March, the very day after Cranmer was burnt, Pole was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury by the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Ely, Worcester, Lincoln, Rochester, and St. Asaph. He had come over only a cardinal deacon, and was last winter made a priest, and now a bishop. It seems he had his *congé d'élire* with his election, and his bulls from Rome already despatched before this time. The pope did not know with what face to refuse them, being pressed by the queen on his account, though he wanted only a colour to wreak his revenge on him; to which he gave vent upon the first opportunity that offered itself. It seems Pole thought it indecent to be consecrated as long as Cranmer lived; yet his choosing the next day for it, brought him under the suspicion of having procured his death: so that the words of Elijah to Ahab, concerning Naboth, were applied to him, "Thou hast killed, and taken possession." On the 28th of that month, he came in state through London to Bow church, where the bishops of Worcester and Ely, after the former had said mass, put the pall about him. This was a device set up by pope Paschal II. in the beginning of the twelfth century, for the engaging of all archbishops to a more immediate dependence on that see, they being, after they took the pall, to act as the pope's *legates born* (as the phrase was), of which it was the ensign. But it was at the first admitted with great contradiction, both by the kings of Sicily and Poland, the archbishops of Palermo and Gnesna being the first to whom they were sent; all men wondering at the novelty of the thing, and of the oath which the popes required of them at the delivery of it. This being put on Pole, he went into the pulpit, and made a cold sermon about the beginning, the use, and the matter of the pall, without either learning or eloquence. The subject could admit of no learning; and for eloquence, though in his younger days, when he writ against king Henry, his style was too luxuriant and florid, yet being afterwards sensible of his excess that way, he turned as much to the other extreme, and cutting off all the ornaments of speech, he brought his style to a flatness that had neither life nor beauty in it.

Some more Religious Houses endowed.

All the business of England this year was the raising of religious houses. Greenwich was begun with last year: the queen also built a house for the Dominicans in Smithfield, and another for the Franciscans; and, they being begging orders, these endowments did not cost much. At Sion, near Brainford, there had been a religious house of women of the order of St. Bridget. That house was among the first that had been dissolved by king Henry VIII., as having harboured the king's enemies, and been complices to the business of the Maid of Kent. The queen anew founded a nunnery there. She also founded a house for the Carthusians at Sheen, near Richmond, in a gratitude to that order for their suffering upon her mother's account. From these she went to a greater foundation, but that which cost her less; for she suppressed the deanery and the cathedral of Westminster, and in September this year turned it into a monastery; and made Feckenham, dean of Paul's, the first abbot of it. On the 23d of September, she gave warrants for pensions to be paid to the prebends of Westminster till they were otherwise provided: and about that time Feckenham was declared abbot, though the solemn instalment of him, and fourteen other monks with him, was not done till the 21st of November.

All the former Records concerning them are razed.

There had been many searches and discoveries made in the former reign of great disorders in these houses; and at the dissolution of them, many had made confession of their ill lives and gross superstition; all which were laid up and recorded in the Augmentation-office. There had been also in that state of things, which they now called the late schism, many professions made by the bishops and abbots, and other religious men, of their renouncing the pope's authority, and acknowledging the king's supremacy: therefore it was moved, that all these should be gathered together and destroyed. So on the 23rd of September, there was a commission granted to Bonner and Cole (the new dean "of Paul's in Feckenham's room) and Dr. Martin, to search all registers, to find out both the professions made against the pope, and the scrutinies made in abbeys; which, as the commission that is in the Collection sets forth, tended to the subversion of all good religion and religious houses: these they were to gather and

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carry to the cardinal, that they might be disposed of as the queen should give order. It is not upon record how they executed this commission, but the effects of it appear in the great defectiveness of the records in many things of consequence, which are razed and lost. This was a new sort of expurgation, by which they intended to leave as few footsteps to posterity as they could of what had been formerly done. Their care of their own credits led them to endeavour to suppress the many declarations themselves had formerly made, both against the see of Rome, the monastic orders, and many of the old corruptions, which they had disclaimed. But many things escaped their diligence, as may appear by what I have already collected; and considering the pains they were at in vitiating registers and destroying records, I hope the reader will not think it strange if he meets with many defects in this work. In this search they not only took away what concerned themselves, but every collateral thing that might inform or direct the following ages how to imitate those precedents; and therefore, among other writings, the commission that Cromwell had, to be vice-gerent, was destroyed: but I have since that time met with it in a copy that was in the Cotton library, which I have put in the Collection. How far this resembled the endeavours that the heathens used in the last and hottest persecution to burn all the registers of the church, I leave to the reader. The abbey of Westminster being thus set up, some of the monks of Glastonbury, who were yet alive, were put into it. And all the rest of the old monks that had been turned out of Glastonbury, and who had not married since, were invited to return to this monastery. They began to contrive how to raise their abbey again, which was held the ancientest, and was certainly the richest in England: and therefore they moved the queen and the cardinal, that they might have the house and site restored and repaired, and they would by labour and husbandry maintain themselves, not doubting but the people of the country would be ready to contribute liberally to their subsistence. The queen and cardinal liked the proposition well; so the monks wrote to the lord Hastings, then lord chamberlain, to put the queen in mind of it, and to follow the business till it were brought to a good issue; which would be a great honour to the memory of Joseph of Arimathea who lay there, whom they did heartily beseech to pray to Christ for good success to his lordship. This letter I have put in the Collection copied from the original. What followed upon it I cannot find. It is probable the monks of other houses made the like endeavours, and every one of them could find some rare thing belonging to their house, which seemed to make it the more necessary to raise it speedily. These of St. Alban's could say, the first martyr of England lay in their abbey: those of St. Edmundbury had a king that was martyred by the heathen Danes: those of Battel could say, they were founded for the remembrance of William the Conqueror's victory, from whence the queen derived her crown: and those of St. Austin's in Canterbury had the apostle of England laid in their church. In short, they were all in hopes to be speedily restored. And though they were but few in number, and to begin upon a small revenue, yet as soon as the belief of purgatory was revived, they knew how to set up the old trade anew, which they could drive with the greater advantage; since they were to deal with the people by a new motive, besides the old ones formerly used, that it was sacrilege to possess the goods of the church, of which it had been robbed by their ancestors. But in this it was necessary to advance slowly, since the nobility and gentry were much alarmed at it; and at the last parliament, many had laid their hands to their swords in the house of commons, and said they would not part with their estates, but would defend them: yet some that hoped to gain more favour from the queen by such compliance, did found chantries for masses for their souls. In the records of the last years of queen Mary's reign, there are many warrants granted by her for such endowments: for though the statute of *mortmain* was repealed, yet for greater security, it was thought fit to take out such licences. This is all I find of our home affairs this year.

Collection, Number 29.

Endeavours to raise the Abbey of Glastonbury.

Collection, Number 30.

Foreign affairs were brought to a quieter state. For by the mediation of England, a truce for five years was concluded between France and Spain: and the new king of Spain was inclined to observe it faithfully, that so he might be well settled in his kingdoms before he engaged in war: but the violent pope broke all this. He

Foreign Affairs.



was much offended with the decree made at Augsburg for the liberty of religion, and with Ferdinand for ordering the chalice to be given to his subjects, and chiefly for his assuming the title of emperor without his approbation. Upon this last provocation the pope sent him word, that he would let him know, to his grief, how he had offended him. He came to talk in as haughty a style as any of all his predecessors had ever done, that he would change kingdoms at his pleasure. He boasted that he had made Ireland a kingdom: that all princes were under his feet (and as he said, that he used to tread with his feet against the ground); and he would allow no prince to be his companion, nor be too familiar with him: nay, rather than be driven to a mean action, he would set the whole world on fire. But to pretend to do somewhat for a reformation, he appointed a congregation to gather some rules for the condemning of simony. These he published and said, having now reformed his own court, he would next reform the courts of princes: and because they had complained much of the corruptions of the clergy and court of Rome, he resolved to turn the matter on them, and said he would gather all the abuses that were in their courts and reform them. But he was much provoked by an embassy that came from Poland, to desire of him, that they might have the mass in their own tongue, and the communion in both kinds; that their priests might be allowed to marry, that they might pay annates no more to Rome, and call a national council in their own kingdom. These things put him out of all patience, and with all the bitterness he could use, he expressed how detestable they were to him. He then said, he would hold a council; not that he needed one, for himself was above all: but it should never meet in Trent, to which it had been a vain thing to send about sixty bishops of the least able, and forty doctors of the most insufficient, as had been twice done already: that he would hold it in the Lateran, as many of his predecessors had done: he gave notice of this to the ambassadors of all princes: he said he did that only in courtesy, not intending to ask their advice or consent, for he would be obeyed by them all. He intended in this council to reform them and their courts, and to discharge all impositions which they had laid on the clergy: and therefore he would call it whether they would or not, and if they sent no prelates to it, he would hold it with those of his own court: and would let the world see what the authority of that see was, when it had a pope of courage to govern it.

The Pope is extravagantly insolent.

But after all these imperious humours of his, which sometimes carried him to excesses, that seemed not much different from madness; he was heartily troubled at the truce between the French and the Spaniards. He hated the Spaniards most, because they supported the Colonesi, whom he designed to ruin. And therefore he sent his nephew into France with a sword and hat which he had consecrated, to persuade the king to break the truce; offering his assistance for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, to the use of one of the younger sons of France: though it was believed he designed it for his own nephew. He also sent the French king an absolution from his oath that he had sworn for the maintaining of the truce, and promised to create what cardinals he pleased, that so he might be sure of a creature of his own to succeed in the popedom. Yet the pope dissembled his design in this so closely, that he persuaded sir Edward Carew, that was then the queen's ambassador at Rome, that he desired nothing so much as a general peace: and he hoped, as the queen had mediated in the truce, she would continue her endeavours till a perfect peace were made. He said he had sent two legates to procure it; and since he was the common father of Christendom, God would impute to him, even his silence in that matter, if he did not all he could to obtain it. He complained much of the growth of heresy in Poland, and in the king of the Romans' dominions. For the repressing of it he said, he intended to have a general council: and in order to that it was necessary there should be a peace, since a truce would not give sufficient encouragement to those who ought to come to the council. He said he intended to be present at it himself, and to hold it in the church of St. John in the Lateran: for he thought Rome, being the common country of all the world, was the meetest place for such an assembly: and he being so very old, could go nowhere out of Rome; therefore he was resolved to hold it there. But he said, he relied chiefly on the assistance of the queen, whom he called, "That blessed queen, and his most gracious and loving daughter:"

He breaks the Truce between France and Spain, absolving the French King from his Oath.

and holding her letters in his hand, he said they were so full of respect and kindness to him, that he would have them read in the consistory; and made a cross over her subscription. It was no wonder such discourses, with that way of deportment, deceived so honest and plain-hearted a man as Carew was; as it will appear from the letter that he writ over upon this occasion to the queen, which I have put in the Collection. But it soon appeared on what design he had sent his legate to France; for he pressed that king vehemently to break the truce, and renew the war. To this the French king being persuaded by the cardinal of Lorrain and duke of Guise, consented, though all the rest about him dissuaded him from such a dishonourable breach of faith, or meddling more in the war of Italy, which had been always fatal to their people. The Colonesi had been furnished with assistance from Naples; upon which the pope had it proposed in the consistory, that the king of Spain, by giving them assistance, had lost his territories: and being then assured of assistance from France, he began the war, imprisoning the cardinals and prelates of the Spanish faction; and the ambassadors of Spain and England, pretending they kept correspondence with the Colonesi that were traitors. He also sent to raise some regiments among the Grisons. But when they came, some told him they were all heretics, and it would be a reproach for him to use such soldiers: he understanding they were good troops, said, he was confident God would convert them, and that he looked on them as angels sent by God for the defence of his person. Upon this breaking out of the pope's, the duke of Alva, that was then in Naples, being himself much devoted to the papacy, did very unwillingly engage in the war. He first used all ways to avoid it; and made several protestations of the indignities that his master had received, and his unwillingness to enter into a war with him that should be the common father of Christendom. But these being all to no purpose, he fell into Campania, and took all the places in it, which he declared he held for the next pope: he might also have taken Rome itself, but the reverence he had for the papacy restrained him.

Collection, Number 31.

This being known in England, was a great grief to the queen and cardinal, who saw what advantages those of the Reformation would take from the pope's absolving princes from the most sacred ties of human societies; since the breach of faith and public treaties was a thing abhorred by the most depraved nations: and when he, who pretended to be the vicar of Christ who was the prince of peace, was kindling a new flame in Christendom, these things were so scandalous, that they knew they would much obstruct and disorder all their designs. And indeed the protestants everywhere were not wanting to improve this all they could. It seemed a strange thing, that in the same year, a great conqueror, that had spent his life in wars and affairs, should in the fifty-sixth year of his age retire to a monastery: and that a bishop at eighty, who had pretended to such abstraction from the world, that he had formerly quitted a bishopric to retire into a monastery, should now raise such a war, and set Europe again in a flame.

1557. The Visitation of the Universities.

In the beginning of the next year was the visitation of the universities. To Cambridge, Pole sent Scot, bishop of Chester, his Italian friend Ormaneto, with Watson and Christopherson, the two elect bishops of Lincoln and Chichester (in the rooms of White, removed to Winchester, out of which Pole reserved a pension of 1000*l.*, and of Day that was dead), with some others. When they came thither, on the 11th of January, they put the churches of St. Mary's and St. Michael's under an interdict, because the bodies of Bucer and Fagius, two heretics, were laid in them. The university orator received them with a speech that was divided between an invective against the heretics and a commendation of the cardinal who was then their chancellor. They went through all the colleges, and gathered many heretical books together, and observed the order used in their chapels. When they came to Clare-hall, they found no sacrament: Ormaneto asked the head, Swinburn, how that came. He answered, the chapel was not yet consecrated. Then Ormaneto chid him more for officiating so long in it: but trying him further, he found he had many benefices in his hands; for which he reproved him so severely, that the poor man was so confounded that he could answer nothing to the other questions he put to him. But Christopherson himself, being master of Trinity college, did not escape. Ormaneto found he had misapplied the revenues of the house, and had made a lease of some of their lands to his brother-in-law below the value. Ormaneto tore the lease to pieces, and chid him so sharply, that he, fearing it might stop his preferment, fell sick upon it.



Then followed the pageantry of burning the two bodies of Bucer and Fagius. They were cited to appear, or if any would come in their name, they were required to defend them: so after three citations, the dead bodies not rising to speak for themselves, and none coming to plead for them (for fear of being sent after them), the visitors thought fit to proceed. On the 26th of January, the bishop of Chester made a speech, showing the earnestness of the university to have justice done; to which they, the commissioners, though most unwilling, were obliged to condescend. Therefore, having examined many witnesses of the heresies that Bucer and Fagius had taught, they judged them obstinate heretics, and appointed their bodies to be taken out of the holy ground, and to be delivered to the secular power. The writ being brought from London, on the 6th of February their bodies were taken up, and carried in coffins and tied to stakes, with many of their books and other heretical writings, and all were burnt together. Pern preached at it, who, as he was that year vice-chancellor, he was in the same office four years after this, when, by queen Elizabeth's order, public honours were done to the memories of those two learned men, and sermons and speeches were made in their praise: but Pern had turned so oft, and at every one was so zealous, that such turnings came to be nicknamed from him. On the Feast of Purification, Watson preached at Cambridge, where, to extol the rites and processions of the catholics, and their carrying candles on that day, he said Joseph and the blessed Virgin had carried wax candles in procession that day, as the church had still continued to do from their example: which was heard not without the laughter of many.

The cardinal did also send Ormaneto, and Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, with some others, to visit the university of Oxford. They went over all the colleges as they had done at Cambridge, and burnt all the English bibles, with such other heretical books as could be found. Then they made a process against the body of Peter Martyr's wife that lay buried in one of the churches: but she being a foreigner that understood no English, they could not find witnesses that had heard her utter any heretical points; so they gave advertisement of this to the cardinal, who thereupon writ back, that since it was notoriously known that she had been a nun, and had married contrary to her vow, therefore her body was to be taken up *, and buried in a dunghill, as a person dying under excommunication. This was accordingly done: but her body was afterwards taken up again in queen Elizabeth's time, and mixed with St. Fridiswide's bones, that she might run the same fortune with her in all times coming.

Great Endeavours used to set forward the Persecution most vigorously.

While these things were doing, there was great complaints made that the inferior magistrates grew everywhere slack in the searching after and presenting of heretics: they could not find in the counties a sufficient number of justices of peace that would carefully look after it; and in towns they were generally harboured. Letters were written to some towns, as Coventry and Rye, which are entered in the council-books, recommending some to be chosen their mayors, who were zealous catholics. It is probable that the like letters might have been written to other towns; for the council-books for this reign are very imperfect and defective: but all this did not advance their design. The queen understood that the numbers of the heretics rather increased than abated; so new councils were to be taken. I find it said, that some advised that courts of inquisition, like those in Spain, might be set up in England. In Spain the inquisitors, who were then all Dominicans, received private informations; and upon these, laid hold on any that were delated or suspected of heresy, and kept them close in their prisons till they formed their processes; and by all the ways of torture they could invent, forced from them confessions either against themselves or others whom they had a mind to draw within their toils. They had so unlimited a jurisdiction, that there was no sanctuary that could secure any from their warrants; nor could princes preserve or deliver men out of their hands; nor were their prisoners brought to any public trial, but tried in secret. One of the advocates of the court was, for form's sake, assigned to plead for them,

* The reason given in the cardinal's letter for raising her body is, "Quoniam juxta corpus sanctissimæ Fridiswidæ jacebat corpus Catherinæ Uxoris P. Martyris."—STRYPE's CORRECT.

but was always more careful to please the court than to save his client. They proceeded against them both by articles, which they were to answer, and upon presumptions; and it was a rare thing for any to escape out of their hands, unless they redeemed themselves either by great presents or by the discovery of others. These had been set up first in the county of Thoulouse for the extirpation of the Albigenses; and were afterwards brought into Spain upon Ferdinand of Arragon's driving the Moors out of it, that so none of those might any longer conceal themselves in that kingdom; who being a false and crafty sort of men, and certainly enemies to the government, it seemed necessary to use more than ordinary severity to drive them out. But now those courts examined men suspected of heresy as well as of Mahometanism, and had indeed effectually preserved Spain from any change in religion. This made the present pope earnest with all the princes of Christendom to set up such courts in their dominions; and Philip was so much of the same mind, that he resolved to have them set up in Flanders, which gave the first rise to those wars that followed afterwards there, and ended in the loss of the Seven Provinces.

A Design to set up the Inquisition in England.

In England they made now, in February, a good step towards it. For a commission was given to the bishops of London and Ely, the lord North, secretary Bourne, sir John Mordant, sir Francis Englefield, sir Edward Walgrave, sir Nicholas Hare, sir Thos. Pope, sir Roger Cholmly, sir Richard Read, sir Thos. Stradling, sir Rowland Hall, and serjeant Rastall; Cole, dean of Paul's, William Roper, Randulph Cholmley, and William Cook; Tho. Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of the law: "That since many false rumours were published among the subjects, and many heretical opinions were also spread among them; therefore they, or any three of them, were to inquire into those, either by presentments, by witnesses, or any other politic way they could devise; and to search after all heresies, the bringers-in, the sellers, or readers, of all heretical books: they were to examine and punish all misbehaviours or negligences in any church or chapel, and to try all priests that did not preach of the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass, or come to their parish-church to service; that would not go in processions, or did not take holy bread or holy water: and if they found any that did obstinately persist in such heresies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be proceeded against according to the laws, giving them full power to proceed as their discretions and consciences should direct them; and to use all such means as they could invent for the searching of the premises: empowering them also to call before them such witnesses as they pleased, and to force them to make oath of such things as might discover what they sought after." This commission I have put in the Collection. It will show how high they intended to raise the persecution, when a power of such a nature was put into the hands of any three of a number so selected. Besides this, there were many subordinate commissions issued out. This commission seems to have been granted the former year, and only renewed now: for in the rolls of that year I have met with many of those subaltern commissions relating to this as superior to them. And on the 8th of March after this, a commission was given to the archbishop of York, the bishop suffragan of Hull, and divers others, to the same effect; but with this limitation, that if anything appeared to them so intricate that they could not determine it, they were to refer it to the bishop of London and his colleagues, who had a larger commission. So now all was done that could be devised for extirpating of heresy, except courts of inquisition had been set up; to which, whether this was not a previous step to dispose the nation to it, the reader may judge.

Collection, Number 32.

Proceedings against the Heretics.

I shall next give an account of the burnings this year. On the 15th of January, six men were burnt in one fire at Canterbury; and at the same time, two were burnt at Wye, and two at Ashford, that were condemned with the other six. Soon after the fore-mentioned commission, two-and-twenty were sent up from Colchester to London; yet Bonner, though seldom guilty of such gentleness, was content to discharge them. As they were led through London the people did openly show their affection to them, above a thousand following them. Bonner, upon this, writ to the cardinal, that he found they were obstinate heretics, yet, since he had been offended with him for his former proceedings, he would do nothing till he knew his pleasure. This letter is to be found in Fox. But the cardinal stopped him, and made some deal with the prisoners to sign a paper



of their professing that they believed that Christ's body and blood was in the sacrament, without any further explanation; and that they did submit to the catholic church of Christ, and should be faithful subjects to the king and queen, and be obedient to their superiors both spiritual and temporal according to their duties. It is plain this was so contrived that they might have signed it without either prevaricating or dissembling their opinions: for it is not said, "that they were to be subject to the church of Rome, but to the church of Christ; and they were to be obedient to their superiors according to their duties," which was a good reserve for their consciences. I stand the longer on this, that it may appear how willing the cardinal was to accept of any show of submission from them, and to stop Bonner's rage. Upon this they were set at liberty: but Bonner got three men and two women presented to him in London, in January, and after he had allowed them a little more time than he had granted others, they standing still firm to their faith, were burnt at Smithfield on the 12th of April. After that White, the new bishop of Winchester, condemned three, who were burnt on the 3rd of May in Southwark: one of these, Stephen Gratwick, being of the diocese of Chichester, appealed from him to his own ordinary. Whether he expected more favour from him, or did it only to gain time, I know not; but they brought in a counterfeit, who was pretended to be the bishop of Chichester (as Fox has printed it from the account written with the man's own hand), and so condemned him. On the 7th of May three were burnt at Bristol; on the 18th of June two men and five women were burnt at Maidstone; and on the 19th three men and four women were burnt at Canterbury: fourteen being thus in two days destroyed by Thornton and Harpsfield; in which it may seem strange that the cardinal had less influence to stop the proceedings in his own diocese than in London: but he was now under the pope's disgrace, as shall be afterwards shown. On the 22nd of June six men and four women were burnt at Lewes, in Sussex, condemned by White; for Christopherson, bishop elect of Chichester, was not yet consecrated. On the 13th of July two were burnt at Norwich; on the 2nd of August ten were burnt at Colchester, six in the morning, and four in the afternoon: they were some of those who had been formerly discharged by the cardinal's orders; but the priests in the country complained that the mercy showed to them had occasioned great disorders among them, heretics, and the favourers of them, growing insolent upon it; and those who searched after them being disheartened: so now Bonner being under no more restraints from the cardinal, new complaints being made that they came not to church, condemned them upon their answers to the articles which he objected to them.

At this time one George Eagle, a tailor, who used to go about from place to place, and to meet with those who stood for the Reformation, where he prayed and discoursed with them about religion; and from his indefatigable diligence was nicknamed Trudge-over, was taken near Colchester, and was condemned of treason for gathering the queen's subjects together; though it was not proved that he had ever stirred them up to rebellion, but did it only (as himself always protested) to encourage them to continue steadfast in the faith: he suffered as a traitor. On the 5th of August one was burnt at Norwich; and on the 20th, a man and a woman more were burnt at Rochester: one was also burnt at Lichfield in August, but the day is not named.

The same month, a complaint was brought to the council of the magistrates of Bristol, that they came seldom to the sermons at the cathedral; so that the dean and chapter used to go to their houses in procession, with their cross carried before them, and to fetch them from thence: upon which a letter was written to them, requiring them to conform themselves more willingly to the orders of the church, to frequent the sermons, and go thither of their own accord. On the 17th of September, three men and one woman were burnt at Islington near London: and on the same day two women were burnt at Colchester. On the 20th a man was burnt at Northampton; and in the same month one was burnt at Laxefield in Suffolk. On the 23rd a woman was burnt at Norwich. There were seventeen burnt in the diocese of Chichester about this time; one was a priest, thirteen were laymen, and three women: but the day is not marked. On the 18th of November, three were burnt in Smithfield. On the 22nd of December, John Rough, a Scotchman, was burnt, whose suffering was on this occasion. On the 12th of December, there was a private meeting of such as continued to worship God according to the service set out by king

Edward at Islington, where he was to have administered the sacrament, according to the order of that book. The new inquisitors had corrupted one of this congregation to betray his brethren, so that they were apprehended as they were going to the communion. But Rough being a stranger, it was considered by the council whether he should be tried as a native. He had a benefice in Yorkshire in king Edward's days, so it was resolved, and signified to the bishop of London, that he should be proceeded against as a subject. Thereupon Bonner objected to him, his condemning the doctrine of the church, and setting out the heresies of Cranmer and Ridley concerning the sacrament, and his using the service set out by king Edward; that he had lived much with those who for their heresies had fled beyond sea; that he had spoken reproachfully of the pope and cardinals, saying, that when he was at Rome, he had seen a bull of the pope's that licensed stews, and a cardinal riding openly with his whore with him: with several other articles. The greatest part of them he confessed, and thereupon he, with a woman that was one of the congregation, was burnt in Smithfield. And thus ended the burnings this year; seventy-nine in all being burnt.

These severities against the heretics made the queen show less pity to the lord Stourton, than perhaps might have been otherwise expected. He had been all king Edward's time a most zealous papist, and did constantly dissent in parliament from the laws then made about religion. But he had the former year murdered one Argall and his son, with whom he had been long at variance: and after he had knocked them down with clubs, and cut their throats, he buried them fifteen foot under ground, thinking thereby to conceal the fact; but it breaking out, both he and four of his servants were taken and indicted for it. He was found guilty of felony, and condemned to be hanged with his servants in Wiltshire, where the murder was committed. On the 6th of March they were hanged at Salisbury. All the difference that was made in their deaths, being only thus, that whereas his servants were hanged in common halters, one of silk was bestowed on their lord. It seemed an indecent thing, when they were proceeding so severely against men for their opinions, to spare one that was guilty of so foul a murder, killing both father and son at the same time. But it is strange that neither his quality nor his former zeal for popery, could procure a change of the sentence from the more infamous way of hanging to beheading, which had been generally used to persons of his quality. It has been said, and it passes for a maxim of law, that though in judgments of treason the king can order the execution to be by cutting off the head, since it being a part of the sentence, that the head shall be severed from the body, the king may in that case remit all the other parts of the sentence except that; yet in felonies the sentence must be executed in the way prescribed by law; and that if the king should order beheading instead of hanging, it would be murder in the sheriff and those that execute it: so that in such a case they must have a pardon under the great seal for killing a man unlawfully. But this seems to be taken up without good grounds, and against clear precedents: for in the former reign the duke of Somerset, though condemned for felony, yet was beheaded. And in the reign of king Charles the First, the lord Audley, being likewise condemned for felony, all the judges delivered their opinions, that the king might change the execution from hanging to beheading, which was done, and was not afterwards questioned. So it seems the hanging the lord Stourton flowed not from any scruple as to the queen's power of doing it lawfully, but that on this occasion she resolved to give a public demonstration of her justice and horror at so cruel a murder; and therefore she left him to the law, without taking any further care of him. On the last of February he was sent from London with a letter to the sheriff of Wiltshire to receive his body, and execute the sentence given against him and his servants, which was accordingly done, as has been already shown. Upon this the papists took great advantage to commend the strictness and impartiality of the queen's justice, that would not spare so zealous a catholic when guilty of so foul a murder. It was also said, that the killing of men's bodies was a much less crime than the killing of souls, which was done by the propagators of heresy; and therefore if the queen did thus execute justice on a friend, for that which was a lesser degree of murder, they who were her enemies, and guilty of higher crimes, were to look for no mercy. Indeed, as the poor protestants looked for none, so they met with very little, but what the cardinal showed them; and he was now brought

The lord Stourton hanged for murder.



under trouble himself, for favouring them too much, it being that which the pope made use of to cover his malice against him.

Now the war had again broken out between France and Spain, and the king studied to engage the English to his assistance. The queen had often complained to the French court, that the fugitives who left her kingdom had been well entertained in France. She understood that the practices of Wiat, and of her other rebellious subjects, were encouraged from thence: particularly of Ashton, who went often between the two kingdoms, and had made use of the lady Elizabeth's name to raise seditions, as will appear by a letter (that is in the Collection), which some of the council writ to one that attended that princess. She was indeed the more strictly kept and worse used upon that occasion. But besides, it so happened, that this year one Stafford had gone into France, and gathered some of the English fugitives together, and with money and ships that were secretly given him by that court, had come and seized on the castle of Scarborough: from whence he published a manifesto against the queen, that by bringing in the Spaniards, she had fallen from her right to the kingdom, of which he declared himself protector. The earl of Westmoreland took the castle on the last of April, and Stafford, with three of his complices, being taken, suffered as traitors on the 28th of May. His coming out of France added much to the jealousy, though the French king disowned that he had given him any assistance. But Dr. Wotton, who was then ambassador there, resolved to give the queen a more certain discovery of the inclinations of the French, that so he might engage her in the war, as was desired by Philip: he therefore caused a nephew of his own to come out of England, whom when he had secretly instructed, he ordered him to desire to be admitted to speak with the French king, pretending that he was sent from some that were discontented in England, and desired the French protection. But the king would not see him till he had first spoken with the constable. So Wotton was brought to the constable, and Melvill, from whose memoirs I draw this, was called to interpret. The young man first offered him the service of many in England; that, partly upon the account of religion, partly for the hatred they bore the Spaniards, were ready, if assisted by France, to make stirs there. The constable received and answered this but coldly, and said, he did not see what service they could do his master in it. Upon which he replied, they would put Calais into his hands. The constable not suspecting a trick, started at that, and showed great joy at the proposition; but desired to know how it might be effected. Young Wotton told him there were a thousand protestants in it, and gave him a long formal project of the way of taking it, with which the constable seemed pleased, and had much discourse with him about it; he promised him great rewards, and gave him directions how to proceed in the design. So the ambassador having found out what he had designed to discover, sent his nephew over to the queen, who was thereupon satisfied that the French were resolved to begin with her if they found an opportunity. Her husband, king Philip, finding it was not so easy by letters or messages to draw her into the war, came over himself about the 20th of May, and staid with her till the beginning of July. In that time he prevailed so far with her and the council, that she sent over a herald with a formal denunciation of war, who made it at Rheims, where the king then was, on the 7th of June. Soon after she sent over eight thousand men, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, to join the Spanish army, that consisting of near fifty thousand men, sate down before St. Quintin. The constable was sent to raise the siege with a great force, and all the chief nobility of France. When the two armies were in view of one another, the constable intended to draw back his army; but by mistake in the way of it, they fell in some disorder. The Spaniards upon that, falling on them, did, with the loss only of fifty of their men, gain an entire victory: two thousand five hundred were killed on the place, the whole army was dispersed, many of the first quality were killed, the constable with many others were taken prisoners. The French king was in such a consternation upon it, that he knew not which way to turn himself. Now all the French cursed the pope's counsels, for he had persuaded their king to begin this war, and that with a manifest breach of his faith. This action lost the constable that great reputation which he had acquired and preserved in a course of much

Collection, Number 33.

The Queen becomes jealous of the French.

And denounces war.

The great defeat given the French at St. Quintin.

success; and raised the credit of the duke of Guise, who was now sent for in all haste to come with his army out of Italy for the preservation of his own country. France, indeed, was never in greater danger than at that time. For if king Philip had known how to have used his success, and marched on to Paris, he could have met with no resistance. But he sate down before St. Quintin's, which Coligny kept out so long, till the first terror was over, that so great a victory had raised: and then, as the French took heart again, so the Spaniards grew less, as well in strength as reputation, and the English, finding themselves not well used, returned home into their country.

As soon as the pope heard that England had made war upon France, he was not a little inflamed with it: and his wrath was much heightened when he heard of the defeat at St. Quintin's, and that the duke of Guise's army was recalled out of Italy, by which he was exposed to the mercy of the Spaniards. He now said openly, they might see how little cardinal Pole regarded the apostolic see, when he suffered the queen to assist their enemies against their friends. The pope being thus incensed against Pole, sought all ways to be revenged of him. At first he made a decree (in May this year) for a general revocation of all legates and nuncios in the king of Spain's dominions, and among these cardinal Pole was mentioned with the rest. But Carne understanding this, went first to the cardinals and informed them what a prejudice it would be to their religion to recal the cardinal, while things were yet in so unsettled a state in England. Of this they were all very sensible, and desired him to speak to the pope about it. So in an audience he had of him, he desired a suspension might be made of that revocation. The pope pretended he did it in general in all the Spanish dominions; yet he promised Carne to propose it to the congregation of the inquisition, but he was resolved not to recal it; and said it did not consist with the majesty of the place he sate in to revoke any part of a decree which he had solemnly given. In the congregation the pope endeavoured to have got the concurrence of the cardinals, but they were unwilling to join in it. So he told Carne, that though he would recal no part of his decree, yet he would give orders that there should be no intimation made of it to cardinal Pole: and that if the queen writ to him to desire his continuance in England, it might be granted. He also let fall some words to Carne of his willingness to make peace with king Philip; and indeed at that time he was much distasted with the French. Of this Carne advertised the king, though he was then so much better acquainted with the pope's dissimulation than formerly that he did not lay much weight on what he said to him, as will appear by the despatch he made upon this occasion, which is in the Collection. Whether the queen did upon this write to the pope or not, I do not know *. It is probable she did: for this matter lay asleep till September, and then the pope did not only recal Pole, but intended to destroy him. He did not know where to find a person to set up against the cardinal, since Gardiner was dead, and none of the other bishops in England were great enough, or sure enough to him, to be raised to so high a dignity. Peyto, the Franciscan friar, seemed a man of his own temper, because he had railed against king Henry so boldly to his face: and he being chosen by the queen to be her confessor, was looked on as the fittest to be advanced. So the pope wrote for him into England; and when he came to Rome, made him a cardinal; and sent over his bulls, declaring that he recalled Pole's legatine power, and required him to come to Rome, to answer for some accusations he had received of him as a favourer of heretics. This might have perhaps been grounded on his discharging that year so many delated of heresy †, upon so ambiguous a submission as they had made. The pope also wrote to the queen, that he was to send over cardinal Peyto with full power, requiring her to receive him as the legate of the apostolic see. The queen called for the bulls, and according to the way formerly practised in England, and still continued in Spain, when bulls that were unacceptable were sent over, she ordered them to be laid up without opening them. It has been shown in the former part, how

The Pope is offended with Cardinal Pole.

Collection, Number 34.

And recals his Legatine Power.

* The queen and Philip both wrote to the pope in favour of cardinal Pole; the letter is dated May 21, showing how serviceable he had been in restoring religion in England; the parliament seconded this by another letter.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

† They were twenty-two in number; their submission is in FOX, p. 17, 92.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.



archbishop Chicheley, when he was so proceeded against by pope Martin, appealed to the next general council; and some that desired to see the form of such appeals in those ages, have thought it an omission in me, that I had not published his appeal in the collection of records at the end of that work; therefore upon this occasion I shall refer the reader to it, which he will find in the Collection. But now cardinal Pole resolved to behave himself with more submission. For though the queen had ordered the pope's breve to him not to be delivered, yet of himself he laid down the ensigns of his legatine power; and sent Ormaneto, who had the title of the pope's datary, and was his friend and confidant, to give an account of his whole behaviour in England, and to clear him of these imputations of heresy. This he did with so much submission, that he mollified the pope: only he said, that Pole ought not to have consented to the queen's joining in war with the enemies of the holy see. Peyto had begun his journey to England *; but the queen sent him word not to come over, otherwise she would bring him and all that owned his authority within the *præmunire*. So he stopped in his journey; and dying in April following, enjoyed but a short while his new dignity, together with the bishopric of Salisbury, to which the pope had advanced him, clearly contrary to the old law then in force against provisions from Rome.

Collection, Number 35.

The Queen refuses to admit of Cardinal Peyto the new Legate.

This storm against Pole went soon over by the peace that was made between Philip and the pope, of which it will not be unpleasant to give the relation. The duke of Guise having carried his army out of Italy, the duke of Alva marched towards Rome, and took and spoiled all places on his way. When he came near Rome, all was in such confusion, that he might have easily taken it; but he made no assault. The pope called the cardinals together, and setting out the danger he was in, with many tears said, he would undauntedly suffer martyrdom: which they, who knew that the trouble he was in flowed only from his restless ambition and fierceness, could scarce hear without laughter. The duke of Alva was willing to treat. The pope stood high on the points of honour, and would needs keep that entire, though he was forced to yield in the chief matters: he said, rather than lose one jot that was due to him, he would see the whole world ruined; pretending it was not his own honour but Christ's that he sought. In fine, the duke of Alva was required by him to come to Rome, and on his knees to ask pardon for invading the patrimony of the church, and to receive absolution for himself and his master. He being superstitiously devoted to the papacy, and having got satisfaction in other things, consented to this. So the conqueror was brought to ask pardon, and the vain pope received him, and gave him absolution, with as much haughtiness and state as if he had been his prisoner. This was done on the 14th of September, and the news of it being brought into England on the 6th of October, letters were written by the council to the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, requiring them to come to St. Paul's, where high mass was to be said for the peace now concluded between the pope and the king, after which bonfires were ordered. One of the secret articles of the peace was the restoring Pole to his legatine power.

A Peace made between the Pope and the King of Spain.

War being now proclaimed between England and France, the French sent to the Scottish queen-regent, to engage Scotland in the war with England. Hereupon a convention of the estates was called. But in it there were two different parties. Those of the clergy liked now the English interest as much as they had been formerly jealous of it, and so refused to engage in the war, since they were at peace with England. They had also a secret dislike to the regent for her kindness to the heretical lords. On the other hand, those lords were ready enough to gain the protection of the regent and the favour of France, and therefore were ready to enter into the war, hoping that thereby they should have their party made the stronger in Scotland, by the entertainment that the queen-regent would be obliged to give to such as should fly

The beginnings of a War between England and Scotland.

* From the answer to the English justice, supposed to be written by sir William Cecil, or by his order, it appears that Peyto was now in England (p. 20, 23, &c. *Ed. Eat.*, p. 48), as likewise from the answer, p. 147, 149. Ciaconius says the same thing, anno 1537; and Pallavicini, Hist. Conc. Prid. lib. xiv. cap. 2, 5, and that he was then an old decrepit man; besides other authorities that might be named. The bulls were stopped at Calais with the nuncio or bearer, which may have occasioned the mistake of Godwin and others.—ANON. CORRECT.

out of England for religion. Yet the greater part of the convention were against the war. The queen-regent thought at least to engage the kingdom in a defensive war, by forcing the English to begin with them. Therefore she sent D'Oisel, who was in chief command, to fortify Aymouth, which, by the last treaty with England, was to be unfortified. So the governor of Berwick making inroads into Scotland for the disturbing of their works, upon that D'Oisel began the war, and went into England, and besieged Warke Castle. The Scottish lords upon this met at Edinburgh, and complained that D'Oisel was engaging them in a war with England without their consent, and required him to return back, under pain of being declared an enemy to the nation; which he very unwillingly obeyed. But while he lay there, the duke of Norfolk was sent down with some troops to defend the marches. There was only one engagement between him and the Kers; but after a long dispute, they were defeated, and many of them taken. The queen-regent seeing her authority was so little considered, writ to France to hasten the marriage of her daughter to the dauphin; for that he being thereupon invested with the crown of Scotland, the French would become more absolute. Upon this a message was sent from France to a convention of estates that sate in December, to let them know that the dauphin was now coming to be of age, and therefore they desired they would send over some to treat about the articles of the marriage. They sent the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Orkney, the prior of St. Andrew's, who afterwards was earl of Murray, the earls of Rothes and Cassils, the lord Fleming, and the provosts of Edinburgh and Montrose; some of every estate, that in the name of the three estates they might conclude that treaty.

These wars coming upon England when the queen's treasure was quite exhausted, it was not easy to raise money for carrying them on. They found such a backwardness in the last parliament, that they were afraid the supply from thence would not come easily, or at least that some favour would be desired for the heretics. Therefore they tried first to raise money by sending orders under the privy seal for the borrowing of certain sums: but though the council writ many letters to set on those methods of getting money, yet they being without, if not against law there was not much got this way: so that, after all, it was found necessary to summon a parliament, to assemble on the 20th of January. In the end of the year the queen had advertisements sent her from the king, that he understood the French had a design on Calais; but she, either for want of money, or that she thought the place secure in the winter, did not send these supplies that were necessary; and thus ended the affairs of England this year.

In Germany there was a conference appointed to bring matters of religion to a fuller settlement. Twelve papists and twelve protestants were appointed to manage it. Julius Pflugius, that had drawn the Interim, being the chief of the papists, moved, that they should begin first with condemning the heresy of Zuinglius. Melancthon, upon that, said it was preposterous to begin with the condemnation of errors till they had first settled the doctrines of religion: yet that which the papists expected, followed upon this; for some of the fiercer Lutherans, being much set against the Zuinglians, agreed to it. This raised heats among themselves, which made the conference break up without bringing things to any issue. Upon this occasion men could not but see that artifice of the Roman church which has been often used before and since with too great success. When they cannot bear down those they call heretics with open force, their next way is to divide them among themselves, and to engage them into heats about those lesser matters in which they differ; hoping that by those animosities their endeavours, which being united would be dangerous to the common enemy, may not only be broken, but directed one against another. This is well enough known to all the reformed; and yet many of them are so far from considering it, that upon every new occasion they are made use of to serve the same designs, never reflecting upon the advantages that have been formerly taken from such contentions.

The Affairs of Germany.

In France the number of the protestants was now increased much; and in Paris, in September this year, there was a meeting of about two hundred of them in St. Germain's to receive the sacrament according to the way of Geneva; which being known to some of their neighbours, they furnished themselves with stones to throw at them when they broke up their meeting. So when it was late, as they went home, stones were cast at some of them; and the enraged zealots forced the doors, and broke in upon the rest. The men, drawing their swords, made their way through them, and most of them escaped; but 160 women, with some few men, delivered themselves prisoners to the king's officers that came to take them. Upon this there were published all the blackest calumnies that could be devised of the loose and promiscuous embraces that had been in this meeting; and so exactly had their accusers copied from what the heathens had anciently charged on the meetings of the Christians, that it was said they found the blood of a child whom they had sacrificed and eaten among them. These things were confidently told at court, where none durst contradict them for fear of being judged a favourer of them. But afterwards there was printed an Apology for the Protestants. In it they gloried much that the same false accusations by which the heathens had defamed the primitive Christians were now cast on them. Those that were taken were proceeded against: six men and one woman were burnt. It had gone further if there had not come envoys, both from the German princes and the Cantons of Switzerland, to interpose for them; upon which, since the king needed assistance in his wars, especially from the latter, the prosecution was let fall. The pope was much troubled when he heard that the king would exercise no further severity on the heretics; and though himself had hired them in his wars, yet he said the affairs of France could not succeed as long as their king had so many heretics in his army. That king had also made two constitutions that gave the pope great offence: the one, that marriages made by sons under thirty, and daughters under twenty-five, without their father's consent, should be void; the other was for charging the ecclesiastical benefices with a tax, and requiring all bishops and curates to reside on their benefices. So scandalous a thing was non-residence then held, that everywhere the papists were ashamed of it. Upon which the pope complained anew, that the king presumed to meddle with the sacraments, and to tax the clergy.

A Persecution of Protestants in France.



The beginning of the next year was famous for the loss of Calais. The lord Wentworth had then the command of it; but the garrison consisted only of 500 men, and there were not above 200 of the townsmen that could be serviceable in a siege.

1558. Calais is besieged.

The duke of Guise, having brought his army out of Piedmont, was now in France, and being desirous, when the constable was a prisoner, to do some great action which might raise him in reputation above the other, who was his only competitor in France, set his thoughts on Calais, and the territory about it. There were two forts on which the security of the town depended: the one Newnambridge, a mile from it, that commanded the avenues to it from the land; from which to the town there was a way raised through a marsh lying on both hands of it. On the other side, to the sea, the fort of Risbank commanded the harbour; so that the whole strength of the place lay in those two forts.

On the 1st of January the duke of Guise came and sate down before it. The governor, having but a small force within, did not think fit to weaken it by sending such supplies as those forts required; so they were taken without any opposition. Then the town being thus shut up, the enemy pressed it hard, and drew the water out of its current, by which the ditches about the town and castle were drained; and having prepared devices for their soldiers to pass them without sticking in the mire, they made the assault. After they had opened a great breach by their ordnance, and when the sea was out, others crossed on that side, and so carried the castle by storm, which the governor had looked on as impregnable, and so had brought his chief force to the defence of the town. Seeing the castle thus unexpectedly lost, he did all he could with his small force to regain it; but being still repulsed, and having lost 200 of his best men, he was forced to render the place on the 7th of January. By their articles all the townsmen and soldiers were to go whither they pleased, only he and fifty more were to be prisoners of war. Thus in one week's time, and in winter, was so strong a town lost by the English, that had been for many ages in their hands. It was taken 210 years ago by Edward III. after the battle of Cressy; and was still called the key of France as long as it continued in English hands. But now, in a time of war, it was in as ill a condition as if they had been in the profoundest peace; and though Philip had offered to put men into it, yet the English, being jealous that those advertisements were but artifices of his to persuade them to admit a Spanish garrison into it, left it in so naked a condition that the governor could do little to preserve it. But yet, that it might appear he had

And taken.

not been too careful of himself, he was content to agree that he should be a prisoner of war.

From this the duke of Guise went to Guisnes, commanded by the lord Gray, whose garrison consisted of about 1100 men: but the loss of Calais had much disheartened them. At the first impression the French carried the town, and the garrison retired into the castle; but Gray, breaking out on the soldiers that were fallen to plundering, did beat them out again, and burnt the town. The French battered the castle till they made a breach in the outworks of it, which they carried after a long resistance, in which the English lost 300. So the lord Gray was fain to render it; he and all the officers being made prisoners of war. There was another castle in that little county, Hammes, which lay in such a marsh that it was thought inaccessible; but the garrison that was in it abandoned it without staying till the enemy came before them. The French writers speak more meanly of the resistance made by the lord Gray than of that made by the lord Wentworth; for there went out of Guisnes about 800 soldiers, whereas there went not out of Calais above 300. But one of our own writers magnifies the lord Gray, and speaks dishonourably of the lord Wentworth; adding, which was an invention of his own, that he was attainted for the losing of Calais. All that historian's ground for it is only this, that there was indeed a mock citation issued out against the lord Wentworth, to which he could not appear, being not freed from his imprisonment by the French all this reign: but he came over in the beginning of the next, when, the treaty of peace being on foot, he obtained his liberty, and was tried by his peers in the first parliament in queen Elizabeth's reign, and acquitted. It was, as he alleged for himself, his misfortune to be employed in a place where he had not so much as a fourth part of that number of men that was necessary to hold out a siege. But in the declinations of all governments, when losses fall out, they must be cast on those that are entrusted, to excuse those who are much more guilty by neglecting to supply them as the service required. Among the prisoners, one of the chief was sir Edward Grimston, the comptroller of Calais, and a privy-councillor. He had often, according to the duty of his place, given advertisement of the ill condition the garrison was in: but whether those to whom he writ were corrupted by French money, or whether the low state of the queen's treasury made that they were not supplied, is not certain. It was intended he should not come over to discover that; and therefore he was let lie a prisoner in the Bastile, and no care was taken of him or the other prisoners. The ransom set on him was so high that, having lost a great estate which he had purchased about Calais, he resolved not to do any further prejudice to his family by redeeming his liberty at such a rate, and intended either to continue a prisoner or make his escape. He lay above two years in the Bastile, and was lodged in the top of it: at the end of that time he procured a file, and so cut out one of the bars of the window, and having a rope conveyed to him, he changed clothes with his servant, and went down on the rope, which proving a great deal too short, he leaped a great way; and having done that before the gates were shut, made his escape without being discovered. But his beard, which was grown long, made him fear he should be known by it; yet, by a happy providence, he found in the pockets of his servant's clothes a pair of scissors, and going into the fields did so cut his beard that he could not have been known; and having learnt the art of war in the company of the Scotch guard de Mauche, he spake that dialect. So he passed as a Scotch pilgrim, and by that means escaped into England. And there he offered himself to a trial, where, after the evidence was brought, his innocence did so clearly appear, that the jury were ready to give their verdict without going from the bar. So he was acquitted, and lived to a great age, dying in his ninety-eighth year. He was great-grandfather to my noble patron and benefactor, sir Harbotle Grimston, which has made me the more willing to enlarge thus concerning him, to whose heir I owe the chief opportunities and encouragements I have had in composing this work.

Guisnes and the rest of that Territory taken by the French.

Now the queen had nothing left of all those dominions that her ancestors had once in France, but the isles of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sarke. The last of these, being a naked place, only inhabited by some hermits, but having the advantage of a harbour, the French made themselves masters of it. The strength of it consisted in the difficulty of the ascent; the little fort they had being accessible but in one place,

Sarke taken by the French.



where two could only go up abreast: so an ingenious Fleming resolved to beat them out of it. He came thither, and pretending he had a friend dead in his ship, offered them a good present if he might bury him within their chapel. The French consented to it, if he would suffer himself and his men to be so narrowly searched that they might not bring so much as a knife ashore. This he consented to; and as he landed with his coffin, the Frenchmen were to send some to his ship to receive the present. So the coffin being carried into the chapel, and the French apprehending nothing from unarmed men, the coffin was opened, which was full of good arms, and every man furnishing himself, they broke out upon the French, and took them all; as their companions in the ship did those who went aboard to bring the present.

And retaken by an ingenious Stratagem.

The news of the loss of Calais filled England with great discontent. Those who were otherwise dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs took great advantages from it to disparage the government, which the queen had put into the hands of priests who understood not war, and were not sensible of the honour of the nation. It was said they had drained her treasury by the restitutions and foundations they got her to make; and being sensible how much the nation hated them, they had set the queen on other ways of raising money than by a parliament: so that never did the parliament meet with greater disorder and trouble than now. But that loss affected none so deeply as the queen herself, who was so sensible of the dishonour of it that she was much oppressed with melancholy, and was never cheerful after it. Those who took on them to make comments on Divine Providence, expounded this loss as their affections led them. Those of the Reformation said, it was God's heavy judgment upon England for rejecting the light of his gospel, and persecuting such as still adhered to it. But on the other hand the papists said, Calais could not prosper, since it had been a receptacle of heretics, where the laws against them had never been put in execution. King Philip, as soon as he heard of this loss, wrote over to England, desiring them to raise a great force with all possible haste, and send it over to recover Calais before it was fortified, and he would draw out his army and join with them: for if they did not retake it before the season of working about it came on, it was irrecoverably lost. Upon which there was a long consultation held about it. They found they could not to any purpose send over under 20,000 men; the pay of them for five months would rise to 170,000*l.*; garrisons, and an army against the Scots, and securing the coasts against the French, would come to 150,000*l.*; the setting out of a fleet and an army by sea would amount to 200,000*l.*; and yet all that would be too little, if the Danes and Swedes, which they were afraid of, should join against them. There was also great want of ammunition and ordnance, of which they had lost vast quantities in Calais and Guisnes. All this would rise to be above 520,000*l.*; and they doubted much whether the people would endure such impositions, who were now grown stubborn, and talked very loosely. So they did not see how they could possibly enter into any action this year. One reason, among the rest, was suggested by the bishops: they saw a war would oblige them to a greater moderation in their proceedings at home: they had not done their work, which they hoped a little more time would perfect; whereas a slackening in that would raise the drooping spirits of those whom they were now pursuing. So they desired another year to prosecute them, in which time they hoped so to clear the kingdom of them, that with less danger they might engage in a war the year after. Nor did they think it would be easy to bring new-raised men to the hardships of so early a campaign; and they thought the French would certainly work so hard in repairing the breaches, that they would be in a good condition to endure a strait and long siege. All this they wrote over to the king on the 1st of February, as appears from their letter, which will be found in the Collection.

Great discontents in England.

Collection, Number 36.

The parliament was opened on the 20th of January, where the convocation, to be a good example to the two houses, granted a subsidy of eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years. In the house of peers, the abbot of Westminster and the prior of St. John of Jerusalem took their places according to their writs. Tresham, that had given great assistance to the queen upon her first coming to the crown, was now made prior. But how much was done towards the endowing of that house, which had been formerly among the richest of England, I do not know. On the 24th of January

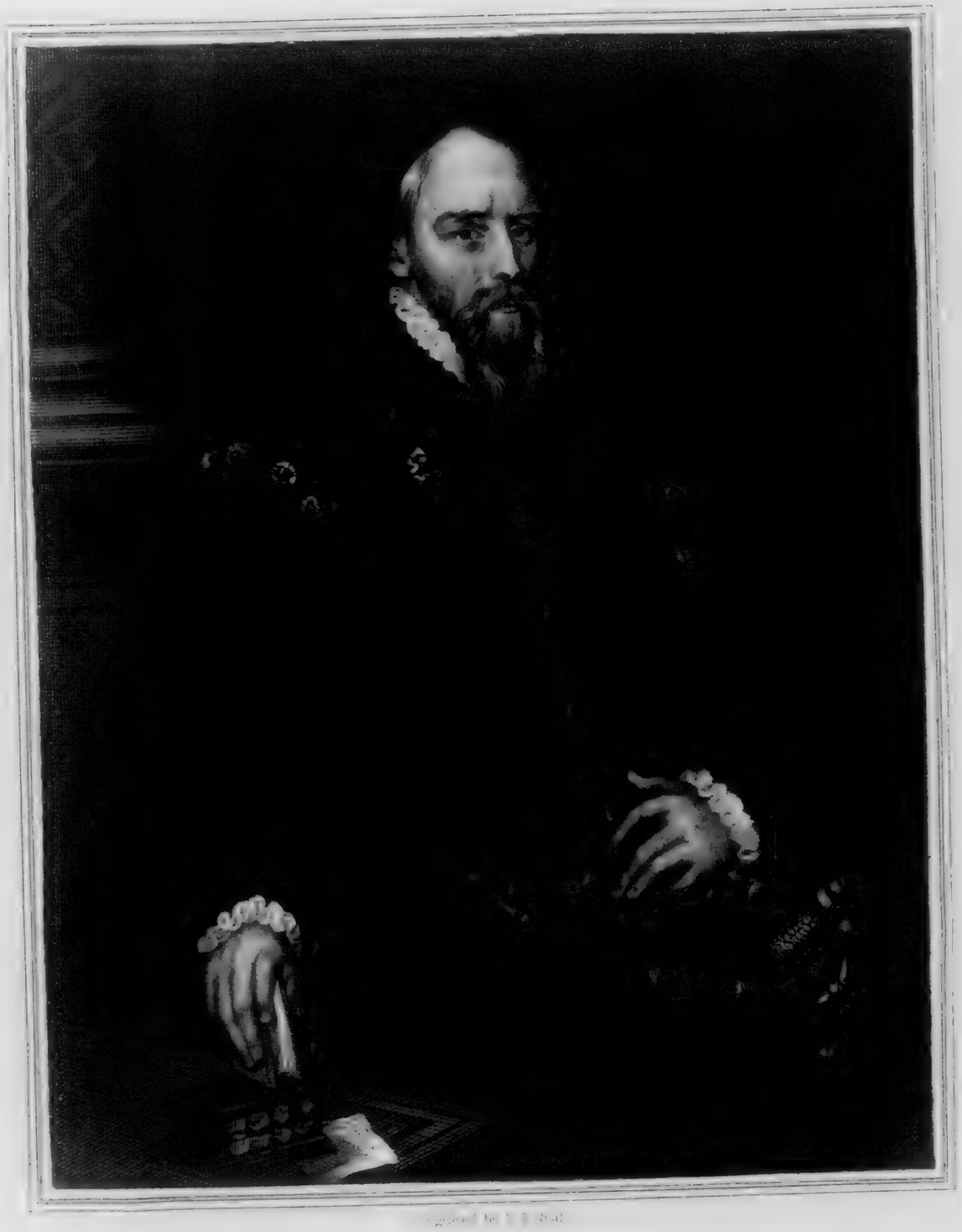
A Parliament is called.

the lords sent a message to the commons, desiring that the speaker, with ten or twelve of that house, should meet with a committee of the lords; which being granted, the lords proposed that the commons would consider of the defence of the kingdom. What was at first demanded does not appear; but after several days' arguing about it, they agreed to give one subsidy, a fifteenth, and a tenth; and ordered the speaker to let the queen know what they had concluded, who sent them her hearty thanks for it. Then complaints being made of some Frenchmen that were not denizens, it was carried that they should go out of the kingdom, and not return during the war *. The abbot of Westminster, finding the revenues of his house were much impaired, thought that if the old privileges of the sanctuary were confirmed, it would bring him in a good revenue from those that fled to it: so he pressed for an act to confirm it. He brought a great many ancient grants of the kings of England which the queen had confirmed by her letters-patents; but they did not prevail with the house, who proceeded no further in it. In this parliament the procurers of wilful murder were denied the benefit of clergy, which was carried in the house of lords by the greater number, as it is in their Journals. The bishops did certainly oppose it, though none of them entered their dissent. Sir Ambrose and sir Robert Dudley, two sons of the late duke of Northumberland, were restored in blood. The countess of Sussex's jointure was taken from her for her living in adultery so publicly, as was formerly mentioned. In the end of the session, a bill was put in for the confirming of the queen's letters-patents: it was designed chiefly for confirming the religious foundations she had made. As this went through the house of commons, one Copley said, he did not approve such a general confirmation of those she had given, or might give, lest this might be a colour for her to dispose of the crown from the right inheritors. The house was much offended at this, and expressed such dislike at the imagination that the queen would alienate the crown, that they both showed their esteem for the queen and their resolution to have the crown descend after her death to her sister. Copley was made to withdraw, and voted guilty of great irreverence to the queen. He asked pardon, and desired it might be imputed to his youth: yet he was kept in the serjeant's hands till they had sent to the queen to desire her to forgive his offence. She sent them word, that at their suit she forgave it, but wished them to examine him from whence that motion sprung. There is no more entered about it in the Journal, so that it seems to have been let fall. The parliament was, on the 7th of March, prorogued to the 7th of November.

The King of Sweden treats a Marriage with the Lady Elizabeth.

Soon after this, the king of Sweden sent a message secretly to the lady Elizabeth, who was then at Hatfield, to propose marriage to her. King Philip had once designed to marry her to the duke of Savoy, when he was in hope of children by the queen; but that hope vanishing, he broke it off, and intended to reserve her for himself. How far she entertained that motion, I do not know; but for this from Sweden she rejected it, since it came not to her by the queen's direction. But to that it was answered, the king of Sweden would have them begin with herself, judging that fit for him, as he was a gentleman; and her good liking being obtained, he would next, as a king, address himself to the queen. But she said, as she was to entertain no such propositions, unless the queen sent them to her, so, if she were left to herself, she assured them she would not change her state of life. Upon this, the queen sent sir Tho. Pope to her, in April, to let her know how well she approved of the answer she had made to them: but they had now delivered their letters, and made the proposition to her, in which she desired to know her mind. She thanked the queen for her favour to her, but bade Pope tell her, that there had been one or two noble propositions made for her in her brother king Edward's time; and she had then desired to continue in the state she was in, which of all others pleased her best; and she thought there was no state of life comparable to it. She had never before heard of that king, and she desired never to hear of that motion more. She would see his messenger no more, since he had presumed to come to her without the queen's leave. Then Pope said, he did believe, if the queen offered her some honourable marriage, she would not be averse to it. She answered, what she might do afterwards, she did not know; but protested solemnly, that, as she was then inclined, if she could have the greatest prince in Christendom,

* The complaint was against all the French denizens as well as others; but the act was more favourable.—STRYPE's CORRECT.



AMBROSE DUDLEY, EARL OF WARWICK.

OB. 1590

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY



Engraved by C. Rose.

ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.

OB. 1588.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE POSSESSION OF

THE MOST NOBLE, THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY

she would not accept of him; though, perhaps, the queen might think this flowed rather from a maid's modesty than any settled determination in her. This I take from a letter Pope wrote about it, which is in the Collection: yet her life at this time was neither so pleasant nor so well secured, but that, if her aversion to a married state had not been very much rooted in her, it is not unlikely she would have been glad to be out of the hands of her unkind keepers, who grew the more apprehensive of her the more they observed her sister to decay; and as the bishops did apprehend she would overthrow all that they had been building and cementing with so much blood, so some of them did not spare to suggest the putting of her out of the way: and now that she is so near the throne in the course of this history, I shall look back through this reign to give account of what befel her in it.

Which is rejected by her. Collection, Number 37.

When she was suspected to be accessary to Wiat's conspiracy, the day after his breaking out, the lord Hastings, sir Tho. Cornwallis, and sir Richard Southwell, were sent for her to come to court. She then lay sick at her house at Ashbridge; but that excuse not being accepted, she was forced to go; so being still ill she came by slow journeys to the queen. She was kept shut up in private at court from the 4th of March to the 16th, and then Gardiner, with nineteen of the council, came to examine her about Wiat's rebellion. She positively denied she knew anything of it, or of sir Peter Carew's designs in the west, which they also objected to her. In conclusion, they told her the queen had ordered her to be sent to the Tower till the matter should be further inquired into; and though she made great protestations of her innocence, yet she was carried thither, and led in by the Traitor's-gate, all her own servants being put from her. Three men and as many women of the queen's servants were appointed to attend on her, and no person was suffered to have access to her. Sir John Gage, who was the lieutenant of the Tower, treated her very severely, kept her closely shut up, without leave to walk either in the galleries or on the leads, nor would he permit her servants to carry in her meat to her, but he did that by his own servants. The other prisoners were often examined about her, and some were put to the rack to try if they could be brought any way to accuse her: but though Wiat had done it, when he hoped to have saved his own life by so base an action, yet he afterwards denied that she knew any of their designs; and lest those denials he made at his examinations might have been suppressed, and his former depositions be made use of against her, he declared it openly on the scaffold at his death. After some days' close imprisonment, upon great intercession made by the lord Chandos, then constable of the Tower, it was granted that she might sometimes walk in the queen's rooms, in the presence of the constable, the lieutenant, and three women, the windows being all shut. Then she got leave to walk in a little garden for some air; but all the windows that opened to it were to be kept shut when she took her walk: and so jealous were they of her, that a boy of four years old was severely threatened, and his father sent for and chid, for his carrying flowers to her. The lord Chandos was observed to treat her with too much respect, so he was not any more trusted with the charge of her, which was committed to sir Henry Bedingfeld. About the middle of May she was sent, under the guard of the lord Williams and Bedingfeld, to Woodstock. She was so straitly kept, and Bedingfeld was so sullen to her, that she believed they intended to put her privately to death. The lord Williams treated her nobly at his house on the way, at which Bedingfeld was much disgusted. When she was at Woodstock she was still kept under guards, and but seldom allowed to walk in the gardens, none being suffered to come near her. After many months' imprisonment she obtained leave to write to the queen, Bedingfeld being to see all she wrote. It was believed that some were sent secretly to kill her; but the orders were given so strictly that none of them could come near her without a special warrant, and so she escaped at that time. But after king Philip understood the whole case, he broke all those designs, as was formerly shown, and prevailed to have her sent for to court. When she came to Hampton-court she was kept still a prisoner. Many of the council, Gardiner in particular, dealt often with her to confess her offences, and submit to the queen's mercy. She said she had never offended her, not so much as in her thoughts, and she would never betray her own innocency by such a confession. One night, when it was late, she was sent for by the queen, before whom she kneeled down and protested she was and ever had been a most faithful subject to her. The queen seemed still to suspect her,

She was hardly used all this Reign.

and wished her to confess her guilt, otherwise she must think she had been unjustly dealt with. She answered, that she was not to complain, but to bear her burden; only she begged her to conceive a good opinion of her. So they parted fairly, which king Philip had persuaded the queen to; and being afraid that the sourness of the queen's temper might lead her into passion, he was secretly in a corner of the room to prevent any further breach, in case she should have been transported into new heats; but there was no occasion given for it. Soon after that she was discharged of her guards, and suffered to retire into the country; but there were always many spies about her; and she, to avoid all suspicion, meddled in no sort of business, but gave herself wholly to study. And thus she passed these five years, under no small fears and apprehensions, which was perhaps a necessary preparation for that high degree to which she was soon after advanced, and which she held in the greatest and longest course of prosperity and glory that ever any of her sex attained to.

The Progress of the Persecution.

The bishops, when the parliament was sitting, did always intermit their cruelties: but as soon as it was over, they fell to them afresh. On the 28th of March, Cuthbert Simpson, that was in deacon's orders with two others, were burnt in Smithfield. Simpson had been taken with Rough that suffered the year before this. He was put to much torture, he lay three hours on the rack; besides two other inventions of torture were made use of to make him discover all those in London who met with them in their private assemblies: but he would tell nothing, and showed such patience, that the bishops did publicly commend him for it. On the 9th of April a man was burnt at Hereford. On the 19th of May three men were burnt at Norwich; and on the 26th of May two men and one woman were burnt at Colchester. At this time, complaints being made to the queen, that books of heresy, treason, and sedition, were either brought in from foreign parts, or secretly printed in England, and dispersed among her subjects; she set out, on the 6th of June, a proclamation of a strange nature: "That whosoever had any of these, and did not presently burn them without reading, or showing them to any other person, they should be esteemed rebels, and, without any further delay, be executed according to the order of the martial law." On the 27th of that month, when seven were to be led out to be burnt in Smithfield, it was proclaimed in the queen's name, that no man should pray for them, or speak to them, or say, "God help them;" which was thought a strain of barbarity beyond all the examples of former times, to deprive dying men of the good wishes and prayers of their friends. But however this might restrain men from giving outward signs of their praying for them, it could not bind up their inward and secret devotions. Those seven had been taken at a meeting in Islington with many others; of whom some died in prison, and six others were burnt at Brainford the 14th of July. The rest of them were kept by Bonner, who now seemed to have been glutted with the blood of so many innocents, and therefore to have put a stop to the effusion of more: yet those that were kept prisoners by him, did not so entirely escape his fury, but that he disciplined them himself with rods, till he was weary; and so gave over that odd way of pastoral correction, rather to ease himself, than in pity to them whom he whipped. On the 10th of July a minister was burnt at Norwich: on the 2nd or 3rd of August a gentleman was burnt near Winchester: in August four were burnt at Bury; and in November three more were burnt there. On the 4th of November a man and a woman were burnt at Ipswich: at that time a woman was burnt at Exeter: and, to close up all, on the 10th of November three men and two women were burnt at Canterbury, which made in all thirty-nine this year. There had been seventy-nine burnt the former year, ninety-four the year before that, and seventy-two the first year of the persecution; which in all come to two hundred and eighty-four. But he that writ the preface to bishop Ridley's book, De Cœna Domini, who is supposed to be Grindal *, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, says, that in the two first years of the queen's persecution there were above eight hundred put to most cruel kinds of death for religion: by which it seems Fox, on whom I depend in the numbers I have assigned, has come far short in his account †. Besides those that were burnt, many others

* The author of the preface to Ridley's book was William Wittingham, according to Bale (pp. 684, 731), who knew the man very well, as well as his writings.—Anon. Correct.

† Lord Burleigh, in the "Execution of Justice," says, there died by imprisonments, torments, famine, and fire, near four hundred. On this we may depend.—Strype's Correct.



died in bonds, of whom there are sixty reckoned. There were also great numbers of those who were vexed with long and grievous imprisonment: and though they redeemed their lives by the renouncing, or rather the dissembling of their consciences, yet this being but forced from them, they carried with them their old opinions; and the wound they gave their consciences to save their lives, as it begot in many of them great horror for what they had done, so it raised in them the most mortal hatred to those who had driven them to such straits: so that if that religion was hateful before to the nation, for the impostures and scandals that were discovered in the clergy, and some few instances of their cruelty, the repeated burnings, and other cruelties, of which now they saw no end, did increase their aversion to it beyond all expression.

The Method of the Persecutions of this Reign.

At first the bishops dealt earnestly with those who were brought before them to recant, and were ready at any time to receive them: the queen's pardon was also sent to them as they were ready to be tied to the stake, if they would then turn. But now it was far otherwise. For in the council-books there is an entry made of a letter, written on the 1st of August this year, to sir Richard Pexall, sheriff of Hampshire, signifying, "That the queen thought it very strange that he had delayed the execution of the sentence against one Bembridge, condemned of heresy, because he had recanted: requiring him to execute it out of hand, and if he still continued in the catholic faith, which he outwardly pretended, he was then to suffer such divines as the bishop of Winchester should appoint, to have access to him for confirming him in the faith, and to attend on him at his death, that he might die God's servant: and as soon as the sheriff had thus burnt him, he was to come to the council, and answer for his presumption in delaying it so long." The matter of fact was thus: Bembridge being tied to the stake, and the fire taking hold on him, he, through the violence of it, yielded, and cried out, "I recant." Upon which, the sheriff made the fire be put out, and Bembridge signed such a recantation as doctor Seton, who was near him, writ for him: but for all that, upon this order of council, he was burnt, and the sheriff was put in the Fleet: so that now it appeared that it was not so much the conversion of those they called heretics, as their destruction, that the bishops desired: and so much were their instruments set on these severities, that though they saw the queen declining so fast, that there was no appearance of her living many days; yet the week before she died, they burnt, as hath been said, five together in one fire at Canterbury.

An unhappy Expedition against France.

There was nothing done in the war with France this year, but the sending out a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships, with seven thousand landmen in it, under the command of the lord Clinton, who landed at Port Conquet in the point of Brittany, where after a small resistance made by the French he burnt the town; but the country being gathered together, the English were forced to return to their ships, having lost above six hundred of their men. The design was to have seized on Brest and fortified it, which was proposed by king Philip, who had sent thirty of his ships to their assistance. This the French knowing by some of the prisoners whom they took, went and fortified Brest, and kept a great body of men together to resist in case the English should make a second impression. But the lord Clinton seeing he could do nothing, returned, having made a very expensive and unprosperous attempt. The English had lost their hearts; the government at home was so little acceptable to them, that they were not much concerned to support it; they began to think Heaven was against them.

Strange and unusual Accidents.

There were many strange accidents at home that struck terror in them. In July, thunder broke near Nottingham, with such violence, that it beat down two little towns, with all the houses and churches in them: the bells were carried a good way from the steeples, and the lead that covered the churches was cast four hundred foot from them, strangely wreathed. The river of Trent, as it is apt upon deluges of rain to swell and overrun the country, so it broke out this year with extraordinary violence; many trees were plucked up by the roots, and with it there was such a wind, that carried several men and children a great way, and dashed them against trees or houses, so that they died. Hailstones fell that were fifteen inches about in other places: and, which was much more terrible, a contagious intermitting fever, not unlike the plague,

raged everywhere: so that three parts of four of the whole nation were infected with it. So many priests died of it, that in many places there were none to be had for the performing of the offices. Many bishops died also of it, so that there were many vacancies made by the hand of Heaven, against queen Elizabeth came to the crown: and it spreading most violently in August, there were not men enough, in many counties, to reap the harvest; so that much corn was lost. All these symptoms concurred to increase the aversion the people had to the government, which made the queen very willing to consent to a treaty of peace that was opened at Cambray in October, to which she sent the earl of Arundel, the bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, as her plenipotentiaries.

A Treaty of Peace between England, France, and Spain.

The occasion of the peace was from a meeting that the bishop of Arras had with the cardinal of Lorraine at Peronne; in which he proposed to him how much Philip was troubled at the continuance of the war; their forces being so much engaged in it that they could make no resistance to the Turk, and the meanwhile heresy increasing and spreading in their own dominions, while they were so taken up that they could not look carefully to their affairs at home, but must connive at many things: therefore he pressed the cardinal to persuade the king of France to an accommodation. The cardinal was easily induced to this, since besides his own zeal for religion, he saw that he might thereby bear down the constable's greatness; whose friends, chiefly his two nephews, the admiral and Dandelot, who went then among the best captains in France, were both suspect of being protestants, upon which the latter was shortly after put in prison; so he used all his endeavours to draw the king to consent to it; in which he had the less opposition, since the court was now filled with his dependants and his four brothers, who had got all the great officers of France into their hands; and the constable and admiral being prisoners, there was none to oppose their councils. The king thinking that, by the recovery of Calais and the places about it, he had gained enough to balance the loss of St. Quintin, was very willing to hearken to a treaty; and he was in an ill state to continue the war, being much weakened both by the loss he suffered last year and the blow that he received in July last: the marshal de Thermes being inclosed by the count of Egmont near Graveling, where the French army being set on by the count, and galled with the English ordnance from their ships that lay near the land, was defeated, five thousand killed, the marshal and the other chief officers being taken prisoners. These losses made him sensible that his affairs were in so ill a condition, that he could not gain much by the war.

The Battle of Graveling.

The cardinal was the more earnest to bring on a peace, because the protestants did not only increase in their numbers, but they came so openly to avow their religion, that in the public walks without the suburbs of St. Germain, they began to sing David's Psalms in French verse. The newness of the thing amused many; the devotion of it wrought on others; the music drew in the rest; so that the multitudes that used to divert themselves in those fields, instead of their ordinary sports, did now nothing for many nights but go about singing psalms: and that which made it more remarkable was, that the king and queen of Navarre came and joined with them. That king, besides the honour of a crowned head, with the small part of that kingdom that was yet left in their hands, was the first prince of the blood. He was a soft and weak man; but his queen, in whose right he had that title, was one of the most extraordinary women that any age hath produced, both for knowledge far above her sex, for a great judgment in affairs, an heroical greatness of mind, and all other virtues, joined to a high measure of devotion and true piety; all which, except the last, she derived to her son Henry the Great. When the king of France heard of this psalmody, he made an edict against it, and ordered the doers of it to be punished: but the numbers of them, and the respect to those crowned heads, made the business to go no further.

The Number of the Protestants growing in France.

On the 24th of April was the dauphin married to the queen of Scotland. Four cardinals, Bourbon, Lorraine, Chastilion, and Bertrand, with many of the princes of the blood, and the other great men of France, and the commissioners sent from Scotland, were present. But scarce anything adorned it more than the Epithalamium written upon it by Buchanan, which was accounted one of the

The Dauphin marries the Queen of Scotland.



perfectest pieces of Latin poetry. After the marriage was over, the Scotch commissioners were desired to offer the dauphin the ensigns of the regality of Scotland, and to acknowledge him their king; but they excused themselves, since that was beyond their commission, which only empowered them to treat concerning the articles of the marriage, and to carry an account back to those that sent them. Then it was desired that they would promote the business at their return to their country; but some of them had expressed their aversion to those propositions so plainly, that it was believed they were poisoned by the brethren of the house of Guise. Four of them died in France, the bishop of Orkney, and the earls of Rothes and Cassils, and the lord Fleming. The prior of St. Andrew's was also very sick; and though he recovered at that time, yet he had never any perfect health after it. When the other four returned into Scotland, a convention of the estates was called, to consult about the propositions they brought.

A Convention of Estates in Scotland.

This assembly consists of all those members that make up a parliament, who were then the bishops, and abbots, and priors, who made the first estate; the noblemen, that were the second estate; and the deputies from the towns—one from every town, only Edinburgh sends two—were the third estate. Anciently, all that held lands of the crown were summoned to parliaments, as well the greater as the lesser barons. But in king James the First's time, the lesser barons finding it a great charge to attend on such assemblies, desired to be excused from it; and procured an act of parliament exempting them, and giving them power to send from every county, two, three, four, or more, to represent them: but they afterwards thought this rather a charge than a privilege, and did not use it; so that now the second estate consisted only of the nobility. But the gentry finding the prejudice they suffered by this, and that the nobility grew too absolute, procured, by king James the Sixth's favour, an act of parliament restoring them to that right of sending deputies, two from every county, except some small counties that send only one. But according to the ancient law, none has a vote in the elections but those who hold lands immediately of the crown of such a value. The difference between a parliament and a convention of estates is, that the former must be summoned forty days before it sits, and then it meets in state and makes laws, which are to be prepared by a committee of all the estates, called the lords of the articles: but a convention may be called within as few days as are necessary for giving notice to all parts of the nation to make their elections: they have no power of making laws, being only called for one particular emergent, which, during the division of the island, was chiefly upon the breaking out of war betwixt the two nations, and so their power was confined to the giving of money for the occasion which then brought them together.

In the convention now held, after much debate and opposition whether they should consent to the demand made by the ambassador sent from France, it was carried, that the dauphin should be acknowledged their king: great assurances being given, that this should be only a bare title, and that he should pretend to no power over them. So the earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrew's, who had been the main sticklers for the French interest, upon the promises that the queen-regent made them, that they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, were appointed to carry the matrimonial crown into France. But as they were preparing for their journey, a great revolution of affairs fell out in England.

The parliament met on the 5th of November. On the 7th the queen sent for the speaker of the house of commons, and ordered him to open to them the ill condition the nation was in: for though there was a treaty begun at Cambray, yet it was necessary to put the kingdom in a posture of defence, in case it should miscarry. But the commons were now so dissatisfied, that they could come to no resolution. So on the 14th day of November, the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Shrewsbury and Pembroke, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, and Carlisle, the viscount Mountacute, the lords Clinton and Howard, came down to the house of commons, and sate in that place of the house where the privy-councillors used to sit. The speaker left his chair, and he with the privy-councillors that were of the house, came and sate on low benches before them. The lord chancellor showed the necessity of granting

A Session of Parliament in England.

a subsidy to defend the nation, both from the French and the Scots. When he had done, the lords withdrew; but though the commons entered, both that and the two following days, into the debate, they came to no issue in their consultations.

The Queen's Sickness. The queen had never enjoyed her health perfectly since the false conception that was formerly spoken of; upon which followed the neglect from her husband, and the despair of issue, that increased her melancholy; and this receiving a great addition from the loss of Calais, and the other misfortunes of this year, she, by a long declination of health, and decay of her spirits, was now brought so low, that it was visible she had not many days to live: and a dropsy coming on her put a conclusion to her unhappy reign and unfortunate life, on the 17th of November, in the 43d year of her age, after she had reigned five years, four months, and eleven days.

And death.

Cardinal Pole dies. At the same time cardinal Pole, as if one star had governed both their nativities, was also dying; and, his end being hastened by the queen's death, he followed her within sixteen hours, in the 59th year of his age. He left his whole estate to Aloisi Prioli, a noble Venetian, with whom he had lived six-and-twenty years in so entire a friendship, that as nothing could break it off, so neither was anything able to separate them from one another's company. Prioli, being invited by pope Julius to come and receive a cardinal's hat, preferred Pole's company before it; and as he had supplied him in his necessities in Italy, so he left his country now to live with him in England. Pole made him his executor; but Prioli was of a more noble temper than to enrich himself by his friend's wealth; for as he took care to pay all the legacies he left, so he gave away all that remained, reserving nothing to himself but Pole's breviary and diary*. And indeed the cardinal was not a man made to raise a fortune, being, by the greatness of his birth, and his excellent virtues, carried far above such mean designs. He was a learned, modest, humble, and good-natured man; and had indeed such qualities, and such a temper, that if he could have brought the other bishops to follow his measures, or the pope and queen to approve of them, he might have probably done much to have reduced this nation to popery again. But God designed better things for it; so he gave up the queen to the bloody councils of Gardiner, and the rest of the clergy. It was the only thing in which she was not led by the cardinal: but she imputed his opinion in that particular rather to the sweetness of his temper than to his wisdom and experience: and he, seeing he could do nothing of what he projected in England, fell into a languishing, first of his mind, that brought after it a decay of his health, of which he died. I have dwelt the more copiously on his character, being willing to deny to none of whom I write the praises that are due to them: and he being the only man of that whole party of whom I found any reason to say much good, I was the more willing to enlarge about him, to let the world see how little I am biassed, in the account I give, by interest or opinion. So that if I have written sharply of any others that have been mentioned in this reign, it was the force of truth, and my abhorrence of their barbarous cruelties, that led me to it, more than my being of a contrary persuasion to them. It is certain that Pole's method, of correcting the manners of the clergy, and being gentle to the reformed, would in all appearance have been much more fatal to the progress of the reformation, that was set forward by nothing more, than by the severities showed to those that differed from them, and the indulgence of the bishops to the vices of their own party. Yet Pole had a vast superstition to the see of Rome; and though his being at the council of Trent had opened his eyes to many things which he had not observed before, yet he still retained his great submission to that see, and thought it impossible to maintain the order and unity of the church, but by holding communion with it, which carried him, in opposition to many apprehensions himself had of some theological points, still to support the interests of the papacy. His neglect of the offer of it, when it was made to him, showed this flowed from no aspirings of his own, but purely from his judgment: so that what mistakes soever his education, and heats with king Henry, and the disasters of his family, might have involved him in, it cannot be denied that he was a man of as great probity and virtue as most of the age, if not all of that church, in which he lived.

His Character.

* Ex quibus Polus Deum precari solitus erat, Breviarum vocamus et diurnale.—BECATELL., p. 80.



The Queen's Character. For the queen herself, her character has appeared so manifestly in her reign, that I need make no further description of her. She was a woman of a strict and innocent life, that allowed herself few of the diversions with which courts abound. She was bred to learning, and understood the Latin tongue well; but what further knowledge she had does not appear to me*. She was constant at her devotions, and was as much addicted to the interests and humours of the clergy as they could have wished her. She had great resentments of her own ill usage in her father's and brother's times, which made her be easily induced to take her revenge, though she coloured it with her zeal against heresy. She did not much mind any other affairs but those of the church; so that if she could have extirpated heresy, she seemed to regard all other things very little; and being given up to follow the dictates of Rome, with a nice scrupulosity of conscience, it was no wonder she went on in these designs very vigorously. For as the pope was ever calling on all princes that were under his obedience to set up the courts of inquisition, so the fourth general council of Lateran, to which with the other general councils she paid no less reverence than to the Scriptures, charged Catholic princes to extirpate all heretics out of their dominions; such as were slack must be required to do it by their bishops; and if that prevailed not, they were to be excommunicated by them; and if they continued negligent, and under that censure a year, they were to be deprived by the pope, and their dominions to be given to others, who should take more care to extirpate heresy. The pope had also in February this year published a Constitution, to which he had made all the cardinals set their hands, confirming all former decrees and canons against heretics; declaring that all prelates, princes, kings, and emperors, that had fallen into heresy, should be understood to be deprived of their dominions, without any further sentence; and that any Catholics who would take the forfeiture should have a good title to all that they invaded and seized. The bishops, besides the other canons binding them to proceed against heretics, were, by the words of the oath of obedience which they swore to the pope at their consecration, engaged to "oppose and persecute the heretics with all their might;" so that their giving severe counsels, and the queen's following them, flowed mainly from the principles of their religion; in which the sourness of her temper made it the more easy to persuade her to a compliance to those courses, to which her inclination led her without any such motives. To conclude, her death was as little lamented as any of all our princes ever was, the popish clergy being almost the only mourners that were among her own people.

Thus lived and died Mary, queen of England by inheritance, and of Spain by marriage.

* She understood and wrote well both in Spanish and French.—STRYPE's CORRECT.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

# PART II.—BOOK III.

## OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION IN THE BEGINNING OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

QUEEN MARY'S death was concealed for some hours. What the secret consultations were upon it is not known; but the issue of them appeared about nine o'clock. Then the lord chancellor went to the house of lords, and first imparted to them the news of the queen's death, which, as it struck the bishops with no small fear, so those councillors, who had been severe in their advices about her sister, did apprehend she might remember it against them. Yet they all agreed to proclaim her queen; and by the zeal they expressed for her coming to the crown, intended to balance the errors they had formerly been led to, rather in compliance to the late queen's resentments, than out of any ill-will they bore herself. They sent for the house of commons, and the lord chancellor signified to them the queen's death, which he said would have been a much more sorrowful loss to them if they had not such a successor, that was the next and indisputed heir to the crown; Elizabeth, of whose right and title none could make any question: therefore they intended to proclaim her queen, and desired their concurrence. This was echoed with many and long repeated cries, "God save queen Elizabeth!" "Long and happily may she reign!"

1558. Queen Elizabeth succeeds.

The parliament being declared to be dissolved by the late queen's death, the lords proclaimed Elizabeth queen; and went into London, where it was again done by the lord mayor, and received everywhere with such excessive joy that there was no sign of sorrow expressed for the death of queen Mary but what the priests showed; who, in so public and universal a joy, were forced to betake themselves to secret groans, since they durst not vent them in public. Never did any before her come to the throne with so many good wishes and acclamations, which the horror of the cruelties, and the reflection of the disasters of the former reign, drew from the people, who now hoped to see better times.

And proclaimed Queen.

The queen was then at Hatfield *, where, having received the news of her sister's death, and of her being proclaimed queen, she came from thence to London. On the 19th, at Highgate, all the bishops met her, whom she received civilly, except Bonner, on whom she looked as defiled with so much blood that she could not think it fit to bestow any mark of her favour on him. She was received into the City with throngs much greater than even such occasions used to draw together, and followed with the loudest shouts of joy that they could raise. She lay that night at the duke of Norfolk's house in the Charter-house, and next day went to the Tower. There, at her entry, she kneeled down, and offered up thanks to God for that great change in her condition; that whereas she had been formerly a prisoner in that place, every hour in fear of her life, she was now raised to so high a dignity. She soon cleared all people's apprehensions as to the hardships she had formerly met with, and showed she had absolutely forgot from whom she had received them: even Bedingfeld himself not excepted, who had been the chief instrument of her sufferings. But she called him always her jailor, which though she did in a way of raillery, yet it was so sharp that he avoided coming any more to the court.

And comes to London.

She presently despatched messengers to all the princes of Christendom, giving notice of her sister's death and her succession. She writ in particular to king Philip a large acknowledgment of his kindness to her, to whom she held herself much bound for his interposing so

* Queen Elizabeth staid some days at Hatfield. She came to the Charter-house on the 21st of November. On the 28th she went to the Tower, and came to Westminster on the 23rd of December.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.



Engraved by W. T. Fry.

# QUEEN ELIZABETH.

OB. 1603

FROM THE [illegible] ZUCCHERO [illegible]

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY

effectually with her sister for her preservation. She also sent to sir Edward Carne, that had been her sister's resident at Rome, to give the pope the news of her succession. The haughty pope received it in his ordinary style, declaring, "that England was held in fee of the apostolic see; that she could not succeed, being illegitimate; nor could he contradict the declarations made in that matter by his predecessors, Clement VII. and Paul III." He said, "it was great boldness in her to assume the crown without his consent, for which in reason she deserved no favour at his hands; yet if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer herself wholly to him, he would show a fatherly affection to her, and do everything for her that could consist with the dignity of the apostolic see." When she heard of this, she was not much concerned at it; for she had written to Carne as she did to her other ministers, and had renewed his powers upon her first coming to the crown, being unwilling in the beginning of her reign to provoke any party against her. But hearing how the pope received this address, she recalled Carne's powers, and commanded him to come home. The pope, on the other hand, required him not to go out of Rome, but to stay and take the care of an hospital over which he set him; which it was thought that Carne procured to himself because he was unwilling to return into England, apprehending the change of religion that might follow, for he was himself zealously addicted to the see of Rome.

She sends a Despatch to Rome.

But to no effect.

As soon as Philip heard the news, he ordered the duke of Feria, whom he had sent over in his name to comfort the late queen in her sickness, to congratulate the new queen, and in secret to propose marriage to her; and to assure her he should procure a dispensation from Rome; and at the same time he sent thither to obtain it. But the queen, though very sensible of her obligation to him, had no mind to the marriage. It appeared, by what hath been said in the former Book, and by the sequel of her whole life, that though upon some occasions, when her affairs required it, she treated about her marriage, yet she was firmly resolved never to marry. Besides this, she saw her people were generally averse to any foreigner, and particularly to a Spaniard; and she made it the steady maxim of her whole reign, from which she never departed, to rule in their affections as well as over their persons. Nor did she look on the pope's dispensation as a thing of any force to warrant what was otherwise forbidden by God; and the relation between king Philip and her being the reverse of that which was between her father and queen Katharine, it seeming to be equally unlawful for one man to marry two sisters as it was for one woman to be married to two brothers, she could not consent to this marriage without approving king Henry's with queen Katharine: and if that were a good marriage, then she must be illegitimate, as being born of a marriage which only the unlawfulness of that could justify. So inclination, interest, and conscience, all concurred to make her reject king Philip's motion. Yet she did it in terms so full of esteem and kindness for him, that he still insisted in the proposition; in which she was not willing to undeceive him so entirely as to put him out of all hopes while the treaty of Cambray was in dependence, that so she might tie him more closely to her interests.

King Philip courts her in Marriage.

The French, hearing of queen Mary's death, and being alarmed at Philip's design upon the new queen, sent to Rome to engage the pope to deny the dispensation, and to make him declare the queen of Scotland to be the right heir to the crown of England, and the pretended queen to be illegitimate. The cardinal of Lorraine prevailed also with the French king to order his daughter-in-law to assume that title, and to put the arms of England on all her furniture.

The Queen of Scots pretends to the Crown of England.

But now to return to England: Queen Elizabeth continued to employ some of the same councillors that had served queen Mary; namely, Heath, the lord chancellor; the marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer; the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby, and Pembroke; the lords Clinton and Howard; sir Thomas Cheyney, sir William Petre, sir John Mason, sir Richard Sackvile; and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York. Most of these had complied with all the changes that had been made in religion backward and forward since the latter end of king Henry's reign; and were so dexterous at it, that they were still employed in every new revolution. To them, who were all papists, the queen added the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, sir Thomas

The Queen's Council.

Parry, sir Edward Rogers, sir Ambrose Cave, sir Francis Knolles, and sir William Cecil, whom she made secretary of state, and soon after she sent for sir Nicolas Bacon, who were all of the reformed religion. She renewed all the commissions to those formerly entrusted, and ordered that such as were imprisoned on the account of religion should be set at liberty. After this, a man that used to talk pleasantly said to her, that he came to supplicate in behalf of some prisoners not yet set at liberty. She asked who they were: he said they were Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, that were still shut up; for the people longed much to see them abroad. She answered him as pleasantly, she would first talk with themselves, and see whether they desired to be set at such liberty as he requested for them.

A Consultation about the Change of Religion.

Now the two great things under consultation were religion and peace. For the former, some were appointed to consider how it was to be reformed. Beal, a clerk of the council, gave advice to Cecil that the parliaments under queen Mary should be declared void; the first being under a force (as was before related), and the title of Supreme Head being left out of the summons to the next parliament before it was taken away by law: from whence he inferred that both these were not lawfully held or duly summoned; and this being made out, the laws of king Edward were still in force. But this was laid aside as too high and violent a way of proceeding, since the annulling of parliaments upon little errors in writs, or some particular disorders, was a precedent of such consequence, that to have proceeded in such a manner would have unhinged all the government and security of the nation. More moderate courses were thought on. The queen had been bred up from her infancy with a hatred of the papacy and a love to the Reformation; but yet, as her first impressions in her father's reign were in favour of such old rites as he had still retained, so in her own nature she loved state and some magnificence in religion as well as in everything else. She thought that in her brother's reign they had stripped it too much of external ornaments, and had made their doctrine too narrow in some points; therefore she intended to have some things explained in more general terms, that so all parties might be comprehended by them. She inclined to keep up images in churches; and to have the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament left in some general words, that those who believed the corporal presence might not be driven away from the church by too nice an explanation of it. Nor did she like the title of Supreme Head; she thought it imported too great a power, and came too near that authority which Christ only had over the church. These were her own private thoughts. She considered nothing could make her power great in the world abroad so much as the uniting all her people together at home: her father's and her brother's reign had been much distracted by the rebellions within England, and she had before her eyes the instance of the coldness that the people had expressed to her sister on all occasions for the maintaining or recovering of the dominions beyond sea. Therefore she was very desirous to find such a temper in which all might agree. She observed that, in the changes formerly made, particularly in renouncing the papacy, and making some alterations in worship, the whole clergy had concurred; and so she resolved to follow and imitate these by easy steps.

A Method of doing it proposed.

There was a long consultation had about the method of the changes she should make, the substance of which shall be found in the Collection, in a paper where, in the way of question and answer, the whole design of it is laid down. This draught of it was given to sir William Cecil, and does exactly agree with the account that Camden gives of it. That learned and judicious man has written the history of this queen's reign, with that fidelity and care, in so good a style, and with so much judgment, that it is without question the best part of our English history: but he himself often says, that he had left many things to those who should undertake the history of the church; therefore in the account of the beginnings of this reign, as I shall in all things follow him with the credit that is due to so extraordinary a writer, so having met with some things which he did not know, or thought not necessary in so succinct a history to enlarge on, I shall not be afraid to write after him, though the esteem he is justly in may make it seem superfluous to go over these matters any more.

Collection, Number 1.

"It seemed necessary for the queen to do nothing before a parliament were called, for only from that assembly could the affections of the people be certainly gathered.

The Heads of it.



The next thing she had to do was to balance the dangers that threatened her both from abroad and at home. The pope would certainly excommunicate and depose her, and stir up all Christian princes against her: the king of France would lay hold of any opportunity to embroil the nation; and by the assistance of Scotland and of the Irish, might perhaps raise troubles in her dominions. Those that were in power in queen Mary's time, and remained firm to the old superstition, would be discontented at the reformation of religion; the bishops and clergy would generally oppose it; and since there was a necessity of demanding subsidies, they would take occasion, by the discontent the people would be in on that account, to inflame them: and those who would be dissatisfied at the retaining of some of the old ceremonies, would, on the other hand, disparage the changes that should be made, and call the religion a cloaked papistry, and so alienate many of the most zealous from it. To remedy all these things, it was proposed to make peace with France, and to cherish those in that kingdom that desired the Reformation: the courses and practices of Rome were not much to be feared. In Scotland those must be encouraged who desired the like change in religion; and a little money among the heads of the families in Ireland would go a great way. And for those that had borne rule in queen Mary's time, ways were to be taken to lessen their credit throughout England: they were not to be too soon trusted or employed, upon pretence of turning; but those who were known to be well affected to religion and the queen's person, were to be sought after and encouraged. The bishops were generally hated by the nation: it would be easy to draw them within the statute of *præmunire*, and upon their falling into it, they must be kept under it, till they had renounced the pope, and consented to the alterations that should be made. The commissions of the peace, and for the militia, were to be carefully reviewed, and such men were to be put in them as would be firm to the queen's interests. When the changes should be made, some severe punishments would make the rest more readily submit. Great care was to be had of the universities and other public schools, as Eton and Winchester, that the next generation might be betimes seasoned with the love and knowledge of religion. Some learned men, as Bill, Parker, May, Cox, Whitehead, Grindall, Pilkington, and sir Thomas Smith, were to be ordered to meet and consider of the Book of Service. In the meanwhile the people were to be restrained from innovating without authority; and the queen, to give some hope of a reformation, might appoint the communion to be given in both kinds. The persons that were thought fit to be trusted with the secret of these consultations, were the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Bedford and Pembroke, and the lord John Gray. The place that was thought most convenient for the divines to meet in, was sir Thomas Smith's house in Channon-row, where an allowance was to be given for their entertainment."

The forwardness of many to the Reformation.

As soon as the news of the queen's coming to the crown was known beyond sea, all those who had fled thither for shelter did return into England: and those who had lived in corners during the late persecution, now appeared with no small assurance: and these, having notice of the queen's intentions, could not contain themselves, but in many places begun to make changes, to set up king Edward's service, to pull down images, and to affront the priests. Upon this the queen, to make some discovery of her own inclinations, gave order that the gospels and epistles, and the Lord's prayer, the Apostles' creed, and the ten commandments, should be read in English, and that the litany should be also used in English: and she forbade the priests to elevate the host at mass. Having done this, on the 27th of December she set out a proclamation against all innovations, requiring her subjects to use no other forms of worship than those she had in her chapel, till it should be otherwise appointed by the parliament, which she had summoned to meet on the 23rd of January. The writs were issued out by Bacon, into whose hands she had delivered the great seal. On the 13th of December, she performed her sister's funeral rites with great magnificence at Westminster. The bishop of Winchester being appointed to preach the sermon, did so mightily extol her and her government, and so severely taxed the disorders which he thought the innovators were guilty of, not without reflections on the queen, that he was thereupon confined to his house until the 19th of January, when the council set him at liberty.

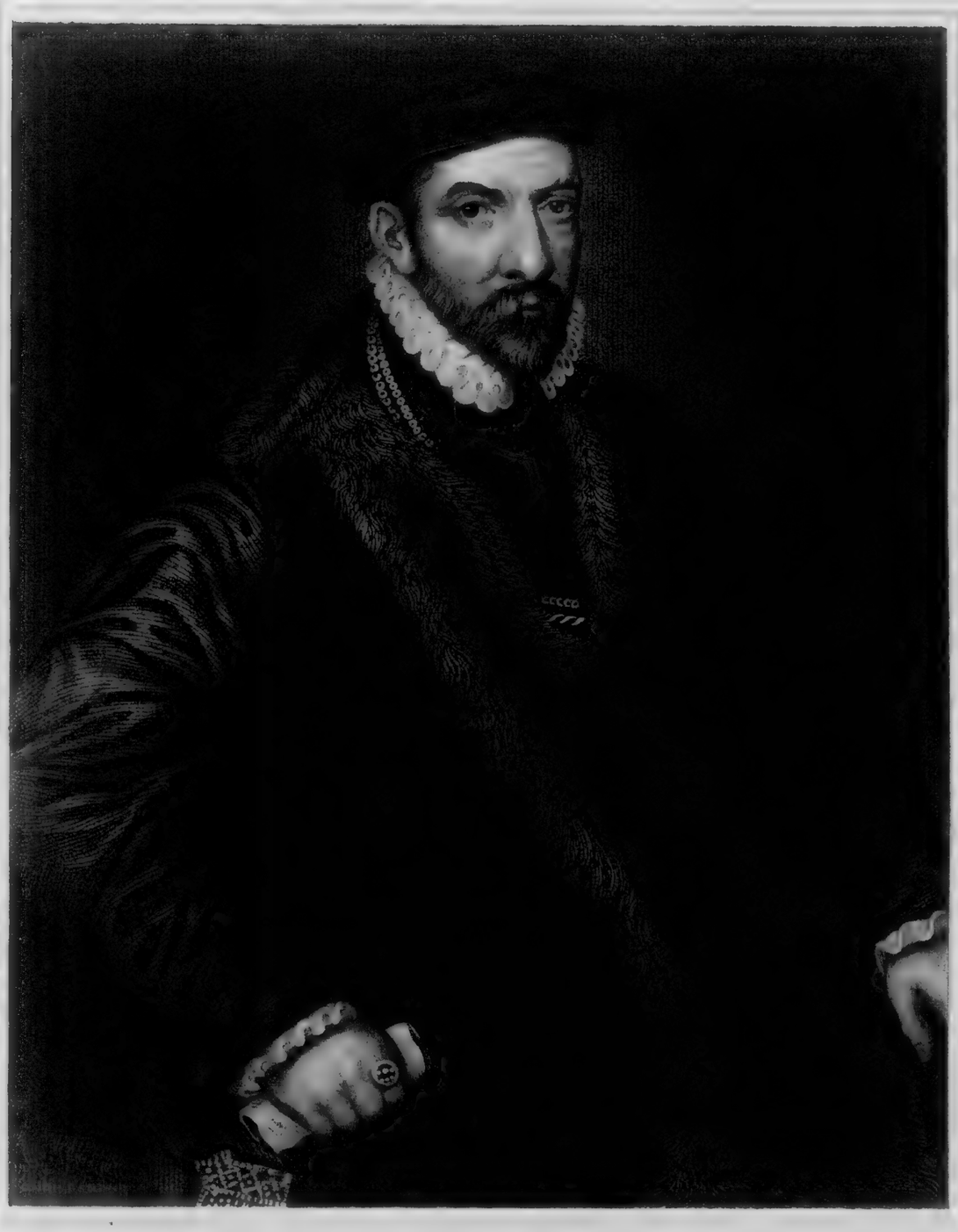
One of the chief things under consultation was, to provide men fit to be put into the sees

that were now vacant, or that might fall to be so afterwards, if the bishops should continue intractable. Those now vacant were the sees of Canterbury, Hereford, Bristol, and Bangor: and in the beginning of the next year the bishops of Norwich and Gloucester died; so that, as Camden hath it, there were but fourteen bishops living when the parliament met. It was of great importance to find men able to serve in these employments, chiefly in the see of Canterbury. For this, Dr. Parker was soon thought on. Whether others had the offer of it before him or not I cannot tell: but he was writ to by sir Nicholas Bacon on the 9th of December to come up to London; and afterwards, on the 30th of December, by sir William Cecil; and again by sir Nicholas Bacon on the 4th of January. He understood that it was for some high preferment; and being a man of an humble temper, distrustful of himself, that loved privacy, and was much disabled by sickness, he declined coming up all he could: he begged he might not be thought of for any public employment, but that some prebend might be assigned him, where he might be free both from care and government; since the infirmities which he had contracted by his flying about in the nights in queen Mary's time, had disabled him from a more public station. That to which he pretended, shows how moderate his desires were; for he professed an employment of twenty nobles a year would be more acceptable to him than one of two hundred pound. He had been chaplain to queen Anne Boleyn, and had received a special charge from her a little before she died, to look well to the instruction of her daughter in the principles of the Christian religion; and now the queen had a grateful remembrance of those services. This, joined with the high esteem that sir Nicholas Bacon had of him, soon made her resolve to raise him to that great dignity. And since such high preferments are generally if not greedily sought after, yet very willingly undertaken by most men, it will be no unfit thing to lay open a modern precedent, which indeed savours more of the ancient than the latter times; for then instead of that *ambitus*, which has given such offence to the world in the latter ages, it was ordinary for men to fly from the offer of great preferments. Some ran away when they understood they were to be ordained, or had been elected to great sees, and fled to a wilderness. This showed they had a great sense of the care of souls, and were more apprehensive of that weighty charge, than desirous to raise or enrich themselves or their families. It hath been showed before, that Cranmer was very unwillingly engaged in the see of Canterbury; and now he, that succeeded him in that see with the same designs, was drawn into it with such unwillingness, that it was almost a whole year before he could be prevailed upon to accept of it: the account of this will appear in the series of letters both written to him, and by him, on that head, which were communicated to me by the present most worthy and most reverend primate of this church. I cannot mention him in this place without taking notice, that as in his other great virtues and learning he has gone in the steps of those most eminent archbishops that went before him; so the whole nation is witness how far he was from aspiring to high preferment, how he withdrew from all those opportunities that might be steps to it, how much he was surprised with his unlooked-for advancement, how unwillingly he was raised, and how humble and affable he continues in that high station he is now in; but this is a subject that I must leave for them to enlarge on that shall write the history of this present age.

Parker designed to be Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the beginning of the next year, the queen having found that Heath, archbishop of York, then lord chancellor, would not go along with her, as he had done in the reigns of her father and brother; and having therefore taken the seals from him, and put them into sir Nicholas Bacon's hand, did now by patent create him lord keeper. Formerly those that were keepers of the seal had no dignity nor authority annexed to their office; they did not hear causes, nor preside in the house of lords, but were only to put the seals to such writs or patents as went in course; and so it was only put in the hands of a keeper but for some short interval. But now Bacon was the first lord keeper that had all the dignity and authority of the lord chancellor conferred on him; and his not being raised to that high title, perhaps flowed from his own modesty; for as he was one of the most learned, most pious, and wisest men of the nation; so he retained in all his greatness a modesty equal to what the ancient Greeks and Romans had carried with them to their highest advancement. He was father to the great sir Francis Bacon, viscount St.

Bacon made Lord Keeper.



SIR NICHOLAS BACON.

OB. 1579

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Albans, and lord chancellor of England, that will be always esteemed one of the greatest glories of the English nation.

The Queen's Coronation.

The queen was now to be crowned; and having gone on the 12th of January to the Tower, she returned from thence in state on the 13th. As she went into her chariot, she lifted up her "eyes to heaven, and blessed God that had preserved her to see that joyful day, and that had saved her as he did his prophet Daniel out of the mouth of the lions. She acknowledged her deliverance was only from him to whom she offered up the praise of it." She passed through London in great triumph: and having observed that her sister, by the sullenness of her behaviour to the people, had much lost their affections; therefore she always used, as she passed through the crowds, but more especially this day, to look out of her coach cheerfully on them, and to return the respects they paid her with great sweetness in her looks, commonly saying, "God bless you, my people;" which affected them much. But nothing pleased the city more than her behaviour as she went under one of the triumphal arches; there was a rich Bible let down to her as from heaven by a child, representing Truth; she with great reverence kissed both her hands, and receiving it, kissed it, and laid it next her heart; and professed she was better pleased with that present, than with all the other magnificent ones that had been that day made her by the city: this drew tears of joy from the spectators' eyes. And indeed this queen had a strange art of insinuating herself by such ways into the affections of her people. Some said she was too theatrical in it; but it wrought her end; since by these little things in her deportment she gained more on their affections than other princes have been able to do by more real and significant arts of grace and favour. The day following she was crowned at Westminster by Oglethorp, bishop of Carlisle, all the other bishops refusing to assist at that solemnity. He and the rest of that order perceived that she would change the religion then established, and looked on the alterations she had already made as pledges of more to follow; and observed, by the favour that Cecil and Bacon had with her, that she would return to what had been set up by her brother. They had already turned so oft, that they were ashamed to be turning at every time. Heath, Tonstall, and Thirleby, had complied in king Edward's time, as well as in king Henry's; and though Thirleby had continued in credit and favour with them till the last; yet he had been one of those who had gone to Rome, where he made such public professions of his respect to the apostolic see; and he had also assisted at the degradation and condemnation of Cranmer; so that he thought it indecent for him to return to that way any more: therefore he with all the rest resolved to adhere to what they had set up in queen Mary's time. There were two of king Edward's bishops yet alive, who were come into England, yet the queen chose rather to be consecrated by a bishop actually in office, and according to the old rites, which none but Oglethorp could be persuaded to do. After that, she gave a general pardon, according to the common form.

The Parliament meets.

On the 23d of January, being the day to which the parliament was summoned, it was prorogued till the 25th, and then it was opened with a long speech of the lord Bacon's, in which he laid before them "the distracted estate of the nation both in matters of religion and the other miseries that the wars and late calamities had brought upon them; all which he recommended to their care. For religion, the queen desired they would consider of it without heat or partial affection, or using any reproachful term of papist or heretic; and that they would avoid the extremes of idolatry and superstition on the one hand, and contempt and irreligion on the other; and that they would examine matters without sophistical niceties or too subtle speculations, and endeavour to settle things so as might bring the people to an uniformity and cordial agreement in them." As for the state of the nation, he showed the queen's great unwillingness to lay new impositions on them; upon which he ran out largely in her commendation, giving them all assurance "that there was nothing she would endeavour more effectually than the advancing of their prosperity and the preserving their affections." He laid open the loss of Calais, with great reflections on those who had been formerly in the government; yet spoke of it as a thing which they could not at that time hope to recover; and laid before them "the charge the government must be at, and the necessities the queen was in;" adding,

in her name, "that she would desire no supply but what they did freely and cheerfully offer."

One of the first things that the commons considered was, whether the want of the title of Supreme Head, which the queen had not yet assumed, was a nullity in the summons for this and other parliaments in which it had been omitted: but after this had been considered some days, it was judged to be no nullity; for the annulling of a parliament, except it had under a force, or for some other error in the constitution, was a thing of dangerous consequence.

The Treaty at Cambray.

But leaving the consultations at Westminster, I shall now give an account of the treaty of peace at Cambray. That at which things stuck most was the rendering of Calais again to the English, which the French did positively refuse to do. For a great while Philip demanded it with so much earnestness, that he declared he would make peace on no other terms; since as he was bound in point of honour to see the English, who engaged in the war only on his account, restored to the condition that they were in at the beginning of it, so his interest made him desire that they might be masters of that place, by which, it being so near them, they could have the conveniency of sending over forces to give a diversion to the French at any time thereafter as their alliances with him should require. But when Philip saw there was no hope of a marriage with the queen, and perceived that she was making alterations in religion, he grew less careful of her interests, and secretly agreed a peace with the French. But that he might have some colour to excuse himself for abandoning her, he told her ambassador that the French had offered him full satisfaction in all his own concerns, so that the peace was hindered only by the consideration of Calais; and therefore, unless the English would enter into a league with him for keeping up the war six years longer, he must submit to the necessity of his affairs. The queen perceiving that she was to expect no more assistance from the Spaniard, who was so much engaged to the old superstition that he would enter into no strict league with any whom he accounted an heretic, was willing to listen to the messages that were sent her from France by the constable and others inducing her to agree to a peace. She, on the other hand, complained that the queen of Scotland, and her husband in her right, had assumed the title and arms of England. It was answered, that was done as the younger brothers in Germany carried the title of the great families from whence they were descended; and, for titles, the queen of England had little reason to quarrel about that, since she carried the title and gave the arms of France.

A Peace with France agreed to.

The queen and her council saw it was impossible for her to carry on the war with France alone. The laying heavy impositions on her subjects in the beginning of her reign might render her very ungrateful to the nation, who loved not to be charged with many subsidies: and when the war should produce nothing but some wastes on the French coasts, which was all that could be expected, since it was unreasonable to look for the recovery of Calais, it might turn all the joy they were now in at her coming to the crown into as general a discontent. It was the ruin of the duke of Somerset that he had engaged in a war in the beginning of king Edward's reign, when he was making changes in religion at home: therefore it was necessary to yield to the necessity of the time, especially since the loss of Calais was no reproach on the queen, but on her sister: So it was resolved on to make a general peace, that being at quiet with their neighbours they might with the less danger apply themselves to the correcting what was amiss in England both in religion and the civil government. At length a peace was made on these terms: that there should be free commerce between the kingdoms of England, France, and Scotland; the French should keep Calais for eight years, and at the end of that time should deliver it to the English; and if it were not then delivered they should pay to the English 500,000 crowns, for which they should give good security by merchants that lived in other parts, and give hostages till the security were given: but if during these years the queen made war on France or Scotland, she was to lose her right to that town; or if the French or Scots made war on her, Calais should be presently restored, to which she was still to reserve her right: Aymouth in Scotland was to be razed, and a commission was to be sent down to some of both kingdoms to agree all lesser differences. On these terms a peace was made, and proclaimed between those crowns; to which many of the English, that did not apprehend what the charge of a war for the regaining of Calais would have amounted to, were very averse, thinking it highly dishonourable that they, whose ancestors had made such conquests in France, should be now beaten out of the only remainder that they had on the Continent, and thus make a peace by which it was in effect parted with for ever; for all these conditions about restoring it were understood to be only for palliating so inglorious a business. But the reformed cast the blame of this on the papists; and some moved that all the late queen's council should be questioned for their misgovernment in that particular; for it was thought nothing would make them so odious to the nation as the charging that on them. They on the other hand did cast the blame of it on the lord Wentworth, that had been governor of Calais, and was now professedly one of the reformed, and had been very gentle to those of that persuasion during his government. But he put himself on a trial by his peers, which he underwent on the 22d of April, and there did so clear himself that he was by the judgment of the peers acquitted.



The Proceedings of the Parliament.

The queen's government being thus quieted abroad, she was thereby at more leisure to do things at home. The first bill that was put into the house of lords to try their affections and disposition to a change in the matters of religion was, that for the restitution of the tenths and first-fruits to the crown. It was agreed to by the lords on the 4th of February, having been put in the 30th of January, and was the first bill that was read. The archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Worcester, Landaff, Litchfield, Exeter, Chester, and Carlisle, protested against it: these were all of that order that were at the session, except the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Ely, and the abbot of Westminster, who it seems were occasionally absent. On the 6th of February it was sent down to the commons, to which they readily agreed; and so it had the royal assent. By it not only the tenths and first-fruits were again restored to the crown, but also all impropriated benefices which had been surrendered up by queen Mary.

They address to the Queen for her marrying.

But the commons reflecting on the miseries in which they had been lately involved by queen Mary's marriage, had much debate about an address to the queen to induce her to marry. On the 4th of February it was argued in the house of commons; and on the 6th the speaker, with the privy-councillors of the house, and thirty members more, were sent with their desires to the queen. "They expressed the affections of the nation to her, and said, that if they could hope she might be immortal they would rest satisfied; but that being a vain imagination, they earnestly besought her to choose such a husband as might make the nation and herself happy, and by the blessing of God bring such issue as might reign after her death, which they prayed God might be very late." She said, "she looked on that as an expression both of their affection and respect, since they had neither limited time nor place. She declared that she had hitherto lived in a single state with great satisfaction; and had neither entertained some honourable propositions which the lord treasurer knew had been made to her in her brother's time, nor had been moved by the fears of death that she was in while she was under her sister's displeasure (of which she would say little; for though she knew, or might justly suspect, by whose means it was, yet she would not utter it, nor would she charge it on the dead, or cast the burthen of it wholly upon her sister). But she assured them, if ever she married, she would make such a choice as should be to the satisfaction and good of her people. She did not know what credit she might yet have with them; but she knew well she deserved to have it, for she was resolved never to deceive them. Her people were to her instead of children; and she reckoned herself married to them by her coronation. They would not want a successor when she died; and for her part she should be well contented that the marble should tell posterity—'HERE LIES A QUEEN THAT REIGNED SO LONG, AND LIVED AND DIED A VIRGIN.' She took their address in good part, and desired them to carry back her hearty thanks for the care the commons had of her."

The Queen's Answer.

The journals of the house of lords are imperfect, so that we find nothing in them of this matter: yet it appears that they likewise had it before them; for the journals of the house of commons have it marked, that on the 15th of February there was a message sent from the lords desiring that a committee of thirty commoners might meet with twelve lords to consider what should be the authority of the person whom the queen should marry. The

committee was appointed to treat concerning it; but it seems the queen desired them to turn to other things that were more pressing, for I find nothing after this entered in the journals of this parliament concerning it.

They recognise her Title to the Crown.

On the 9th of February the lords passed a bill for the recognising of the queen's title to the crown. It had been considered whether, as queen Mary had procured a former repeal of her mother's divorce, and of the acts that passed upon it declaring her illegitimate, the like should be done now. The lord keeper said the crown purged all defects, and it was needless to look back to a thing which would at least cast a reproach on her father: the inquiring into such things too anxiously would rather prejudice than advance her title. So he advised that there should be an act passed in general words, asserting the lawfulness of her descent, and her right to the crown, rather than any special repeal. Queen Mary and her council were careless of king Henry's honour; but it became her rather to conceal than expose his weakness. This being thought both wise and pious counsel, the act was conceived in general words: "that they did assuredly believe and declare that by the laws of God and of the realm she was their lawful queen, and that she was rightly, lineally, and lawfully descended from the royal blood, and that the crown did without all doubt or ambiguity belong to her and the heirs to be lawfully begotten of her body after her; and that they, as representing the three estates of the realm, did declare and assert her title, which they would defend with their lives and fortunes." This was thought to be very wise counsel; for if they had gone to repeal the sentence of divorce which passed upon her mother's acknowledging a precontract, they must have set forth the force that was on her when she made that confession: and that as it was a great dishonour to her father, so it would have raised discourses likewise to her mother's prejudice, which must have rather weakened than strengthened her title. And, as has been formerly observed, this seems to be the true reason why in all her reign there was no apology printed for her mother. There was another act passed for the restoring of her in blood to her mother, by which she was qualified as a private subject to succeed either to her grandfather's estate or to any other's by that blood.

The Acts that were passed concerning Religion.

But for the matters of religion the commons began, and on the 15th of February brought in a bill for the English service and concerning the ministers of the church. On the 21st a bill was read for annexing the supremacy to the crown again; and on the 17th of March another bill was brought in confirming the laws made about religion in king Edward's time. And on the 21st another was brought in, that the queen should have the nomination of the bishops, as it had been in king Edward's time. The bill for the supremacy was passed by the lords on the 18th of March, the archbishop of York, the earl of Shrewsbury, the viscount Montacute, and the bishops of London, Winchester, Worcester, Landaff, Coventry, Litchfield, Exeter, Chester, and Carlisle, and the abbot of Westminster, dissenting. But afterwards the commons annexed many other bills to it, as that about the queen's making bishops, not according to the act made in king Edward's time, but by the old way of elections, as it was enacted in the 25th year of her father's reign, with several provisoes; which passed in the house of lords with the same dissent. By it "all the acts passed in the reign of king Henry for the abolishing of the pope's power are again revived; and the acts in queen Mary's time to the contrary are repealed. There was also a repeal of the act made by her for proceeding against heretics. They revived the act made in the first parliament of king Edward against those that spoke irreverently of the sacrament and against private masses, and for communion in both kinds; and declared the authority of visiting, correcting, and reforming all things in the church, to be for ever annexed to the crown, which the queen and her successors might by her letters-patents depute to any persons to exercise in her name. All bishops and other ecclesiastical persons, and all in any civil employment, were required to swear that they acknowledged the queen to be the supreme governor in all causes as well ecclesiastical as temporal within her dominions; that they renounced all foreign power and jurisdiction; and should bear the queen faith and true allegiance. Whosoever should refuse to swear it was to forfeit any office he had either in church or state, and to be from thenceforth disabled to hold any employment during life. And if within a month after the end of that session of parliament



any should either by discourse or in writing set forth the authority of any foreign power, or do anything for the advancement of it, they were to forfeit all their goods and chattels: and if they had not goods to the value of twenty pounds, they were to be imprisoned a whole year; and for the second offence they were to incur the pains of a *præmunire;* and the third offence in that kind was made treason. To this a proviso was added, that such persons as should be commissioned by the queen to reform and order ecclesiastical matters should judge nothing to be heresy but what had been already so judged by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the first four general councils, or by any other general council in which such doctrines were declared to be heresies by the express and plain words of Scripture. All other points not so decided were to be judged by the parliament with the assent of the clergy in their convocation."

This act was in many things short of the authority that king Henry had claimed, and the severity of the laws he had made. The title of Supreme Head was left out of the oath: this was done to mitigate the opposition of the popish party; but besides, the queen herself had a scruple about it, which was put in her head by one Lever, a famous preacher among those of the Reformation, of which Sands, afterwards bishop of Worcester, complained to Parker in a letter that is in the Collection. There was no other punishment inflicted on those that denied the queen's supremacy but the loss of their goods; and such as refused to take the oath did only lose their employments: whereas to refuse the oath in king Henry's time brought them into a *præmunire;* and to deny the supremacy was treason. But against this bill the bishops made speeches in the house of lords. I have seen a speech of this kind was said to have been made by archbishop Heath; but it must be forgery put out in his name; for he is made to speak of the supremacy as a new and unheard-of thing, which he, who had sworn it so oft in king Henry's and king Edward's times, could not have the face to say. The rest of the bishops opposed it the rather because they had lately declared so high for the pope that it had been very indecent for them to have revolted so soon. The bishop of Durham * came not to this parliament. There were some hopes of gaining him to concur in the Reformation; for in the warrant the queen afterwards gave to some for consecrating the new bishops he is first named; and I have seen a letter of secretary Cecil's to Parker that gives him some hope that Tonstall would join with them. He had been offended with the cruelties of the late reign; and though the resentments he had of his ill usage in the end of king Edward's time had made him at first concur more heartily to the restoring of popery, yet he soon fell off, and declared his dislike of those violent courses; and neither did he nor Heath bring any in trouble within their dioceses upon the account of religion, though it is hardly credible that there was no occasion for their being severe if they had been otherwise inclined to it. The bishop of Ely was also absent at the passing of this act †; for though he would not consent to it, yet he had done all that was prescribed by it so often before, that it seems he thought it more decent to be absent than either to consent to it or to oppose it.

Collection, Number 2.

The Bishops oppose the Queen's Supremacy.

The power that was added for the queen's commissionating some to execute her supremacy, gave the rise to that court which was commonly called the high commission court; and was to be in the room of a single person, to whom, with the title of lord vicegerent, king Henry did delegate his authority. It seems the clergymen with whom the queen consulted at this time thought this too much to be put into one man's hand, and therefore resolved to have it shared to more persons, of whom a great many would certainly be churchmen: so that they should not be altogether kept under by the hard hands of the laity, who having groaned long under the tyranny of an ecclesiastical yoke, seemed now disposed to revenge themselves by bringing the clergy as much under them; for so extremes do commonly rise from one another.

The Beginning of the High Commission.

The popish clergy were now everywhere beginning to declaim against innovation and heresy. Harpsfield had in a sermon at Canterbury in February stirred the people much

* He came not to the parliament, for his presence was needed in the North for guarding the Marches against the Scots, and the French then ready to invade England.—STRYPE's CORRECT.

† The bishop of Ely was absent, being in an embassy at Cambray; but was come over on the 17th of April, and joined the other dissenting bishops.—STRYPE's CORRECT.

to sedition: and the members belonging to that cathedral had openly said, that religion should not nor could not be altered. The council also heard that the prebendaries there had bought up many arms; so a letter was written to sir Thomas Smith to examine that matter. Harpsfield was not put in prison, but received only a rebuke. There came also complaints from many other places of many seditious sermons: so the queen, following the precedent her sister had set her, did, in the beginning of March, forbid all preaching, except by such as had a licence under the great seal. But lest the clergy might now in the convocation set out orders in opposition to what the queen was about to do, she sent and required them, under the pains of a *præmunire*, to make no canons. Yet Harpsfield, that was prolocutor, with the rest of the lower house, made an address to the upper house, to be by them presented to the queen for the discharge of their consciences. They reduced the particulars into five articles. 1. That Christ was corporally present in the sacrament. 2. That there was no other substance there but his body and blood. 3. That in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead and the living. 4. That St. Peter and his lawful successors had the power of feeding and governing the church. 5. That the power of treating about doctrine, the sacraments, and the order of divine worship, belonged only to the pastors of the church. These they had sent to the two universities, from whence they were returned, with the hands of the greatest part in them to the first four; but it seems they thought it not fit to sign the last: for now the queen had resolved to have a public conference about religion in the abbey-church of Westminster.

The archbishop of York was continued still to be of the council; so the conference being proposed to him, he, after he had communicated it to his brethren, accepted of it, though with some unwillingness. It was appointed that there should be nine of a side, who should confer about these three points. 1. "Whether it was not against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in the common prayers and the administration of the sacraments? 2. Whether every church had not authority to appoint, change, and take away ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same were done to edification. 3. Whether it could be proved by the word of God, that in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead and the living?" All was ordered to be done in writing. The bishops, as being actually in office, were to read their papers first upon the first point, and the reformed were to read theirs next; and then they were to exchange their papers, without any discourse concerning them, for the avoiding of jangling. The next day they were to read their papers upon the second, and after that upon the third head: and then they were to answer one another's papers. The nine on both sides were, the bishops of Winchester, Litchfield, Chester, Carlisle, and Lincoln, and doctors Cole, Harpsfield, Langdale, and Chedsey, on the popish side: and Scory, late bishop of Chichester, Cox, Whitehead, Grindal, Horn, Sands, Guest, Almer, and Jewel, for the protestants. The last of March was appointed to be the first day of conference, where the privy council was to be present, and the lord keeper was to see that they should not depart from the rules to which they had agreed.

The noise of this drew vast numbers of people to so unusual a sight: it being expected that there should be much fairer dealings now than had been in the disputes in queen Mary's time. The whole house of commons came to hear it, as no doubt the lords did also, though it is not marked in their journal. At their meeting, the bishop of Winchester said their paper was not quite ready, and pretended they had mistaken the order: but Dr. Cole should deliver what they had prepared, though it was not yet in that order that they could copy it out. The secret of this was, the bishops had in their private consultations agreed to read their paper, but not to give those they called heretics a copy of it: they could not decently refuse to give a public account of their doctrine, but they were resolved not to enter into disputes with any about it: this seemed to be the giving up of the faith, if they should suffer it again to be brought into question: besides, they looked on it as the highest act of supremacy for the queen to appoint such conferences: for she and her council would pretend to judge in these points when they had done disputing. For these reasons they would not engage to make any exchange of papers. The lord keeper took notice that this was contrary to the order laid down at the council board, to which the archbishop of York had in their names consented. But they pretending they had mistaken the order, Cole was appointed to deliver their minds, which he did in a long discourse, the greatest part of which he read out of a book, that will be found in the Collection. For though they refused to deliver a copy of it, yet Parker some way procured it, among whose papers I found it. The substance of it was, "that although it might seem that the Scriptures had appointed the worship of God to be in a known tongue, yet that might be changed by the authority of the church, which had changed the sabbath, appointed in the Scripture, without any authority from thence. Christ washed his disciples' feet, and bid them do the like, yet this was not kept up: Christ instituted the sacrament of his body and blood after supper, and yet the church appointed it to be received fasting: so had the church also given it only in one kind, though Christ himself gave it in both: and whereas the apostles, by authority from the Holy Ghost, commanded all believers to abstain from blood, yet that was not thought to oblige any now: and though there was a community of goods in the apostles' times, it was no obligation to Christians to set up that now: so that this matter was in the power of the church. And since the church of Rome had appointed the Latin service to be everywhere used, it was schismatical to separate from it: for according to Irenæus, all churches ought to agree with her, by reason of her great pre-eminence. Upon which they run out largely to show the mischiefs of schism, both in France, Spain, Germany, and in other countries. And for the Britons and Saxons of England, their first apostles, that converted them to Christianity, were men of other nations, and did never use any service but that of their native language. All the vulgar tongues did change much, but the Latin was ever the same: and it was not fit for the church to be changing her service. The queen of Ethiopia's eunuch read Isaiah's book, though he understood it not; upon which God sent Philip to him to expound it: so the people are to come to their teachers to have those things explained to them which they cannot understand of themselves. There were many rites in the Jewish religion, the signification whereof the people understood as little then as the vulgar do the Latin now, and yet they were commanded to use them. The people were to use their private prayers in what tongue they pleased, though the public prayers were put up in Latin; and such prayers may be for their profit, though they understand them not, as absent persons are the better for the prayers which they do not hear, much less understand. They said it was not to be thought that the Holy Ghost had so long forsaken his church, and that a few lately risen up were to teach all the world. They concluded, that they could bring many more authorities; but they, being to defend a negative, thought it needless, and would refer these to the answers they were to make."

Collection, Number 4.

Arguments for the Latin Service.

When this was done, the lord keeper turned to those of the other side, and desired them to read their paper. Horn was appointed by them to do it. He began with a short prayer to God to enlighten their minds, and with a protestation that they were resolved to follow the truth according to the word of God. Then he read his paper, which will be also found in the Collection. "They founded their assertion on St. Paul's words, who, in the 14th chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians, had treated on that subject of set purpose; and spake in it, not only of preaching, but of praying with the understanding; and said, that the unlearned were to say 'Amen' at the giving of thanks. From that chapter they argued, that St. Paul commanded that all things should be done to edification, which could not be by an unknown language: he also charged them that nothing should be said that had an uncertain sound; and that, as the sound of a trumpet must be distinct, so the people must understand what is said, that so they might say 'Amen' at the giving of thanks. He also required those that spake in a strange language, and could not get one to interpret, to hold their peace; since it was an absurd thing for one to be a barbarian to others in the worship of God: and though the speaking with strange tongues was then an extraordinary gift of God, yet he ordered that it should not be used where there was no interpreter. They added, that these things were so strictly commanded by St. Paul, that it is plain they are not indifferent, or within the power of the church. In the Old Testament the Jews had their worship in the vulgar tongue, and yet the new dispensation being more internal and spiritual, it was absurd that the worship of

Arguments against it.

Collection, Number 3.

God should be less understood by Christians than it had been by the Jews. The chief end of worship is, according to David, that we may show forth God's praises, which cannot be done if it is in a strange tongue. Prayer is the offering up of our desires to God, which we cannot do, if we understand not the language they are in. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are to contain declarations of the death and resurrection of Christ, which must be understood, otherwise why are they made? The use of speech is to make known what one brings forth to another. The most barbarous nations perform their worship in a known tongue, which shows it to be a law of nature. It is plain from Justin Martyr's Apology, that the worship was then in a known tongue, which appears also from all the ancient liturgies: and a long citation was brought out of St. Basil for the singing of psalms, duly weighing the words with much attention and devotion; which, he says, was practised in all nations. They concluded, wondering how such an abuse could at first creep in, and be still so stiffly maintained; and why those who would be thought the guides and pastors of the church, were so unwilling to return to the rule of St. Paul, and the practice of the primitive times."

There was a great shout of applause when they had done. They gave their paper, signed with all their hands, to the lord keeper, to be delivered to the other side as he should think fit; but he kept it till the other side should bring him theirs. The papists, upon this, said they had more to add on that head, which was thought disingenuous by those that had heard them profess they had nothing to add to what Cole had said. Thus the meeting broke up for that day, being Saturday; and they were ordered to go forward on Monday, and to prepare what they were to deliver on the other two heads. The papists, though they could complain of nothing that was done, except the applause given to the paper of the reformers, yet they saw by that how much more acceptable the other doctrine was to the people; and therefore resolved to go no further in that matter. At the next meeting they desired that their answer to the paper read by the reformed might be first heard. To this the lord keeper said, that they had delivered their mind the former day, and so were not to be heard till they had gone through the other points; and then they were to return on both sides to the answering of papers. They said that what Cole had delivered the former day was extempore and of himself; but it had not been agreed on by them. This appeared to all the assembly to be very foul dealing; so they were required to go on to the second point. Then they pressed that the other side might begin with their paper, and they would follow: for they saw what an advantage the others had the former day by being heard last. The lord keeper said the order was that they should be heard first, as being bishops now in office: but both Winchester and Lincoln refused to go any further if the other side did not begin. Upon which there followed a long debate, Lincoln saying that the first order, which was that all should be in Latin, was changed, and that they had prepared a writing in Latin: but in this not only the councillors, among whom sate the archbishop of York, but the rest of his own party, contradicted him. In conclusion all, except Feckenham, refused to read any more papers: he said he was willing to have done it, but he could not undertake such a thing alone; and so the meeting broke up.

The Conference between the Papists and Protestants breaks up.

But the bishops of Winchester and of Lincoln said the doctrine of the catholic church was already established, and ought not to be disputed, except it were in a synod of divines; that it was too great an encouragement to heretics to hear them thus discourse against the faith before the unlearned multitude; and that the queen by so doing had incurred the sentence of excommunication: and they talked of excommunicating her and her council. Upon this they were both sent to the Tower. The reformed took great advantage from the issue of this debate to say their adversaries knew that, upon a fair hearing, the truth was so manifestly on their side that they durst not put it to such hazard. The whole world saw that this disputation was managed with great impartiality, and without noise or disorder; far different from what had been in queen Mary's time: so they were generally much confirmed in their former belief by the papists flying the field. They on the other hand said, they saw the rude multitude were now carried with a fury against them; the lord keeper was their professed enemy; the laity would take on them to judge after they had heard them; and they perceived they were



already determined in their minds: and that this dispute was only to set off the changes that were to be made with the pomp of a victory; and they blamed the bishops for undertaking it at first, but excused them for breaking it off in time. And the truth is, the strength of their cause in most points of controversy resting on the authority of the church of Rome, that was now a thing of so odious a sound, that all arguments brought from thence were not like to have any great effect. Upon this whole matter there was an act of state made, and signed by many privy-councillors, giving an account of all the steps that were made in it, which will be found in the Collection.

Collection, Number 5.

This being over, the parliament was now in a better disposition to pass the bill for the uniformity of the service of the church. Some of the reformed divines were appointed to review king Edward's liturgy, and to see if in any particular it was fit to change it. The only considerable variation was made about the Lord's supper, of which somewhat will appear from the letter of Sandys to Parker. It was proposed to have the communion-book so contrived that it might not exclude the belief of the corporal presence; for the chief design of the queen's council was to unite the nation in one faith; and the greatest part of the nation continued to believe such a presence. Therefore it was recommended to the divines to see that there should be no express definition made against it; that so it might lie as a speculative opinion not determined, in which every man was left to the freedom of his own mind. Hereupon the rubrick, that explained the reason for kneeling at the sacrament, "that thereby no adoration is intended to any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood," because "that is only in heaven," which had been in king Edward's liturgy, was now left out. And whereas, at the delivery of the elements in king Edward's first liturgy, there was to be said, "The body or blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and soul to everlasting life;" which words had been left out in his second liturgy as favouring the corporal presence too much, and instead of them these words were ordered to be used in the distribution of that sacrament, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving;" and, "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful." They now joined both these in one. Some of the collects were also a little altered: and thus was the book presented to the house. But for the Book of Ordination, it was not in express terms named in the act, which gave an occasion afterwards to question the lawfulness of the ordinations made by that book. But by this act the book that was set out by king Edward, and confirmed by parliament in the fifth year of his reign, was again authorised by law; and the repeal of it in queen Mary's time was made void. So the Book of Ordinations being in that act added to the Book of Common-prayer, it was now legally in force again, as was afterwards declared in parliament upon a question that was raised about it by Bonner.

Debates about the Act of Uniformity.

The bill that was put in on the 15th of February, concerning the new service, being laid aside, a new one was framed, and sent up by the commons on the 18th of April, and debated in the house of lords. Heath * made a long speech against it, rather elegant than learned. He enlarged much on "the several changes which had been made in king Edward's time." He said, "that both Cranmer and Ridley changed their opinions in the matter of Christ's presence." He called Ridley "the most notable learned man that was of that way." These changes he imputed to "their departing from the standard of the catholic church." He complained much of "the robbing of churches, the breaking of images, and the stage-plays made in mockery of the catholic religion." Upon all these reasons he was against the bill. The bishop of Chester spake also to it. He said, "the bill was against both faith and charity; that points once defined were not to be brought again into question; nor were acts of parliament foundations for a church's belief." He enlarged on the antiquity of their forms, and said "it was an insolent thing to pretend that our fathers had lived in ignorance. The prophets oftentimes directed the Israelites to ask of their fathers. Matters of religion could not be understood by the laity. It was of great consequence to have their faith well grounded. Jeroboam made Israel to sin when he set up

* Abbot Feckenham made that speech, and not Heath.—Strype's Correct. [Heath spoke in the house of lords against the bill of *supremacy*; but the speech attributed to him in the text was made by Feckenham, and is given at length in lord Somers' Tracts, &c., vol. i. p. 58.—Ed.]

a new way of worship: and not only the orthodox, but even the Arian emperors, ordered that points of faith should be examined in councils. Gallio, by the light of nature, knew that a civil judge ought not to meddle with matters of religion. In the Service-book that was then before them they had no sacrifice for their sins, nor were they to adore Christ in the host: and for these reasons he could not agree to it. But if any thought he spoke this because of his own concern, or pitied him for what he might suffer by it, he would say, in the words of our Saviour, 'Weep not for me, weep for yourselves.'"

After him spake Feckenham *, abbot of Westminster. "He proposed three rules by which they should judge of religion; its antiquity, its constancy to itself, and the influence it had on the civil government. He said the old religion began in the time of king Lucius, according to Gildas: the book now proposed was not used before the two last years of king Edward. The one was always the same; the other was changed every second year, as appeared in the point of the presence of Christ in the sacrament. There had been great order and obedience in queen Mary's reign; but now everywhere great insolences were committed by the people, with some very indecent profanations of the most holy things. He recommended to them, in St. Austin's words, the adhering to the catholic church: the very name catholic, which heretics had not the confidence to assume, showed their authority. The consent of the whole church in all ages, with the perpetual succession of pastors in St. Peter's chair, ought to weigh more with them than a few new preachers who had distracted both Germany and England of late."

Thus I have given the substance of their speeches, being all that I have seen of that side. I have seen none at all on the other side, though it is not probable but some were made in defence of the service as well as these were against it. But upon this occasion I shall set down the substance of the second paper which the reformed divines had prepared on the second point for the conference about the authority of every particular church to change or take away ceremonies. I do not put it in the Collection, because I have not that which the papists prepared in opposition to it: but the heads of this paper were as followeth.

Arguments for the Changes made in the Service.

"It is clear, by the epistles which St. Paul writ to the Corinthians and other churches, that every church has power in itself to order the forms of their worship and the administration of the sacraments among them so as might best tend to order, edification, and peace. The like power had also the seven angels of the churches to whom St. John writ. And for the first three ages there was no general meeting of the church in synods; but in those times the neighbouring pastors and bishops, by mutual advice rather than authority, ordered their affairs; and when heresies sprung up they condemned them without staying for a general determination of the whole church. There were also great differences among them in their customs, as about observing Lent and Easter. Ceremonies grew too soon to a great number. When errors or abuses appeared, private bishops reformed their own dioceses: so those who came in the room of Arian bishops, even when that heresy was spread over all the East, and the see of Rome itself was defiled with it, yet reformed their own churches. Ambrose, finding the custom of feasting in churches on the anniversaries of the martyrs gave occasion to great scandals, took it away. Even in queen Mary's time many of the old superstitions of pilgrimages and relics, which had been abolished in king Henry's time, were not then taken up again. From which they argued, that if some things might be altered, why not more? So that if there was good reason to make any changes, it could not be doubted but that as Hezekiah and Josiah had made by their own power, so the queen might make reformations, which were not so much the setting up of new things as the restoring of the state of religion to what it was anciently; which had been brought in by consent of parliament and convocation in king Edward's time." The rules they offered in this paper about ceremonies were, that they should not be made necessary parts of worship; that they should not be too many, nor dumb and vain, nor should be kept up for gain and advantage.

These were the arguments used on both sides: but the reformed being superior in number, the bill passed in the house of lords; the archbishop of York, the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Shrewsbury, the viscount Montacute, the bishops of London, Worcester, Ely

* See note in preceding page.



WILLIAM POWLETT, MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.

OB. 1572

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN IN [illegible]

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLA[illegible]

Coventry, Chester, and Carlisle; and the lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North; and the abbot of Westminster, dissenting. By this act the new book was to take place by St. John Baptist's Day.

Another act passed, that the queen might reserve to herself the lands belonging to bishoprics as they fell void, giving the full value of them in impropriated tithes in lieu of them. To this the bishops dissented, on the 7th of April, when it passed in the house of lords. But when this came to the commons, there was great opposition made to it: many had observed that in Edward VI.'s time, under a pretence of giving some endowments to the crown, the courtiers got all the church lands divided amongst themselves; so it was believed the use to be made of this would be the robbing of the church without enriching the crown. After many days' debate, on the 17th of April the house divided, and 90 were against it, but 133 were for it, and so it passed.

On the 5th of May, another bill passed with the like opposition. It was for annexing of all religious houses to the crown. After that there followed some private acts for declaring the deprivation of the popish bishops in king Edward's time to have been good. When they were restored by queen Mary, the sentences passed against them were declared to have been void from the beginning; and so all leases that were made by Ridley, Poinet, and Hooper, and the patents granted by the king, of some of their lands, were annulled. It was particularly remembered in the house of commons, that Ridley had made the confirming of these leases his last desire, when he was going to be tied to the stake. The ground on which the sentences were declared void was, because the parties had appealed, though in the commission, by virtue of which the delegates deprived them, they were empowered to proceed notwithstanding any appeal. To this, not only the bishops, but the marquis of Winchester, and the lords Stafford, Dudley, and North, dissented.

It shows the great moderation of this government, that this marquis, notwithstanding his adhering to the popish interest in the house of lords, was still continued lord treasurer; which employment he held fourteen years after this, and died in the 97th year of his age, leaving one hundred and three issued from his own body behind him. He was the greatest instance of good fortune and dexterity that we find in the English history; who continued lord treasurer in three such different reigns, as king Edward's, queen Mary's, and queen Elizabeth's were.

There were a subsidy and two tenths and two fifteenths given by the parliament, with the tonnage and poundage for the queen's life; and so on the 8th of May it was dissolved.

Bills that were proposed, but not passed.

There was three bills that did not pass in the house of commons, but upon what account they were laid aside it does not appear. The one was for the restoring of the bishops that had been deprived by queen Mary. There were but three of these alive, Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale; the first of these had resigned, and the last being old, had no mind to return to his bishopric: so perhaps it was not thought worth the while to make an act for one man's sake, especially since there were so many vacant bishoprics in the queen's hands, and more were like to fall. The other bill was for the restoring of all persons that were deprived from their benefices because they were married. This the queen ordered to be laid aside, of which Sands complained much in his letter to Parker: but yet the queen took no notice of the laws formerly made against their marriage, and promoted many married priests, particularly Parker himself. There was no law now in force against clergymen's marrying; for queen Mary had only repealed the laws of Edward the Sixth, which allowed it, but had made none concerning that matter: so there was nothing but the canon law against it; and that was resolved to be condemned, by continuing that article of religion concerning the lawfulness of their marriage among those that should be set out. The next bill that came to nothing, was a new act for giving authority to thirty-two persons to revise the ecclesiastical laws, and digest them into a body; it was laid aside at the second reading in the house of commons, and has slept ever since.

When the parliament was over, the oath of supremacy was soon after put to the bishops and clergy. They thought, if they could stick close to one another in refusing it, the queen

would be forced to dispense with them, and would not at one stroke turn out all the bishops in England. It does not appear how soon after the dissolution of the parliament the oath was put to them; but it was not long after, for the last collation Bonner gave of any benefice, was on the 6th of May this year *. The oath being offered to Heath, archbishop of York, to Bonner of London, Thirleby of Ely, Bourn of Bath and Wells, Bain of Litchfield, White of Winchester, and Watson of Lincoln, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Turbervile of Exeter, Pool of Peterborough, Scot of Chester, Pates of Worcester, and Goldwell of St. Asaph, they did all refuse to take it: so that only Kitchin, bishop of Landaff, took it. There was some hope of Tonstall; so it was not put to him till September, but he being very old, chose to go out with so much company, more for the decency of the thing, than out of any scruple he could have about the supremacy for which he had formerly writ so much. They were upon their refusal put in prison for a little while; but they had all their liberty soon after, except Bonner, White, and Watson. There were great complaints made against Bonner, that he had, in many things, in the prosecution of those that were presented for heresy, exceeded what the law allowed; so that it was much desired to have him made an example. But as the queen was of her own nature merciful, so the reformed divines had learned in the gospel, not "to render evil for evil," nor to seek revenge; and as Nazianzen had of old exhorted the orthodox, when they had got an emperor that favoured them, not to retaliate on the Arians for their former cruelties, so they thought it was for the honour of their religion, to give this real demonstration of the conformity of their doctrine to the rules of the gospel, and of the primitive church, by avoiding all cruelty and severity, when it looked like revenge.

The Bishops refuse the Oath of Supremacy. Vita Parkeri.

All this might have been expected from such a queen and such bishops. But it showed a great temper in the whole nation, that such a man as Bonner had been, was suffered to go about in safety, and was not made a sacrifice to the revenge of those who had lost their near friends by his means. Many things were brought against him and White, and some other bishops; upon which the queen promised to give a charge to the visitors, whom she was to send over England to inquire into these things; and after she had heard their report, she said, she would proceed as she saw cause: by this means she did not deny justice, but gained a little time to take off the edge that was on men's spirits, who had been much provoked by the ill-usage they had met with from them.

The Queen's Gentleness to them.

Heath was a man of a generous temper, and so was well used by the queen, for as he was suffered to live securely at his own house in Surrey, so she went thither sometimes to visit him. Tonstall and Thirleby lived in Lambeth with Parker, with great freedom and ease; the one was learned and good-natured, the other was a man of business, but too easy and flexible. White and Watson † were morose and sullen men; to which their studies as well as their tempers had disposed them, for they were much given to scholastical divinity, which inclined men to be cynical, to overvalue themselves, and despise others. Christopherson was a good Grecian, and had translated Eusebius and the other church historians into Latin, but with as little fidelity as may be expected from a man violently addicted to a party. Bain was learned in the Hebrew, which he had professed at Paris in the reign of Francis the First. All these chose to live still in England; only Pates, Scot, and Goldwell, went beyond sea. After them went the lord Morley, sir Francis Englefield, sir Robert Peckham, sir Richard Shelley, and sir John Gage; who it seems desired to live where they might have the free exercise of their religion: and such was the queen's gentleness, that this was not denied them, though such favour had not been showed in queen Mary's reign. Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, was a charitable and generous man, and lived in great esteem in England. Most of the monks returned to a secular course of life, but the nuns went beyond sea.

Now the queen intended to send injunctions over England, and in the end of June

* The oath was tendered to them in July.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

† Watson, who was fellow and master of St. John's College, was noted for polite learning; I suppose it was Dr. John Watson that was given to ecclesiastical divinity, styled "Scotist" by Erasmus.—ANON. CORRECT.



they were prepared. There was great difficulty made about one of them; the queen seemed to think the use of images in churches might be a means to stir up devotion, and that at least it would draw all people to frequent them the more: for the great measure of her councils was to unite the whole nation into one way of religion. The reformed bishops and divines opposed this vehemently; they put all their reasons in a long writing which they gave her concerning it; the preface and conclusion of which will be found in the Collection. "They protested they could not comply with that, which, as it was against their own consciences, so it would prove a snare to the ignorant: they had often pressed the queen in that matter; which, it seems, stuck long with her: they prayed her not to be offended with that liberty they took, thus to lay their reasons before her, it being a thing which Christian princes had at all times taken well from their bishops. They desired her to commit that matter to the decision of a synod of bishops and divines, and not to do such a thing merely upon some political considerations; which, as it would offend many, so it would reflect much on the reign of her most godly brother, and on those who had then removed all images, and had given their lives afterwards for a testimony to the truth."

A Visitation and Injunctions ordered by the Queen.

Collection, Number 6.

The Queen inclined to retain Images in Churches.

The substance of their reasons (which for their length I have not put in the Collection) is, "That the second commandment forbids the making of any images as a resemblance of God. And Deut. xxvii. there was a curse pronounced on those 'who made an image, an abomination to the Lord, and put it in a secret place;' which they expounded of some sacraria in private houses: and Deut. iv. among the cautions Moses gives to the people of Israel to beware of idolatry; this is one, 'that they do not make an image,' for the use of these does naturally degenerate into idolatry: the Jews were so sensible of this after the captivity, that they would die rather than suffer an image to be put in their temple. The Book of Wisdom calls an image a 'Snare for the feet of the ignorant.' St. John charged those he writ to 'beware of idols.' So Tertullian said, it was not enough to beware of idolatry towards them, but of the very images themselves. And as Moses had charged the people not to lay a stumbling-block in the way of the blind; so it was a much greater sin to leave such a trap for the weak multitude. This was not for edification, since it fed the superstition of the weak and ignorant, who would continue in their former dotage upon them, and would alienate others from the public worship; so that between those that would separate from them if they were continued, and the multitude that would abuse them, the number of those that would use them aright would be very inconsiderable: the outward splendour of them would be apt to draw the minds of the worshippers, if not to direct idolatry, yet to staring and distraction of thoughts. Both Origen and Arnobius tell us, that the primitive Christians had no images at all. Irenæus accused the Gnostics for carrying about the image of Christ. St. Austin commends Varro for saying that the old Romans worshipped God more chastely without the use of any images. Epiphanius tore a veil with an image on it; and Serenus broke images in Gregory the Great's time. Valens and Theodosius made a law against the painting or graving of the image of Christ: and the use of images in the eastern churches brought those distractions on that empire, that laid it open to the invasions of the Mahometans."

Reasons brought against it.

These reasons prevailed with the queen, to put it into her injunctions to have all images removed out of the church.

The injunctions given by king Edward, at his first coming to the crown, were all renewed, with very little variation. To these some things were added, of which I shall give account.

"It was nowhere declared, neither in the Scriptures nor by the primitive church, that priests might not have wives, upon which many in king Edward's time had married. Yet great offence was given by the indecent marriages that some of them then made. To prevent the like scandals for the future, it was ordered, that no priest or deacon should marry without allowance from the bishop of the diocese, and two justices of the peace, and the consent of the woman's parents or friends. All the clergy were to use habits according to their degrees in the universities; the queen declaring

The Heads of the Injunctions.

that this was not done for any holiness in them, but for order and decency. No man might use any charm, or consult with such as did. All were to resort to their own parish churches, except for an extraordinary occasion. Innkeepers were to sell nothing in the times of divine service. None were to keep images or other monuments of superstition in their houses. None might preach but such as were licensed by their ordinary. In all places they were to examine the causes why any had been in the late reign imprisoned, famished, or put to death upon the pretence of religion; and all registers were to be searched for it. In every parish the ordinary was to name three or four discreet men, who were to see that all the parishioners did duly resort on Sundays and holidays to church; and those who did it not, and upon admonition did not amend, were to be denounced to the ordinary. On Wednesdays and Fridays the Common-prayer and litany was to be used in all churches. All slanderous words, as papist, heretic, schismatic, or sacramentary, were to be forborne, under severe pains. No books might be printed without a licence from the queen, the archbishop, the bishop of London, the chancellor of the universities, or the bishop or archdeacon of the place where it was printed. All were to kneel at the prayers, and to show a reverence when the name of Jesus was pronounced. Then followed an explanation of the oath of supremacy, in which the queen declared that she did not pretend to any authority for the ministering of divine service in the church, and that all that she challenged was that which had at all times belonged to the imperial crown of England; that she had the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons under God, so that no foreign power had any rule over them; and if those who had formerly appeared to have scruples about it, took it in that sense, she was well pleased to accept of it, and did acquit them of all penalties in the act. The next was about altars and communion tables; she ordered, that for preventing of riots no altar should be taken down, but by the consent of the curate and church-wardens; that a communion-table should be made for every church, and that on sacrament days it should be set in some convenient place in the chancel; and at other times should be placed where the altar had stood. The sacramental bread was ordered to be round and plain, without any figure on it, but somewhat broader and thicker than the cakes formerly prepared for the mass. Then the form of bidding prayer was prescribed with some variation from that in king Edward's time: for whereas to the thanksgiving for God's blessings to the church in the saints departed this life, a prayer was added, 'That they with us, and we with them, may have a glorious resurrection;' now those words, 'they with us,' as seeming to import a prayer for the dead, were left out."

Reflections made on the Injunctions.

For the rule about churchmen marrying, those who reflected on it said they complained not of the law, but as St. Jerome did in the making a law in his time, they complained of those that had given occasion for it. Ministers wearing such apparel as might distinguish them from the laity was certainly a means to keep them under great restraint upon every indecency in their behaviour, laying them open to the censures of the people; which could not be, if they were habited so as that they could not be distinguished from other men: and human nature being considered, it seems to be a kind of temptation to many when they do but think their disorders will pass unobserved. Bowing at the name of Jesus was thought a fit expression of their grateful acknowledging of our Saviour and an owning of his divinity; and as standing up at the Creed or at the *Gloria Patri* were solemn expressions of the faith of Christians, so, since Jesus is the name by which Christ is expressed to be our Saviour, it seemed a decent piece of acknowledging our faith in him to show a reverence when that was pronounced: not as if there were a peculiar sanctity or virtue in it, but because it was his proper name, Christ being but an application added to it. By the queen's care to take away all words of reproach, and to explain the oath of supremacy, not only clearing any ambiguity that might be in the words, but allowing men leave to declare in what sense they swore it, the moderation of her government did much appear; in which, instead of inventing new traps to catch the weak, which had been practised in other reigns, all possible care was taken to explain things so that they might be as comprehensive to all interests as was possible. They reckoned, if that age could have been on any terms separated from the papacy, though with allowance for many other superstitious conceits, it would once unite them all; and in the next age they would be so educated



that none of those should any more remain. And indeed this moderation had all the effect that was designed by it for many years, in which the papists came to church and to the sacraments. But afterwards, it being proposed to the king of Spain, then ready to engage in a war with the queen upon the account of her supporting of the United Provinces, that he must first divide England at home, and procure from the pope a sentence against the queen, and a condemnation of such papists as went to the English service; and that for the maintaining and educating of such priests as should be his tools to distract the kingdom, he was to found seminaries at Douay, Louvain, and St. Omer's, from whence they might come over hither and disorder the affairs of England. The prosecution of those counsels raised the popish party among us, which has ever since distracted this nation, and has oftener than once put it into most threatening convulsive motions, such as we feel at this day.

The first high Commission.

After the injunctions were thus prepared, the queen gave out commissions for those who should visit all the churches of England: in which they lost no time; for the new Book of Service was by law to take place on St. John Baptist's Day, and these commissions were signed that same day. One of those commissions, which was for the archbishopric and province of York, is put into the Collection. It was granted to the earls of Shrewsbury and Derby, and some others, among whom Dr. Sands is one.

Collection, Number 7.

The preamble sets forth, "That God having set the queen over the nation, she could not render an account of that trust without endeavouring to propagate the true religion with the right way of worshipping God in all her dominions; therefore she, intending to have a general visitation of her whole kingdom, empowered them, or any two of them, to examine the true state of all the churches in the northern parts; to suspend or deprive such clergymen as were unworthy, and to put others into their places; to proceed against such as were obstinate by imprisonment, church censure, or any other legal way. They were to reserve pensions for such as would not continue in their benefices, but quitted them by resignation; and to examine the condition of all that were imprisoned on the account of religion, and to discharge them; and to restore all such to their benefices as had been unlawfully turned out in the late times."

This was the first high commission * that was given out: that for the province of Canterbury was, without doubt, of the same nature. The prudence of reserving pensions for such priests as were turned out was much applauded, since thereby they were kept from extreme want, which might have set them on to do mischief; and by the pension which was granted them upon their good behaviour they were kept under some awe, which would not have been otherwise. That which was chiefly condemned in these commissions was the queen's giving the visitors authority to proceed by ecclesiastical censures, which seemed a great stretch of her supremacy: but it was thought that the queen might do that as well as the lay-chancellors did it in the ecclesiastical courts; so that one abuse was the excuse for another.

These visitors having made report to the queen of the obedience given to the laws and her injunctions, it was found that, of 9400 beneficed men in England, there were no more but 14 bishops, 6 abbots, 12 deans, 12 archdeacons, 15 heads of colleges, 50 prebendaries, and 80 rectors of parishes, that had left their benefices upon the account of religion; so compliant were the papists generally. And indeed the bishops, after this time, had the same apprehension of the danger into which religion was brought by the jugglings of the greatest part of the clergy who retained their affections to the old superstition that those in king Edward's time had: so that if queen Elizabeth had not lived so long as she did, till all that generation was dead, and a new set of men better educated and principled were grown up and put in their rooms, and if a prince of another religion had succeeded before that time, they had probably turned about again to the old superstitions as nimbly as they had done before in queen Mary's days. That which supported the superstitious party in king Edward's time most was, that many great bishops did secretly favour and encourage them; therefore it was now resolved to look well to the filling of the vacant sees.

It has been said before, that Parker was sent for to London by the queen's order, and the

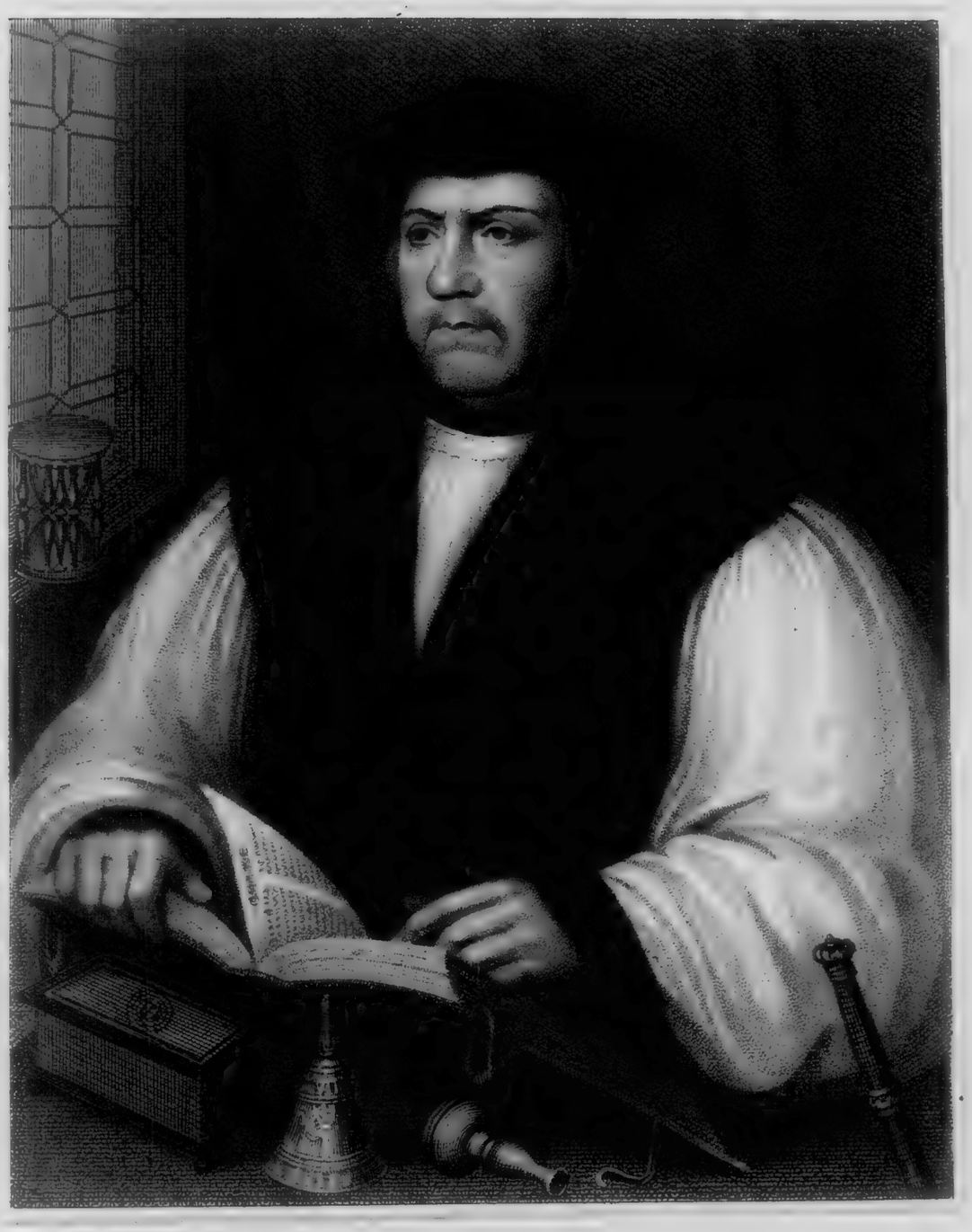
* This was not a high commission, warranted by act of parliament, but a commission for a royal visitation by virtue of the queen's supremacy.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

archbishopric of Canterbury was offered him. He was upon that cast into such a perplexity of mind that he was out of measure grieved at it. As soon as he was returned home, he writ a letter to the lord-keeper, which, with all the other letters that passed in this matter, I have put into the Collection. "He professed he never had less joy of a journey to London, and was never more glad to get from it, than upon his last being there." He said, "It was necessary to fill that see with a man that was neither arrogant, faint-hearted, nor covetous: an arrogant man would perhaps divide from his brethren in doctrine, whereas the whole strength of the church depended on their unity; but if there should be heart-burnings among them, and the private quarrels that had been beyond sea should be brought home, the peace of the church would be lost, and the success of all their design would be blasted: and if a faint-hearted man were put in, it would raise the spirits of all their adversaries. A covetous man was good for nothing. He knew his own unfitness both of body and mind so well, that though he should be sorry to offend him and secretary Cecil, whom he honoured above all men in the world, and more sorry to displease the queen, yet he must above all things avoid God's indignation, and not enter into a station into which he knew he could not carry himself so as to answer it either to God or the world for his administration. And if he must go to prison for his obstinate untowardness (with which it seems they had threatened him), he would suffer it rather with a quiet conscience than accept of an employment which he could not discharge. He said he intended, by God's grace, never to be of that order, neither higher nor lower. He knew what he was capable of: he was poor, and not able to enter on such a station; he had a rupture, which made him that he could not stir much; therefore he desired some place in the university where he might wear out his life tolerably. He knew he could not answer their expectation, which made him so importunate not to be raised so high. He said he had great apprehensions of differences like to fall out among themselves, which would be a pleasant diversion to those of the church of Rome: he saw some men were men still, even after all their teaching in the school of affliction. He protested he did not seek his own private gain or ease; he had but two or three years more of life before him, and did not intend to heap up for his children." This he writ the 1st of March.

Parker's unwillingness to accept of the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Collection, Number 8.

The business of the parliament made this motion to be laid aside till that was dissolved; and then on the 17th of May the lord-keeper wrote to him concerning it. He told him that he saw, by a resolution taken that day in the queen's presence, that it would be very hard for his friends to get him delivered from that charge. For his own part, if he knew a man to whom the characters in his letter did agree better than to himself, he should be for preferring such a one; but knowing no such, he must be still for him. On the 19th, after that, the lord-keeper and secretary Cecil signed a letter in the queen's name requiring him to come up; and after that they sent a second command to him to come to court, on the 28th of the month. He came up, but again excused himself: yet at last, being so often pressed, he writ to the queen herself, "protesting that extreme necessity forced him to trouble her, both out of conscience to God and regard to her service: he knew his great unworthiness for so high a function; therefore as on his knees he humbly besought her to discharge him of that office, which did require a man of more learning, virtue, and experience than he perfectly knew was in himself. He lamented his being so meanly qualified that he could not serve her in that high station; but in any other inferior office he should be ready to discharge his duty to her in such a place as was suitable to his infirmity. But in the conclusion he submitted himself to her pleasure." In the end he was with great difficulty brought to accept of it. So on the 18th day of July the *congé-d'élire* was sent to Canterbury; and upon that, on the 22d of July, a chapter was summoned to meet the 1st of August, where, the dean and prebendaries meeting, they, according to a method often used in their elections*, did, by a compromise, refer it to the dean to name whom he pleased; and he naming doctor Parker, according to the queen's letter, they all confirmed it, and published their election, singing *Te Deum* upon it. On the 9th of September the great seal was put to a warrant for his consecration, directed to the bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Llandaff,

* There had been but one election since the prior and monks had been changed into a dean and prebendaries.—GRANGER'S CORRECT.



MATTHEW PARKER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OB. 1575.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

and to Barlow and Scory (styled only bishops, not being then elected to any sees), requiring them to consecrate him. From this it appears that neither Tonstal, Bourn, nor Pool, were at that time turned out. It seems there was some hope of gaining them to obey the laws, and so to continue in their sees.

He is consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.

This matter was delayed to the 6th of December. Whether this flowed from Parker's unwillingness to engage in so high a station, or from any other secret reason, I do not know: but then, the three bishops last named refusing to do it, a new warrant passed under the great seal to the bishop of Llandaff, Barlow bishop elect of Chichester, Scory bishop elect of Hereford, Coverdale late bishop of Exeter, Hodgkins bishop suffragan of Bedford, John suffragan of Thetford, and Bale bishop of Ossory, that they, or any four of them, should consecrate him. So by virtue of this, on the 9th of December, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins met at the church of St Mary-le-Bow, where, according to the custom, the *congé-d'élire*, with the election, and the royal assent to it, were to be brought before them: and these being read, witnesses were to be cited to prove the election lawfully made; and all who would object to it were also cited. All these things being performed according to law, and none coming to object against the election, they confirmed it according to the usual manner. On the 17th of December, Parker was consecrated in the chapel at Lambeth by Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins, according to the Book of Ordinations made in king Edward's time; only the ceremony of putting the staff in his hands was left out of the office in this reign. He being thus consecrated himself, did afterwards consecrate bishops for the other sees; namely, Grindal, bishop of London; Cox, that had been king Edward's almoner, bishop of Ely; Horn, bishop of Winchester; Sandys, bishop of Worcester; Merick, bishop of Bangor; Young, bishop of St. David's; Bullingham, bishop of Lincoln; Jewel, bishop of Salisbury (the great ornament of that age for learning and piety); Davis, bishop of St. Asaph; Guest, bishop of Rochester; Berkley, bishop of Bath and Wells; Bentham, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield; Alley, bishop of Exeter; and Scambler, bishop of Peterborough. Barlow and Scory were put into the sees of Chichester and Hereford. And some time after this, in February 1561, Young was translated from St. David's to York, there being now no hopes of gaining Heath to continue in it, which it seems had been long endeavoured; for it was now two years that that see had been in vacancy *. In like manner, after so long waiting to see if Tonstal would conform, there being now no more hope of it, in March 1561 Pilkington was made bishop of Durham. Best was afterwards made bishop of Carlisle, and Downham bishop of Chester †.

The Fable of the Nag's-head confuted.

I have given the more distinct account of these promotions, because of a most malicious slander with which they were aspersed in aftertimes. It was not thought on for forty years after this. But then it was forged and published, and spread over the world with great confidence, that Parker himself was not legally or truly consecrated. The author of it was said to be one Neale, that had been some time one of Bonner's chaplains. The contrivance was, that the bishop of Llandaff being required by Bonner not to consecrate Parker, or to give orders in his diocese, did thereupon refuse it: upon that the bishops elect being met in Cheapside at the Nag's-head tavern, Neale, that had watched them thither, peeped in through a hole of the door, and saw them in great disorder, finding the bishop of Llandaff was intractable. But (as the tale goes on) Scory bids them all kneel, and he laid the Bible upon every one of their heads or shoulders, and said, "Take thou authority to preach the word of God sincerely," and so they rose up all bishops. This tale came so late into the world, that Sanders, and all the other writers in queen Elizabeth's time, had never heard of it; otherwise we may be sure they would not have concealed it. And if the thing had been true, or if Neale had but pretended that he had seen any such thing, there is no reason to think he would have suppressed it. But when it might be presumed that all those persons were dead that had been present at Parker's consecration, then was the time to invent such a story; for then it might be hoped

* May, dean of St. Paul's, was elected archbishop, but died before he was consecrated.—Strype's Correct.

† Thomas Davis, of St. Asaph, and Richard Cheiney, of Gloucester, should have been remembered, though consecrated a while after.—Granger's Correct.

that none could contradict it. And who could tell but that some who had seen bishops go from Bow church to dine at that tavern with their civilians, as some have done after their confirmation, might imagine that then was the time of this Nag's-head consecration. If it were boldly said, one or other might think he remembered it. But as it pleased God, there was one then living that remembered the contrary. The old earl of Nottingham, who had been at the consecration, declared it was at Lambeth, and described all the circumstances of of it, and satisfied all reasonable men that it was according to the form of the church of England. The registers both of the see of Canterbury, and of the records of the crown, do all fully agree with his relation. For as Parker's *congé-d'élire*, with the queen's assent to his election, and the warrant for his consecration, are all under the great seal; so upon the certificate made by those who consecrated him, the temporalities were restored by another warrant also enrolled, which was to be showed in the house of lords when he took his place there. Besides that the consecrations of all the other bishops made by him show that he alone was first consecrated without any other. And above all other testimonies, the original instrument of archbishop Parker's consecration lies still among his other papers in the library of Corpus Christi college at Cambridge, which I saw and read. It is as manifestly an original writing as any that I ever had in my hands: I have put it in the Collection, for the more full discovery of the impudence of that fiction. But it served those ends for which it was designed. Weak people, hearing it so positively told by their priests, came to believe it; and I have myself met with many that seemed still to give some credit to it, after all that clear confutation of it made by the most ingenious and learned bishop Bramhall, the late primate of Ireland. Therefore I thought it necessary to be the larger in the account of this consecration; and the rather, because of the influence it hath into all the ordinations that have been since that time derived down in this church.

Collection, Number 9.

Some excepted against the canonicalness of it, because it was not done by all the bishops of the province, and three of the bishops had no sees when they did it, and the fourth was only a suffragan bishop. But to all this it was said, that after a church had been overrun with heresy, those rules which were to be observed in its more settled state were always superseded, as appears particularly when the Arian bishops were turned out of some great sees, for the orthodox bishops did then ordain others to succeed them, without judging themselves bound by the canons in such cases. And bishops that had been rightly consecrated could certainly derive their own character to others, whether they were actually in sees or not. And a suffragan bishop being consecrated in the same manner that other bishops were, though he had a limited jurisdiction, yet was of the same order with them. All these things were made out with a great deal of learning by Mason, who upon the publishing of that fiction wrote in vindication of the English ministry.

Thus were the sees filled, the worship reformed, and the queen's injunctions sent over England. Three things remained yet to be done. The first was to set out the doctrine of the church, as it had been done in king Edward's time. The second was to translate the Bible, and publish it with short notes. And the third was to regulate the ecclesiastical courts. The bishops, therefore, set about these. And for the first, though they could not, by public authority, set out the articles of the church till they met in a convocation; yet they soon after prepared them. And for the present, they agreed on a short profession of their doctrine, which all incumbents were obliged to read and publish to their people. This will be found in the Collection, copied from it, as it was then printed.

Collection, Number 11.

In the articles made in king Edward's reign, which I have put in the Collection, the reader will find on the margin the differences between those and these marked. In the third article, the explanation of Christ's descent to hell was left out. In that about the Scriptures, they now added an enumeration of the canonical and apocryphal books, declaring that some lessons were read out of the latter for the instruction of the people, but not for the confirmation of the doctrine. About the authority of the church, they now added, that the church had power to decree rites and ceremonies, and had authority in controversies of faith, but still subordinate to the Scripture.



In the article about the Lord's supper there is a great deal left out; for instead of that large refutation of the corporal presence, from the impossibility of a body's being in more places at once,—from whence it follows, that since Christ's body is in heaven,—the faithful ought not to believe or profess a real or corporal presence of it in the sacrament,—in the new articles it is said, "That the body of Christ is given and received after a spiritual manner; and the means by which it is received, is faith." But in the original copy of these articles, which I have seen subscribed by the hands of all that sate in either house of convocation, there is a further addition made. The articles were subscribed with that precaution which was requisite in a matter of such consequence; for before the subscriptions, there is set down the number of the pages, and of the lines in every page of the book, to which they set their hands.

MSS. C. Cor. Christ. Cant.

In that article of the Eucharist these words are added, "Christus in cœlum ascendens corpori suo immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit: humanæ enim naturæ veritatem, juxta Scripturas perpetuo retinet, quam in uno et definito loco esse, et non in multa vel omnia simul loca diffundi, oportet. Quum igitur Christus in cœlum sublatus, ibi usque ad finem sæculi sit permansurus, atque inde, non aliunde (ut loquitur Augustinus), venturus sit ad judicandum vivos et mortuos, non debet quisquam fidelium carnis ejus et sanguinis realem et corporalem (ut loquuntur) præsentiam in eucharistia vel credere vel profiteri." In English thus:—"Christ, when he ascended into heaven, made his body immortal, but took not from it the nature of a body: for still it retains, according to the Scriptures, the verity of a human body, which must be always in one definite place, and cannot be spread into many, or all places at once. Since then Christ, being carried up to heaven, is to remain there to the end of the world, and is to come from thence, and from no place else (as says St. Austin), to judge the quick and the dead; none of the faithful ought to believe or profess the real, or (as they call it) the corporal, presence of his flesh and blood in the eucharist."

An Explanation of Christ's presence in the Sacrament.

But this in the original is dashed over with *minium;* yet so, that it is still legible. The secret of it was this: the queen and her council studied (as hath been already shown) to unite all into the communion of the church: and it was alleged, that such an express definition against a real presence, might drive from the church many who were still of that persuasion; and therefore it was thought to be enough to condemn transubstantiation, and to say, that Christ was present after a spiritual manner, and received by faith; to say more, as it was judged superfluous, so it might occasion division. Upon this, these words were, by common consent, left out; and in the next convocation, the articles were subscribed without them, of which I have also seen the original.

But it is suppressed.

This shows that the doctrine of the church, subscribed by the whole convocation, was at that time contrary to the belief of a real or corporal presence in the sacrament; only it was not thought necessary or expedient to publish it. Though from this silence, which flowed not from their opinion, but the wisdom of that time, in leaving a liberty for different speculations as to the manner of the presence, some have since inferred, that the chief pastors of this church did then disapprove of the definition made in king Edward's time, and that they were for a real presence.

For the translating of the Bible, it was divided into many parcels. The Pentateuch was committed to William Alley, bishop of Exeter. The books from that to the second of Samuel were given to Richard Davis, who was made bishop of St. David's when Young was removed to York. All from Samuel to the second book of Chronicles was assigned to Edwin Sandys, then bishop of Worcester. From thence to the end of Job, to one whose name is marked A. P. C. * The book of the Psalms was given to Thomas Bentham, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. The Proverbs, to one who is marked A. P. The Song of Solomon, to one marked A. P. E. † All from thence to the Lamentations of Jeremiah was given to Robert Horn, bishop of Winchester. Ezekiel and Daniel, to Bentham. From thence to Malachi, to Grindal, bishop of London. The Apocrypha to the book of Wisdom was given to Barlow, bishop of Chichester; and the rest of it to Parkhurst, bishop of

* For Andrew Pierson, Cantuar. † For Andrew Pern, Eliensis.

Norwich. The Gospels, Acts, and Epistle to the Romans were given to Richard Cox, bishop of Ely. The Epistles to the Corinthians to one marked C. G. * I know not to whom the rest of the New Testament was assigned. All these allotments I gather from the Bible itself, as it was afterwards set out by Parker. What method they followed in this work I cannot discover; unless the rules afterwards given in king James his time, when the translation was revived, were copied from what was now done: which rules, for the curiosity of the thing, I shall put in the Collection, as I copied it from B. Ravis's paper. They were given with that care that such a matter required. There were many companies appointed for every parcel of the Scripture, and every one of a company was to translate the whole parcel: then they were to compare these together; and when any company had finished their part, they were to communicate it to the other companies. So it is like, that at this time those several bishops that had undertaken the translation did associate to themselves companies, with whose assistance they perfected it afterwards; and when it was set out at the end of every section, the initial letters of his name that had translated it were printed, as W.E., E.W., for Will. Exon and Edwin Wigorn; and so in the rest. In what year this was first printed I am not so well assured. For I have not seen the first impression of it, but I believe it was in the year 1561 †, or soon after it; for the Almanack prefixed for the moveable feasts, begins with that year.

Collection, Number 10.

As for the canons and rules of the church government, they were not so soon prepared. There came out some in the year 1571, and more in the year 1597; and a far larger collection of them in the first year of king James's reign. But this matter has yet wanted its chief force; for penitentiary canons have not been set up, and the government of the church is not yet brought into the hands of churchmen. So that in this point the reformation of the church wants some part of its finishing in the government and discipline of it.

Thus did queen Elizabeth again recover the reformation of religion: and it might have been expected that, under such moderate and wise councils, things should have been carried with that temper that this church should have united in its endeavours to support itself, and become the bulwark of the Reformation and the terror of Rome. But that blessing was, by the sins of the nation, the passions of some, the interests of others, and the weakness of the greatest part, in a great measure denied us. The heats that had been raised beyond sea were not quite forgotten; and as some sparks had been kindled about clergymen's habits in king Edward's reign, so, though Hooper and Ridley had buried that difference in their ashes, it broke out again concerning the vestments of the inferior clergy. Other things were also much contested: some were for setting up ecclesiastical courts in every parish for the exercising of discipline against scandalous persons; others thought this might degenerate into faction. These lesser differences were craftily managed by some, who intended to improve them so far that they might have the church lands divided among them: and they carried these heats further in queen Elizabeth's reign than one would imagine that considers the temper of that government. But since that, still by many degrees, and many accidents in the civil government, they are now grown to that height, that though, considering the grounds on which they have been and still are maintained, they appeared to be of no great force or moment; yet, if the animosities and heats that are raised by them are well examined, there is scarce any probable hopes left of composing those differences, unless our lawgivers do vigorously apply themselves to it.

The beginnings of the Divisions of this Church.

* For Christopher Goodman.

† The new edition of the Bible was not printed before the year 1572.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.



## THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

HAVING given this account of the establishment of the Reformation here in England under queen Elizabeth, I have in some sort discharged myself of the design of my engagement in this work: but since the settlement of religion in Scotland was made the same year, I shall next give some account of that; which I do with the more assurance, having met with several important things relating to it in Melvil's Memoirs that are in none of the printed books. When the treaty began for a peace between the two crowns of France and Spain, the secret reason of making it was to root out heresy: so much was expressed in the preamble to it, that to extirpate heresy, to have a general council called, and the church fully reformed both from errors and abuses, those princes had entered into a firm peace.

The cardinal of Lorraine writ to his sister, the queen-regent of Scotland, that now, since they were making peace, they were resolved to purge the world of heresy. He also writ to the archbishop of St. Andrew's to the same effect. The queen-regent was much confounded at this: she was now forced to break her faith with those who had served her interests hitherto, and to whom she had often promised that they should not be troubled for their consciences. The danger was also very great from their combination, since the queen of England would certainly assist them; both because the religion was the same in both countries, and because, by dividing that kingdom, she would secure the north of England from the mischief Scotland could do it if moved and set on to it by France. But the bishops in Scotland, shutting their eyes upon all dangers, resolved, by some signal instance, to strike a terror into the people.

The archbishop of St. Andrew's, having gathered a meeting of many bishops, abbots, and divines, brought before them one Walter Mill, an old decrepit priest who had long given over saying mass, and had preached in several places of the country. They had in vain dealt with him to recant; so now he was brought to his trial. They objected articles to him about his asserting the lawfulness of priests' marriages, denying the seven sacraments, saying the mass was idolatry, denying the presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament, and condemning the office of bishops; speaking against pilgrimages; and teaching privately in houses.

Mill's Martyrdom.

To these he answered beyond all their expectation; for he was so old and infirm that they thought he could say nothing. He said, "he esteemed marriage a blessed bond, and free for all men to enter into it; and that it was much better for priests to marry than to vow chastity and not keep it, as they generally did." He said, "he knew no sacraments but baptism and the Lord's supper; the rest he left to them." He said, "the priest's sole communicating was as if a lord should invite many to dinner, and ring a bell for them to come; but when they came should turn his back on them, and eat all himself." He said, "that Christ was only spiritually in the sacrament; and that there was no other sacrifice but that which he offered on the cross." He held, "that they were bishops indeed who did the work of a bishop; and not they who sought only their sensual pleasures, and neither regarded the word of God nor their flocks." He knew "pilgrimages had been much abused, and great uncleanness was committed under the colour of going to them; but there was no ground for them in Scripture."

Upon these answers he was required to recant: but he said he knew he was to die once, and what they intended to do with him he wished they would do it soon. Upon this he was declared an obstinate heretic: but the country was so alienated from them that they could not find a man to burn him, and he that had the jurisdiction in that regality refused to execute the sentence; yet at last one of the archbishop's servants was gotten to undertake it, but in the whole town they could find none that would sell them a cord to tie him to the stake. So they were forced to put it off till the next day; and then, since none other could be had, the archbishop sent the cords of his own pavilion for that use. When Mill was brought to the stake, he said he would not go up of his own accord, because he would not be accessary to his own death; but if they would put their hand to him, they should see how

cheerfully he should do it. That being done, he went up, and said, "I will go in to the altar of God." He exhorted the people to be no more seduced by the lies of their priests, but to depend upon Christ and his mercy; for whose doctrine, as many martyrs had offered up their lives, so he blessed God that had so honoured him to call him to give this testimony, for whose glory he most willingly offered up his life. When the fire was set to him, he called to the people to pray for him, and continued to cry "Lord have mercy on me!" till he could speak no more.

His suffering was much resented by the inhabitants of St. Andrews, who raised a great heap of stones in the place where he was burnt, for a memorial of it; and though the priests scattered them often, they renewed them still, till a watch was set about it.

The Nation was much provoked by it.

In all parts of Scotland, and especially in the towns, and in the families of the nobility and gentry, the Reformation had been received and secretly professed. So they began now to consult what to do: they had many meetings in several places; and finding their interest was great over the kingdom, they entered into confederacies to maintain the true religion.

Before the parliament met last year, they had sent a petition to the queen-regent, "That the worship of God might be in the vulgar tongue, and the communion might be given in both kinds. That there should be great care taken in the election of ministers; that it might be according to the custom of the primitive church; and that scandalous ministers might be removed, and more worthy men put in their places."

But the queen-regent, to keep them in hopes till the dauphin should be acknowledged king of Scotland, promised they should not be hindered to have prayers in their own tongue, so they would keep no public assemblies in Edinburgh and Leith.

In the parliament they proposed the abrogating of the laws for churchmen's proceedings against heretics, and that none should be condemned of heresy but according to the word of God; with some other limitations of the severities against them. But the queen still gave them good hopes; only she said she could not agree to those things by reason of the opposition that would be made by the spiritual estate: but she suffered them to read a protestation in parliament, declaring their desires of a Reformation; and that if, upon the denial of it, abuses were removed violently, they were not to be blamed who had begun thus in a modest way to petition for it.

This year it was become visible that she resolved to proceed to extremities. She ordered all the reformed preachers to appear at Stirling the 10th of May. When this was done, the earl of Glencairn went to her in the name of the rest, and asked her the reason of that way of proceeding. She answered him, in passion, "that maugre them and all that would take part with them, the ministers should be banished Scotland, though they preached as soundly as St. Paul did." Upon this he remembered her of the promises she had often made them: to which she answered, "that the promises of princes should be no further strained than seemed convenient to them to perform." Glencairn replied, "if she would keep no promises, they would acknowledge her no more, but renounce their obedience to her."

That very night she heard that in the town of St. Johnstoun the people had sermons openly in their churches. Upon that she ordered the lord Ruthven to go and reduce that town. He answered, he could not govern their consciences. Upon which she vowed she would make him and them both repent it. The ministers were coming from all parts, accompanied with many gentlemen, to appear on the day to which they were cited. The queen hearing that, sent word to them to go home, for she would not proceed in the citation. Many of them upon that returned to their homes, but others went to St. Johnstoun; yet, upon their not appearing, she made them all be declared rebels, contrary to her promise. This made many leave her, and go over to them at St. Johnstoun. The people began there first to break images, and then they fell into the houses of the Franciscans and Dominicans, where they found much more wealth than agreed with their pretended poverty. They also pulled down a great house of the Carthusians with so much haste that within two days there was not one stone left to show where it had stood; but yet the prior was suffered to carry away the plate. All that was found in these houses, besides what the monks carried away, was given to the poor. The queen hearing this,

A Revolt began at St. Johnstoun.



resolved to make that town an example, and sent over all the kingdom to gather the French soldiers together, with such others as would join with her in this quarrel: but the earl of Glencairn with incredible haste came to their assistance with 2500 men; and there were gathered in all, in and about the town, 7000 men. The queen, seeing it now turned to an open rebellion, employed the earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews to treat with them. An oblivion for what was past was agreed on: the queen was to come to St. Johnstoun without her Frenchmen: and the matters of religion were to be referred to a parliament. Upon this she went thither; but carried Frenchmen with her, and put a garrison in the town; and proceeded to the fining of many, and the banishing of others. Being pressed with her promise, she said, "the promises of princes ought not to be strictly urged; and those were not to be kept that were made to heretics." She declared "that she would take it on her conscience to kill and undo all that sect, and make the best excuse she could when it was done." Upon this all the nation forsook her: and in many other places they went on to cleanse the churches and pull down monasteries.

When the news of this came to the court of France, it was at first not rightly understood. The queen-regent represented it as if it had been a design to shake off the French power, and desired a great force to reduce them. The king then saw too late that the constable had given him good advice in dissuading the match with Scotland; and fearing to be entangled in a long chargeable war, he resolved to send one thither to know the true occasion of these stirs. So the constable proposed to him the sending of Melvil, by whom he had understood that the reason of all their disorders was the queen's breaking her word to them in the matters of religion. He carried Melvil to the king, and in his presence gave him instructions to go to Scotland, and see what was the true cause of all these disorders; and particularly how far the prior of St. Andrews (afterwards the earl of Murray) was engaged in them; and if he, by secret ways, could certainly find there was nothing in it but religion, that then he should give them assurances of the free exercise of it, and press them not to engage any further till he was returned to the French court, where he was promised to find a great reward for so important a service; but he was not to let the queen-regent understand his business. He found, upon his going into Scotland, that it was even as he had formerly heard; that the queen-regent was now much hated and distasted by them; but that upon an oblivion of what was passed, and the free exercise of their religion for the future, all might be brought to peace and quiet. But before he came back, the king of France was dead, the constable in disgrace, and the cardinal of Lorraine governed all. So he lost his labour and reward, which he valued much less, being a generous and virtuous man, than the ruin that he saw coming on his country.

The French King intends to grant liberty of Religion.

But is killed.

The lords that were now united against the queen-mother came and took St. Johnstoun. From thence they went to Stirling and Edinburgh; and everywhere they pulled down monasteries. All the country declared on their side; so that the queen-regent was forced to fly to Dunbar castle. The lords sent to England for assistance, which the queen readily granted them. They gave out that they desired nothing but to have the French driven out, and religion settled by a parliament. The queen-regent seeing all the country against her, and apprehending that the queen of England would take advantage from these stirs to drive her out of Scotland, was content to agree to a truce, and to summon a parliament to meet on the 10th of January. But the new king of France sent over M. de Croque with a high threatening message, that he would spend the whole revenue of France rather than not be revenged on them that raised these tumults in Scotland. The lords answered, that they desired nothing but the liberty of their religion; and that being obtained, they should be in all other things his most obedient subjects. The queen-regent, having gotten about two thousand men from France, fortified Leith; and in many other things broke the truce. There came over also some doctors of the Sorbonne to dispute with the ministers, because they heard the Scottish clergy were scarce able to defend their own cause. The lords gathered again, and seeing the queen-regent had so often broke her word to them, they entered into consultation to deprive her of her regency. Their queen was not yet of age; and in her minority, they pretended that the government of the kingdom belonged

A Truce agreed to in Scotland.

to the states; and therefore they gathered together many of her maladministrations, for which they might the more colourably put her out of the government. The things they charged on her were chiefly these: "That she had without law begun a war in the kingdom, and brought in strangers to subdue it; had governed without the consent of the nobility; embased the coin to maintain her soldiers; had put garrisons in free towns; and had broke all promises and terms with them. Thereupon they declared her to have fallen from her regency, and did suspend her power till the next parliament." So now it was an irreconcileable breach. The lords lay first at Edinburgh, and from thence retired afterwards to Stirling: upon which the French came and possessed themselves of the town, and set up the mass again in the churches. Greater supplies came over from France, under the command of the marquis of Elbœuf, one of the queen-regent's brothers; who, though most of his fleet were dispersed, yet brought to Leith a thousand foot, so that there were now above four thousand French soldiers in that town. But what accession of strength soever the queen-regent received from these, she lost as much in Scotland; for now almost the whole country was united against her, and the French were equally heavy to their friends and enemies. They marched about by Stirling to waste Fife, where there were some small engagements between them and the lords of the congregation.

The Queen-regent is deposed.

But the Scots, seeing they could not stand before that force that was expected from France the next spring, sent to queen Elizabeth to desire her aid openly; for the secret supplies of money and ammunition with which she hitherto furnished them would not now serve the turn. The council of England apprehended that it would draw on a war with France: yet they did not fear that much; for that kingdom was falling into such factions that they did not apprehend any great danger from thence till their king was of age. So the duke of Norfolk was sent to Berwick to treat with the lords of the congregation, who were now headed by the duke of Chatelherault. On the 27th of February they agreed on these conditions: "They were to be sure allies to the queen of England, and to assist her both in England and Ireland as she should need their help. She was now, on the other hand, to assist them to drive the French out of Scotland: after which they were still to continue in their obedience to their natural queen. This league was to last during their queen's marriage to the French king, and for a year after: and they were to give the queen of England hostages, who were to be changed every six months."

The Scots implore the Q. of England's Aid.

This being concluded, and the hostages given, the lord Gray marched into Scotland with 2000 horse and 6000 foot. Upon that the lords sent and offered to the queen-regent, that if she would send away the French forces, the English should likewise be sent back, and they would return to their obedience.

This not being accepted, they drew about Leith to besiege it. In one sally which the French made they were beaten back with the loss of 300 men. This made the English more secure, thinking the French would no more come out; but they, understanding the ill order that was kept, sallied out again, and killed near 500 of the English: this made them more watchful for the future. So the siege being formed, a fire broke out in Leith which burnt down the greatest part of the town: the English playing all the while on them, distracted them so, that the soldiers being obliged to be on the walls, the fire was not easily quenched. Hereupon the English gave the assault, and were beaten off with some loss; but the duke of Norfolk sent a supply of 2000 men more, with the assurance of a great army if it was necessary, and charged the lord Gray not to quit the siege till the French were gone. Ships were also sent to lie in the Frith to block them up by sea. The French, apprehending the total loss of Scotland, sent over Monluc, bishop of Valence, to London, to offer to restore Calais to the queen of England if she would draw her forces out of Scotland. She gave him a quick answer on the sudden herself, that she did not value that fish-town so much as she did the quiet of Britain. But the French desiring that she would mediate a peace between them and the Scots, she undertook that, and sent secretary Cecil and Dr. Wotton into Scotland to conclude it. As they were on the way, the queen-regent died in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 10th of June. She sent for some of the chief lords before her death, and desired to be reconciled to them, and asked them pardon for the injuries she had done them. She advised them

Leith is besieged by the English.

The Queen-regent of Scotland dies.



to send both the French and English soldiers out of Scotland, and prayed them to continue in their obedience to their queen. She also sent for one of their preachers, Willock, and discoursed with him about her soul, and many other things; and said unto him that she trusted to be saved only by the death and merits of Jesus Christ; and so ended her days: which, if she had done a year sooner, before these last passages of her life, she had been the most universally lamented queen that had been in any time in Scotland. For she had governed them with great prudence, justice, and gentleness; and in her own deportment, and in the order of her court, she was an example to the whole nation: but the directions sent to her from France made her change her measures, break her word, and engage the kingdom in war, which rendered her very hateful to the nation. Yet she was often heard to say, that if her counsels might take place, she doubted not to bring all things again to perfect tranquillity and peace.

The treaty between England, France, and Scotland was soon after concluded. The French were to be sent away within twenty days; an act of oblivion was to be confirmed in parliament; the injuries done to the bishops and abbots were referred to the parliament; strangers and churchmen were no more to be trusted with the chief offices; and a parliament was to meet in August for the confirming of this. During the queen's absence the nation was to be governed by a council of twelve: of these the queen was to name seven, and the States five. The queen was neither to make peace nor war but by the advice of the Estates, according to the ancient custom of the kingdom. The English were to return as soon as the French were gone: and for the matter of religion, that was referred to the parliament; and some were to be sent from thence to the king and queen to set forth their desires to them: and the queen of Scotland was no more to use the arms and title of England. All these conditions were agreed to on the 8th of July; and soon after both the French and English left the kingdom.

A Peace is concluded.

In August thereafter the parliament met, where four acts passed: one for the abolishing of the pope's power; a second, for the repealing of all laws made in favour of the former superstition; a third, for the punishing of those that said or heard mass; and the fourth was a confirmation of the confession of faith, which was afterwards ratified and inserted in the acts of parliament, held Anno 1567. It was penned by Knox, and agrees in almost all things with the Geneva confession.

Reformation is settled in Scotland by Parliament.

Of the whole temporalty, none but the earl of Athol and the lords Somervile and Borthick dissented to it. They said they would believe as their fathers had done before them: the spiritual estate said nothing against it. The abbots struck in with the tide, upon assurance that their abbeys should be converted to temporal lordships and be given to them. Most of the bishops, seeing the stream so strong against them, complied likewise; and, to secure themselves and enrich their friends or bastards, did dilapidate all the revenues of the church in the strangest manner that has ever been known; and yet for most of all these leases and alienations they procured from Rome bulls to confirm them, pretending at that court that they were necessary for making friends to their interest in Scotland.

Great numbers of these bulls I myself have seen and read: so that after all the noise that the church of Rome had made of the sacrilege in England, they themselves confirmed a more entire waste of the church's patrimony in Scotland, of which there was scarce anything reserved for the clergy. But our kings have since that time used such effectual endeavours there for the recovery of so much as might give a just encouragement to the labours of the clergy, that universally the inferior clergy is better provided for in no nation than in Scotland; for in glebe and tithes every incumbent is by the law provided with at least 50*l.* sterling a year, which, in proportion to the cheapness of the country, is equal to twice so much in most parts of England. But there are not among them such provisions for encouraging the more learned and deserving men as were necessary. When these acts of the Scottish parliament were brought into France to be confirmed, they were rejected with much scorn; so that the Scots were in fear of a new war. But the king of France dying in the beginning of December, all that cloud vanished, their queen being now only dowager of France, and in very ill terms with her mother-in-law, queen Catherine de' Medici, who hated her, because she had endeavoured to take her husband out

Francis the Second dies.

of her hands, and to give him up wholly to the counsels of her uncles. So she being ill used in France, was forced to return to Scotland, and govern there in such manner as the nation was pleased to submit to.

Thus had the queen of England separated Scotland entirely from the interests of France, and united it to her own: and being engaged in the same cause of religion, she ever after this had that influence on all affairs there, that she never received any disturbance from thence during all the rest of her glorious reign; in which other accidents concurred to raise her to the greatest advantages in deciding foreign contests that ever this crown had.

The Civil Wars of France.

In July after she came to the crown, Henry the Second of France was unfortunately wounded in his eye at a tilting, the beaver of his helmet not being let down; so that he died of it soon after. His son Francis the Second succeeding, was then in the 16th year of his age, and assumed the government in his own name; but put it into the hands of his mother, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke of Guise. The constable was put from the court, the princes of the blood were not regarded, but all things were carried by the cardinal and his brother; between whom and the queen-mother there arose great misunderstandings, which proved fatal to the queen of Scotland; for she, being much engaged with her uncles, and having an ascendant over her husband, did so divide him from his mother, that before he died, she had only the shadow of the government. This she remembered ever after against her daughter-in-law, and took no care of her afterwards in all her miseries.

But the prince of Condé, with the admiral and many others, resolving to have the government in their hands, engaged some lawyers to examine the point of the king's majority. These writ several books on that subject, to prove that two-and-twenty was the soonest that any king had been ever held to be of age to assume the government; and that no strangers nor women might be admitted to it by the law of France, but that it belonged to the princes of the blood, during the king's minority; who were to manage it by the advice of the courts of parliament and the three estates. So that the design now concerted between these great lords, to take the king out of their hands who disposed of him, was grounded on their laws: yet as this design was laying all over France, papists and protestants concurring in it, it was discovered by a protestant, who thought himself bound in conscience to reveal it. Upon this, the prince of Condé and many others were seized on; and had not the king's death, in the beginning of December 1560, saved him, the prince himself, and all the heads of that party, had suffered for it.

But upon his death, Charles the Ninth that succeeded him being but eleven years old, the king of Navarre was declared regent; and the queen-mother, who then hated the cardinal of Lorraine, united herself to him and the constable, and drew the weak regent into her interests. Upon this, some lawyers, examining the power of the regent, found that the other princes of the blood were to have their share of the government with him; and that he might be checked by the courts of parliament, and was subject to an assembly of the three estates.

In July the next year there was a severe edict passed against the protestants, to put down all their meetings, and banish all their preachers. The execution of it was put into the hands of the bishops; but the greater part of the nation would not bear it.

So in January thereafter, another edict passed, in a great assembly of the princes of the blood, the privy counsellors, and eight courts of parliament, for the free exercise of that religion; requiring the magistrates to punish those who should hinder or disturb their meetings. Soon after this, the duke of Guise and his brother reconciled themselves to the queen-mother, and resolved to break that edict. This was begun by the duke of Vassy, where a meeting of the protestants being gathered, his servants disturbed them: they began with reproachful words; from these it went to blows, and throwing of stones; and by one of them the duke was wounded: for which his men took a severe revenge, for they killed sixty of them and wounded two hundred, sparing neither age nor sex. After this, the edict was everywhere broken. Many lawyers were of opinion that the regent could not do it, and that the people might lawfully follow the next prince of the blood in defence of the edict.



Upon this, his brother, the prince of Condé, gathered an army. In the beginning of the war, the king of Navarre was killed at the siege of Rouen; so that by the law the prince of Condé ought to have succeeded him in the regency; and thus the wars that followed after this could not be called rebellion, since the protestants had the law and the first prince of the blood of their side, to whom the government did of right belong.

Thus began the civil wars of France, which lasted above thirty years; in all which time, the queen of England, by the assistance she sent them, sometimes of men, but for the most part of money and ammunition, did support the protestant interest with no great charge to herself. And by that, she was not only secured from all the mischief which so powerful a neighbour could do her, but had almost the half of that kingdom depending on her.

The Wars of the Netherlands.

The state of the Netherlands afforded the like advantages in those provinces; where the king of Spain, finding the proceedings of the bishops were not effectual for the extirpation of heresy, their sees being so large, intended to have founded more bishoprics, and to have set up the courts of inquisition in those parts; and apprehending some opposition from the natives, he kept garrisons of Spaniards among them, with many other things contrary to the *Lætus Introitus* that had been agreed to when he was received to be their prince.

The people finding all terms broken with them, and that by that agreement they were disengaged from their obedience if he broke those conditions, did shake off his yoke. Upon which followed the civil wars of the Netherlands, that lasted likewise above thirty years. To them the queen gave assistance; at first more secretly, but afterwards more openly: and as both they and the French protestants were assisted with men out of Germany, which were generally led by the brave but seldom fortunate Casimir, brother to the elector palatine, so the money that paid them was for most part furnished from England.

And thus was queen Elizabeth the arbiter of all the neighbouring parts of Christendom. She at home brought the coin to a true standard; navigation prospered; trade spread, both in the northern seas to Archangel, and to the East and West Indies; and in her long wars with Spain, she was always victorious. That great Armada, set out with such assurance of conquest, was, what by the hand of Heaven in a storm, what by the unwieldiness of their ships, and the nimbleness of ours, so shattered and sunk, that the few remainders of it returned with irrecoverable shame and loss to Spain again. She reigned in the affections of her people, and was admired for her knowledge, virtues, and wisdom by all the world. She always ordered her councils so, that all her parliaments were ever ready to comply with them; for in everything she followed the true interest of the nation. She never asked subsidies, but when the necessity was visible; and when the occasions that made her demand any vanished, she discharged them.

She was admired even in Rome itself, where Sixtus the Fifth used to speak of her and the king of Navarre as the only princes that understood what it was to govern; and profanely wished he might enjoy her but one night, hoping they would beget a new Alexander the Great between them *. But if that had been, and the child had taken after the father, it would have been more like Alexander the Sixth.

Notwithstanding all the attempts of Rome against her person and government, she still lived and triumphed. In the first ten years of her reign, all things were carried with such moderation, that there was no stir about religion. Pope Pius the Fourth, reflecting on the capricious and high answer his mad predecessor had made to her address, sent one Parpalia to her, in the second year of her reign, to invite her to join herself to that see, and he would disannul the sentence against her mother's marriage, confirm the English service and the use of the sacrament in both kinds. But she sent the agent word to stay at Brussels, and not to come over. The same treatment met abbot Martinengo, who was sent the year after with the like message. From that time all treaty with Rome was entirely broken off. Pius the Fourth proceeded no further; but his successor, Pius the Fifth, resolved to contrive her death, as he that writ his Life † relates.

* Vita di Sisto, 5. † Catena.

The unfortunate queen of Scotland, upon the wars in her country, was driven to seek shelter in England, where it was at first resolved to use her well, and restore her to her crown and country; as will appear by two papers which, for their curiosity, being originals, I have put into the Collection. The one is the advice that sir Walter Mildmay gave about it; the other is a long letter written concerning it by the earl of Leicester to the earl of Sussex. They were given me by that most ingenious and virtuous gentleman, Mr. Evelyn, who is not satisfied to have advanced the knowledge of this age by his most useful and successful labours about planting, and divers other ways, but is ready to contribute everything in his power to perfect other men's endeavours.

Collection, Number 12.

But while the English council intended to have used the queen of Scotland well, her own officious friends, by the frequent plots that were in a succession of many years carried on, sometimes by open rebellion, as in the north of England, and in Ireland, but more frequently by secret attempts, brought on her the calamities of a long imprisonment, and death in the conclusion.

Her death was the greatest blemish of this reign, being generally censured by all the age, except by pope Sixtus the Fifth, who was a man that delighted in cruel executions, and so concluded her to be a happy woman that had the pleasure to cut off a crowned head *. But queen Elizabeth's own preservation from the many designs that were against her life, made it in some sort, if not necessary, yet more excusable in her; especially that unfortunate queen having herself cherished the plot of Babington and Ballard, and having set her hand to the letters that were written to them about it, though she still denied that, and cast the blame of it on her secretaries, who (as she said) had gotten her hand to them without her knowledge. The pope had deposed the queen (as will appear by his sentence, which I have put in the Collection); and the queen of Scotland being the next heir to the crown, and a zealous papist, those of that religion hoped by destroying the queen to set her in her room; which put England in no small disorder, by associations and other means that were used for preserving the queen and destroying the popish interest. The rebellions and plots in England and Ireland were not a little supported by the assistance of king Philip of Spain, who did all he could to embroil the queen's affairs at home, though still without success. But the steps of the queen's proceedings, both against papists and puritans, are so set out by her great and wise secretary, sir Francis Walsingham, in so clear a manner, that I shall set it down here as a most important piece of history; being written by one of the wisest and most virtuous ministers that these latter ages have produced. He wrote it in French to one monsieur Critoy, a Frenchman, of which I have seen an English copy, taken (as is said) from the original.

Collection, Number 13.

Walsingham's Letter concerning the Queen's Proceedings against both Papists and Puritans.

"Sir,—Whereas you desire to be advertised of the proceedings here in ecclesiastical causes, because you seem to note in them some inconstancy and variation, as if we inclined sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another; and as if that clemency and lenity were not used of late that was used in the beginning: all which you imputed to your own superficial understanding of the affairs of this state, having, notwithstanding, her majesty's doings in singular reverence, as the real pledges which she hath given unto the world of her sincerity in religion and of her wisdom in government well meriteth. I am glad of this occasion to impart that little I know in that matter unto you, both for your own satisfaction, and to the end you may make use thereof towards any that shall not be so modestly and so reasonably minded as you are. I find, therefore, her majesty's proceedings to have been grounded upon two principles—

"The one, that consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by force of truth, with the aid of time, and use of all good means of instruction and persuasion.

"The other, that causes of consciences, when they exceed their bounds and grow to be matter of faction, lose their nature, and that sovereign princes ought distinctly to punish their practices and contempt, though coloured with the pretence of conscience and religion.

"According to these principles, her majesty at her coming to the crown, utterly disliking the tyranny of Rome, which had used by terror and rigour to settle commandments of men's

* Vita di Sisto, 5.



SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

OB. 1590

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DORSET

faiths and consciences; though as a princess of great wisdom and magnanimity, she suffered but the exercise of one religion; yet her proceeding towards the papists was with great lenity, expecting the good effects which time might work in them; and therefore her majesty revived not the laws made in the 28th and 35th of her father's reign, whereby the oath of supremacy might have been offered at the king's pleasure to any subject, so he kept his conscience never so modestly to himself, and the refusal to take the same oath without further circumstances was made treason. But contrarywise, her majesty not liking to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express acts, or affirmations, tempered her law so, as it restraineth every manifest disobedience, in impugning and impeaching, advisedly and maliciously, her majesty's supreme power, maintaining and extolling a foreign jurisdiction: and as for the oath, it was altered by her majesty into a more grateful form; the hardness of the name and appellation of 'Supreme Head' was removed; and the penalty of the refusal thereof, turned only to disablement to take any promotion, or to exercise any charge, and yet of liberty to be reinvested therein, if any man should accept thereof during his life. But after, when Pius Quintus excommunicated her majesty, and the bulls of excommunication were published in London, whereby her majesty was in a sort proscribed, and that thereupon, as upon a principal motive or preparative, followed the rebellion in the north; yet because the ill humours of the realm were by that rebellion partly purged, and that she feared at that time no foreign invasion, and much less the attempt of any within the realm, not backed by some potent power and succour from without, she contented herself to make a law against that special case of bringing in and publishing of any bulls, or the like instruments; whereunto was added a prohibition upon pain, not of treason, but of an inferior degree of punishment, against the bringing of the 'Agnus Dei's' and such other merchandise of Rome, as are well known not to be any essential part of the Romish religion, but only to be used in practice, as love-tokens, to inchant and bewitch the people's affections from their allegiance to their natural sovereign. In all other points her majesty continued her former lenity: but when about the twentieth year of her reign, she had discovered in the king of Spain an intention to invade her dominions; and that a principal part of the plot was to prepare a party within the realm, that might adhere to the foreigner; and that the seminaries began to blossom, and to send forth daily, priests and professed men, who should by vow, taken at shrift, reconcile her subjects from their obedience; yea, and bind many of them to attempt against her majesty's sacred person; and that by the poison which they spread, the humours of most papists were altered, and that they were no more papists in conscience, and of softness, but papists in faction: then were there new laws made for the punishment of such as should submit themselves to such reconcilements, or renunciation of obedience: and because it was a treason carried in the clouds, and in wonderful secrecy, and come seldom to light; and that there was no presuspicion thereof so great, as the recusancy to come to divine service, because it was set down by their decrees, that to come to church before reconciliation, was to live in schism; but to come to church after reconcilement, was absolute heretical, and damnable. Therefore there were added laws containing punishment pecuniary, *videlicet*, such as might not enforce consciences, but to enfeeble and impoverish the means of those about whom it resteth indifferent and ambiguous, whether they were reconciled or not: and when, notwithstanding all this provision, the poison was dispersed so secretly, as that there was no means to stay it but by restraining the merchants that brought it in. Then lastly, there was added a law, whereby such seditious priests of new erection were exiled; and those that were at that time in the land, shipped over, and so commanded to keep hence upon pain of treason. This hath been the proceeding, though intermingled, not only with sundry examples of her majesty's grace towards such as in her wisdom she knew to be papists in conscience, and not faction and singularity, but also with extraordinary mitigation towards the offenders in the highest degree, committed by law, if they would but protest, that if in case this realm should be invaded with a foreign army by the pope's authority for the catholic cause, as they term it, they would take part with her majesty, and not adhere to her enemies.

"For the other party, which have been offensive to the state, though in another degree,

which named themselves 'Reformers,' and we commonly call 'Puritans,' this hath been the proceeding towards them: a great while, when they inveighed against such abuses in the church as pluralities, non-residence, and the like, their zeal was not condemned, only their violence was sometimes censured. When they refused the use of some ceremonies and rites as superstitious, they were tolerated with much connivancy and gentleness; yea, when they called in question the superiority of bishops, and pretended to a democracy into the church; yet their propositions were here considered, and by contrary writings debated and discussed. Yet all this while it was perceived that their course was dangerous and very popular: as because papistry was odious, therefore it was ever in their mouths, that they sought to purge the church from the reliques of papistry; a thing acceptable to the people, who love ever to run from one extreme to another.

"Because multitude of rogues and poverty was an eyesore, and a dislike to every man; therefore they put into the people's head, that if discipline were planted, there should be no vagabonds nor beggars, a thing very plausible: and in like manner they promised the people many of the impossible wonders of their discipline; besides, they opened to the people a way to government by their consistory and presbytery; a thing, though in consequence no less prejudicial to the liberties of private men than to the sovereignty of princes; yet in first show very popular. Nevertheless this, except it were in some few that entered into extreme contempt, was borne with, because they pretended in dutiful manner to make propositions, and to leave it to the providence of God and the authority of the magistrate.

"But now of late years, when there issued from them that affirmed, the consent of the magistrate was not to be attended; when under pretence of a confession, to avoid slander and imputations, they combined themselves by classes and subscriptions, when they descended into that vile and base means of defacing the government of the church by ridiculous pasquils, when they begun to make many subjects in doubt to take oaths, which is one of the fundamental parts of justice in this land, and in all places; when they began both to vaunt of their strength and number of their partisans and followers, and to use comminations that their cause would prevail, though uproar and violence, then it appeared to be no more zeal, no more conscience, but mere faction and division: and therefore though the state were compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restrain them than before, yet was it with as great moderation as the peace of the state or church could permit. And therefore, sir, to conclude, consider uprightly of these matters, and you shall see her majesty is no more a temporiser in religion: it is not the success abroad, nor the change of servants here at home, can alter her; only as the things themselves alter, she applied her religious wisdom to methods correspondent unto them; still retaining the two rules before-mentioned, in dealing tenderly with consciences, and yet in discovering faction from conscience, and softness from singularity. Farewell. "Your loving friend, F. WALSINGHAM."

Thus I have prosecuted what I at first undertook, the progress of the Reformation, from its first and small beginnings in England, till it came to a complete settlement in the time of this queen. Of whose reign, if I have adventured to give any account, it was not intended so much for a full character of her and her councils, as to set out the great and visible blessings of God that attended on her; the many preservations she had, and that by such signal discoveries, as both saved her life and secured her government; and the unusual happiness of her whole reign, which raised her to the esteem and envy of that age, and the wonder of all posterity. It was wonderful indeed, that a virgin queen could rule such a kingdom for above forty-four years with such constant success, in so great tranquillity at home, with a vast increase of wealth, and with such glory abroad. All which may justly be esteemed to have been the rewards of Heaven, crowning that reign with so much honour and triumph, that was begun with the reformation of religion.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK, AND OF THE SECOND PART.

# THE HISTORY

OF THE

# REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

## PART III.

BEING A SUPPLEMENT TO THE TWO FORMER PARTS.

BEING A SUPPLEMENT TO THE TWO FORMER PARTS.

## TO THE KING.

SIR,

This work, which is designed to finish the history of our Reformation, seems reserved to be laid at your Majesty's feet, who we trust is designed by God to complete the Reformation itself.

To rectify what may be yet amiss, and to supply what is defective among us; to oblige us to live and to labour more suitably to our profession; to unite us more firmly among ourselves; to bury, and for ever to extinguish, the fears of our relapsing again into popery; and to establish a confidence and correspondence with the protestant and reformed churches abroad.

The eminent moderation of the most serene house from which your Majesty is descended gives us auspicious hopes that, as God has now raised your Majesty with signal characters of an amazing providence to be the head and the chief strength of the Reformation, so your Majesty will, by a wise and noble conduct, form all these churches into one body; so that though they cannot agree to the same opinions and rituals with us in all points, yet they may join in one happy confederacy for the support of the whole, and of every particular branch of that sacred union.

May this be the peculiar glory of your Majesty's reign; and may all the blessings of Heaven and earth rest upon your most august person, and upon all your royal posterity,

This is the daily prayer of him who is, with the profoundest respect,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most loyal, most obedient, and most devoted subject and servant,

GI. SARUM.

## THE PREFACE.

I HAD in my Introduction to this Part, which I published a year ago, said all that then occurred to me in the way of preface; but some particulars coming to my knowledge since that time give me an occasion to add a little to what was then copiously deduced.

I begin with Mr. Le Grand, who I understand is now in a considerable post in the court of France. He being lately at Geneva explained himself to my friends in these terms: "That he was young when he wrote against me; and that the heat of youth had carried him to some expressions from which he would abstain if he were to write now. He was glad to hear that I was upon the reviewing the History of the Reformation;" and named to them a Life that he had seen in Spain of Bartholomew Caranza, archbishop of Toledo, who was king Philip's confessor, and went with him to England, and was particularly employed in reforming (as they called it) the universities; and, as he said, he died when he was to be delivered out of the prison of the inquisition. He added, that he had also seen a Collection of cardinal Pole's letters, with an account of what passed in England after the death of king Edward, which he believed I had not seen, and that could inform me of many particulars; but that he himself had other employments than to think of the affairs of England. If I had received this civil message from Mr. Le Grand before I had published my Introduction, I would have said nothing at all with relation to him: but what is passed cannot be recalled, so I hope he will accept of this for all the reparation I can now make him.

As for Anthony Harmer, some have doubted if he could be capable of making three capital errors in one line: and since Mr. Strype has suggested to me that, in which I was under some reserve before, as having it from another hand, I am now free to set it down. For "Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis," he has printed "Epistolam Conventus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ." If the abbreviations may seem to excuse the reading Epistolam for Capitulum, and Catholicæ for Cathedralis, nothing can excuse the adding the word Conventus, which he thought wanting to make a complete title, having read the others as he did: so I hope I have reason to have no regard to anything that comes from him upon his bare authority. The weak and ill-natured attempts that some among ourselves have of late made upon me give me no sort of concern, unless it is to pray for those who have despitefully used me.

There was also a great poem lately prepared, and I suppose designed to be published when that which our enemies hoped was near accomplished should have been effected. It was written in imitation of Hudibras, and so was a mock-poem on the Reformation, composed by one Thomas Ward, of whom I can give no other account but that it is said he is a priest. In it Sanders's work was made the plot of the fable. It was full of impious abuse, put in a strain apt enough to take with those who were disposed to divert themselves with a show of wit and humour, dressed up to make the Reformation appear both odious and ridiculous, not doubting of equal success with Butler's admired performance. It was no wonder if, upon such a design, my History was treated with all the characters of scorn and contempt. This was what I might justly expect from those of that side; but I was sorry to find so much censure from those from whom I had no reason to expect it, and which seemed to be the effect only of envy and ill-nature: God forgive them for it.

I must say a little more with relation to a learned and copious writer of our ecclesiastical history, who finds my History often in his way. He treats me decently as to his expres-

sions, but designs all through to set such remarks on my work as, if they were well grounded, must destroy the credit that it has hitherto obtained. I will first give some instances to show what the spirit, the principles, and the design of that writer must be: I will name but four out of a great many.

When he sets forth king Henry VIII.'s proceedings against the memory of Thomas-à-Becket, he has these words: "And though his conduct in this dispute was not altogether defensible, he was far, however, from being guilty of that gross mismanagement with which he is charged." I will leave the judgment that must be passed upon this period to all who are in any sort acquainted with the history of that time.

Vol. ii. p. 150, col. 1.

When he gives the character of king Edward VI., immediately before he tells of his death, it is in these words: "His conscience was not always under a serviceable direction (the meaning of this dark expression I do not reach). He was tinctured with Erastian principles, and under wrong prepossessions as to church government. He seems to have had no notion of sacrilege. . . . And which is somewhat remarkable, most of the hardships were put upon ecclesiastics in the latter end of his reign, when his judgment was in the best condition." And without adding one word of his good qualities, or to correct those severe reflections, he concludes with the account of his death.

P. 332, col. 2.

He gives a very different account of the death of Mary queen of Scots in these words: "Her fortitude and devotion were very remarkable. She supported her character with all imaginable decency: she died like a Christian, and like a queen."

P. 601, col. 2.

And to mention no more, when he comes to queen Elizabeth's death and character, he runs a parallel between the two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, in these words: "The one made martyrs, the other made beggars: the one executed the men, and the other the estates. And therefore, reserving the honour of the Reformation to queen Elizabeth, the question will be, whether the resuming the first-fruits and tenths, putting many vicarages in a deplorable condition, and settling a perpetuity of poverty on the church, was not much more prejudicial than fire and faggots? Whether destroying bishoprics was not a much greater hardship than the destroying bishops? because this severity affects succession, and reaches down to future ages. And lastly, whether, as the world goes, it is not more easy to recruit bishops than the revenues to support them?" These words give such an indication of the notion that the author has of the happiness or misery of a church, that they want no commentary.

P. 671, col. 2.

I will add this one remark of a fact upon a passage that I had writ concerning the Book of Ordination, published in the third year of king Edward, which was in these words: "Another difference between the Ordination Book set out at that time and that we now use was, that the bishop was to lay his one hand on the priest's head, and with his other to give him a bible, with a chalice and bread in it, saying the words that are now said at the delivery of the bible. In the consecration of a bishop there is nothing more than what is yet in use, save that a staff was put into his hand with this blessing, 'Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd.'" Upon this his remark is in these words: "But here, as it happens, this learned person has been led into a mistake: for the two first editions of the ordinal made in king Edward's reign have none of the different rites mentioned by this gentleman." I was indeed surprised when I read this, and went to look into the first edition of that ordinal, which I knew was in the Lambeth library; for by archbishop Sancroft's order I had the free use of everything that lay there. There I went to examine it, and I found indeed a small variation from my History: the whole is in these words; in the ordination of a priest, after the imposition of hands, with the words still used, follows this rubrick: "Then the bishop shall deliver to every one of them the Bible in the one hand, and the chalice or cup, with the bread, in the other hand, and say, 'Take thou authority,'" &c. In the consecration of a bishop this rubrick is: "The elected bishop, having upon him a surplice and a cope, shall be presented by two bishops, being also in surplices and copes, having their pastoral staves in their hands." And after the form of the consecration this rubrick follows: "Then shall the archbishop lay the Bible upon his neck, saying, 'Give heed to reading.'" The next rubrick is: "Then shall

Hist. of the Ref. Part II. Book I. p. 396.

P. 290, col. 2.



the archbishop put into his hand the pastoral staff, saying, 'Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd;'" on to the end of the charge, now given all together, but then divided in two. This book was printed by Richard Grafton, the king's printer, in March 1549, or, by the Roman account, 1550. I have given this full account of that matter in my own justification: I am sorry that I cannot return this learned person his compliment to myself, "that he was led into a mistake."

The next, and indeed the last particular that, out of many more, I will mention is, the setting down the explanation that was made upon the order for kneeling at the sacrament in king Edward's time, wrong in a very material word: for in that the words were, "That there was not in the sacrament any real or essential presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood;" but he, instead of that, puts "corporal presence." It seems in this he only looked at the rubrick as it is now at the end of the communion service, upon a conceit that it stands now as it was in king Edward's book, though it was at that time changed; and we know who was the author of that change, and who pretended that a corporal presence signified such a presence as a body naturally has, which the assertors of transubstantiation itself do not and cannot pretend is in this case;—where they say the body is not present corporally, but spiritually, or as a Spirit is present. And he who had the chief hand in procuring this alteration had a very extraordinary subtilty by which he reconciled the opinion of a real presence in the sacrament with the last words of the rubrick, "that the natural body and blood of Christ were in heaven and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one." It was thus: a body is in a place if there is no intermediate body but a vacuum between it and the place. And he thought that by the virtue of the words of consecration there was a cylinder of a vacuum made between the elements and Christ's body in heaven: so that no body being between, it was both in heaven and in the elements. Such a solemn piece of folly as this can hardly be read without indignation. But if our author favours this conceit, yet, when he sets down that which was done in king Edward's reign, he ought not to have changed the word, especially such an important one. I shall say no more of that work; but that there appeared to me, quite through the second volume, such a constant inclination to favour the popish doctrine, and to censure the reformers, that I should have had a better opinion of the author's integrity if he had professed himself not to be of our communion, nor of the communion of any other protestant church.

P. 310, col. 2.

D. P. G.

But as I thought myself bound to give this warning to such as may have heard of that work, or that have seen it; so there is another history lately written in French, and which I hope is soon to appear in our own language, which I cannot recommend more than it deserves. It is Mr. L'Enfant's History of the Council of Constance; in which that excellent person has with great care, and a sincerity liable to no exception, given the world in the history of that council so true a view of the state of the church and of religion in the age before the Reformation, that I know no book so proper to prepare a man for reading the History of the Reformation as the attentive reading of that noble work. He was indeed well furnished with a collection of excellent materials, gathered with great fidelity and industry by the learned doctor Vander Hordt, professor of divinity in the university of Helmstadt, and procured for him by the noble zeal and princely bounty of that most serene and pious prince Rodolph August, the late duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttle, who set himself with great care and at a vast charge to procure from all places the copies of all papers and manuscripts that could be found to give light to the proceedings of that great assembly. That collection amounted to six volumes in folio. From these authentic vouchers the history of that council is now happily compiled: and if that learned author can find materials to give us as full and as clear a history of the council of Basil as he has given of that of Constance, I know no greater service can be done the world; for by it popery will appear in its true and native colours, free from those palliating disguises which the progress of the Reformation, and the light which by that has been given the world, has forced upon those of that communion. We have the celebrated History of the Council of Trent, first published here at London, written with a true sublimity of judgment and an unbiassed sincerity, which has received a great confirmation even from cardinal Palavicini's attempt to destroy its credit;

and a much greater of late from that curious discovery of Vargas's letters. But how well and how justly soever the history that P. Paulo gave the world of that council is esteemed, I am not afraid to compare the late History of the Council of Constance even to that admired work; so far at least as that if it will not be allowed to be quite equal to it, yet it may be well reckoned among the best of all that have written after that noble pattern which the famous Venetian friar has given to all the writers of ecclesiastical history.

Since I published my Introduction, I fell on many papers concerning the Reformation in Scotland, which had escaped the diligence of that grave and judicious writer, archbishop Spotswood, of which I have given a full account, and have used the best endeavours I could to be furnished with all the other materials that I could hear of: it is true, I never searched into a lately gathered famous library in this place, but yet I had from some, on whose good judgment and great care I might well depend, who had carefully looked through it, everything that they found material to my purpose.

No curiosity pleased me more than that noble record of the legate's proceedings in the matter of king Henry's divorce; of which I had the free use, as of everything else that was in the library of my learned and dear brother, the late bishop of Ely; in whose death the church, and all his friends, and none more than myself, have had an invaluable loss. I read that record very carefully twice or thrice over, and gave a full abstract of it, but did not then reflect on what has occurred to me since: for though upon the credit of so noble a record, I have said that the king and queen were never together in court, yet I find the contrary is affirmed by that king himself in a letter bearing date the 23rd of June, to his ambassadors at Rome, in these words, "Both we and the queen appeared in person:" and he sets forth the assurances the cardinals gave of their proceeding without favour or partiality, "yet she departed out of court, though thrice called to appear, and was denounced contumacious." The only reconciling of this apparent contradiction seems to be this, that they were indeed together in the hall where the court sate; but that it was before the cardinals sate down, and had formed the court: for as it is not to be imagined that in the record so material a step could have been omitted, so highly to the honour of the court; so it is not likely that the queen after her appeal, would have owned the court, or have appeared before those judges; therefore the most probable account of that particular is this, that the king intending to appear in the court, the queen went thither after him, and made that speech to him in the open hall, that I mentioned in my former work: but all this was over, and they were both gone before the court was opened, or that the cardinals had taken their places; so that their appearance could be no part of the record of the court.

I am now to give an account of some papers that I add as an appendix, for they relate to the former volumes. The first of these was sent me by one Mr. Thomas Granger, of whom I can give no other account, but that I understood he was a clergyman. He dated his letter from Lammerton, near Tavistock in Devon. the 7th of February, $168\frac{3}{4}$. I wrote him such a civil answer, as so kind a censure deserved: and I promised that I would make my acknowledgements more publicly to him whensoever I reviewed that work. Upon my settling at Salisbury, I enquired after him, but I was told he was dead: so I lost the occasion of returning my thanks to him in a more particular manner, which I now express thus publicly.

I had another letter writ in another strain, full of expostulation, from Anthony (who affected to write himself) à Wood. He thought it incumbent on him to justify himself, since I had reflected on him, so he gave this vent to it. I wrote short remarks on it; one of these I find is in the bishop of Worcester's hand; they were sent to bishop Fell to be communicated to him, but whether they were or not, I cannot tell. The thing has escaped my memory, but the paper still remains with me: and therefore I have thought it a justice to Mr. Wood's memory, and to his writings, to insert it here.

The third paper was drawn by me at Paris, in the year 1685. My History being then translated into French, was much read; and as to the main conduct of our Reformation, it was approved by some men of great name. At that time there was an imbroilment between the court of Rome and that of Versailles: and the propositions that passed in the year 1682, seemed to threaten a greater rupture to follow. Upon that, the scheme of the



English Reformation was a subject of common discourse: and that was so much magnified by those who were called the "Converters," that the hope of a Reformation in France, was one of the artifices that prevailed on some who knew not the "depths of Satan," and were easily wrought on to make their court by changing their religion, in hope that a great reformation of abuses among them was then projected; but one of the learnedest men that ever I knew of that communion, said then to myself, that all that was only done to fright pope Innocent the Eleventh, who was then in the interests of the house of Austria, but that whensoever they should have a pope in the interests of France, their court would not only declare him infallible in points of doctrine, but even in matters of fact: and he added, that it was an abuse that people put upon themselves, to imagine that with what pomp or zeal soever the court seemed to support those articles passed in the assembly of the clergy, that this could have any other effect but to bring the court of Rome into their interests. He said this had been cardinal Mazarine's practice during his whole ministry. When he could not carry matters to his mind at Rome, he showed such favour to the Jansenists, as let many of them into great dignities; but when he had brought that court to what he designed, he presently changed his conduct towards them.

A person of distinction at Paris, finding my history so much liked, wrote a censure upon it. This run through many hands, but was never printed. It fell into Mr. Auzont's hands, and from him I had it. I wrote an answer to it, and got it to be translated into French: it was favourably received by many in Paris. I do not find the copy of that censure among my papers: but I have still the copy of my remarks on it, from which the substance of that censure may be gathered: so I have thought fit to add this to my Appendix.

The fourth paper is a large collection of many mistakes (descending even to literal ones), in both the volumes of my History, and in the Records published in them, which a learned and worthy person has read with more exactness than either my amanuensis or myself had done. I publish these sheets as that unknown person sent them to me, whom I never saw, as far as I remember; and who will not suffer me to give any other account of him, but that he lives in one of the universities. His copy of my work being of the second edition, only some very few of the errors marked that had crept into the second, but that were not in the first edition, are struck out. In several particulars I do not perfectly agree with these corrections; but I set them down as they were sent me, without any remarks on them; and I give my hearty thanks in the fullest manner I can, to him who was first at the pains to make this collection, and then had the goodness to communicate it to me in so obliging a manner: for he gave me a much greater power over these papers than I have thought fit to assume.

The next paper is a much shorter one. It is indeed the abstract of a larger paper, but I have taken out of it only that which relates to my History: and have not meddled with some remarks made on Harmer's specimen, and many more made on the "Rights of an English Convocation." These did not belong to my subject, so I have not copied them out. The writer has not let me know his name; he sent the sheets to me in an unsubscribed letter, to which I wrote an answer by the conveyance that he marked out to me, but I have heard no more of him.

The sixth and last paper was sent me by the sincere and diligent Mr. Strype, who has descended to such a full and minute correction, both of my History and of my copies of the Records, that I confess it gave me great satisfaction: many of his corrections may seem so inconsiderable, that it may be suggested that they were not worth the while. But my whole concern in writing, being to deliver the transactions of a former age, faithfully down to posterity, nothing could please me more than to have every error I had fallen into discovered: and it was no small satisfaction to me, to find that a writer who has been now above thirty years examining all that passed in that age, and has made great discoveries of many secrets hitherto not known; and who was so kind as to pass over nothing how small and inconsiderable soever it may appear to be, that was liable to correction; yet did not touch upon any one thing that is of any moment in my whole work. This I look on as a very authentic confirmation of it all, except in the places thus censured by one who has searched into all the transactions of that time with so much application and success.

This work was composed above a year ago; and after it was read and corrected by some proper judges, it was put in the press, and was printed off to the end of king Edward's reign, before the 1st of August last: nor has anything been added to it since that time, except some very few particulars in the last book relating to Scotland.

I cannot conclude this preface, and so dismiss this work out of my hands, without some reflections on what has appeared among us of late, but too evidently, in a course of some years. Many who profess great zeal for the legal establishment, yet seem to be set on forming a new scheme, both of religion and government: and are taking the very same methods, only a little diversified, that have been pursued in popery, to bring the world into a blind dependence upon the clergy, and to draw the wealth and strength of the nation into their hands.

The opinion of the sacrament's being an expiatory sacrifice; and of the necessity of secret confession and absolution; and of the church's authority acting in an independence on the civil powers, were the foundations of popery and the seminal principles out of which that mass of corruptions was formed. They have no colour for them in the New Testament, nor in the first ages of Christianity, and are directly contrary to all the principles on which the Reformation was carried on; and to every step that was made in the whole progress of that work: and yet these of late have been notions much favoured, and written for with much zeal, not to say indecency: besides a vast number of little superstitious practices, that in some places have grown to a great height, so that we were insensibly going off from the Reformation, and framing a new model of a church, totally different from all our former principles, as well as from our present establishment: to all which they have added that singular and extravagant conceit, of the invalidity of baptism, unless ministered by one episcopally ordained; though this not only cuts off all communion with the foreign protestant churches, of which, perhaps, they make no great account, but makes doubtings to arise with relation to great numbers, both among ourselves and in the Roman communion.

This I lament; not that I think that there is such a sacredness in any human constitution, that it is never to be called in question or altered: for if we had the same reasons to alter anything established at the Reformation, that our fathers had to alter the former establishment in the times of popery, I should acknowledge we had now as good grounds to change the present, as our ancestors had then to change the former constitution. The Scriptures are the only sure foundation of our faith that is unalterable: all other constitutions being always to be governed by that perfect declaration of God's holy will with relation to mankind. But it gives a just indignation to see the same men make wide steps to great alterations on the one hand, and yet make heavy complaints where there is no just occasion given, and that about points of mere speculation; whereas the other relate to matters of practice, which had been in former ages so managed, that the whole complex of the Christian religion was totally depraved by them.

We have also rules and rubricks for worship that are our standards fixed by law: and yet we see a humour of innovation making a great progress in these, without the least complaint, by the same persons who are apt to make tragical outcries on the smallest transgressions on the other hand.

Both are very culpable: but of the two, we find the growth of superstition has been so spreading, as well as so specious, that the extremes of that hand may be justly reckoned the more dangerous: one of the worst effects of superstition being that with which our Saviour charged the Pharisees of his time, that while they were exact in tything mint, annise, and cummin, they omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith: in opposition to which, he gives a standing rule applicable to all such cases, "These things ye ought to have done, and not to leave the other undone." This relates to practices of a lower order, but such as are commanded; whereas voluntary and assumed ones, like the washings among the Jews in our Saviour's time, eat out the sense of the great duties of religion; instead of which, some trifling performances are set up, and are highly magnified, while the others are spoken of more coldly: nor does anything feed a censorious and uncharitable temper more than these voluntary and distinguishing practices, which as they are



the badges of different parties, so they are the engines to keep up that wrath, emulation, and hatred, that has made such havoc among us, of the great and indispensable duties of peace, brotherly-kindness, and charity.

These have been but too visibly the arts of Satan to divide and distract us; and have oftener than once brought us near the brink of ruin. God has often rescued us, while the continuance and progress of these evil dispositions have as often made us relapse into a broken and disjointed state. Oh that we may at last see the things that belong to our peace, and follow after those things that make for peace, and the things wherewith we may edify one another. In this prayer I will continue as long as I live, and I hope to end my days with it. We must ask it of God, and of him only: it is in vain to ask it of some men, who when we "speak to them of peace, make them ready to battle;" we must look for it only to him who said, "Peace I leave with you: my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth give I unto you." The world will only give it to those of their own knot and party. But "the wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated; full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy: and the fruits of righteousness are sown in peace, of them that make peace."

# INTRODUCTION.

I COME, after a long interval of three-and-thirty years, to give all the finishing to the "History of our REFORMATION" that I have been able to collect, either from new discoveries that have come in my own way, or the kind advertisements of friends, and the severe animadversions of critics; of which I have endeavoured to make the best use that I could. It has been objected to me, that I wrote in haste, and did not reflect enough on the matters I wrote about. That may be very true; and I will give an account how it happened to be so. When "Sanders's History" was published in France, it had so ill an effect there, that some of our best divines were often called on to hasten such an answer to it, as might stop the course of so virulent a book. Those to whom these advices were sent, thought me a proper person to be engaged in it.

The ancient, the learned, and the pious bishop of Worcester *, is the only person now alive that was concerned in the choice: and he having read all the printed books that he could hear of, relating to those times, had taken the dates of every remarkable thing that passed out of them; which he caused to be copied out for me. They are about eight sheets of paper. Upon this stock I set out, and searched all the public offices about the town, with a labour and diligence that was then looked on as no contemptible performance. I marked everything as exactly as I could. I might, in such a variety, make some mistakes; for which men of candour will make just allowances. But when I had gone through all that lay thus open to me, I knew what treasures were still in the Cotton Library.

The present bishop of Worcester carried me to sir John Cotton to ask admittance: but a great prelate † had been beforehand with us; and had possessed him with such prejudices against me, as being no friend to the prerogative of the crown, nor to the constitution of our church, that he said (as he was prepared), that unless the archbishop of Canterbury and a secretary of state would recommend me as a person fit to have access to his library, he desired to be excused. And though that worthy prelate said he would be answerable for the use that I should make of it, yet he could not be prevailed on to depart from the answer that he had made us. Nor could that reverend person prevail with archbishop Sancroft to interpose. And though I offered to deliver up all the collections I had made to any person that would undertake the work, yet no regard was had to that: so I saw it was resolved on either not to let that work go on; or, at least, that I should not have the honour to be employed in it.

With this we were at a full stop, when accidentally meeting with sir John Marsham the younger, I told him how I was denied access to the Cotton Library; but he told me he was by marriage a nephew to the family, and that for many years he had free access to it, and he might carry with him whom he pleased; so I, with a copier, went thither under his protection; and we were hard at work from morning to night for ten days; but then the owner with his family coming to town, I could go no further. In that time, and in the haste we were in, I did make such a progress, that the good bishop, together with the late archbishop of Canterbury, Tillotson, and the late bishop of Worcester, Stillingfleet, thought I was sufficiently furnished with materials for composing the first volume. Every

* Bishop Lloyd.—ED.

† The bishop, although he here imputes the refusal of sir John Cotton wholly to the interference of archbishop Sancroft, yet in his "History of his own Times," vol. i. p. 396, charges "Dolben, bishop of Rochester, at the instigation of the duke of Lauderdale," with having "diverted sir John Cotton from suffering him to search his Library."—ED.



part of it, as I wrote it, passed through their hands, and under their censure, and I submitted to their judgment in every particular.

I have been told, one that was much practised in that library, who is now dead, has censured me for not comparing what my copier wrote, carefully with the originals: to this, all I can say is that, as my copier by much practice was become pretty exact, so I made him read all over to me, having the originals in my hands. I cannot say in such dull, though necessary work, as the collating those things, I carried along with me all the attention that was requisite; but I did it as well as I could. And when I was lately in the Cotton Library, I read over several of the originals, but found no material differences from the copies I had printed. One indeed runs through all those in the English language, which might perhaps offend a severe critic, that the old spelling is not everywhere exactly copied. I did recommend it to my copier, and he observed it often; but he said when he wrote quick it was impossible for him to carry an antiquated spelling along with his pen.

The first volume lay a year after I wrote it, before it was put in the press, and was offered to be read and corrected by all who were willing to give themselves that trouble. When it was brought to secretary Coventry for his licence, he was pleased to say that he dipped into it out of curiosity; but added, that he found such an entertainment in it, that he could not part with it until he had read it quite through. The earl of Nottingham, lord chancellor, took time to read and examine it, and to add many remarks in several parts of it, in all which I submitted to his censure: and some smaller matters coming in my way, they were added; so when those under whose direction I made every step in it, advised me to put it in the press, I went on with it.

It happened to come out a few months after the discovery of the popish plot; and the ferment of that working powerfully over all the nation, the work was favourably received; and as I had the thanks of both houses of parliament for it, with a desire to finish what I had begun; so those who were the most zealous against popery, pressed me to make all possible haste with the second volume, when they understood that I had made considerable discoveries with relation to queen Mary's reign. By that time sir John Cotton seeing the good use I had made of his library, was pleased to acknowledge the injustice of the suggestions that had been made to my prejudice, and allowed me free liberty to examine everything in it: in which I ought to have been more exact than I was in searching into the matters set forth in my first volume; but the repeated importunities of my friends for my publishing the second volume, so far prevailed, that I only examined what belonged to that period. I took indeed some papers relating to the former reign, that accidentally fell in my way, and inserted them. I had also other materials brought me from several hands; upon the public notice that I gave of my design in the first volume.

That primitive bishop, Fell, of Oxford, engaged an acquaintance of his, Mr. Fullman, to make remarks on it: which he did with a particular acrimony and style, for which the bishop had prepared me. I bore it, and drew out of it all that was material, and sent it to him to see if he did not find in it the substance of all his remarks on the first, at the end of the second volume. It has been published over and over again, that he complained that I did not print a full account of his censure. The fact was thus:—I sent it to him by the carrier, and begged of him, that if he had any exception to the abstract I had made of his remarks, he would return it back to me as soon as was possible, for the press was to be stopped till it came. I staid for it till the second return of the carrier: and when no answer came, I reckoned he acquiesced in my abstract, so I put it in the press. But before it was printed off, his answer came by the third return of the carrier: and I, finding that he excepted to some few parts of my paper, was at the charge of reprinting it exactly to his mind; and he afterwards received the present that I made him, without any insinuation of any complaint.

Thus this work was sent abroad into the world. Nor do I yet see what more I could have done to procure me better information, nor what other steps I could have made. It took quiet possession of the belief of the nation at home, and of a great part of Europe abroad, being translated into four languages: and for some years I heard of neither censure nor answer.

When I went to Paris in the year 1685, I found there was a censure going about written, but not printed. It came into my hands, and I presently wrote an answer to it, which I got to be put into French: and all who read both papers, seemed fully satisfied with my answer, which will be found at the end of this volume. I was told that it was writ by Mr. Le Grand, who had given out in many companies, that he had great objections ready to be made to my history. Upon that, two learned and worthy men, Mr. Auzont and Mr. Thevenot, designed to bring us together, and to hear what Mr. Le Grand had to object. We dined at Mr. Thevenot's; and after dinner, for the space of three hours, Mr. Le Grand proposed his objections, and I answered them on the sudden, far from charming them with my eloquence; which Mr. Le Grand must certainly mean as a jest, for I pretend to no more French than to be understood when I speak it. What he said was mean and trifling, and yet it was so fully answered by me, that we parted civilly, and (as I thought) good friends. And when he was gone, both Thevenot and Auzont said, they were ashamed to hear such poor things objected (*pauvretes* was their word), after the noise that Mr. Le Grand had made. But two days after, Mr. Auzont came to me, both in his own name and in Mr. Thevenot's, and desired me not to speak of that matter to any person. The court was then so set on extirpating heresy, that they apprehended anything said by me might bring me into trouble: they would do me justice, so I needed not be concerned to do it to myself.

I must also add, that Mr. Le Grand said, after he had offered his objections, that as to the main of my history, he could furnish me with many materials to support it. And he made me a present of a very valuable book, published by Camusat at Troyes, 1613, with the title of "Mélanges Historiques," of which I have made good use in the following work. The matter rested thus till the year 1688, that Mr. Le Grand published the "History of King Henry the Eighth's Divorce." And soon after that, two other volumes of his appeared: one was a severe invective against me and my History; the other was a Collection of Letters, by which his History was justified. In this last there are some very valuable ones, to which I have had occasion oftener than once to refer my reader. In the two first of these tomes, Mr. Le Grand thought fit to lay aside all sort of good manners, and to treat me more in the style of an angry monk, than of one that had lived long in the company of well-bred men. I imputed this to a management he was under by some of the court of that unfortunate prince, who soon after felt the tragical effects of such unhappy councillors as had then the ascendant. To these, I did believe, Mr. Le Grand had dedicated his pen; and that drew from me a severe postscript to a censure that I published upon the bishop of Meaux's "Book of Variations," for which I am heartily sorry, and ask his pardon.

The truth is, the first paper in his third tome, seemed to justify anything that could have been said to expose a man that could offer such an abstract as he gave of it in his "History," and them that judged so ill as to think fit to print that letter, that does plainly contradict the sense he gave of it. The letter is writ by Pace, dean of St. Paul's, to king Henry (said by him to be written in the year 1526); but in that he is mistaken, as will appear afterwards), on the subject of the divorce. He owns that he writ the book, which had been brought to the king the day before by the advice and assistance of Dr. Wakefield, who was ready to defend it all, either in writing or in a public disputation. "And * since he heard from the king that some of his learned councillors wrote that Deuteronomy abrogated Leviticus, he shows him how false that was. It was only a recapitulation of the Mosaic law; it seems they thought this was the importance of the Greek word Deuteronomy (or a second law), but he shows that it imported only a repetition of the former law, and the book had

* Et quoniam majestas tua mihi significavit, nescio quos è suis literatis consiliariis scripsisse Deuteronomium abrogare Leviticum, diligenter perquisivi quid id sibi vellet; et tandem inveni id indubitato falsum esse: est compendium, ac repetitio, seu, ut ita dicam, recapitulatio Legis Mosaicæ. Et illud Græcum nomen ***Deuteronomium***, quantum ad sensum rei attinet illud, idem significat quod habetur in Hebræo; id est, liber, in quo continetur secunda lex, vel repetitio primæ legis. Post meum à majestate tua discessum, D. R. Wakefeldus unice me rogavit, ut sibi significarem, an placeret tibi veritatem hac in re intelligere, utrum staret à te an contra te? Ei ita respondi, Te nihil velle quod esset alienum à nobili principe, et singularibus virtutibus prædito; illum majestati tuæ rem gratissimam facturum si laboraret ut puram veritatem tibi declaret. Tum ille nescio quo ductus timore negavit se hoc posse facere, nisi majestas tua id sibi injungeret et manderet; et si mandares se producturum in medium tam contra te quam pro te illa quæ nemo alius in hoc tuo regno producere posset.



another title in the Hebrew. Then he says that Wakefield desired him to let him know whether the king had a mind to know the truth in that matter, whether it stood for him, or against him; to this Pace answered, that the king desired nothing but what became a noble and a virtuous prince, and that he would do a most acceptable thing to him if he would take pains to let him know what was the pure verity: then he being under some fear, said he could not set about it, unless his majesty would enjoin and command it; but when he received his commands, he would set forth such things both against him and for him, as no other person within his kingdom could do." There is nothing here but what is honourable both for the king, for Pace, and for Wakefield.

Mr. Le Grand has made a very particular abstract of this: he says, * Pace "designing to flatter his prince's passion, thought they should not stand either on the Vulgate, or the Seventy translators, but have recourse only to the Hebrew, which he maintained was more favourable to the king. He had written to Wakefield, and showed him the trouble the king was in, and desired he would clear up the matter; Wakefield, ravished to be thus employed, said he would justify all that Pace had said to the king; but then apprehending that Pace might deceive him, or be deceived himself; or perhaps that the king might change his mind, he desired that the king himself would let him know what he would have him to do; whether he should defend the one side, or the other; and he would do according to the orders he should receive, and make such discoveries for or against it as should pass the capacity of all Englishmen. Thus, (ends he) Wakefield, who had more vanity than religion, was driving a traffic with his sentiments."

I have put in the margin the Latin of Pace's letters, and the account that Mr. Le Grand gives of it in French, that the reader may judge what can be thought of a man that represents things so unfairly, and makes such inferences from them. I confess this raised in me too much indignation to be governed as it ought to have been: I therefore thought such a writer deserved not to be followed in every step. I likewise employed, at several times, some who went to Paris, to try in what esteem that performance was: and if I was not much deceived in the accounts sent me from thence, the book had lost the esteem of all persons there, so that it was no more talked of, nor read. I cannot therefore bring myself to examine it minutely, yet where any matter of weight requires it, I shall either justify, or retract what I had delivered in my history. I shall say no more of that work in this place, save only that the original judgment of the Sorbonne, about which Mr. Le Grand seemed to be chiefly concerned, both in the conference I had with him, and in his book, is now found by Mr. Rymer, among the other judgments of the Universities in the secret treasury, out of which that laborious searcher into our original treaties, has already published fifteen great volumes in folio: of this I shall give a more particular account in its proper place.

The next attack that was made on my work, was in the year 1693, under the title of, "A Specimen of some Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England:" by Anthony Harmer. It was well known that was a disguised name, and that the author was Mr. Henry Wharton, who had published two volumes with the title of "Anglia Sacra": he had examined the dark ages before the Reformation, with much diligence, and so knew many things relating to those times beyond any man of the age; he pretended that he had many more errors in reserve, and that this specimen was only a hasty collection of a few, out of many other discoveries he could make: this consisted of some trifling and minute differences in some dates of transactions of no importance, upon which nothing depended; so I cannot tell whether I took these too easily from printed books; or if I committed any errors in my notes taken in the several offices. He likewise follows me

* Nous avons la lettre de ce dernier (Pace), qui cherchant à flatter la passion de son Prince, vouloit que sans s'arrêter ni à la Vulgate ni à la traduction des Septante, on eût recours au texte hébreu; qu'il soutenoit lui être plus favorable. Il en écrivit à Robert Wakefield, et lui découvrit l'embarras où le roi se trouvoit, le priant de lui vouloir éclaircir cette matière. Wakefield, ravi de travailler pour le roy, répondit d'abord, qu'il appuieroit ce que Pace avoit dit à Henry. Puis faisant réflexion que Pace pouvoit le tromper ou se tromper lui-même, ou que le roy changeroit peut-être, il alla trouver Pace et lui témoignoit qu'il souhaitroit que sa majesté lui écrivit elle-même ce qu'elle vouloit qu'il fit, et s'il devoit défendre le pour ou le contre; et qu'alors selon les ordres qu'il recevroit, il donneroit des éclaircissements ou pour ou contre, qui passeroient la capacité de tous les Anglois. C'est ainsi que Wakefield, qui avoit plus de vanité que de religion, trafiquoit de ses sentiments.

through the several recapitulations I had made of the state of things before the Reformation, and finds errors and omissions in most of these; he adds some things out of papers I had never seen. The whole was written with so much malice, and such contempt, that I must give some account of the man, and of his motives. He had expressed great zeal against popery, in the end of King James's reign, being then chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, who, as he said, had promised him the first of those prebends of Canterbury that should fall in his gift; so when he saw that the archbishop was resolved not to take the oaths, but to forsake his post, he made an earnest application to me, to secure that for him at Archbishop Tillotson's hands: I pressed him in it as much as was decent for me to do, but he said he would not encourage these aspiring men, by promising anything before it should fall; as indeed none of them fell during his time. Wharton, upon this answer, thought I had neglected him, looking on it as a civil denial, and said he would be revenged; and so he published that specimen. Upon which, I, in a letter that I printed, addressed to the present bishop of Worcester, charged him again and again to bring forth all that he pretended to have reserved at that time; for until that was done, I would not enter upon the examination of that specimen. It was received with contempt; and Tillotson justified my pressing him to take Wharton under his particular protection so fully, that he sent and asked me pardon: he said he was set on to it, and that if I would procure anything for him, he would discover everything to me: I despised that offer, but said that I would at any price buy of him those discoveries that he pretended to have in reserve; but Mr. Chiswell, (at whose house he then lay, being sick,) said he could draw nothing of that from him, and he believed he had nothing: he died about a year after: so I will say no more of him, only this, that where I see a voucher for anything that he objects, I will submit and own my error, but I have no reason to take anything on his word. I have a work lying on my table, which shows how little regard is due to his collections. It was sent me by a worthy person in one of the universities, and is a collating of ten pages of his "Anglia Sacra," with the manuscript that he vouches: it swells indeed to a book. Wharton omits the most material passage of an instrument that blemished one of his heroes. In some places there are errors in every line; and there are three capital errors in one line, and about fifty in that small compass; I have showed the book to a great many persons, and will show it to any who desire to see it, but do not descend here to further particulars, for that perhaps might discover the author, and expose him to the malice of an ill-natured cabal. Since that time, a writer of a greater name, has, with abundance of ill-natured scorn, pretended to under-value my work. I name him not, for I love not to transmit the remembrance of such things to posterity. Where he gives such vouchers as can be come at, I will be ready to retract, but when he appeals to some nameless manuscript in his own possession, I will have no regard to this; for a writer that has been found too faulty in citing such vouchers as can be examined, ought not to expect belief, when he has recourse to such as are kept by him as secrets, not to be communicated but to a few confidants, nor entirely to these, as I have been informed. All that has been hitherto objected to me, though with airs of great assurance and scorn, has been so trifling, that some good judges have thought I showed them too much respect to take any notice of them: they thought it was enough to mark down such small mistakes as I saw had been made by me, without so much as mentioning those who made such reflections. I would have complied with their advice, if I had not a just zeal to maintain the credit of that work; which I cannot do better than by acknowledging the discoveries that had been made, even in the minutest matters, though with all the indecency and contempt possible.

A very worthy person, in one of the universities, has sent me a copious collection of remarks on both my former volumes, but upon condition not to name him; which I will observe religiously, because I promised it; though it is not easy to myself, since I may not own to whom I owe so great an obligation; but I suppress none of them, and give them entirely as he offered them to me. I have had assistance from some other hands, which I will gratefully own as I come to mention them, in their proper places.

I have chosen rather to publish all that is of new offered to me, in a volume apart, than to reprint my former volumes with these corrections, as some have advised me to do. There are some thousands of the former impressions abroad in the nation, that would be of little



value, if any such new edition should appear. I have ever looked on such new enlarged editions as little less than a robbing the public; besides that, in so doing, I should only drop those errors of my former work, without that formal disowning and retracting of them, which I think I owe the public. I have ever looked on falsehoods in history, when fallen into deliberately, as the worst sort of lying, both the most public, and the most lasting. But if they are more innocently committed, and are yet persisted in after a discovery, they are as bad as when done on design. I writ before as well and as carefully as I could; and if in so great a variety of material, some are spurious, and others appear doubtful—and if in the haste in which the circumstances of that time almost forced me to publish that work, without looking out for more aid, and without waiting for further discoveries, there are some inconsiderable errors and defects in the less important parts of my work, that relate not to the main of things, I hope the world will be so just, and so favourable, as to make fair allowances for them, and to accept all the reparation I can make for past errors, when I own my failing, and set my readers right.

I come next to give an account of the reasons that moved me to set about this work at this time. The reasons of my engaging in it at first seemed now to return upon me, and have determined me to delay the doing of it no longer. The danger of a popish successor then in view, and the dreadful apprehensions we had of the power of France, and of the zeal with which the extirpating that which some called the pestilent heresy, that had so long infested those northern kingdoms, was then driven on, made it seem a proper time to awaken the nation, by showing both what Popery, and what the Reformation was; by showing the cruelty and falsehood of the former, and what the patience and courage of our reformers was; and the work had generally so good an effect then, that if the like dangers seemed to revert, it may not be an improper attempt to try once more to awaken a nation that has perhaps forgot past dangers, and yet may be nearer them than ever.

If there is any difference between the present state of things, and that we were in above thirty years ago, it is that we are now more naked and defenceless, more insensible and stupid, and much more depraved in all respects than we were then. We are sunk in our learning, vitiated in principle; tainted, some with atheism, others with superstition; both which, though by different ways, prepare us for popery. Our old breaches are not healed, and new ones, not known in former times, are raised and fomented with much industry and great art, as well as much heat: many are barefacedly going back to that misery, from which God with such a mighty hand rescued us; and has hitherto preserved us with an amazing chain of happy providences; but "the deaf adder stops her ear, let the charmer charm never so wisely."

All books relating to those controversies lie dead in shops, few calling for them; many of them (as men of the trade have told me) being looked on as waste paper, and turned to pasteboard. There are, after all, some real and sensible arguments that may perhaps have some effect on those who let not themselves be moved with matters of dry speculation, or with cold reasoning. I have made many discoveries that may awaken some on whom the clearest demonstrations will perhaps make no impression.

In queen Mary's time, beside all that scene which I had formerly opened of a perfidious breach of solemn promises, of the corrupting and packing of parliaments, and of that unrelenting cruelty which was pursued to the end of that reign without intermission, I have had occasion to see much farther into the spirit which then prevailed. I have had the perusal of the original council-book, that went from the beginning of her reign to the last day of the year 1557; in which such a spirit of cruelty and bigotry appears through the whole course of that reign, that I was indeed amazed to find a poor harmless woman, weak though learned, guilty of nothing but what her religion infused in her, so carried to an indecency of barbarity, that it appears that Bonner himself was not cruel enough for her, or at least for her confessor. She believed herself with child, and when the time came in which she expected to be delivered, she continued looking for it every day above a month; then a conceit was put in her head that she could not bear her child as long as there was a heretic left in the kingdom.

It was a great part of the business of the council to quicken the persecution everywhere. Letters were writ to the men of quality in the several counties to assist at the execution of those who suffered for heresy, and to call on all their friends to attend on them. Letters of

thanks were writ to such officious persons as expressed their zeal, ordering them to commit all to prison who came not to the service, and to keep them in prison till the comfort of their amendment appeared. Directions were given to put such as would not discover others to the torture: thanks were, in a particular style, sent to some gentlemen who (as it is expressed) came so "honestly and of themselves to assist the sheriffs at those executions." Pretences of conspiracies were everywhere under examination; many were committed and tried for words; letters were writ to corporations about the elections of mayors; and the lords had many letters to look carefully to the elections of parliament-men, and to engage the electors to reserve their voices for such as they should name. Sheriffs began to grow backward, and to delay executions, in hopes of reclaiming persons so condemned; but they were ordered to do so no more.

Letters were on one day wrote to the sheriffs of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Staffordshire, and to several mayors, to signify what had moved them to stay the executions of such persons as had been delivered to them by the ordinaries, being condemned for heresy. One letter of a more singular strain was wrote to the lord mayor and the sheriffs of London to give substantial orders (I give the words in the council-book), "that when any obstinate man, condemned by order of the law, shall be delivered to be punished for heresy, there be a good number of officers and other men appointed to be at the execution, who may be charged to see such as shall misuse themselves, either by comforting, aiding, or praising the offenders, or otherwise use themselves to the ill example of others, to be apprehended and committed to ward; and besides to give commandment that no householder suffer any of his apprentices or other servants to be abroad other than such as their masters will answer for; and that this order be always observed in like cases hereafter." Such pains were taken to extinguish all the impressions of humanity, or at least to punish every expression of it; and this was so constantly pursued, that three men and two women were burnt at Canterbury on the 10th of November, a week before her death; for she died on the 17th.

Nor were they satisfied with all these arts of cruelty in England; but hearing that there were some of that sort in Ireland, one Cole was sent over with a commission to set a persecution on foot there. When he was at Chester, the corporation waited on him in respect to his being sent by the queen: he showed them his powers and letters to the government of Ireland; but leaving his papers on the table when he went in respect to this body to conduct them down stairs, the mistress of the house, being secretly a zealous woman, did, with a particular address, make up a packet like his, in which she put a pack of cards, the knave of clubs being turned uppermost; and so she took away his papers, putting this instead of them. He suspecting nothing, nor looking into them, went over to Dublin, and delivered his message and packet to the council there, which was certainly received with scorn and indignation. He came back to London, and got new powers a few days before the queen's death; for the news of it overtook him before he had his passage. The levity of this story made me at first suspect it, till I found it in several books in which it is said that the woman had for this service a pension from queen Elizabeth.

Cox's Hist. of Ireland.

I have in my former History showed what steps were made in that reign towards the setting up an Inquisition in England, which was very probably suggested by king Philip and some of his Spaniards, as the only sure method to extirpate heresy: but I have since seen some further steps made towards it. Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, was in high favour, and he, who saw what was the method to secure and advance it, moved that, instead of the dilatory proceedings in the ordinary courts, such offenders should be proceeded against by martial law. To this the council wrote answer, they commended his zeal, and acknowledged that such persons deserved to be so used; yet it was not thought the best way, but they were to be punished as the laws did order. But when they had had their punishment, he was ordered to keep them in prison and in irons till they came to know themselves and their duty. I have also found what he did towards the setting up an inquisition. I did formerly print the instructions that were sent to the county of Norfolk. Of these the sixth did run thus: "They shall procure to have in every parish, or part of the shire, as near as may be, some one or more honest men secretly instructed to give information of the inhabitants amongst or about them." I find in a register of

Vol. ii. of H. R. Collection of Rec. p. 283.



the earl of Sussex that to the sixth article it is agreed, "that the justices of the peace in every of their limits shall call secretly before them one or two honest and secret persons, or more by their discretions, and such as they shall think good, and command them by oath or otherways, as the same justices shall think good, that they shall secretly learn and search out such person or persons as shall evil-behave themselves idly at church, or despise openly by words the king and queen's proceedings, or go about to make or move any stir, commotion, or unlawful gathering together of the people; or that shall tell any seditious or lewd tales, rumours, or news, to move or stir any person or persons to rise, stir, or make any commotion or insurrection, or to consent to any such intent or purpose. And also, that the same persons so to be appointed shall declare to the same justices of the peace the ill behaviour of lewd disordered persons, whether it shall be for using unlawful games, idleness, and such other light behaviour of such suspected persons as shall be within the same town, or near thereabouts. And that the same information shall be given secretly to the justices; and the same justices shall call such accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they be accused. And that the same justices shall, upon their examinations, punish the offenders according as their offences shall appear to them upon the accusement and examination by their discretion, either by open punishment or good a-bearing." Here are sworn spies appointed, like the familiars of the Inquisition; secret depositions not to be discovered; and upon these further proceedings are ordered. If this had been well settled, what remained to complete a court of inquisition would have been more easily carried.

Here is that which those who look towards a popish successor must look for when that evil day comes. All this will make little impression on those who have no fixed belief of anything in religion themselves, and so may reckon it a small matter to be of any religion that comes to have the law and the government on its side, and resolve to change with every wind and tide rather than put anything to hazard by struggling against it. Yet some compassion to those who have a more firm belief of those great truths might be expected from men of the same country, kindred, and who have hitherto professed to be of the same religion. The reviving the fires in Smithfield, and from thence over the whole nation, has no amiable view to make any haste to it; and least of all to those who, if they have any principles at all, must look for nothing less than the being turned out of their livings, or forced to abandon their families, and upon every surmise or suspicion to be hunted from place to place, glad if they can get out of the paw of the lion into parts beyond the seas; and then they may expect to meet with some of that haughty contempt with which too many have treated foreigners who took sanctuary among us.

But when this fatal revolution comes upon us, if God for our sins abandons us into the hands of treacherous and bloody men, whither can we hope to fly? For with us the whole Reformation must fall under such an universal ruin, that, humanly speaking, there is no view left beyond that.

Yet since that set of men is so impiously corrupted in the point of religion that no scene of cruelty can fright them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting such a part in it as may be assigned them, there are other considerations of another sort, arising from some papers (put in my hands since I wrote the History), that may perhaps affect them deeper, because they touch in a more sensible part.

It is well known how great and how valuable a part of the whole soil of England the abbey-lands, the estates of the bishops, of the cathedrals, and the tithes, are. I will not enter into any strict computation of what the whole may amount to. The resumption of these would be no easy matter to many families; and yet all these must be thrown up, for sacrilege in the church of Rome is a mortal sin. And therefore cardinal Pole, even in that pretended confirmation of the grants that were then made, laid a heavy charge on those who had the goods of the church in their hands to remember the judgments of God that fell on Belshazzar for profaning the holy vessels; though they had not been taken by himself, but by his father. It is true this may be supposed to relate only to church-plate, though there is no reason to restrain such a solemn charge to so inconsiderable a part of what had been taken from the church: no doubt he had the whole in his view. And this showed, that

though he seemed to secure them from any claim that the church might have, or any suit or proceeding upon that account, yet he left the weight of the sin on their consciences, which a dexterous confessor might manage so as to make the possessors yield up their rights, especially when they themselves could hold them no longer. The thing was still a sin, and the possession was unjust. And to make it easy to restore in the last minutes, the statute of Mortmain was repealed for twenty years; in which time, no doubt, they reckoned they would recover the best part of what they had lost. Besides that, the engaging the clergy to renew no leases was a thing entirely in their own power; and that, in forty years' time, would raise their revenues to be about ten times their present value.

But setting all this aside, it has appeared evidently to me, from some papers sent me some years after I wrote my history, that all that transaction was fraudulent, and had so many nullities in it, that it may be broke through whensoever there is a power strong enough to set about it. In the first powers that are in that Collection, all the grace and favour that the pope intended to the possessors of those lands was to indemnify them for the mesne profits they had received, and for the goods that had been consumed; they restoring first (if that shall seem expedient) the lands themselves that are unjustly detained by them. This was only the forgiving what was past; but the right of the church was insisted on for the restitution of those lands. The reservation, in these words "if that shall seem expedient to you," can be understood in no other sense, but that it was referred to his discretion, whether he should insist to have the restitution first made, before he granted the indemnity for the mesne profits, or not.

It is true, the council in England, who were in that supported by the emperor, thought these powers were too narrow, and insisted to have them enlarged. That was done, but in so artificial a manner, that the whole settlement made by Pole signified nothing, but to lay the nation once asleep, under a false apprehension of their being secured in those possessions, when no such thing was intended; nor was it at all granted, even by the latest powers that were sent to cardinal Pole. For in these, after the pope had referred the settling that matter to him, that he might transact it with such possessors, for whom the queen should intercede, and dispense with their enjoying them for the future without any scruple, a salvo is added, by which the whole matter is still reserved to the pope for his final confirmation, in these words: "Salvo tamen in his quibus propter rerum magnitudinem et gravitatem hæc sancta sedes merito tibi videretur consulenda, nostro et præfatæ sedis beneplacito et confirmatione." "Saving always in such things, in which for their greatness and importance it shall appear to you, that this holy see ought in reason to be consulted, for our and the said see's good pleasure and confirmation." By these words it is very plain, that, as in the powers granted, they seemed to be limited to a few, to such for whom the queen should intercede, since it is not expressed that the pope thought that he should intercede for all that possessed them; so they were only provisional: and therefore since no bull of confirmation was ever obtained, all these provisional powers were null and void, when the confirmation was asked and denied: as all the historians of that time agree it was: and this was so suitable to P. Paul the Fourth's temper and principles, that no doubt is to be made of his persisting steadfastly in that resolution.

I know there was a mercenary writer found in king James's reign, who studied to lay all people asleep, in a secure persuasion of their titles to those lands. He pretends there was a confirmation of all that Pole did, sent over to England. He brings indeed some proof that it was given out and believed, which might be a part of the fraud to be used in that matter. But as no such thing appears in the Bullary, so he does not tell us who saw it, or where it was laid up. He indeed supports this by an argument that destroys it quite: for he tells us, that two years after this, secretary Petre had a particular bull, confirming him in his possession of some church-lands. This shows, that either that person, who was secretary of state, knew that no confirmation was sent over; so that it was necessary for him to procure a particular bull for securing his own estate; or whatever might be in Pole's powers, he might think such a general transaction, which the necessity of that time made reasonable, would be no longer stood to than while that necessity continued.

General treaties and transactions have had such a fate that few will trust to them. The



spirit of the church, as well as the spirit of a treaty, will be preferred to the words of all transactions. Have not we seen in our own days an Edict, that was passed with all solemnity possible, and declared Perpetual and Irrevocable, yet recalled with this very preamble, that it was made in compliance to the necessity of that time, and on design to bring those that were promised to be for ever tolerated by it into the bosom of the church? There is so much in the canon law against all sacrilege, and all alienations of what is once dedicated to God, that though some canonists may have carried the plenitude of the papal power so far as to reach even to this, which this hired writer builds on, yet there is so much affirmed to the contrary by others, that it is certain whensoever the papacy has strength enough to set aside all the settlement then made, they will find sufficient grounds in law to proceed to the overturning all that was then done. The princes of Germany, whose settlements he appeals to, do not trust to any treaty, with either emperor or popish princes, with relation to the church lands of which they possessed themselves, but to the treaties and guarantees into which they entered with one another: and so they are engaged by their faith and by their mutual interests to maintain one another and themselves in their possessions; nor does it appear that a papal bull was ever obtained to confirm them. On the contrary, the pope's legates protested against them; and, as will appear afterwards, Charles the Fifth's confessor refused to give him absolution for his consenting to edicts of that sort. If the necessity of the time makes it necessary to maintain that settlement, so long it will be maintained, and no longer.

But to put this matter out of all doubt, that same pope did, soon after our ambassadors were sent to him, by a bull dated the twelfth of July, 1555, within three weeks after the English ambassadors had their audience, condemn all the alienations of church lands, and even all leases for one or more lives; or for a term longer than three years: this he extends to all cathedrals, monasteries, and hospitals, and annuls all leases, grants, exchanges, mortgages, and obligations of lands, castles, towns, and cities, even though made by popes themselves, or by their authority and order; and by the presidents, prelates, or rectors of churches, monasteries, or hospitals, of what rank and dignity soever, cardinals by name being expressed, that were done to the prejudice of the church, the solemnity by law required not being observed: and that which was null in the first making, but supplied by subsequent contracts, in what form soever made, though by proofs upon oath, and by what length of time soever it may claim prescription, is all rescinded, and made void and null. And the detainers of goods upon those titles are required to quit possession, and to make full satisfaction for what they have received, and to be thereto compelled, if they obey not, both by ecclesiastical censures and pecuniary punishments.

It is true, in all this, England is not expressly named, and perhaps the pope had the recovering from the family of the Farnese that which Paul the Third had alienated to it chiefly in his eye: but the words of this bull do plainly take in the late settlement in England: for though the English ambassadors were then newly come to Rome, demanding the confirmation of what Pole had done, yet no exceptions are made for England; so it seems, it was intended by these general words, put in on design, to overthrow it. Now because this matter is of such great concern, and every one has not a Bullary to examine into this bull, I will begin my Collection of Records with it, as no small piece of instruction to all who are possessed of any estate so alienated from churches, monasteries, or hospitals.

Upon the conclusion of this head, I cannot but take notice of one insinuation, that I hear some are not ashamed to make: that such a resumption may be indeed a prejudice to the laity, but that the clergy will be enriched by it. If this had been brought me by an ordinary hand, I should not have thought it worth mentioning; but since some have the impudence to set it on foot, I must add, that these are vain hopes, as well as they are suggested on black designs: for though the church, take it in the bulk, has immense riches in the Roman communion, yet in no church that ever I saw are the parochial clergy kept poorer, and made more despicable; they are as the hewers of wood and drawers of water, kept at hard labour on a very poor subsistence. The several orders among them, the governing clergy, and the outward magnificence of their churches and services, devour all that treasure:

so that the poor clergy, even in that state of celibate, have scarce necessary sustenance, unless it be in some capital cities, and in very vast parishes in them; they are starved, to maintain the luxury and vanity of others: this was the true occasion of all the poverty of the parochial clergy among us, to which some remedies have been sought for, and to some degree found, ever since the Reformation was first settled among us.

But none of these things will move an insensible and degenerate race, who are thinking of nothing but present advantages: and, so they may now support a luxurious and brutal course of irregular and voluptuous practices, they are easily hired to betray their religion, to sell their country, and to give up that liberty, and those properties, which are the present felicities and glories of this nation. The giving them up will be a lasting infamy on those who are guilty of it, and will draw after it the heaviest curses of posterity on such perfidious betrayers of their trust: by this they will bring slavery on themselves (which they well deserve, being indeed the worst sort of slaves), and entail it on the succeeding generation.

I return to prosecute the account of my design in this work. I went through those volumes in the Cotton Library of which I had only a transient view formerly, and laid together all that I thought necessary to complete it. I saw a great and a fair prospect of such a change ready to be made in France, as king Henry had made in England. M. Le Vassor has, out of an invaluable collection of original papers that are in Sir William Trumball's hands, published instructions sent by the duke of Orleans to the princes of Germany; by which, as he declared himself a protestant, so he gave in general words good hopes of his father Francis. I found also, both in papers and printed books, that king Henry often reproached Francis for not keeping his word to him; and in a long despatch of a negotiation that Paget was employed in with the admiral of France, I saw further evidence of this. I was by these indications set on to see how far I could penetrate into that secret.

I was by the favour of the earl of Dartmouth admitted to a free search of the Paper-office, which is now in much better order and method than it was above thirty years ago, when I saw it last: and there, among other very valuable papers, I found the copy of that solemn promise that Francis made to Henry, minuted on the back by Cromwell's hand as a true copy, in these words: "An Instrument devised from the French king, for his justification and defence of the invalidity of the king's highness's first marriage, and the validity of the Second." By this, he in express words "condemns the pope's bull dispensing with the marriage with queen Catherine, which he, by the unanimous consent of those learned men whom he had appointed to examine it, condemns as incestuous and unlawful; and reputes the daughter born in it, spurious and illegitimate: and that the second marriage with Anne, then queen, was lawful and just; and that queen Elizabeth, born of it, was lawfully born." And he promises to assist and maintain the king in this against all the world. In this instrument he owns king Henry to be, under God, the supreme head of the church of England: and he affirms, that "many of the cardinals, in particular the late cardinal of Ancona, and even pope Clement the Seventh himself, did both to his ambassador and to himself at Marseilles plainly confess, that the pope's bull, and the marriage made upon it, were null and void; and that he would have given a definitive sentence, if some private affections and human regards had not hindered it." This makes me conclude, that he gave other instruments of a further extent to king Henry; for failing in which, I find he was often reproached, though this single instrument is all that I could find out: but the lord Herbert reckons among the chief causes of king Henry's last rupture with Francis, that he had not deserted the bishop of Rome, and consented to a reformation, as he once promised.

I saw when I passed through Zurich a volume of letters that passed between Bullinger and those English divines that had been so kindly entertained by him in that noble canton; and by the interposition of my learned, judicious, and pious friend, M. Turretin of Geneva, M. Otto, a worthy professor there, has taken such care, that copies of them are procured for me; in which we may see the sense of those who revived our Reformation in queen Elizabeth's time. Men who had been abroad, and had seen all things about them in a true light, that saw in what the strength of popery lay, and what fortified or weakened the body of the reformed, were liker to have truer views than can be expected from retired or sullen men, who have lived in a corner, and have but a small horizon.



It has been objected to me, that I have said little of proceedings in convocation, and of the struggle that the clergy made before they were brought to make the submission which brought those bodies under restraints that seem now uneasy to the advocates for church power. I must confess I have been very defective here: I understood that the books of Convocation were burnt: none of those great men, under whose direction that work went on, knew anything of those discoveries that have been of late made; so no wonder if I passed over what was then so little known. Yet now I have examined all that I could find of those matters, I confess I am not inclined to expect much from the assemblies of clergymen. I have seen nothing in church history to incline me to depart from Gregory Nazianzen's opinion of those assemblies: what has happened among ourselves of late has not made me of another mind; and I will not deny, but that my copiousness on these matters is, in my own opinion, one of the meanest parts of my work. The wisest and worthiest man in that convocation, archbishop Warham, was the person that promoted the submission the most. It was no wonder if a corrupt clergy, that made such ill use of their power, had no mind to part with any branch of it. Yet, since these things have been of late such a subject of debate among us, I have taken what pains I could to gather all that is left of those times, in such copies, or rather abstracts, as have been of late found in private hands: only I will set down the opinion of sir Thomas More, the best man of the popish side in that age, of those meetings. "It is true," he says, "the clergy's assembling at the convocation was called by the name of confederacies. But," he adds, "if they did assemble often, and there did such things, for which such assemblies of the clergy in every province through all Christendom, from the beginning, were instituted and devised, much more good might have grown thereof, than the long disuse can suffer us now to perceive. But all my days, as far as I have heard, nor (I suppose) a good part of my father's neither, they came never together to convocation, but at the request of the king; and at such their assemblies, concerning spiritual things, have very little done. Wherefore that they have been in that necessary part of their duty so negligent, whether God suffer to grow to an unperceived cause of division and grudge against them, God, whom their such negligence hath, I fear me, sore offended, knoweth*."

The affinity of the matter has led me to reflect on a great transaction with relation to the church of France, which was carried on and finally settled in the very time that
1532. king Henry was breaking with the court of Rome. It was the Concordate that Francis I. made with pope Leo X. The king and the pope came to a bargain, by which they divided the liberties of the Gallican church between them, and indeed quite enslaved it. There are so many curious passages in the progress of that matter, that I hope the opening these will be a very acceptable entertainment to the nation; and the rather, because in it this nation will see what it is to deliver up the essential liberties of a free constitution to a court, and to trust to the integrity and firmness of courts of justice, when an assembly of the Estates is no more necessary to the raising of money and the support of the government. I know nothing writ in our language, with relation to this matter, besides that account I gave of it in a book concerning the Regale. It was taken from a very exact history of that transaction that was written by Mr. Pinsons, printed anno 1666; and that seemed to some very proper judges to relate so much to our affairs, that, as they thought, it very probably disposed the nation more easily to throw off the papal authority. They saw what a filthy merchandise the court of Rome had made of the liberties of the neighbouring church; taking care only to secure their own profits, and delivering up the rest to the crown. The best writers of that church have on many occasions lamented the loss of their liberties by that detestable bargain, into which Francis's necessities, wrought on by the practices of the court of Rome, drew him. "By this the church of France, from being a queen, became (as bishop Godeau expresses it) a slave." And he adds, "our fathers have groaned, and all that love the order of the house of God will still groan, as long as elections continue to be put down; so that we must needs enter into the sanctuary by the way of the court." In another place: "These promotions have been always fatal to the church; and the bishops that the court

* More's Apol. 1533, fol. 241.

has made have been ordinarily the chief advancers of schisms, heresies, and of the oppression of the church." And he concludes: "One cannot read Nazianzen's verses of the prelates of his time without being struck with horror, and forced to acknowledge that a secular temper is entirely contrary to the episcopal spirit." Of this a Greek writer makes a severe remark in the history of Andronicus's reign, which may perhaps be as justly applied to other reigns, telling what sort of bishops were then made: "Princes choose such men to that charge who may be their slaves, and in all things obsequious to what they prescribe, and may lie at their feet, and have not so much as a thought contrary to their commands." This change in their constitution has put an end not only to national, but even to provincial, synods in that kingdom. Some were indeed held, upon the progress that Luther's doctrine was beginning to make in France; and others during the civil wars, in order to the getting the council of Trent received in France: but now, in the space of ninety years last past, these are no more brought together. The assemblies of the clergy meet only to give subsidies, and to present their grievances, but do not pretend to the authority of a regular synod. And though in the year 1682 they drew up some articles, yet these had their authority only from the severity of the king's edict, till by a transaction with the court of Rome that was let fall.

I have now gone over all the matters that do properly fall within this Introduction. It remains that I leave the sense of the subject of this and of my two former Parts upon the consciences of my readers. Can it be possible that any are so depraved as to wish we had no religion at all, or to be enemies to the Christian religion? would these men reduce us to be a sort of Hottentots? and yet this must grow to be the effect of our being without all religion. Mankind is a creature by his make and frame disposed to religion; and if this is not managed by true principles, all the jugglings of heathenism would again take possession of the world. If the principles of truth, justice, temperance, and of universal love, do not govern men, they will soon grow curses and plagues to one another; and a crew of priests will grow up who will teach them to compound for all crimes, and to expiate the blackest practices by some rituals.

Religion has so much to struggle with, that if it is not believed to be revealed by God, it will not have strength enough to resist those ill inclinations, those appetites and passions, that are apt to rise up in our minds against its dictates. What is there in the true and unsophisticated Christian religion that can give a colour to prejudices against it? The whole complex of that rule of life which it prescribes is so plainly suited to our composition, both in our souls and their faculties, and in our bodies, with relation to good health, to industry and long life, and to all the interests of human society, to the order and peace of the world, and to the truth and love that are the cements and securities of the body-politic, that, without any laboured proof of its divine original, these are such characters, that they may serve to prove it is sent into the world by a Lover of Mankind, who knew our nature, and what was proper both to perfect it and to render it not only safe, but happy.

But when to all this we add the evidence that was given at its appearing in the world; that He who was the first author of it, and those whom he employed first to propagate it, did, upon many occasions, in full daylight, and in the sight of great multitudes, do things so far above the powers of nature, in such uncontested miracles, that by these it evidently appeared they were assisted by somewhat superior to nature that could command it at pleasure; here is the fullest ground of conviction possible. These things were written, published, and received in the age in which they were transacted: and those writings have been preserved with great care, and are transmitted down to us, at the distance of above sixteen ages, pure and uncorrupted. In these we have the fixed standard of our religion, and by them we can satisfy ourselves concerning all such practices as have been made upon it, or such inferences as are drawn from it. I wish those who take to themselves the name of Freethinkers would consider well if they think it is possible to bring a nation to be without any religion at all, and what the consequences of that may prove; and then see if there is any religion so little liable to be corrupted, and that tends so much to the good of mankind, as the true Christian religion reformed among us.

As for those that do truly believe this religion, and have an ingenuous sense and taste of liberty, can they admit a comparison to be made between a religion restrained to a fixed



standard (into which every one is admitted to examine the sense of it in the best method he can), and that which sets up another uncertain standard, of which they pretend to be the depositaries—I mean traditions; and pretend further they are the infallible expounders of it, and that the true standard itself is not to be exposed to common view; that God is to be worshipped in a language not understood; that instead of a competent provision to those who labour in this work, the head of them is to become a great prince, and may pretend to a power to dispose of kingdoms and states, to pardon sins, and to redeem sinners out of the miseries of a future state; and that the character derived from him is so sacred, that, in defiance to sense and reason, a priest, by a few words, can work a miracle, in comparison to which the greatest of miracles is nothing; and who by these means have possessed themselves of an immense wealth and a vast authority?

These are all things of so strange a nature, and so contrary to the genius and design of the Christian religion, that it is not easy to imagine how they could ever gain credit and success in the world; but when men's eyes have been once opened, when they have shaken off the yoke, and got out of the noose; when the simplicity of true religion has been seen into, and the sweets of liberty have been tasted; it looks like charm and witchcraft to see so many looking back so tamely on that servitude under which this nation groaned so heavily for so many ages. They may soon see and know what our happy condition is in the freedom we enjoy from these impositions, and what their misery is that are condemned to them. It is not enough for such as understand this matter to be contented in their own thoughts with this: that they resolve not to turn papists themselves; they ought to awaken all about them, even the most ignorant and the most stupid, to apprehend their danger, and to exert themselves with their utmost industry to guard against it and to resist it. They ought to use all their efforts to prevent it, and earnestly to pray to God for his blessing upon them. If after all men's endeavours to prevent it, the corruption of the age and the art and power of our enemies prove too hard for us, then, and not till then, we must submit to the will of God, be silent, and prepare ourselves for all the extremities of suffering and of misery; and if we fall under a persecution, and cannot fly from it, we must resolve to glorify God by bearing our cross patiently. Illegal sufferings are no more to be borne than the violences of a robber; but if the law comes once to be in the hands of those wicked men, who will not only revive the repealed laws against heretics, but, if they can, carry their cruelty up to the height of an inquisition, then we must try, by the faith and patience of the saints, to go through fire and through water, and in all things to be more than conquerors.

I know some, who are either apt to deceive themselves or hope to deceive others, have this in their mouths: that popery is not what it was before the Reformation; things are much mended, many abuses are detected, and things are not so gross as they were then. And they tell us, that further corrections might be expected if we would enter into a treaty with them; in particular, they fancy they see the error of proceeding severely with heretics; so that there is no reason to apprehend the return of such cruelties as were practised an age and a half ago.

In answer to this, and to lay open the falsehood of it, we are to look back to the first beginning of Luther's breach. It was occasioned by the scandalous sale of pardons and indulgences, which all the writers of the popish side give up, and acknowledge it was a great abuse: so in the countries where the Reformation has got an entrance, or in the neighbourhood of them, this is no more heard of; and it has been taken for granted, that such an infamous traffic was now no more practised. But of late, that we have had armies in Spain and Portugal, we are well assured that it is still carried on there in the most barefaced manner possible. It is true, the proclaiming a sale is forbid by a bull; but there is a commissary in every place who manages the sale with the most infamous circumstances imaginable. In Spain, by an agreement with the pope, the king has the profits of this bull; and it is no small branch of his revenue. In Portugal the king and the pope go shares. Dr. Colbatch has given a very particular account of the managing the bull there: for as there is nothing so impudent that those men are ashamed to venture on, so they may safely do what they please where the terror of the inquisition is so severe a restraint that men dare not whisper against anything that is under that protection.

A notable instance of this has appeared lately, when in the year 1709, the privateers of Bristol took the galleon, in which they found 500 bales of these bulls, and 16 reams were in a bale: so that they reckoned the whole came to 3,840,000. These bulls are imposed on the people, and sold, the lowest at three rials, a little more than twenty-pence; but to some at fifty pieces of eight, about eleven pounds of our money; and this to be valued according to the ability of the purchaser, once in two years: all are obliged to buy them against Lent. Besides the account given of this in the cruising voyage, I have a particular attestation of it by captain Dampier, and one of the bulls was brought me printed, but so that it cannot be read. He was not concerned in casting up the number of them; but he says, that there was such a vast quantity of them, that they careened their ship with them.

As for any changes that may be made in popery, it is certain, infallibility is their basis: so nothing can be altered where a decision is once made. And as for the treatment of heretics, there has been such a scene of cruelty of late opened in France, and continued there now almost thirty years without intermission, that even in the kingdom where popery has affected to put the best face on things possible, we have seen a cruel course of severity, beyond anything in history. I saw it in its first and sharpest fury, and can never forget the impression that made on me.

A discovery lately made shows what the spirit of those at Rome who manage the concerns of that religion is, even in a mild reign, such as Odischalci's was; and we may well suppose that because it was too mild, this was ordered to be laid before him, to animate him with a spirit of persecution. When the abbey of St. Gall was taken in the late war in Switzerland, a manuscript was found, that the court of Propaganda ordered their secretary to prepare for Innocent the Eleventh's own use, which after his death came into the hands of cardinal Sfondrato, who was abbot of St. Gall, and so at his death left this book there. It gives a particular account of all the missions they have in all the parts of the world; and of the rules and instructions given them, with which I hope those worthy persons in whose hands this valuable book is now fallen will quickly acquaint the world. The conclusion of it is an address to the pope, in which they lay his duty before him from two of the words in the New Testament, directed to St. Peter. The first was, "Feed my sheep;" which obliged him not only to feed the flock that was gathered at that time, but to prosecute the constant increase of it, and to bring those sheep into it that were not of that fold. But the other word was addressed to him by a voice from heaven, when the sheet was let down to him full of all sorts of beasts, of which some were unclean, "Rise, Peter, kill and eat," to let all see that it is the duty of the great pontiff to rise up with apostolical vigilance, to kill and to extinguish in the infidels their present life, and then to eat them, to consubstantiate their false and brutal doctrine into the verity of our faith. There is an affectation in these last words suitable to the genius of the Italians. This application of these two passages, as containing the duties of a pope, was formerly made by Baronius in a flattering speech to encourage pope Paul the Fifth in the war he was designing against the Venetians.

By this we see, that how much soever we may let the fears of popery wear out of our thoughts, they are never asleep, but go on steadily, prosecuting their designs against us. Popery is popery still, acted by a cruel and persecuting spirit; and with what caution soever they may hide or disown some scandalous practices, where heretics dare look into their proceedings, and lay them open; yet even these are still practised by them, when they know they may safely do it, and where none dare open their mouth against them; and therefore we see what reason we have to be ever watching, and on our guard against them.

This is the duty of every single Christian among us; but certainly those peers and commoners, whom our constitution has made the trustees and depositaries of our laws and liberties, and of the legal security of our religion, are under a more particular obligation of watching carefully over this sacred trust, for which they must give a severe account in the last day, if they do not guard it against all danger, at what distance soever it may appear. If they do not maintain all the fences and outworks of it, or suffer breaches to be made on any of them; if they suffer any part of our legal establishment to be craftily undermined; if they are either absent or remiss on critical occasions; and if any views of advantage to themselves prevail on them to give up or abandon the establishment and security of our religion: God may work a deliverance for us another way, and if it seem good in his eyes, he will deliver us; but they and their families shall perish, their names will rot and be held in detestation; posterity will curse them, and the judgments of God will overtake them, because they have sold that which was the most sacred of all things, and have let in an inundation of idolatry, superstition, tyranny, and cruelty upon their church and country.



But in the last place, those who are appointed to be the watchmen, who ought to give warning, and to lift up their voice as a trumpet when they see those wolves ready to break in and devour the flock, have the heaviest account of all others to make if they neglect their duty, much more if they betray their trust: if they are so set on some smaller matters, and are so sharpened upon that account, that they will not see their danger, nor awaken others to see it, and to fly from it; the guilt of those souls who have perished by their means God will require at their hands, if they, in the view of any advantage to themselves, are silent when they ought to cry out day and night: they will fall under the character given by the prophet, of the watchmen in his time. "They are blind, they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs; they cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber: yea, they are greedy dogs, which can never have enough: and they are shepherds that cannot understand; they all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter: that say, Come, I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink; to-morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant."

This is a lively description of such pastors as will not so much as study controversies, and that will not know the depths of Satan; that put the evil day far off, and as the men in the days of Noah or Lot, live on at their ease, satisfying themselves in running round a circle of dry and dead performances, that do neither awaken themselves, nor others. When the day of trial comes, what will they say? To whom will they fly for help? Their spirits will either sink within them, or they will swim with the tide: the cry will be, "The church! the church!" even when all is ruin and a desolation. I hope they will seriously reflect on the few particulars that I have, out of many more, laid together in this Introduction, and see what weight may be in them, and look about them, to consider the dangers we are in, before it is too late: but what can be said of those who are already going into some of the worst parts of popery? It is well known, that in practice, the necessity of auricular confession, and the priestly absolution, with the conceit of the sacrifice of the mass, are the most gainful parts of popery, and are indeed those that do most effectually subdue the world to it. The independence of the church on the state is also so contended for, as if it were on design to disgrace our Reformation. The indispensable necessity of the priesthood to all sacred functions is carried in the point of baptism further than popery. Their devotions are openly recommended, and a union with the Gallican church has been impudently proposed; the Reformation and the reformers are by many daily vilified, and that doctrine that has been most universally maintained by our best writers, I mean the supremacy of the crown, is on many occasions arraigned. What will all these things end in! and on what design are they driven!—Alas, it is too visible.

God be thanked, there are many among us that stand upon the watch-tower, and that give faithful warning; that stand in the breach, and make themselves a wall for their church and country; that cry to God day and night, and lie in the dust mourning before him, to avert those judgments that seem to hasten towards us: they search into the mystery of iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themselves with all that mass of corruption that is in popery. They have another notion of the worship of God, than to dress it up as a splendid opera: they have a just notion of priesthood as a function that imports a care of souls, and a solemn performing the public homage we owe to God; but do not invert it to a political piece of craft, by which men's secrets are to be discovered, and all are subdued by a tyranny that reaches to men's souls as well as to their worldly concerns. In a word, they consider religion in the soul as a secret sense of divine matters, which purifies all men's thoughts, and governs all their words and actions: and in this light they propose

it to their people, warning them against all dangers, and against all deceivers of all sorts; watching over them as those that must give an account to the Great Bishop of Souls, feeding the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made them overseers, ready to lay down their lives for them, looking for their crown from the Chief Shepherd, when he shall appear.

May the number of these good and faithful servants increase daily more and more; may their labours be so blessed, that they may see the travail of their soul and be satisfied; and may many by their means and by their example be so awakened, that they may resist even to blood, striving against sin, and against the man of sin; and may I be of that number, labouring while it is day, and ready when the night comes, either to lie down and rest in the grave, or if God calls me to it, to seal that doctrine, which I have been preaching now above fifty years, with my blood: may His holy will be done, so I may but glorify Him in my soul and body, which are his!

# THE HISTORY

OF THE

# REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

## PART III.—BOOK I.

OF MATTERS THAT HAPPENED IN THE TIME COMPREHENDED IN THE FIRST BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

Before I enter on the affairs of England, I have thought it would be of great use to prepare the reader for what relates to them, by setting before him the progress of that agreement into which the French king's affairs carried him, by which he delivered up one great part of the liberties of the Gallican church to the pope, and invaded the rest himself. This was carried on in a course of many years; and the scene lying next us, and it being concluded in the very time in which the breach of this nation was far carried on in the year 1532, I thought it would not be an improper beginning of my work to set out that matter very copiously, since it is highly probable that it had a great influence on all who were capable to reflect on it.

The greatest transaction that happened in this period being the setting up the Concordat in the room of the Pragmatic Sanction by Francis the First, it will be necessary, in order to the clear opening of the matter, to look back into the former ages.

The Progress of the Papal Usurpations. Anno 1300.

The progress the papacy had made from pope Gregory the Seventh to pope Boniface the Eighth's time, in little more than two hundred and thirty years, is an amazing thing: the one began the pretension to depose kings; the other, in the Jubilee that he first opened, went in procession through Rome, the first day attired as pope, and the next day attired as emperor, declaring, that all power, both spiritual and temporal, was in him, and derived from him: and he cried out with a loud voice, "I am pope and emperor, and have both the earthly and heavenly empire;" and he made a solemn decree in these words: "We say, define, and pronounce, that it is absolutely necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the bishop of Rome." The Holy War, as it was called, was a great part of the business of that interval, by which the authority and wealth of the papacy received no small addition: it is true, the removal of the popes to Avignon, and the schism that followed upon the popes' return to Rome, did put no small stop to that growing power, and to the many and great usurpations and inventions not known to former ages, which were set on foot to draw all people into a servile dependence on the popes.

The Schism in the Papacy.

This long schism between the popes that sate at Rome and Avignon was the best conjuncture the bishops could ever have hoped for to recover their authority, which had been for some ages oppressed, and indeed trodden under foot, by the papacy. And if that had happened in a less ignorant age, it is very probable there would have been more effectual provisions made against it. The bishops that met at Constance did not apprehend that the continuance of that breach was that in which their strength lay;

they made too much haste to heal it; but they soon found that when all was again united, none of the regulations that they made could restrain a power that pretended to know no limits. The greatest security of the church, as they thought, was in the act for perpetual general councils, which were to meet after short intervals; and in the act for subjecting the popes to the councils, requiring them to call them and the council to meet at the end of ten years, whether the pope summoned it or not.

The Council of Basil.

But these proved feeble restraints, yet the council of Basil did sit pursuant to the decree made at Constance; and the bishops who met there endeavoured, as much as their low size of learning could direct them, to set forward a reformation of those abuses that were brought into the church, and that supported that despotic power which the popes had assumed. They reckoned a regulation of the elections of bishops was the laying a good foundation, and the settling of pillars and bases upon which the fabric of the church might securely rest. Many bishops were made by papal provisions; these they simply condemned: others were promoted by the power and favour of princes, to which ambitious men recommended themselves by base compliances and simoniacal bargains; in opposition to these, they restored elections to the chapters with as good provisions as they could contrive, that they should be well managed.

The Pope and Council quarrel.

A contest falling in upon their proceedings between them and pope Eugenius the Fourth, they addressed themselves to Charles the Seventh, king of France, for his protection. They sent him the decrees they had made against annates, that is, first-fruits; a late device of pope Boniface the Ninth, then about fifty years' standing, pretending to carry on a war against the Turk by that aid. They also condemned *gratias expectativas*, or the survivances of bishoprics, and other benefices, with all clauses of reservations in bulls, by which popes reserved to themselves at pleasure such things as were in a bishop's collation. They appointed elections to be confirmed by the metropolitan, and not by the pope. They condemned all fees and exactions upon elections, except only a salary for the writer's pains; and all appeals, except to the immediate superior; with all appeals from a grievance, unless it was such that the final sentence must turn upon it: and when the appeal rose up by all intermediate steps to the pope, it was to be judged by delegates appointed to sit upon the place where the cause lay, or in the neighbourhood: only the causes marked expressly in the law, as greater causes, were reserved to the pope. Provision was made for the encouragement of learning, and of the universities, that the benefices that fell in any collator's gift should be in every third month of the year given to men that had been, during a limited number of years, bred in them, and had upon due trial obtained degrees in them. If a bishop had ten benefices in his gift, the pope might name to one; and if fifty, to two, but to no more. Some of the provisions relate to the discipline and order of the cathedral churches: but the main thing of all was their declaring the council to be above the pope; that the pope was bound to submit to it, and that appeals lay to it from him.

The first breach between the pope and the council was made up afterwards by the interposition of Sigismond, the emperor: the pope recalled his censures, confessed he had been misled, and ratified all that the council had done: but that lasted not long; for upon the pretence of treating of a reconciliation with the Greek church, some moved for a translation of the council to Ferrara; but the majority opposed it, yet the pope did translate it thither. Upon which the council condemned that bull, and proceeded against Eugenius. He, on the other hand, declared them to be no council, and excommunicated them: they, on their part, deposed him, and chose another pope, Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who took the name of Felix: he had retired from his principality, and upon that, they again begged the protection of France.

The king being thus applied to by them, summoned a great assembly to meet at Bourges,

1438. The Pragmatic Sanction made in France.

where the dauphin, the princes of the blood, many of the nobility, and many bishops met. They would not approve the deposition of the pope, nor the new election of Felix: but yet they rejected the meeting of Ferrara, and adhered to that at Basil. The decrees past at Basil were by them reduced into the form of an edict, and published under the title of the "Pragmatic Sanction;" which the king declared he would have to be inviolably observed; and he resolved to moderate matters between the pope and the council.



There are very different relations made of the effects that this edict had: some say that the church of France began to put on a new face upon it, and that men were advanced by merit, and not, as formerly, by applications to the court of Rome, nor solicitations at the court of France:—"Others give a most tragical representation of elections, as managed by faction, indirect arts, the solicitations of women, and simoniacal bargains; and in some places by open violence, out of which many suits were brought into the courts of law. The treasure of the church was, as they said, applied to maintain these; the fabric was let go to ruin, and bishops' houses dilapidated. Pope Leo the Tenth, in his bull that abrogates this sanction, enumerates many evils that arose out of these elections, and that, in particular, simony and perjury prevailed in them, of which he says he had undeniable evidence in the many absolutions and reabilitations that were demanded of him." This might be boldly alleged, because it could not be disproved, how false soever it might be.

The Effects it had.

There might be some instances of faction, which were no doubt aggravated by the flatterers of the court of Rome: for the profits which came from France being stopped by the Pragmatic, all arts were used to disgrace it.

Æneas Silvius was counted one of the ablest men of that time. He was secretary to the council of Basil, and wrote copiously in defence of it against the pope: but he was gained over to the interests of the court of Rome; he had a cardinal's hat, and was afterwards advanced to the popedom, and reigned by the name of Pius the Second. He retracted all his former writings, but never answered them: yet he was so barefaced in setting himself to sale, that when he was reproached for changing sides, he answered, the popes gave dignities, abbeys, bishopries, and red hats to their creatures; but he asked, how many of such good things did the council give?

The Pope condemns it.

He distinguished himself, as deserters are apt to do, by railing at all that the council of Basil had done, and against the Pragmatic Sanction. He branded it as a heresy: and in a council that he held at Mantua twenty years after, he inveighed severely against it. He said bishops thought to have established their power; but, on the contrary, their authority was ruined by it; for ecclesiastical causes were brought into the secular courts, and all things were put into the king's hands: yet that sanction was observed in France till the king's death; and though some were persuaded to go to Rome and to procure bulls, these were esteemed no better than traitors and enemies to the country. It is true, upon this the courts of parliament took upon them to judge in all ecclesiastical matters, and to examine whether the ecclesiastical courts had proceeded according to the laws of the church or not: and that the sentences of the temporal courts might be executed, they ordered the revenues of bishops, if they stood out in contumacy, to be seized into the king's hands, and their persons to be arrested.

In a Council at Mantua. 1458.

When Dancsius, the attorney-general, heard how pope Pius had arraigned the Pragmatic Sanction, and that he was designing to proceed to censures against the king and his ministers, he protested against all he had said, referring the decision of the matter to a general council.

Upon that king's death he was succeeded by Lewis the Eleventh; and the bishop of Arras having great credit with him, the pope gained him, by the promise of a cardinal's hat, to use his endeavours to get the king to abrogate the Sanction; and because he thought that which might work most on the king, was the apprehension that much money which was now kept within the kingdom would upon the laying it aside be carried to Rome, this expedient was offered, that there should be a legate resident in France with powers to grant such bulls as was necessary: though this was never done, and it seems it was only offered as a specious concession to gain their point. King Lewis the Eleventh's character is given us so fully by Philip de Comines, who knew him well, that none who have read him wonder to find, that when he needed any favour from the court of Rome, he made the fullest submission that any king perhaps ever made: that he, in a letter he wrote to the pope, owns "the pope to be God's vicar on earth, to whose words he will always hearken and obey: and therefore, though the Pragmatic Sanction

Lewis the Eleventh abrogates it.

Council tom. xiv. p. 97.

was received upon long deliberation in a great assembly, and was now fully settled, yet since the pope desired that it might be abrogated, and since the bishop of Arras had put him in mind of the solemn promise that he had made by him, before he came to the crown, he reckoning that obedience was better than all sacrifice, since that Sanction was made in a time of sedition and schism, so that by it his kingdom was not conform to other kingdoms; though many men studied to maintain it, yet he resolved to follow and obey the pope's orders; therefore he abrogates it entirely, and does of his own accord, not compelled in any sort, restore him to the authority that Martin the Fifth and Eugenius the Fourth did exercise in former times; and bids him use the power given him by God at his pleasure; and promises, on the word of a king, that he will take care that all his commands shall be executed within his kingdom, without opposition or appeal; and that he will punish such as are contumacious, as the pope shall direct."

To the Pope's great joy.

Here was an entire submission, penned no doubt by the aspiring cardinal. It was received at Rome with no small joy; the Pragmatic was dragged about the streets of Rome, the pope wept for joy, and at mass on Christmas-eve, he consecrated a sword with a rich scabbard, to be sent to the king. The title of the "Most Christian King" had been given by former popes to some kings of France; but pope Pius was the person who upon this high merit, made it one of the titles of the crown: such as read De Comines' History will not find any other merit in that king to entitle him to so glorious an appellation.

The Parliament of Paris oppose it.

The court of parliament of Paris interposed; they made a noble remonstrance to the king, in which they pressed him to maintain the Pragmatic Sanction, which had its original from a general council, and they affirmed that the king was obliged to maintain it. Yet afterwards, that king's project of engaging the pope to assist his son-in-law to recover Sicily, then possessed by the bastard of Arragon, did miscarry, the pope refusing to concur in it; upon which the king was offended, and carried his submissions no farther; only he suffered bulls of reservations and survivances to take place again.

This matter was taken up again six years after by pope Paul the Second. A new minister was gained by the same bait of a cardinal's hat, to procure the revocation: so the king's edict was sent to the court of parliament of Paris to be registered there in vacation-time. The court ordered the attorney-general to examine it. St.-Romain was then attorney-general, and he behaved himself with such courage, that he was much celebrated for it. "He opposed the registering it, and spoke much in the praise of the Pragmatic Sanction: he showed the ill consequences of repealing it; that it would let in upon them abuses of all sorts, which were by it condemned; all affairs relating to the church would be settled at Rome; many would go and live there, in hopes of making their fortunes by provisions. He set forth that ten or twelve bulls of survivances were sometimes obtained upon the same benefice; and during three years in pope Pius's time (in which the exact observation of the Pragmatic Sanction was let fall), twenty-two bishopries happening to fall void, five hundred thousand crowns were sent to Rome to obtain bulls; and sixty-two abbeys being then vacant, a like sum was sent for their bulls; and one hundred and twenty thousand crowns were sent to obtain other ecclesiastical preferments. He added, that for every parish there might be a bull of *gratia expectativa*, or survivance, purchased at the price of twenty-five crowns; besides a vast number of other graces and dispensations. He insisted that the king was bound to maintain the rights and liberties of the church in his kingdom, of which he was the founder and defender."

The honest Courage of the Attorney-General.

The aspiring cardinal, offended with this honest freedom of the attorney-general, told him he should fall under the king's displeasure, and lose his place for it. He answered, the king had put him "in the post freely, he would discharge it faithfully as long as the king thought fit to continue him in it; and he was ready to lay it down whensoever it pleased the king; but he would suffer all things rather than do anything against his conscience, the king's honour, and the good of the kingdom." The favourite prevailed to get him turned out, but the crafty king gave him secretly great rewards; he esteemed him the more for his firmness, and restored him again to his place.

For which he was turned out.



The university of Paris also interposed, and the rector told the legate that if the matter was further prosecuted, they would appeal to a general council; but this notwithstanding, and though the court of parliament stood firm, yet the king being under the apprehensions of some practice of his brothers of Rome, whom he hated mortally; in order to the defeating those, renewed his promises for abrogating the Pragmatic Sanction; and it was for many years let fall into desuetude. Towards the end of this reign, an assembly was held at Orleans, in order to the re-establishing the pragmatic sanction, and the hindering money to be carried to Rome. The king died 1483.

The Pragmatic Sanction re-established.

Upon Charles the VIII.'s succeeding, an assembly of the Estates was held at Tours, in which the observation of the pragmatic sanction was earnestly pressed: the third estate insisted on having it entirely restored. The prelates who had been promoted contrary to it, under king Louis, opposed this vehemently, and were in reproach called the court-bishops, unduly promoted; and were charged as men that aspired to favour at Rome. St. Romain, now again attorney-general, said, he knew no ecclesiastical law better calculated to the interest of the kingdom than the pragmatic sanction was, and therefore he would support it. The king saw it was for his advantage to maintain it, and so was firmly resolved to adhere to it. The courts of parliament not only judged in favour of elections made by virtue of that sanction, but by earnest remonstrances they pressed the king to prohibit the applications made to the court of Rome for graces condemned by it.

But it was still complained of by the Pope.

Innocent VIII. continued by his legates to press the entire repeal of the pragmatic; yet, notwithstanding all opposition, it continued to be observed during Charles VIII.'s reign. Louis XII. did, by a special edict, appoint it to be for ever observed. Thus it continued till the council of Lateran, summoned by pope Julius II., to which Silvester, bishop of Worcester, and sir Robert Wingfield, were commissioned by king Henry VIII. to go "in his name, and on behalf of the kingdom, to conclude everything for the good of the catholic church, and for a reformation both in the head and in the members; and to consent to all statutes and decrees for the public good, promising to ratify whatever they or any of them should do." The king's empowering two persons in such a manner seems no small invasion of the liberties of the church; but it was in the pope's favour, so it was not challenged.

1499. Rymer, tom. 13, 17 Feb. 1511.

This council was called by that angry pope chiefly against Louis XII.: and the pragmatic sanction was arraigned in it, both because it maintained the authority of the council to be superior to the pope, and because it cut off the advantages that the court had made by the bulls sent into France. The pope brought Louis XI.'s letters-patents, by which it was abrogated, into the council; and the advocate of the council, after he had severely arraigned it, insisted to have it condemned. So a monition was decreed, summoning all who would appear for it to come and be heard upon it within sixty days. The pope died in February thereafter.

Condemned by the Council in the Lateran.

Pope Leo X. succeeded, and renewed the monitory letters issued out by his predecessor: but the personal hatred with which Julius prosecuted Louis being at an end, things were more calmly managed. Some bishops were sent from the Gallican church to assist in the council; but before anything could be concluded, king Louis dying, Francis succeeded. He understood that the pope and the council were intending to proceed against the pragmatic sanction, so he resolved to bring the matter to an agreement; in which some progress was made in an interview that he had with the pope at Bononia. It was concluded by a sanction called the concordat, between the cardinals of Ancona and of Sanctorum Quatuor on the pope's side, and chancellor Prat for the king.

1516.

Some small differences remained, which were all yielded as the pope desired: and in the month of December the pope's bull, condemning the pragmatic sanction, was read, and approved by that council, such as it was.

The Concordat put instead of it.

The Concordat was put instead of it. The truth was, Francis was young, and was so set on pursuing his designs in Italy, in which he saw the advantage of having the pope on his side, that he sacrificed all other considerations to that, and made the best bargain he could. "The king and the pope divided the matter between them. When any bishopric became vacant, the king was within six months to name to it

a doctor, or one licensed in divinity, of the age of twenty-seven. If the pope did not approve of the nomination, the king had three months more to nominate another; but if he failed again, the pope was to provide one to the see. The pope had reserved to himself the providing of all that became vacant in the court of Rome (a pretension the popes had set on foot, in which by degrees they had enlarged the extent of it to very great and undetermined bounds, and did thereby dispose of many benefices). And the king was limited in his nomination by some conditions, with relation to the person so nominated; yet the want of these was not to be objected to the king's kindred, or to other illustrious persons. The king was also to nominate to all abbeys a person of twenty-three years of age. *Gratiæ expectativæ*, or survivances and reservations in bulls, were never to be admitted: only one benefice might be reserved from a collator of ten; and two, from one of fifty. Causes of appeals were to be judged *in partibus*, in the parts where the matters lay, excepting the causes enumerated in the law, as greater causes. It was also provided, that in all bulls that were obtained, the true value of the benefice was to be expressed, otherwise the grace was null and void." No mention was made of annates; and in other particulars, the articles in the pragmatic-sanction were inserted. The pope promised he would send a legate to France to tax the value of all ecclesiastical benefices. All former excommunications were taken off, with an indemnity for all that was passed.

King Francis carried it to the Parliament of Paris.

The king having the two instruments, the one abrogating the pragmatic sanction, and the other establishing the concordat, sent in great pomp to him, in order to their being registered in parliament, resolved only to offer the latter as that in which the other was virtually comprehended. So he went in person to the court of parliament, to which many great men, divines, and other persons of distinction, were called. The chancellor set forth the hatred pope Julius bore king Louis XII., and the violence with which he had proceeded against him: the king succeeding when the council of the Lateran was assembled, which was composed chiefly of members of the court, or of dependers on the court of Rome; who were all engaged against the pragmatic sanction as that which diminished their profits: the king saw it was in vain to insist in defending it: but apprehending, if it were simply condemned, all the old oppressions would again take place, he being then engaged in a most dangerous war in Italy, saw no better way to gain the pope than by agreeing to the concordat.

It was there opposed by the Ecclesiastics of that Court.

The ecclesiastics who were present said, by their mouth, the cardinal of Boisi, that the concordat did so affect the whole Gallican church, that, without a general consent, it could not be approved. The king upon this said, with some indignation, that he would command them either to approve it, or he would send them to Rome to dispute the matter there with the pope. The president answered, in the name of the court, that he would report the king's pleasure to the court; and they would so proceed in that matter as to please both God and the king. The chancellor replied, the court were wise. The king said, he did enjoin them to obey without delay. Then letters-patents were made out, setting forth the concordat, and requiring the court of parliament and all other judges to observe it, and to see it fully executed.

Opposition made to it by the King's learned Council.

Some days after that, the chancellor, with some of the officers of the crown, came and brought the whole courts together, and delivered them the king's letters-patents, requiring them to register the concordat. They upon that appointed the king's council to examine the matters in it. The advocate-general did, in the chancellor's presence, represent the inconvenience of receiving the concordats, by which the liberties of the Gallican church were lessened; and said, that, by the paying of annates, much money would be carried out of the kingdom. So he desired they would appoint a committee to examine it. Four were named; who, after they had sate about it ten days, desired more might be added to them: so the president of the enquets, or inquisitions, and four more, were joined to them. A week after that, the advocate-general moved the court to proceed still to judge according to the pragmatic, and not to receive the revocation of it; against which he put in an appeal. Four days after this, the bastard of Savoy, the king's natural uncle, came into the court with orders from the king, requiring them to proceed immediately to the publishing the concordats; appointing him to hear all their



debates, that he might report all to the king. He told them how much the king was offended with their delays. They, on the other hand, complained of his being present to hear them deliver their opinions. They sent some of their number to lay this before the king; it looked like a design to frighten them, when one not of their body was to hear all that passed among them. The king said there were some worthy men among them; but others, like fools, complained of him, and of the expense of his court: he was a king, and had as much authority as his predecessors. They had flattered Louis XII., and called him the Father of Justice: he would also have justice done with all vigour. In Louis's time some were banished the kingdom because they did not obey him; so, if they did not obey him, he would send some of them to Bordeaux, and others to Toulouse, and put good men in their places; and told them he would have his uncle present during their deliberation. So they were forced to submit to it.

On the 13th of June they began to deliver their opinions; and that lasted till the 24th of July: and then they concluded that the court could not, and ought not to register the concordats, but that they would still observe the pragmatic sanction; and that the university of Paris, and all others that desired to be heard, ought to be heard. Therefore they said they must appeal from the abrogation of the pragmatic sanction; and if the king would insist to have the concordat observed, a great assembly ought to be summoned, such as Charles VII. had called to settle the pragmatic. They also charged the Savoyard to make a true report to the king of their proceedings.

1517. They resolve not to publish it.

Upon this the king wrote to them, to send some of their body to give him an account of the grounds they went on. Two were sent; but it was long before they were admitted to his presence, the king saying he would delay their despatch as they had delayed his business. When they were admitted, they were ordered to put what they had to offer in writing: this they did, but desired to be likewise heard; but being asked if they had anything to offer that was not in their paper, they said they had not, but desired the king would hear their paper read to him: the king refused it. They were a body of one hundred persons, and had been preparing their paper above seven months; but the chancellor would answer it in less time; and the king would not suffer them to have a verbal process against what he had done. He told them there was but one king in France; he had done the best he could to bring all to a quiet state, and would not suffer that which he had done in Italy to be undone in France; nor would he suffer them to assume an authority like that of the senate of Venice. It was their business to do justice, but not to put the kingdom in a flame, as they had attempted to do in his predecessor's time. He concluded, he would have them approve the concordats; and if they gave him more trouble, he would make them ambulatory, and to follow his court: nor would he suffer any more ecclesiastics to be of their body. They were not entirely his subjects, since he had no authority to cut off their heads: they ought to say their breviary, and not to meddle in his affairs.

The King was highly offended at this.

They answered him, that these things were contrary to the constitution of their court. He said he was sorry his ancestors had so constituted it; but he was king as well as they were, and he would settle them on another foot: so he bid them be gone early the next morning. They begged a short delay, for the ways were bad; but the great-master told them, from the king, that if they were not gone by such an hour he would put them in prison, and keep them in it six months; and then he would see who would move to set them at liberty. So they went to Paris. The duke of Tremouille was sent after them to the parliament, to let them know that the king would have the concordats to be immediately published without any further deliberation: they must obey the king as became subjects; he told them the king had repeated that ten times to him in the space of a quarter of an hour; and concluded, that if they delayed any longer to obey the king, the king would make all the court feel the effects of his displeasure.

The King's learned Council oppose it no longer.

The court called for the king's learned council, but they said they had received positive orders from the king by Tremouille, to consent to the concordats; otherwise the king would treat them so, that they should feel it sensibly. The advocate-general said he was sorry for the methods the king took; but he wished they would consider what might follow, if they continued to deny what was so earnestly

pressed on them: the publishing this could be of no force, since the church, that was so much concerned in it, was neither called for nor heard; the thing might be afterwards set right, for Lewis the Eleventh saw his error, and changed his mind. He offered two things to soften that which was required of them: one was to insert in the register, that it was done in obedience to the king's commands often repeated; the other was, that they should declare that they did not approve the abrogation of the pragmatic sanction, but were then only to publish the concordats; and that they might resolve in all their judiciary proceedings to have no regard to that, and in particular to that clause, that all bulls were void if the true value of the benefice was not expressed in them. On the 18th of

1518. March they came to this resolution, that their decree of the 24th of July, for observing the pragmatic, was by them fully confirmed; but in obedience to the king's commands, they published the concordats, adding a protestation, that the court did not approve it, but intended in all their sentences to judge according to the pragmatic sanction.

The court made these protestations in the hands of the bishop of Langres, a duke and peer of France, setting forth that their liberty was taken from them; that the publication of the concordats was not done by their order, but against their mind, by the king's express order; and that they did not intend to approve it, nor to be governed by it in their judgments, but to observe the pragmatic sanction. They ordered likewise an appeal to be made from the pope to the pope better advised, and to the next general council: upon all which the bishop of Langres made an authentic instrument; so it was resolved to proceed to publication on the 22nd of March: but on the 21st, the rector of the university of Paris, accompanied by some of that body, and by some advocates, appeared, desiring to be heard before they should proceed to such publication. The court received his petition, and promised to consider it; but said, if they made the publication, it should not prejudice any of their rights, for they were resolved to judge as formerly, notwithstanding that; yet they required him not to publish this. The dean of Nostredame came on the 22nd to the court, and said they heard they were going to publish the concordats, which both implied their condemning the councils of Constance and Basil, and tended to the destruction of the liberties of the Gallican church, which the popes had always envied them. He desired they would not proceed to it until the whole Gallican church was consulted in the matter; and protested that what they were about to do, should not be to the prejudice of the church. After this was received, they proceeded to the publication, as they had promised, adding these words to it: "Read, published, and registered by the order and command of the king, often repeated to us in the presence of the lord of Tremouille his first chamberlain, specially sent to have it done." And on the 24th of March they renewed their protestation, that they did not approve of it; that they insisted in their former appeals, and were resolved to proceed in all their judgments without regard to it.

The Parliament publishes it, but with a Protestation.

On the 27th of March, the rector of the university ordered a mandate to be affixed, prohibiting their printers to print the concordats: he likewise appealed from the pope to a general council, lawfully assembled, sitting in a safe place, and in full freedom. This was printed and affixed; and great reflections were made by some preachers in their sermons, both on the king and on the chancellor. The king being informed of this, wrote to the first president, complaining both of the rector and of the preachers: he ordered them to take informations of all those matters, and to get the concordats to be printed as soon as was possible, and to punish the authors of sedition. But the court said they knew nothing tending that way, for their business took them up so entirely that they could not attend on sermons. The king complained likewise severely of the appeal they had made; he was monarch, and had no superior to whom an appeal could lie: he also sent an order to inhibit all meetings in the university.

The University and Clergy oppose it.

In the concordat it was provided, that if it was not published within six months in France, it should be null and void: but the delays that had been made put the king on getting that term prolonged a year longer. "The three chief exceptions that the parliament had to the concordats were, first, the declaring bulls void if the true value of the benefices was not set forth in them; which might put the obtainers of them to great charge and many suits: the second was the

The Exceptions to the Concordat by the Parliament.



carrying the 'greater causes' to be judged at Rome: the third was concerning elections. The first of these was given up, and was no further urged by the court of Rome: but it was not settled what those 'greater causes' were. By the pragmatic they were restrained to bishoprics and monasteries; but the concordats held the matter in general words: so the number of these causes was indefinite; and on all occasions it would increase as the canonists pleased. They condemned that device of the court of Rome, of granting provisions for all that was held by any who died in the court, considering the great extent to which that had been carried: they also found that by the concordats, all nunneries were left to the pope's provision; and likewise all inferior dignities, such as deaneries and provostships. All churches that had special privileges were exempted from the king's nomination; and at Rome, exceptions might be unjustly made to the persons named by the king: but above all, they stood on this, that the right of electing was founded on the law of God, and on natural right; that this was established by the authority of general councils, by the civil law, and by many royal edicts, during all the three races of their kings: this right was now taken away without hearing the parties concerned to set it forth. If there had crept in abuses in elections, these might be corrected: but they thought the king usurped that which did not belong to him, on this pretence, that the pope granted it to him; which was contrary both to the doctrine and practice of the Gallican church. They found many lesser exceptions in point of form to the method of abrogating the pragmatic sanction: one was, that the council of the Lateran did forbid all persons that held lands of the church to observe or maintain that sanction, under the pain of forfeiting those lands; which was a plain invasion of the king's prerogative, who is supreme lord of all those lands within his dominions: the pope also took upon him to annul that sanction, that then subsisted by the royal authority: this might be made a precedent in time to come for annulling any of their laws. They likewise thought the taking away the pragmatic sanction, which was made upon the authority of the councils of Constance and Basil, and had declared the subjection of the pope to the council, did set aside that doctrine, and set up the pope's authority above the council; though the pragmatic was made while the pope was reconciled to the council: and the breach upon which Eugenius was deposed happened not till almost a year after that; it being published in July 1438, and his deposition was not till June 1439: besides, that ten years after that pope Nicolaus the Fifth confirmed all the decrees made at Basil. They likewise put the king in mind of the oath he took at his coronation, to maintain all the rights and liberties of the Gallican church. So they moved the king either to prevail with the pope to call a general council, or that he would call a national one in France, to judge of the whole matter: and as for the threatenings given out, that the pope would depose the king, and give away his kingdom, if he did not submit to him; they said the king held his crown of God, and all such threatenings ought to be rejected with scorn and indignation.

To all these, the chancellor made a long and flattering answer; for which he had the usual reward of a cardinal's cap. He set forth the danger the king was in, being engaged in the war of Italy; the pope threatening him with censures: for the pragmatic sanction was then condemned by the pope, and that censure was ratified by the council in the Lateran; upon which he would have reassumed all the old oppressions, if the king had not entered into that treaty; yielding some points to save the rest. He said the kings of the first race nominated to bishoprics; for which he cited precedents from Gregory of Tours. So the kings of England did name, and the popes upon that gave provisions: the kings of Scotland did also name, but not by virtue of a right, but rather by connivance. He said elections had gone through various forms; sometimes popes did elect, sometimes princes with the people, sometimes princes took it into their own hands, sometimes the whole clergy without the people, and of late the canons chose without the concurrence of the clergy. That the king being in these difficulties, all those about him, and all those in France who were advised with in the matter, thought the accepting the concordats was just and necessary. Pope Leo repented that he had granted so much, and it was not without great difficulty that he brought the cardinals to consent to it: he went very copiously as a canonist through the other heads, softening some abuses, and showing that others had a long practice for them, and were observed in other kingdoms.

These were answered by the Chancellor.

And thus was this matter carried in the parliament of Paris, in which as the court showed great integrity and much courage, which deserve the highest characters, with which such noble patriots ought to be honoured; so, in this instance, we see how feeble the resistance even of the worthiest judges will prove to a prince, who has possessed himself of the whole legislative authority, when he intends to break through established laws and constitutions, and to sacrifice the rights of his crown, and the interest of his people, to serve particular ends of his own. In such cases the generous integrity of judges, or other ministers, will be resented as an attempt on the sovereign authority: and such is the nature of arbitrary power, that the most modest defence of law and justice, when it crosses the designs of an insolent and corrupt minister, and an abused prince, will pass for disobedience and sedition.

The Matter finally settled.

If the assembly of the states in France had maintained their share of the legislative power, and had not suffered the right they once had to be taken from them, of being liable to no taxes but by their own consent, these judges would have been better supported; and the opposition they made upon this occasion would have drawn after it all the most signal expressions of honour and esteem that a nation owes to the trustees of their laws and liberties, when they maintain them resolutely, and dispense them equally; and the corrupt chancellor would have received such punishment as all wicked ministers deserve, who for their own ends betray the interest of their country.

The court of parliament showed great firmness after this: and it appeared that the protestation that they made of judging still according to the pragmatic was not only a piece of form to save their credit. The archbishop of Sens died soon after; and the king sent to inhibit the chapter to proceed to an election. It was understood that he designed to give it to the bishop of Paris; so the chapter wrote to that bishop not to give such a wound to their liberties as to take it upon the king's nomination: but seeing that he had no regard to that, they elected him, that so they might by this seem to keep up their claim. The bishop of Alby died soon after that; the king named one, and the chapter chose another: upon that, Alby being within the jurisdiction of Toulouse, the court of parliament there judged in favour of him who was elected by the chapter against him who had obtained bulls upon the king's nomination; at which the king was highly offended. The archbishopric of Bourges falling void soon after, the king nominated one, and the chapter elected another. The chapter pretended a special privilege to elect, so the pope judged in their favour. Some years after this, the king carried on his wars in Italy, leaving his mother regent of France: so the court of parliament made a remonstrance to her, setting forth the invasions that had been made upon the rights of the Gallican church; desiring her to interpose, that the pragmatic sanction and the liberty of elections might again have their full force; but that had no effect.

The Parliament still judged by the Pragmatic Sanction.

1524.

Soon after this, the king was taken prisoner by the army of Charles V. at the battle of Pavia: and upon that, his mother declared that she looked on her son's misfortunes as a judgment of God upon him for his abolishing the pragmatic sanction; and though she would not take it upon her to make any alteration during her son's absence, yet she promised, that when he should be set at liberty, she would use her utmost endeavours with him to set it up again, and to abolish the concordats. This was registered in the records of the court of parliament; yet it had no effect upon the king's return out of Spain. He finding the parliament resolved to maintain all elections, ordered that matter to be taken wholly out of their cognizance; and he removed all suits of that sort from the courts of parliament to the great council, upon some disputes that were then on foot concerning a bishopric and an abbey given to chancellor Prat, then made a cardinal, in recompense of the service he had done the court of Rome: so by that an end was put to all disputes.

Upon the King's being a Prisoner, the Concordat was more condemned.

1527.

The parliament struggled hard against this diminution of their jurisdiction: they wrote to the dukes and peers of France to move the regent not to proceed thus to lessen their authority. On the other hand, she said, they were taking all things into their own hands in prejudice of the king's prerogative. But the king confirmed that, and settled the chancellor in the possession of the see and abbey; and the proceedings of the parliament against him were annulled, and ordered to be struck out

These Matters removed from the Parliament to the Great Council.



of their registers: and it appearing that some chapters and abbeys had special privileges for free elections, the king obtained a bull from Clement VII., suspending all those during the king's life. The court of Rome stood long upon this, and thought to have gained new advantages before it should be granted; but the pope was at that time in a secret treaty with the court of France, which was afterwards accomplished at Marseilles. So he was easier in this matter; and the bull was registered in parliament in May thereafter. And upon this, the chancellor, pretending that he would see and examine those privileges, called for them all; and when they were brought to him, he threw them all into the fire.

1532.

But to lay all that I have found of this matter together: the clergy of France, in a remonstrance that they made to king Henry III., affirmed, that Francis at his death declared to his son that nothing troubled his conscience more than his taking away canonical elections, and his assuming to himself the nomination to bishoprics. If this was true, his son had no regard to it, but went on as his father had done. Upon his death, when the cardinal of Lorraine pressed the parliament to proceed in the vigorous prosecution of heresy, they remonstrated that the growth of heresy flowed chiefly from the scandals that were given by bad clergymen and ill bishops; and that the ill choice that had been made by the court, since the concordats were set up, gave more occasion to the progress that heresy made than any other thing whatsoever. The courts were so monstrously corrupt during that and the two former reigns, that no other could be expected from them.

Remonstrances made by the Clergy against this.

1585.

1560.

An assembly of the estates was called in the beginning of Charles IX.'s reign. In it the first estate prayed, that the pragmatic sanction might again take place, particularly in the point of elections. They backed this with great authorities of councils, ancient and modern: with them the two other estates agreed. The court tried to shift this off, promising to send one to Rome to treat about it; but that did not satisfy. So a decree was drawn up to this effect: that an archbishop should be chosen by the bishops of his province, by the chapter of his cathedral, and twelve persons of the chief of the laity; and a bishop by the metropolitan and the chapter. The court of parliament opposed this: they thought the laity ought to have no share in elections; so they pressed the restoring the pragmatic sanction without any alteration. Yet, in conclusion, the decree was thus amended: an archbishop was to be chosen by the bishops of the province and the chapter of the see; but a bishop was to be chosen by the archbishop, with the bishops of the province and the chapter, and by twenty-four of the laity to be thus nominated:—all the gentry were to be summoned to meet, and to choose twelve to represent them at the election; and the city was to choose other twelve. All these were to make a list of three persons to be offered to the king; and the man named by the king was to have the see. Thus they designed to bring this matter into a form as near the customs mentioned in the Roman law as they could; but this design vanished, and was never put in practice.

The clergy still called for restoring the elections: president Ferrier was sent to Rome to obtain it. He in a long speech showed, that neither the Gallican church nor the courts of parliament had ever received the concordat; that shadow of approbation given to it by the parliament of Paris being extorted from them by force; and he laid out all the inconveniences that had happened since the concordats were set up. But that court felt the advantages they had by them too sensibly, to be ever prevailed with to give them up: and thus that great affair was settled, in the view of this church and nation, at the time that king Henry broke off all correspondence with it. It may be very reasonably presumed that inferences were made from this to let all people see what merchandise the court of Rome made of the most sacred rights of the church when they had their own profits secured; and therefore the wise men in this church at that time might justly conclude that their liberties were safer, while they remained an entire body within themselves, under a legal constitution; by which, if princes carried their authority too far, some check might be given to it by those from whom the public aids were to be obtained for supporting the government than while all was believed to belong to the popes, who would at any time make a bargain, and divide the spoils of the church with crowned heads, taking to themselves the gainful part, and leaving the rest in the hands of princes.

An Apology, with the Reasons for this Digression.

I hope, though this relation does not belong properly to the history of the Reformation, yet, since it is highly probable it had a great influence on people's minds, this digression will be easily forgiven me. And now I turn to such of our affairs as fall within this period.

The first thing that occurred to me in order of time was a letter of queen Katharine's to king Henry, who, upon his crossing the sea, left the regency of the kingdom in her hands: the commission bears date the 11th of June, 1513. King James IV. of Scotland having invaded England with a great army, was defeated and killed by the earl of Surrey. The earl gave the queen the news in a letter to her, with one to the king: this she sent him, with a letter of her own, which being the only one of hers to the king that I ever saw, I have inserted it in my Collection. The familiarities of calling him, in one place, "my husband," and in another, "my Henry," are not unpleasant. She sent with it a piece of the king of Scots' coat to be a banner. She was then going to visit, as she calls it, Our Lady of Walsingham.

Sept. 16, 1513. Col. Num. 2. Queen Katharine's Letter to King Henry upon the Death of the King of Scotland.

I will next open an account of the progress of cardinal Wolsey's fortunes, and the ascendant he had over the king. The first step he made into the church was to be rector of Lymington, in the diocese of Bath and Wells; then, on the 30th of July, 1508, he had a papal dispensation to hold the vicarage of Lyde, in the diocese of Canterbury, with his rectory. There is a grant to him as almoner, on the 8th of November, 1509. The next preferment he had was to be a prebendary of Windsor: he was next advanced to be dean of Lincoln. A year after that, pope Leo having reserved the disposing the see of Lincoln to himself, gave it to Wolsey, designed in the bulls dean of St. Stephen's, Westminster: but no mention is made of the king's nomination. This is owned by the king in the writ for the restitution of the temporalities. On the 14th of July, that year, cardinal de Medici, afterwards pope Clement VII., wrote to king Henry, that, upon the death of cardinal Bembridge, he had prayed the pope not to dispose of his benefices till he knew the king's mind, which the pope, out of his affection to the king, granted very readily. Perhaps the king did recommend Wolsey, but no mention is made of that in his bulls. The king granted the restitution of the temporalities of York before his instalment; for in the writ he is only called the elect archbishop; and it is not expressed that he had the king's nomination. He had Tournay *in commendam*, but resigned it into the hands of Francis, who for that gave him a pension of 12,000 livres during life. At the same time, prince Charles, afterwards Charles V., gave him a pension of 3000*l*. It seems he afterwards desired to have it better secured: so in the end of that year prince Charles lodged a pension of 5000 ducats to him on the bishopric of Pace in Castile. Above a year after that, pope Leo gave him a pension of 2000 ducats out of Palencia, instead of that which was charged on the bishopric of Pace. Besides all this, when Charles V. was in London, he gave him another pension of 9000 crowns, dated the 8th of June, 1522. It seems he had other pensions from France; for five years after this, there was an arrear stated there as due to him of 121,898 crowns. He had also pensions from other princes of a lower order. The duke of Milan's secretary did, by his master's express order, engage in the year 1515 to pay Wolsey 10,000 ducats a-year, he on his part engaging that there should be a perpetual friendship settled between the kings of England and France with that duke.

The Progress of Wolsey's Rise.
July 14, 1514.
Rymer, tom. 13.
August 5.
July 31, 1518.
Dec. 16, 1518.
March 29, 1520.
Nov. 18, 1525.
Rymer, vol. xii.

The French king being a prisoner, his favour was necessary in that distress; so the regent engaged to pay it in seven years' time. But whatever may be in Wolsey's provisions, when the bishopric of Salisbury was given to cardinal Campegio by a bull, mention is expressly made in it of the king's letters interceding humbly for him.

Dec. 2, 1524.

When king Henry wrote this book of the Seven Sacraments, it seems it was at first designed to send it over in manuscript; for Wolsey sent one to the king finely dressed, that was to be presented to the pope: and he writes that he was to send him more, which were to be sent about with the pope's bulls to all princes and universities. One in particular, as he writes, was far more excellent and princely. He also sent with it the choice of certain verses, to be written in the king's own

King Henry's Book of the Seven Sacraments. Col. Num. 3.



hand in the book that was to be sent to the pope, and subscribed by him, to be laid up in the archives of the church, to his immortal glory and memory. The matter was so laid, that the book was presented to the pope on the 10th of October; and the very day after, the bull giving him the title of *Defender of the Faith* bears date. And in a private letter that pope Leo wrote to him, he runs out into copious strains of flattery, affirming, "that it appeared that the Holy Ghost assisted him in writing it."

1521. Ut Spiritum affuisse Sanctum apparcat.

The king was so pleased with the title that Wolsey directed his letters to him with it on the back, as appears in a letter of his that sets forth the low state of the affairs of Spain in Italy. It appears it was written (for the year is not added in the date) after that Luther wrote his answer to the king's book; at least, after letters came from him on the subject; the original of which he desires might be sent him that he might send it to the pope: and he intended to send copies, both of those and of the king's answers, to the cardinal of Mentz and to George duke of Saxony.

Col. Num. 4.

After the king's interviews, both with the emperor and the king of France, were over, new quarrels broke out, by which the emperor and Francis engaged in hostilities; but king Henry, pretending to be the umpire of their differences, sent Wolsey over to compose them. He came to Calais in the beginning of August. From Dover he wrote to the king, and sent two letters to him, which the king was to write in his own hand to the emperor and to the lady regent of Flanders, which he desired the king would send to him; for he would move slowly towards him. Thus he took the whole ministry into his own hands, and prepared even the king's secret letters for him. He was with the emperor thirteen days, who gave him a singular reception; for he came a mile out of town to meet him. The town is not named, but it was Bruges; for in one of Erasmus's letters he mentions his meeting Wolsey in that town, he being then with the emperor. The cardinal returned by the way of Gravelines; and from thence, beside the public letter, in which he gave the king an account of his negotiation, he wrote a private one to him, with this direction on it, "To the king's grace's own hands only." It seems he had no private conversation with the emperor formerly; for in this he observes, that "for his age he was very wise, and understood his affairs well: he was cold and temperate in speech, but spoke to very good purpose: he reckoned that he would prove a very wise man: he thought he was much inclined to truth, and to the keeping of his promises: he seemed to be inseparably joined to the king; and was resolved to follow his advice in all his affairs, and to trust the cardinal entirely. He twice or thrice, in secret, promised to him, by his faith and truth, to abide by this; he promised it also to all the rest of the privy council that were with the cardinal, in such a manner, that they all believed it came from his heart, without artifice or dissimulation." So Wolsey wrote to the king, "that he had reason to bless God that he was not only the ruler of his own realm, but that now, by his wisdom, Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries should be ruled and governed." Whether the emperor did by his prudent and modest behaviour really impose upon Wolsey, or whether by other secret practices he had so gained him as to oblige him to persuade the king to such a confidence in him, I leave it to the reader to judge.

Wolsey sent to Charles V. gained by him. 1521. Col. Num. 5. Col. Num. 6.

It passes generally among all the writers of that age, that he aspired to the popedom, and that the emperor then promised him his assistance; in which he failing to him afterwards, Wolsey carried his revenges so far, that all the change of councils, and even the suit of the divorce, is in a great measure ascribed to it. I went into the stream in my History, and seemed persuaded of it; yet some original letters of Wolsey's, communicated to me by sir William Cook of Norfolk, which I go next to open, make this very doubtful. The first was upon the news of pope Adrian's death; upon which he immediately wrote to the king, "that his absence from Rome was the only obstacle of his advancement to that dignity: there were great factions then at Rome: he protests before God that he thought himself unfit for it, and that he desired much rather to end his days with the king; yet remembering that, at the last vacation (nine months before), the king was for his being preferred to it, thinking it would be for his service, and

Wolsey practises to be chosen Pope. Col. Num. 7. Sept. 30. Sept. 14.

supposing that he was still of the same mind, he would prepare such instructions as had been before sent to Pace, dean of St. Paul's, then ambassador at Rome, and send them to him by the next." With this he also sent him the letters that he had from Rome. The next day he sent the letters and instructions, directed to the king's ambassadors, who were the bishop of Bath, Pace, and Haniball, for procuring his preferment; or, that failing, for cardinal de' Medici. These he desired the king to sign and despatch: and that the emperor might more effectually concur, though pursuant to the conference he had with the king on that behalf he verily supposed he had not failed to advance it, he drew a private letter for the king to write with his own hand to the emperor, putting to it the secret sign and mark that was between them.

Col. Num. 8. October 1.

The despatch that, upon this, he sent to the king's ambassador at Rome, fell into my hands when I was laying out for materials for my second Part; but though it belonged in the order of time to the first, I thought it would be acceptable to the reader to see it, though not in its proper place. In it, after some very respectful words of pope Adrian, which, whether he wrote out of decency only, or that he thought so of him, I cannot determine, he tells them, that "before the vacancy both the emperor and the king had great conferences for his advancement, though the emperor's absence makes that he cannot now join with them; yet the regent of the Netherlands, who knows his mind, has expressed an earnest and hearty concurrence for it: and by the letters of the cardinals de' Medici, Sanctorum Quatuor, and Campegio, he saw their affections. He was chiefly determined by the king's earnestness about it, though he could willingly have lived still where he was; his years increasing, and he knew himself unworthy of so high a dignity. Yet his zeal for the exaltation of the Christian faith, and for the honour and safety of the king and the emperor, made him refer himself to the pleasure of God. And in the king's name he sends them double letters: the first to the cardinal de' Medicis, offering the king's assistance to him; and if it was probable he would carry it, they were to use no other powers: but if he thought he could not carry it, then they were to propose himself to him, and to assure him, if he was chosen, the other should be as it were pope. They were to let the other cardinals know what his temper was; 'not austere, but free. He had great things to give that would be void upon his promotion; he had no friends nor relations to raise; and he knew perfectly well the great princes of Christendom, and all their interests and secrets. He promises he will be at Rome within three months if they choose him; and the king seems resolved to go thither with him. He did not doubt but, according to the many promises and exhortations of the emperor to him, that his party will join with them.

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Wolsey's Designs to be chosen Pope.

"The king also ordered them to promise large rewards and promotions, and great sums of money to the cardinals; and though they saw the cardinal de' Medici full of hope, yet they were not to give over their labour for him if they saw any hope of success: but they were to manage that so secretly that the other may have no suspicion of it." This was dated at Hampton-Court, the 4th of October.

To this a postscript was added in the cardinal's own hand to the bishop of Bath. He tells him "what a great opinion the king had of his policy; and he orders him to spare no reasonable offers, which perhaps might be more regarded than the qualities of the person. The king believed all the imperialists would be with him if there was faith in the emperor. He believed the young men, who for most part were necessitous, would give good ear to fair offers, which shall undoubtedly be performed. 'The king willeth you neither to spare his authority, nor his good money or substance:' so he concludes, praying God to send him good speed." But all this fine train of simony came too late; for it found a pope already chosen.

His next letter upon that subject tells the king, "that after great heat in the conclave the French party was quite abandoned; and the cardinals were fully resolved to choose cardinal de' Medici or himself. That this coming to the knowledge of the city of Rome, they came to the conclave windows and cried out what danger it would be to choose a person that was absent; so that the cardinals were in such fear, that though they were principally bent on him, yet, to avoid this danger, they, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, (so he writes,) did, on the 19th of November, choose cardinal de' Medici, who took the name of Clement VII.; of which good and fortunate news the king had great cause to thank Almighty God, since, as he was his faithful friend, so by his means he had attained that dignity; and that, for his own part, he took God to record, that he was much gladder than if it had fallen on his own person." In these letters there is no reflection on the emperor as having failed in his promise at the former election; nor is that election any way imputed to him, but laid on a casualty ordinary enough in conclaves; and more natural in that time, because pope Adrian's severe way had so disgusted the Romans, that no wonder if they broke out into disorders upon the apprehension of another foreigner being like to succeed. If it is suspected, that though Wolsey knew this was a practice of the emperor's, he might disguise it thus from the king, that so he might be less suspected in the revenge that he was meditating, the thing must be left as I find it; only, though the emperor afterwards charged Wolsey as acting upon private revenge for missing the popedom, yet he never pretended that he had moved himself in it, or had studied to obtain a promise from him, which would have put that general charge of his aspiring, and of his revenging himself for the disappointment, more heavily on him.

Col. Num. 9. December 17.



The king and the cardinal continued in a good correspondence both with that pope and the emperor till the battle of Pavia, that Francis's misfortune changed the face of affairs, and obliged the king, according to his constant and true maxim, to support the weaker side, and to balance the emperor's growing power, that by that accident was like to become quickly superior to all Christendom. It has been suggested that the emperor wrote before to Wolsey in terms of respect, scarce suitable to his dignity, but that he afterwards changed both his style and subscription: but I have seen many of his letters, to which the subscription is either your "good" or your "best friend;" and he still continued that way of writing. His letters are hardly legible, so that I could never read one complete period in any of them, otherwise I would have put them in my Collection.

The King of France taken Prisoner.

But having looked thus far into Wolsey's correspondence with the king, I shall now set him in another light from a very good author the lord Burghley, who in that memorial prepared for queen Elizabeth against favourites probably intended to give some stop to the favour she bore the earl of Leicester, has set out the greatness of Wolsey's power, and the ill use he made of it. "He had a family equal to the court of a great prince. There was in it one earl and nine barons, and about a thousand knights, gentlemen, and inferior officers. Besides the vast expense of such a household, he gave great pensions to those in the court and conclave of Rome; by whose services he hoped to be advanced to the papacy. He lent great sums to the emperor, whose poverty was so well known, that he could have no prospect of having them repaid (probably this is meant of Maximilian). Those constant expenses put him on extraordinary ways of providing a fund for their continuance. He granted commissions under the great seal to oblige every man upon oath to give in the true value of his estate; and that those who had fifty pounds or upwards should pay four shillings in the pound. This was so heavy, that though it had been imposed by authority of parliament, it would have been thought an oppression of the subject: but he adds, that to have this done by the private authority of a subject, was what wants a name. When this was represented to the king, he disowned it, and said, no necessities of his should be ever so great as to make him attempt the raising money any other way but by the people's consent in parliament. Thus his illegal project was defeated; so he betook himself to another not so odious, by the way of benevolence: and to carry that through, he sent for the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and said to them, that he had prevailed with the king to recall his commissions for that heavy tax, and to throw himself on their free gifts. But in this he was likewise disappointed; for the statute of Richard the Third was pleaded against all benevolences: the people obstinately refused to pay it; and though the demanding it was for some time insisted on, yet the opposition made to it, being like to end in a civil war, it was let fall." All this I drew from that memorial. I found also a commission to the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Calham, and others, setting forth the great wars

Lord Burghleigh's Character of Wolsey.

Cotton Libr.

that the king had in France, in which the duke of Bourbon, called one of the greatest princes in France, was now the king's servant: they are by it required to practise with all in Kent, whose goods amounted to four pounds or above, and whose names were given to a schedule, to anticipate the subsidy granted in parliament. This is all that has occurred to me with relation to Wolsey's ministry. I will in the next place set out what he attempted or did in ecclesiastical matters, with the proceedings in convocation during this period. When king Henry called his first parliament by a writ tested October 17, 1509, to meet at Westminster the 21st of January following, he did not intend to demand a supply; so there appears no writ for a convocation: but the archbishop of Canterbury summoned one, as it seems by his own authority; yet none sate then at York. The house of lords was sometimes adjourned by the lord treasurer; because the chancellor (Warham) and the other spiritual lords were absent, and engaged in convocation: but it does not appear what was done by them.

Wolsey's Proceedings as Legate.

In the year 1511, on the 28th of November, a writ was sent to Warham to summon a convocation, which met the 6th of February: they had several sessions, and gave a subsidy of 24,000*l.* but did nothing besides with relation to matters of religion. There was some heat among them on the account of some grievances and excesses in the archbishops' courts. A committee was appointed of six persons, the bishops of Norwich and Rochester, the prior of Canterbury, the dean of St. Paul's, and an archdeacon, but without addition of his place; these were to examine the encroachments made by the archbishops' courts, and the inhibitions sent to the inferior courts; but especially as to the probates of wills, and the granting administrations to intestate goods, when there was any to the value of five pounds in several dioceses; an estimate first settled by Warham, for which he had officials and apparitors in every diocese, three or four in some, and five or six in others, which was looked on by them as contrary to law. Cardinal Morton is said to be the first who set up this pretence of prerogative: against these the bishops alleged the constitutions of Ottobonus and of archbishop Stratford: it is also set forth, that when Warham was an advocate, he was employed by Hill, bishop of London, in whose name he appeared against them, and appealed to P. Alexander against these invasions made by the archbishop on the rights of his see. And when Warham was promoted to the see of London, he maintained his claim against them, and opposed them more than any other bishop of the province, and sent his chancellor to Rome to find relief against them. But when he was advanced to be archbishop, he not only maintained those practices, but carried them further than his predecessor had done. All this, with thirteen other articles of grievances, were drawn up at large in the state of the case between the archbishop and the bishops, and proposals were made of an accommodation between them about the year 1514; but the event showed that this opposition came to nothing. This must be acknowledged to be none of the best parts of Warham's character. In the year 1514, they were again summoned by writ; they met and gave subsidies, but they were not to be levied till the terms of paying the subsidies formerly granted were out. In the year 1518, Warham summoned a convocation to meet at Lambeth to reform some abuses; and in the summons he affirmed that he had obtained the king's consent so to do.

His Insolence to Warham.

Reg. Heref. Booth, fol. 37.

At this Wolsey was highly offended, and wrote him a very haughty letter: in it he said, "It belonged to him, as legate *à latere*, to see to the reformation of abuses: and he was well assured that the king would not have him to be so little esteemed, that he should enterprise such reformation to the derogation of the dignity of the see apostolic, and otherwise than the law will suffer you, without my advice and consent."

Wake's State of the Church, Append. p. 208.

And he in plain words denies that he had any such command of the king, but that the king's order was expressly to the contrary. So he orders him to come to him, to treat of some things concerning his person. This, it seems, Warham was required to send round his suffragan bishops: so he recalled his monitions in expectation of a legatine council: the pestilence was then raging, so this was put off a year longer; and then Wolsey summoned it by a letter, which he transmitted to the bishops: that to the bishop of Hereford is in his register. He desires him to come to a council at

Reg. Heref. Booth, fol. 41.

Westminster for the reforming the clergy, and "for consulting in the most convenient and soundest way, of what we shall think may tend to the increase of the faith." He hoped this letter would be of as much weight with him as monitories in due form would be.



It appears not, by any record I could ever hear of, what was done in the legatine synod thus brought together, except by the register of Hereford, in which we find that the bishop summoned his clergy to meet in a synod at the chapter-house, to consult about certain affairs, and the articles delivered by Wolsey as legate in a council of the provinces of Canterbury and York, to the bishops there assembled, to be published by them. All that is mentioned in this synod is concerning the habits of the clergy, and the lives and manners of those who were to be ordained; which the bishop caused to be explained to them in English, and ordered them to be observed by the clergy: and these being published, they proceeded to some heads relating to those articles; and he gave copies of all that passed in every one of them.

A Legatine Synod.

May 4, 1519.

The next step he made was of a singular nature. When the king summoned the parliament in the fourteenth year of his reign, Warham had a writ to summon a convocation of his province, which did meet five days after, on the 20th of April. The cardinal summoned his convocation to meet at York, almost a month before, on the 22nd of March; but they were immediately prorogued to meet at Westminster the 22nd of April. The convocation of Canterbury was opened at St. Paul's: but a monition came from Wolsey to Warham, to appear before him with his clergy at Westminster on the 22nd, and thus both convocations were brought together: it seems he intended that the legatine synod thus irregularly brought together should give the king supplies; but the clergy of the province of Canterbury said their powers were only directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, and these would not warrant them to act in any other manner than in the provincial way: so the convocation of Canterbury returned back to St. Paul's, and sate there till August, and gave the supply apart, as did also that of York. But Wolsey finding those of Canterbury could not act under him by the powers that they had brought up with them, issued out, on the 2nd of May, monitory letters to the bishops of that province to meet at Westminster the 8th of June, to deliberate "of the reformation of the clergy, both of seculars and regulars, and of other matters relating to it." In this he mentions Warham's summoning a convocation, which he had brought before him; but upon some doubts arising, because the proctors of the clergy had no sufficient authority to meet in the legatine synod, he therefore summoned them to meet with him, and to bring sufficient powers to that effect by the 2nd of June: but it does not appear that any assembly of the clergy followed pursuant to this; so it seems it was let fall. This is the true account of that matter. I gave it indeed differently before, implicitly following some writers that lived in that time; more particularly that account given of it by either archbishop Parker or Josceline, a book of such credit, that the following it deserved no hard censure. The grant of the subsidy is, indeed, in the name of the province of Canterbury; but the other relation of that matter being too easily followed by me, it seemed to me that it was a point of form for each province to give their subsidy in an instrument apart, though it was agreed to, they being together in one body. It was indeed an omission not to have explained that; but now, upon better evidence, the whole matter is thus fully opened. I find no other proceedings of Wolsey's as legate on record, save that he took on him, by his legatine authority, to give institutions at pleasure into all benefices in the dioceses of all bishops, without so much as asking the bishops' consent. In the register of London, an institution given by him to South Wickington, on the 10th of December, 1526, is entered, with this addition, that the cardinal had likewise given seven other institutions in that diocese, without asking the consent of the bishop: and on the margin it is added, that the giving and accepting such institutions by the legate's authority, being papal provisions, involved the clergy into the premunire, from which they were obliged to redeem themselves. Wolsey did also publish a bull, condemning all who married in the forbidden degrees: and he sent mandates to the bishops to publish it in their several dioceses: he also published pope Leo's bull against

1523. He called the Convocation of Canterbury to sit with him.

Reg. Hereford, fol. 84.

Antiq. Brit.

Reg. Tonstal, fol. 31.

Fisher's Regist. fol. 127.

Luther, and ordered it to be everywhere published. He also required all persons, under the pain of excommunication, to bring in all Luther's books that were in their hands: he enumerated forty-two of Luther's errors, and required a return of the mandate to be made to him, together with such books as should be brought in upon it by the 1st of August. The date of the mandate is not set down; and this is all that I find in this period relating to Wolsey.

Reg. Hereford, fol. 66.

This last shows the apprehensions they were under of the spreading of Luther's books and doctrine. All people were at this time so sensible of the corruptions that seemed, by common consent, to be, as it were, universally received, that every motion towards a reformation was readily hearkened to everywhere: corruption was the common subject of complaint: and in the commission given to those whom the king sent to represent himself and this church in the council of the Lateran, the "reformation of the head and members" is mentioned as that which was expected from that council.

This was so much at that time in all men's mouths, that one of the best men in that age, Collet, dean of St. Paul's, being to open the convocation with a sermon, made that the subject of it all, and he set forth many of those particulars to which it ought to be applied. It was delivered, as all such sermons are, in Latin, and was soon after translated into English. I intended once to have published it among the papers that I did put in the Collection; but those under whose direction I composed that work thought that since it did not enter into points of doctrine, but only into matters of practice, it did not belong so properly to my design in writing: yet since it has been of late published twice by a person distinguished by his controversial writings on this subject, I will here give a translation of all that he thought fit to publish of it.

Collet's Sermon before a Convocation.

His text was, "Be ye not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed in the renewing of your mind." "He told them he came thither that he might admonish them to apply their thoughts wholly to the reformation of the church. He goes on thus: most of those who are dignitaries carry themselves with a haughty air and manner, so that they seem not to be in the humble spirit of Christ's ministers, but in an exalted state of dominion; not observing what Christ, the pattern of humility, said to his disciples, whom he set over his church, "It shall not be so among you;" by which he taught them, that the government of the church is a ministry, and that primacy in a clergyman is nothing but an humble servitude.

Rights of an English Convocation, in both Editions.

"O Covetousness! from thee come those episcopal, but chargeable visitations, the corruptions of courts, and those new inventions daily set on foot, by which the poor laity are devoured. O Covetousness! the mother of all wickedness; from thee springs the insolence and boldness of officials, and that eagerness of all ordinaries in amplifying their jurisdiction: from thee flows that mad and furious contention about wills and unseasonable sequestrations; and the superstitious observing of those laws that bring gain to them, while those are neglected that relate to the correction of manners.

"The church is disgraced by the secular employments in which many priests and bishops involve themselves: they are the servants of men more than of God, and dare neither say nor do anything but as they think it will be acceptable and pleasant to their princes; out of this spring both ignorance and blindness: for being blinded with the darkness of this world, they only see earthly things.

"Therefore, O ye fathers, ye priests, and all ye clergymen! awaken at last out of the dreams of a lethargic world, and hearken to Paul who calls upon you, 'Be ye not conformed to this world.' This reformation and restoration of the ecclesiastical state must begin at you, who are our fathers; and from you must come down to us your priests. We look on you as the standards that must govern us; we desire to read in you, and in your lives, as in living books, how we ought to live: therefore if you would see the motes that are in our eyes, take the beams first out of your own.

"There is nothing amiss among us, for which there are not good remedies set out by the ancient fathers: there is no need of making new laws and canons, but only to observe those already made. Therefore at this your meeting, let the laws already made be recited. First, those that admonish you, fathers, not to lay hands suddenly on any: let the laws be recited



which appoint that ecclesiastical benefices should be given to deserving persons, and that condemn simoniacal defilement. But above all things, let those laws be recited that relate to you, our reverend fathers, the lords bishops, the laws of just and canonical elections, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost.

"Because this is not done in our days, and bishops are chosen rather by the favour of men than by the will of God: we have sometimes bishops who are not spiritual, but worldly, rather than heavenly; and who are led by the spirit of the world, rather than by the spirit of Christ. Let the laws be recited for bishops residing in their dioceses. Last of all, let those laws be recited for frequent councils, which appoint provincial councils to be more frequently called for the reformation of the church; for nothing has happened more mischievous to the church, than the not holding of councils, both general and provincial.

"I do therefore, with all due reverence, address myself to you, O fathers! for the execution of laws must begin at you: if you observe the laws, and transform your lives to the rules set by the canons, then you shine so to us, that we may see what we ought to do, when we have the light of excellent examples set us by you: we seeing you observe the laws, will cheerfully follow your steps. Consider the miserable face and state of the church, and set about the reforming it with all your strength. Do not you, O fathers, suffer this famous meeting to end in vain, and in doing nothing: you do indeed meet often; but (by your favour suffer me to say what is true) what fruit has the church yet had of all your meetings? Go then with that spirit which you have prayed for, that being assisted by his aid, you may contrive, establish, and decree such things as may tend to the advantage of the church, to your own honour, and to the glory of God."

This Collet had travelled through France and Italy, and upon his return he settled for some time at Oxford, where he read divinity lectures without any obligation or reward for it. His readings brought about him all the learned and studious persons in the university. He read not, according to the custom that prevailed universally at that time, of commenting on Thomas Aquinas, or on Scotus, but his readings were upon St. Paul's Epistles. He was brought afterwards to the deanery of St. Paul's, where old Fitzjames, then bishop of London, was his enemy, but he was protected both by Warham and by the king himself. He did in one of his sermons reflect on "bosom-sermons," which Fitzjames took as a reflection on himself, for he read all his sermons. He did not recommend himself at court by strains of flattery; on the contrary, he being to preach there, when the king was entering on a war, preached on Christians fighting under the banner of Christ, whom they ought to make their pattern, in all the occasions of quarrel that they might have, rather than imitate a Cæsar or an Alexander. After sermon, the king sent for him, and told him, he thought such preaching would dishearten his military men; but Collet explained himself so, that the king was well satisfied with him, and said, let every man choose what doctor he pleased, Collet should be his doctor. He died in the year 1519.

Collet's Character.

It seems this sermon was preached in the year 1513, though it is printed as preached in the year 1511; for the mention that he made in it of the immunities of the clergy, and of those words, "Touch not mine anointed," seems to relate to the opposition that the clergy made to the act that passed in parliament in the year 1512, against the immunity of the inferior orders of the clergy. It is true, in the translation I have given, there are no such words; but I find them in the reflections that I made on that sermon, when I intended to have printed it: so I took it for granted that the sermon was not fully printed in the book out of which I was forced to make my translation, the copy that I had of it being mislaid or lost. It had been but a reasonable thing for that writer, either to have printed the whole sermon, or to have told the reader that only some passages were taken out of it, since the title given to it would make him think it was all printed. I could not find either the Latin sermon, or the English translation of it, that was printed near that time: and I cannot entirely depend on a late impression of the English translation; yet I will add some few passages out of it which deserved to be published by him that picked out a few with some particular view that it seems he had. Before the first period printed by him, he has these words:—

"How much greediness and appetite of honour and dignity is seen now-a-days in cler-

gymen! How run they (yea almost out of breath) from one benefice to another, from the less to the greater, from the lower to the higher! Who seeth not this? And who seeing, sorroweth not?"

Before the next period, these words are to be found: "What other things seek we now-a-days in the church, but fat benefices and high promotions? and it were well if we minded the duty of those when we have them. But he that hath many great benefices, minds not the office of any small one. And in these our high promotions, what other things do we pass upon, but only our tithes and rents? We care not how vast our charge of souls be: how many or how great benefices we take, so they be of large value."

In the next period, these remarkable words are omitted. "Our warfare is to pray devoutly; to read and study Scriptures diligently; to preach the word of God sincerely; to administer holy sacraments rightly; and to offer sacrifices for the people."

A little before the next period, he has these words: "In this age we are sensible of the contradiction of lay people. But they are not so much contrary to us as we are to ourselves. Their contrariness hurteth not us so much as the contrariness of our own evil life, which is contrary both to God and to Christ."

After Collet had mentioned that of laying hands suddenly on none, he adds, "Here lies the original and spring-head of all our mischiefs: that the gate of ordination is too broad, the entrance too wide and open. Every man that offers himself is admitted, everywhere, without putting back. Hence it is that we have such a multitude of priests that have little learning, and less piety. In my judgment, it is not enough for a priest to construe a collect, to put forth a question, to answer a sophism; but an honest, a pure, and a holy life, is much more necessary: approved manners, competent learning in holy Scriptures, some knowledge of the sacraments; but chiefly, above all things, the fear of God, and love of heavenly life."

A little after this, "Let the canons be rehearsed that command personal residence of curates (rectors) in their churches: for of this many evils grow, because all offices now-a-days are performed by vicars and parish priests: yea, and these foolish and unmeet, oftentimes wicked."

At some distance from this, but to the same purpose, he adds, "You might first sow your spiritual things, and then ye shall reap plentifully their carnal things; for truly that man is very hard and unjust who will reap where he never did sow, and desires to gather where he never scattered."

These passages seemed proper to be added to the former, as setting forth the abuses and disorders that were then in this church. I wish I could add that they are now quite purged out, and appear no more among us. Collet was a particular friend of Erasmus, as appears by many very kind letters that passed between them.

Sir Thomas More's Thoughts of Religion in his Utopia.

To this account of the sense that Collet had of the state of religion at that time, I will add an account of sir Thomas More's thoughts of religion. Those of the church of Rome look on him as one of their glories, the champion of their cause, and their martyr. He in this period wrote his Utopia: the first edition that I could ever see of it was at Basil, in the year 1518; for he wrote it in the year 1516; at which time it may be believed that he dressed up that ingenious fable according to his own notions. He wrote that book probably before he had heard of Luther; the Wicklevites and the Lollards being the only heretics then known in England. In that short but extraordinary book, he gave his mind full scope, and considered mankind and religion with the freedom that became a true philosopher. By many hints it is very easy to collect what his thoughts were of religion, of the constitutions of the church, and of the clergy at that time; and therefore, though an observing reader will find these in his way, yet having read it with great attention when I translated it into English, I will lay together such passages as give clear indications of the sense he then had of those matters.

The References are to the Pages of my Translation.

Page the 21st, when he censures the inclosing of grounds, he ranks those "holy men," the abbots, among those "who thought it not enough to live at their own ease, and to do no good to the public, but resolved to do it hurt instead of good;" which shows that he called them holy men in derision. This is yet more fully set forth p. 37, where he brings in cardinal Morton's jester's advice to send all the beggars to the Benedictines to be lay-brothers, and all the female beggars to be



nuns, reckoning the friars as vagabonds that ought to be taken up and restrained. And the discourse that follows, for two or three pages, gives such a ridiculous view of the want of breeding, of the folly and ill-nature of the friars, that they have taken care to strike it out of the later impressions. But as I did find it in the impression which I translated, so I have copied it all from the first edition, and have put in the Collection that which the inquisitors have left out. From thence it is plain what opinion he had of those who were the most eminent divines and the most famed preachers at that time. This is yet plainer, p. 56, in which he taxes the preachers of that age for "corrupting the Christian doctrine, and practising upon it: for they, observing that the world did not suit their lives to the rules that Christ has given, have fitted his doctrine as if it had been a leaden rule to their lives, that some way or other they might agree with one another." And he does not soften this severe censure, as if it had been only the fault of a few, but lets it go on them all without any discrimination or limitation.

Col.Num.10.

Page 83, he taxes the great company of "idle priests," and of those that are called "religious persons" that were in other nations; against which he tells us, in his last chapter, how carefully the Utopians had provided. But it appears there what just esteem he paid to men of that character when they answered the dignity of their profession: for as he contracts the number of the priests in Utopia, p. 186, so he exalts their dignity as high as so noble a function could deserve. Yet he represents the Utopians "as allowing them to marry," p. 114. And p. 130, he exalts "a solid virtue much above all rigorous severities," which were the most admired expressions of piety and devotion in that age. He gives a perfect scheme of religious men, so much beyond the monastic orders, that it shows he was no admirer of them.

Page 152, he commends the Europeans for "observing their leagues and treaties so religiously;" and ascribes that "to the good examples that popes set other princes, and to the severity with which they prosecuted such as were perfidious." This looks like respect; but he means it all ironically: for he who had seen the reigns of pope Alexander VI. and Julius II., the two falsest and most perfidious persons of the age, could not say this but in the way of satire. So that he secretly accuses both popes and princes for violating their faith, to which they were induced by dispensations from Rome. Page 192, his "putting images out of the churches of the Utopians," gives no obscure hint of his opinion in that matter. The opinion, p. 175, that he proposes doubtfully indeed, but yet favourably, of the first converts to Christianity in Utopia, who (there being no priests among those who instructed them) were inclined to choose priests that should officiate among them, since they could not have any that were regularly ordained; adding, that they seemed resolved to do it; this shows that in cases of necessity he had a largeness of thought, far from being engaged blindfold into the humours or interests of the priests of that time, to whom this must have appeared one of the most dangerous of all heresies.

And whereas persecution and cruelty seem to be the indelible characters of popery, he, as he gives us the character of the religion of the Utopians, "that they offered not divine honours to any but to God alone," p. 173, so, p. 177, he makes it one of the maxims of the Utopians, "that no man ought to be punished for his religion;" the utmost severity practised among them being banishment, and that not for disparaging their religion, but for inflaming the people to sedition; a law being made among them that "every man might be of what religion he pleased," p. 191. And though there were many different forms of religion among them, yet they all agreed in the main point of "worshipping the Divine Essence; so that there was nothing in their temples in which the several persuasions among them might not agree."

"The several sects performed the rites that were peculiar to them in their private houses; nor was there anything in the public worship that contradicted the particular ways of the several sects." By all which he carried not only toleration, but even comprehension, further than the most moderate of our divines have ever pretended to do. It is true he represents all this in a fable of his Utopians; but this was a scene dressed up by himself, in which he was fully at liberty to frame everything at pleasure: so here we find in this a scheme of some of the most essential parts of the Reformation. "He proposes no subjection of their

priests to any head; he makes them to be chosen by the people, and consecrated by the college of priests; and he gives them no other authority but that of excluding men that were desperately wicked from joining in their worship, which was short and simple. And though every man was suffered to bring over others to his persuasion, yet he was obliged to do it by amicable and modest ways, and not to mix with these either reproaches or violence; such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment or slavery."

These were his first and coolest thoughts; and probably, if he had died at that time, he would have been reckoned among those who, though they lived in the communion of the church of Rome, yet saw what were the errors and corruptions of that body, and only wanted fit opportunities of declaring themselves more openly for a reformation. These things were not writ by him in the heat of youth; he was then thirty-four years of age, and was at that time employed, together with Tonstal, in settling some matters of state with (the then prince) Charles: so that he was far advanced at that time, and knew the world well. It is not easy to account for the great change that we find afterwards he was wrought up to. He not only set himself to oppose the Reformation in many treatises, that put together make a great volume, but, when he was raised up to the chief post in the ministry, he became a persecutor even to blood; and defiled those hands, which were never polluted with bribes, by acting in his own person some of those cruelties, to which he was no doubt pushed on by the bloody clergy of that age and church.

He was not governed by interest, nor did he aspire so to preferment as to stick at nothing that might contribute to raise him; nor was he subject to the vanities of popularity. The integrity of his whole life, and the severity of his morals, cover him from all these suspicions. If he had been formerly corrupted by a superstitious education, it had been no extraordinary thing to see so good a man grow to be misled by the force of prejudice; but how a man, who had emancipated himself, and had got into a scheme of free thoughts, could be so entirely changed, cannot be easily apprehended; nor how he came to muffle up his understanding, and deliver himself up as a property to the blind and enraged fury of the priests. It cannot indeed be accounted for but by charging it on the intoxicating charms of that religion, that can darken the clearest understandings and corrupt the best natures. And since they wrought this effect on sir Thomas More, I cannot but conclude, that "if these things were done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?"

His friend Tonstal was made bishop of London by the pope's provision; but it was upon the king's recommendation signified by Hannibal, then his ambassador at Rome.

Reg. Tonst. Fol. 1. Tonstal was sent ambassador to Spain when Francis was a prisoner there. That king grew, as may be easily believed, impatient to be so long detained in prison; and that began to have such effects on his health, that the emperor, fearing it might end in his death, which would both lose the benefit he had from having him in his hands, and lay a heavy load on him through all Europe, was induced to hearken to a treaty, which he pretended he concluded chiefly in consideration of the king's mediation. The treaty was made at Madrid, much to the emperor's advantage; but because he would not trust to the faith of the treaty, Francis was obliged to bring his two sons as hostages for the observance of it: so he had his liberty upon that exchange. Soon after, he came back to France; and then the pope sent him an absolution in full form from the faith and obligation of the treaty. It seems his conscience reproached him for breaking so solemn an engagement; but that was healed by the dispensation from Rome; of which the original was sent over to the king, perhaps only to be showed the king, who upon that kept it still in his secret treasure, where

Rymer. Rymer found it. The reason insinuated in it is, the king's being bound by it to alienate some dominions that belonged to the crown of France: for he had not yet learned a secret, discovered or at least practised since that time, of princes declaring themselves free from the obligations of their treaties, and departing from them at their pleasure.



# PART III.—BOOK II.

## OF MATTERS THAT HAPPENED DURING THE TIME COMPREHENDED IN THE SECOND BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

I WILL repeat nothing set forth in my former work, but suppose that my reader remembers how Charles the Fifth had sworn to marry the king's daughter when she should be of age, under pain of excommunication and the forfeiture of one hundred thousand pounds: yet when his match with Portugal was thought more for the interests of the crown, he sent over to the king, and desired a discharge of that promise. It has been said, and printed by one who lived in the time, and out of him by the lord Herbert, that objections were made to this in Spain, on the account of the doubtfulness of her mother's marriage. From such authors I took this too easily, but in a collection of original instructions I have seen that matter in a truer light.

Hall.

Among the Manuscripts of the Bishop of Ely.

Lee, afterwards archbishop of York, was sent ambassador to Spain, to solicit the setting Francis at liberty, and in reckoning up the king's merits on the emperor, his instructions mention "the king's late discharge of the emperor's obligation to marry his dearest daughter the princess Mary, whom, though his grace could have found in his heart to have bestowed upon the emperor before any prince living; yet for the more security of his succession, the furtherance of his other affairs, and to do unto him a gratuity, his grace hath liberally, benevolently, and kindly condescended unto it." There are other letters of the 12th of August, but the year is not added, which set forth the emperor's earnest desire, to be with all possible diligence discharged of his obligation to marry the princess. At first the king thought fit to delay the granting it till a general peace was fully concluded, since it had been agreed to by the treaty at Windsor; but soon after a discharge in full form under the great seal was sent over by an express to Spain: but from some hints in other papers, it seems there were secret orders not to deliver it; and king Henry continued to claim the money due upon the forfeiture, as a debt still owing him. The peace was then treated, chiefly with a view to resist the Turk, and to repress heresy, that was then much spread both through Germany and Poland.

Many Ambassadors in Spain.

Another original letter was writ after Francis was at liberty, setting forth that "the nobles and courts in France would not confirm the treaty that Francis had signed to obtain his liberty; and therefore earnest persuasions were to be used to prevail with the emperor to restore the hostages, and to come into reasonable terms, to maintain the peace, and to call his army out of Italy." By these it appears, that the league against the emperor was then made, of which the king was declared the protector; but the king had not then accepted of that title. He ordered his ambassadors to propose a million of crowns for redeeming the hostages, to be paid at different times; yet they were forbid to own to the emperor, that if the offices in which the king interposed were not effectual, he would enter into the league.

There are in that Collection some of Wolsey's letters; by one of the 17th of July he claims his pensions of seven thousand five hundred ducats upon the bishopries of Palencia and Toledo; besides nine thousand crowns a year in recompense for his parting with the bishopric of Tournay and the abbey of St. Martin's there; for which there was an arrear of four years due. On the 29th of September he wrote over a severe charge to be laid before the emperor for the sack of Rome, the indignities put on the person of the pope, the spoiling the church of St. Peter and other churches, and the ignominious treating the ornaments of them: all the blame was cast on the cardinal Colonna and Hugo de Monçada, they being persuaded that it was done without the emperor's know-

Wolsey's Letter to them.

ledge or order. He proposes the king to be mediator, as a thing agreed on by all sides: he uses in this that bold way of joining himself with the king, very often saying, "the king and I:" and on the 20th of October, he presses with great earnestness the mediating a peace between France and the emperor; in all which, nothing appears either partial or revengeful against the emperor. The true interest of England seems to be pursued in that whole negotiation.

There was then in the emperor's court a very full embassy from England: for in one or other of these letters, mention is made of the bishops of London, Worcester, and of Bath; of Dr. Lee and sir Francis Bryan. But since the dismal fate of Rome and of pope Clement is mentioned in these letters, I must now change the scene.

Pope Clement, as soon as he could after his imprisonment, wrote over to Wolsey an account of the miserable state he was in, which he sent over by sir Gregory Cassali, who saw it all, and so could give a full account of it. "The pope's only comfort and hope was in Wolsey's credit with the king, and in the king's own piety towards the church and himself, now so sadly oppressed that he had no other hope but in the protection he expected from him." There were many other letters written by the cardinals, setting forth the miseries they were in, and that in the most doleful strains possible; all their eyes being then towards the king, as the person on whose protection they chiefly depended. Upon this Wolsey went over to France in a most splendid manner, with a prodigious and magnificent train, reckoned to consist of a thousand persons, and he had the most unusual honours done him that the court of France could invent to flatter his vanity. He was to conclude a treaty with Francis, for setting the pope at liberty, and to determine the alternative of the marriage of the princess Mary, either to the king of France, or to the duke of Orleans his second son, and to lay a scheme for a general peace.

Collection, Number 11. The Sack of Rome.

Sept. 16. He came to Compiegne in the end of September, and from thence he wrote the first motion that was made about the divorce to the pope: for the first letter that I found relating to that matter, begins with mentioning that which he wrote from Compiegne. Mr. Le Grand told me he had seen that despatch, but he has not printed it.

Le Grand, Tom. iii. Num. 2.

From that place, Wolsey, with four cardinals, wrote to the pope, "setting forth the sense that they had of the calamity that he was in, and their zeal for his service, in which they hoped for good success: yet fearing, lest the emperor should take occasion from his imprisonment, to seize on the territories of the church, and to force both him to confirm it, and the cardinals now imprisoned with him to ratify it, which they hoped neither he nor they would do; yet if human infirmity should so far prevail, they protested against all such alienations: they also declare, that if he should die, they would proceed to a new election, and have no regard to any election to which the imprisoned cardinals might be forced. In conclusion, they do earnestly pray that the pope would grant them a full deputation of his authority; in the use of which they promise all zeal and fidelity, and that they would invite all the other cardinals that were at liberty, to come and concur with them." This was signed by Wolsey and by the cardinals of Bourbon, Salviati, Lorrain, and cardinal Prat. Wolsey wrote to the king, expressing the concern he had for him, with relation to his great and secret affair; it seems, expecting a general meeting of cardinals that was to be called together in France, which he reckoned would concur to the process that he intended to make; but apprehending that the queen might decline his jurisdiction, he would use all his endeavours to bring the king of France to agree to the emperor's demands, as far as was reasonable; hoping the emperor would abate somewhat in consideration of the king's mediation: but if that did not succeed, so that the pope was still kept a prisoner, then the cardinals must be brought to meet at Avignon, and thither he intended to go, and to spare no trouble or charge in doing the king service. When he was at Avignon, he should be within a hundred miles of Perpignan, and he would try to bring the emperor and the French king's mother thither, if the king approved of it, to treat for the pope's deliverance, and for a general peace. This is the substance of the minute of a letter writ in the cardinal's hand.

The Cardinals write to the Pope for a full Deputation.

Collection, Number 12.



The king at this time intended to send Knight, then secretary of state, to Rome, in point of form to condole with the pope, and to prevent any application that the queen might make by the emperor's means in his great matter: so he appointed the cardinal to give him such commissions and instructions as should seem requisite, with all diligence; and he pressed the cardinal's return home, with great acknowledgments of the services he had done him. By this letter it appears that the queen then understood somewhat of the king's uneasiness in his marriage. The king of France sent from Compiegne a great deputation, at the head of which, Montmorency, then the great master, was put to take the king's oath, confirming the treaties that Wolsey had made in his name; one in the commission was Bellay, then bishop of Bayonne, afterwards of Paris, and cardinal.

Knight sent to Rome.

Numb. 13.

Sept. 25.

When that was done, the king's matter that had been hitherto more secretly managed, began to break out. Mr. Le Grand has published a letter that Pace wrote to the king, as he says, in the year 1526; but no date is added to the letter. The substance of it is, "that the letter and book which was brought to the king the day before, was writ by him; but by the advice and help of Doctor Wakefield, who approved it, and was ready to defend everything in it, either in a verbal disputation, or in writing. The king had told him, that some of his learned councillors had written to him, that Deuteronomy abrogated Leviticus; but that was certainly false, for the title of that book in Hebrew was the two first words of it: it is a compend and recapitulation of the Mosaical law; and that was all that was imported by the word Deuteronomy. He tells the king, that after he left him, Wakefield prayed him to let him know if the king desired to know the truth in that matter, whether it stood for him or against him. To whom Pace answered, that the king desired nothing but what became a noble and a virtuous prince: so he would do him a most acceptable thing if he would set the plain truth before him. After that, Wakefield said, he would not meddle in the matter, unless he were commanded by the king to do it; but that when he received his commands, he would set forth such things both for and against him that no other person in his kingdom could do the like." The letter is dated from Sion, but I have reason to believe it was written in the year 1527; for this Wakefield (who seems to have been the first person of this nation that was learned in the oriental tongues, not only in the Hebrew, the Chaldaic, and the Syriac, but in the Arabic) wrote a book for the divorce: he was at first against it, before he knew that prince Arthur's marriage with queen Katherine was consummated: but when he understood what grounds there were to believe that was done, he changed his mind, and wrote a book on the subject: and in his own book, he with his own hand inserts the copy of his letter to king Henry, dated from Sion 1527, which it seems was written at the same time that Pace wrote his: for these are his words (as the author of Ath. Oxon. relates, who says he saw it), "He will defend his cause or question in all the universities of Christendom:" but adds, "that if the people should know that he, who began to defend the queen's cause, not knowing that she was carnally known of prince Arthur his brother, should now write against it, surely he should be stoned of them to death, or else have such a slander and obloquy raised upon him, that he would die a thousand times rather than suffer it."

Pace wrote to the King of his Divorce.

Tom. iii. Num. 1.

He was prevailed on to print his book in Latin, with an Hebrew title, in which he undertook to prove, that the marrying the brother's wife, she being carnally known of him, was contrary to the decrees of holy church, utterly unlawful, and forbidden both by the law of nature, and the law of God, the laws of the gospel, and the customs of the catholic and orthodox church.

Kotjer Codicis.

It appears, from the letters writ in answer to those that Knight carried to Rome, that the pope granted all that was desired. This was never well understood till Mr. Rymer, in his diligent search, found the first original bull, with the seal in lead hanging to it. He has printed it in his fourteenth volume, p. 237, and therefore I shall only give a short abstract of it. It is directed to cardinal Wolsey, and bears date the Ides of April, or the 13th day in the year 1528. "It empowers him, together with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English bishop, to hear, examine, pronounce, and declare, concerning the validity of the marriage of king Henry and queen Katherine, and of

1528. A Bull sent to Wolsey to judge the Marriage.

the efficacy and validity of all apostolical dispensations in that matter; and to declare the marriage just and lawful, or unjust and unlawful, and to give a plenary sentence upon the whole matter; with licence to the parties to marry again, and to admit no appeal from them: for which end he creates Wolsey his vicegerent, to do in the premises all that he himself could do, with power to declare the issue of the first as well as of any subsequent marriage legitimate. All concludes with a *non obstante* to all general councils and apostolical constitutions."

This rare discovery was to us all a great surprise as soon as it was known: but it does not yet appear how it came about that no use was ever made of it. I am not lawyer enough to discover whether it was that so full a deputation was thought null of itself, since by this the pope determined nothing, but left all to Wolsey; or whether Wolsey, having no mind to carry the load of the judgment on himself, made the king apprehend that it would bring a disreputation on his cause if none but his own subjects judged it; or whether it was that Wolsey would not act in conjunction with Warham, or any under the degree of a cardinal. I leave the reasons of their not making use of the bull as a secret as great as the bull itself was till it was found out by Rymer. Another bull was after that desired and obtained, which bears date the 8th of June (6to Idus), from Viterbo. This I take from the licence granted under the great seal to the legates to execute the commission of that date: but it seems they did not think they had the pope fast enough tied by this, and therefore they obtained from him, on the 23rd of July following, a solemn promise, called in their letters *pollicitatio*, by which he promised, on "the word of a pope," that he would never, neither at any person's desire, nor of his own motion, inhibit or revoke the commission he had granted to the legates to judge the matter of the king's marriage. This I did not publish in my former work, because the lord Herbert had published it: but since that History is like to be confined to our own nation, and this may probably go further, I put it in the Collection; and the rather, because the lord Herbert, taking it from a copy as I do, seems in some doubt concerning it. But probably he had not seen the letter that Wolsey wrote to Gardiner, in which he mentions the pollicitation that he had in his hands, with several other letters that mention it very frequently. The copy that I publish was taken from a transcript attested by a notary, which is the reason of the oddness of the subscription.

It was not made use of.

Rymer.

Col.Num.15.

In the mean time Warham called such bishops as were in town to him, and proposed to them the king's scruples; which being weighed by them, a writing was drawn up to this purpose: That having heard the grounds of the king's scruples relating to his marriage, they all made this answer: That the causes which gave the king the present agitation and disturbance of conscience were great and weighty; and that it did seem necessary to them all for him to consult the judgment of their holy father the pope in that matter. This was signed by Warham, Tonstal, Fisher, and the bishops of Carlisle, Ely, St. Asaph, Lincoln, and Bath, on the 1st of July 1529. And I incline to think that this was the paper of which Cavendish, whom I followed too implicitly in my former work, gave a wrong account, as brought out when the legates were sitting on the king's cause. There is no reason to doubt of Fisher's signing this; and Cavendish, who wrote upon memory almost thirty years after, might be mistaken in the story: for the false account that he gives of the battle of Pavia shows how little he is to be depended on. At this time the pope, in a letter to Wolsey, offered to go in person to Spain, or to any place where an interview should be agreed on, to mediate a general peace. This Wolsey wrote over to the king's ambassadors at Rome, on the 19th of December; and in the same letter he orders them to offer the guard to the pope in the name of the two kings; and adds, that Turenne should command that part of it which was to have their pay sent from France, and sir Gregory Cassali that which the king was to pay.

The Bishops think the King's Scruples reasonable.

Rymer.

1529.

Life of Wolsey.

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 11.

In prosecuting the history of the divorce, I must add a great deal out of some French authors. Bellay, the sieur de Langey, has writ memoirs of that time with great judgment, and very sincerely. I find also many letters relating to those transactions both in the Melanges Historiques and in Le Grand's third tome. These I shall follow in the series in



which things were transacted, which will be found to give no small confirmation as well as large additions to what I formerly published in my History. The first of these was much employed in embassies, and was well informed of the affairs of England, both his brothers being at different times employed to negotiate affairs in that court. John, in particular, then bishop of Bayonne, afterwards of Paris; and cardinal Le Grand, as lord Herbert had done before, has given the relation of the answer that the emperor gave by word of mouth, and afterwards in writing, to Clarencieux, when he came with a French king-at-arms to denounce war in the name of the two kings to the emperor.

Page 38.

Jan.27,1528.

Demand was made of great debts that the emperor owed the king; among these, the sum forfeited for his not marrying the princess Mary is one. To that the emperor answered, that before he was married he required the king to send her to him, which was not done: and by letters that he intercepted, he saw that the king was treating a marriage for her with the king of Scotland long before the emperor was married. It was farther said to that herald, that a report went current that the king designed a divorce, and upon that to marry another wife. "The emperor said, he had in his hands ample dispensations for the marriage; nor could the king go on in that design without striking at the pope's authority, which would give great scandal, and occasion much disturbance, and give the emperor just cause of war. This would show what faith, what religion, what conscience, and what honour the king had before his eyes. He had offered his daughter to him in marriage, and was now going to get her declared a bastard. He ascribed all this to the ill offices done by the cardinal of York, who was pushed on by his ambition and avarice, because he would not order his army in Italy to force the electing him to the popedom; which, he said, both the king and the cardinal desired of him in letters that they wrote to him on that occasion. And because he had not in that satisfied his pride, he had boasted that he would so embroil the emperor's affairs, though England should be ruined by it, that he should repent his using him so." This seems to be much aggravated; for it may be easily supposed that the king and Wolsey might, in the letters that they wrote to the emperor at the last conclave, desire him to order his troops to draw near Rome to keep all quiet till, if he was chosen, he might get thither. Yet it is not probable that they could desire so barefaced a thing as the emperor here fastened on them: he in that, perhaps, was no truer than when he said he had in his hands ample dispensations for the king's marriage, though it appears these were forged; for the date of the breve being the same with the bull, both bearing date the 26th of December 1503, it was plainly false. For Rymer has printed one attestation from Rome that the year in the breves begins on Christmas-day; so if it had been a true piece it must have had the date of 1504. He has likewise published an authentic attestation, signed by the cardinal chamberlain, that in the register of the breves there was none to be found relating to the king's dispensation for his marriage but one dated the 6th of July 1504, and another the 22d of February 1505.

The Emperor's Answer to the King by Clarencieux.

The bishop of Bayonne made a bold proposition to Wolsey: he thought it might be a proper method to engage the pope to depose the emperor for such enormous felony as he had committed against him, which would secure that see from all such attempts for the future. The cardinal, after a little reflection on it, swore to him that he would pursue that thought; but it seems it was let fall.

Le Grand, p. 64.

Jan. 2, 1528.

A Proposition to Depose the Emperor.

When Gardiner and Fox were sent to Rome, they passed through France with letters from Wolsey to Montmorency for his assisting them. It seems the people were expressing their uneasiness upon these steps made in order to the divorce, of which the bishop of Bayonne wrote to the court of France; which was, upon his letters, so talked of at Paris that Wolsey reprimanded him for it, though in his own excuse he writes that the bishop of Bath had said it more openly than he had written it.

Le Grand, p. 102.

May 24.

On the 8th of June, it seems matters went not well at Rome; for Wolsey complained to the bishop of Bayonne of the pope for not doing them justice, who had served him so well both before his advancement and ever since. They also apprehended that Campegio, then named to come over as legate, who was subject

Le Grand, p. 129.

to the gout, would, by that pretence, manage matters so as to keep them long in suspense.

At that time the sweating-sickness raged so, that the court was in dread of it. It broke out in the legate's house: some died of it. He, upon that, stole away privately without giving notice whither he went. The king made his last will, and received all the sacraments. He confessed himself every day, and received the sacrament every holiday. The queen did the same; and so did Wolsey.

Le Grand, p. 148. June 30.

In another letter, without date, Bayonne gives an account of a free conference he had with Wolsey; who told him "he had done many things against the opinion of all England, upon which many took occasion to reproach him as being wholly French; so he must proceed warily. The French would feel their loss if his credit were lessened; therefore it was necessary that the bishop should make the king and his council here apprehend that this alliance was not to their prejudice. The king had of late (as Bayonne had from good hands) said some terrible words to the cardinal, apprehending that he was cold in his matter. Wolsey said to him, that if God gave him the grace once to see the hatred of the two nations extinguished, and a firm friendship settled between the two kings, and that he could get the laws and customs of the nation a little changed, the succession secured, and upon the king's second marriage an heir male born, he would immediately retire, and serve God all the rest of his life." Here were many things to be done before his retirement; yet the bishop did believe he indeed intended, upon the first good occasion, to retire from all affairs, for he could not but see that his credit must lessen upon the king's second marriage. He was also making haste to furnish his episcopal palaces, and to finish his colleges; and he seemed to him to prepare for a storm. Gardiner was at this time advancing the king's business all that was possible at Rome. I did in my second volume publish, among the Records, a letter of his that was written in April, after his coming to Rome. The substance of it is: "He had acquainted the pope with the secret message that the princes of Germany had sent the king, to see if that would work on his fears; for he says, the pope was a man of such a nature that he is never resolved in anything but as he is compelled by some violent affection. He assures the king the pope will do nothing that may offend the emperor; nor was it reasonable for him to do it, except he would remove his see to some other place, for while he was at Rome he was in the emperor's power. By his words and manner the pope seemed to favour the king; but he was confident he would do nothing. He believed, if the cause were determined by the legates, they at Rome would be glad of it: and if the emperor should begin a suit against that, they would serve him as they now did the king, and drive off the time by delays. So he put the king on getting Campegio to judge for him, which should be a short work; and he assures him nothing was to be expected from Rome but delays. They had put the king's cause, if it should be brought to Rome, in the hands of two advocates (the same that pleaded for the king afterwards in the excusatory plea). The pope would hear no disputation about his power of dispensing: but so the pope did not decide upon that ground, he would not care whether the king's cause were decided upon it or not. And he believed the pope was resolved to meddle no more in the king's matter, but to leave it with the legates. He desired his letter might not be showed to either of the legates. With that bearer he sent over the pope's promise, in which he had got some words to be put that he thought favoured the king's cause as much, and more, than if the decretal commission that was in Campegio's hands should be showed: so he thought the pope ought to be no more moved in that matter." The words he mentions are, *cum nos justitiam ejus causæ perpendentes:* "we considering the justice of his cause." These are in the promise, or pollicitation, which I do now publish; and they prove this to be a true copy, since we have an authentic proof of the very words that seemed the greatest ground to doubt of its truth.

Le Grand, p. 164. Vol. ii. Coll. Rec. Num. 26, p. 297.

About a fortnight after this, Gardiner wrote another letter to the king, which will be found in the Collection. A motion was then made at Rome for recalling the powers sent to the legates; but he did not think it was made in earnest, but only to stop the ambassadors in their other suits. The pope told them that the emperor had advertised him that the queen would do nothing in the matter but as the king should

Col. Num. 15.



command her; therefore he would look after the cause the more earnestly. This the pope seemed to tell them, that they should not inquire who was the queen's proctor. The ambassadors were amazed to see, by Campegio's letters that were showed them, that neither he nor Campanus had made any promise in the pope's name to the king, but only in general terms; considering that they had mentioned the plenitude of the pope's power, which they trusted he would use in that cause. He writes he did not succeed in that which he was ordered to move, which he did indeed apprehend could not be obtained: he lays the blame on the pope or some other, but it became not him to fasten that on any (perhaps this pointed at Wolsey); the rest relates to the bulls, probably demanded by the cardinal for his colleges: this was dated the 4th of May; he had a letter writ to him a month before this by Anne Boleyn, in which she expresses a great sense of the service he was doing her: it seems by it, that at his first coming to Rome he had great hopes of success, but these were then much abated.

At this time king Henry was writing every day letters full of passion to that lady. Some way or other they fell into the hands of those who carried them to Rome, where they lie in the library of the Vatican. I saw them there, and knew king Henry's hand too well not to be convinced at first sight that they were writ by him. I did not think it fit for me to copy them out, but I prevailed with my worthy friend Dr. Fall to do it for me. They were very ill writ, the hand is scarce legible, and the French seems faulty: but since our travellers are encouraged to look on them, I gave a copy of them to the printer to be printed apart; for I could not think it proper to put them in the Collection *. Objections lay in my way even as to this; they were trifling letters; some insinuations are not very decent, and little wit occurred in them to season them in any sort; yet they carry the characters of an honourable love, directed all to marriage: and they evidently show that there was nothing amiss, as to the main point, in their commerce. So since those at Rome make so ill an use of them as to pretend that they are full of defilement, and in derision call them the true original of our Reformation, all these considerations prevailed on me to suffer them to be printed apart, for I did not think it fitting that such stuff should be mixed with graver matters. So I ordered them to be printed exactly from the copy, and to take no other care about them but to give them as I had them. But since I mention that lady, I must add some passages out of a relation made by a son of sir Thomas Wyat's, of his father's concerns, marked on the back by a hand very like lord Burleigh's. He shows how false that story must be of his father's pretending to king Henry that he had corrupted her. He was then esquire of the body, and did continue still about his person in that post, except when he was employed in embassies abroad. This shows how incredible that fiction of Sanders was; since if he had pretended to make any such discovery, he must have fallen either under the king's jealousy or the queen's power, or to avoid both he would have withdrawn himself; and probably he would have been afterwards set up a witness to disgrace her at her trial. That relation adds, that she was secretly tried in the Tower. Some of the lords declared that her defence did fully clear her; none of the women that served her were brought to witness the least circumstance against her; and all the evidence upon which she was convicted was kept so secret that it was never known. This I know is put here out of its place, but the thread of other things led me into it: I shall have occasion to mention this paper again in queen Mary's reign.

King Henry's Letters to Anne Boleyn.

Ex M. V. Gul. Petyt.

The bishop of Bayonne writes, that even after Campegio came into England, both king and queen did eat at one table, and lodged in one bed. The queen put on so good a countenace, that to see them together, one could discern no breach between them: he tells in that letter, that the earl of Angus, who was married to the queen of Scotland, king Henry's sister, was come up, being banished out of Scotland, because the queen had taken another husband, who was a handsomer man than he was (*plus beau compagnon que luy*). In his next letter he writes that Wolsey said to him, that the general of the Cordeliers, that good prophet,

Le Grand, p. 169, 16 Oct. The King and Queen seemed to live well together.

Le Grand, p. 175, 21 Oct.

* See the Pamphleteer, Nos. 42, 43, where these letters, seventeen in number, are exactly transcribed from the originals. They will also be found in Turner's Modern History of England; Henry VIII. chap. xxiii., those in French being there translated.—ED.

then a cardinal, had capitulated with the pope in the emperor's name, when the pope was set at liberty. That Cordelier cardinal was then to sail to Spain, he wished the French would set out some vessels to seize on him, and draw from him the particulars of that treaty: for they knew that in the articles of that treaty, the reason that obstructed the king's matter would appear. Upon this, after some expostulation that the king of France did not help them in it as he might, Wolsey added, that the first project of the divorce was set on foot by himself, to create a perpetual separation between England and the house of Burgundy: and he had told the king's mother at Compiegne, that if she lived a year to an end, she would see as great a union with them and as great a disunion from the other as she could desire, and bid her lay that up in her memory.

Le Grand, p. 188. The Legates go to the King and Queen.

In his next he writes, that both the legates had been with the king and queen. In Campegio's speech to the king, he set forth his merits upon the apostolic see with great pomp. Fox answered him decently in the king's name: the queen answered them more roundly: she spoke with respect to Campegio, but said, "She thanked the cardinal of York for the trouble she was put to: she had always wondered at his pride and vain-glory; she abhorred his voluptuous life and abominable lewdness, and little regarded his power and tyranny: all this rose from his malice to her nephew, the emperor, whom he hated worse than a scorpion, because he would not satisfy his ambition, and make him pope. She blamed him both for the war, in which the king was engaged, and for the trouble he put her to, by this new-found doubt." The cardinal blushed, and seemed confounded: he said, "he was not the beginner nor the mover of the doubt, and that it was sore against his will that the marriage was brought into question; but since the pope had deputed him as a judge to hear the cause, he swore upon his profession he would hear it indifferently."

The Queen treats Wolsey very severely. Vitellius, B. 12.

Le Grand, p. 192.

On the 1st of November, the bishop writes that the queen had chosen for her council the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Bath, Rochester, Ely, and Exeter, with the dean of the chapel: but of these, the bishops of London and Rochester, and the dean of the chapel, were the only persons that in their opinion were of the queen's side. She expected an advocate, a proctor, and a counsellor from Flanders. It was not allowed her to bring any over from Spain, for there was then war between England and Spain, but the Netherlands had a neutrality granted them. "The bishop reckoned that the marriage must be condemned; for though the pope and all the cardinals had approved it, they could not maintain it, if it was proved, as he was told it would be, that her former marriage was consummated: for in that case, God himself had determined the matter."

Le Grand, p. 197. The Bishop of Bayonne's opinion of the Pope's Dispensation.

On the 8th of November he writes, "that Wolsey had asked him if he could say nothing to invalidate the pope's dispensation, and to prove the marriage unlawful, so that the pope could not dispense in that case; since nothing could unite the two kings so entirely as the carrying on the divorce must do: he heard he was a great divine, so he prayed him to speak his mind freely. The bishop excused himself; but being very earnestly pressed, he put his thoughts in writing, referring for these to his last letter: he sent over a copy of it to Montmorency, and desired he would show it to the bishop of Bourges, who would explain it to him. Wolsey desired that the king's mother would write earnestly to Campegio in favour of the king's cause. The bishop makes great excuses for giving his opinion in the matter; he did not sign it, and he gave it only as a private person, and not as an ambassador."

Le Grand, p. 209. Apprehensions of Disorders on the Queen's Account.

On the 27th of November, the bishop writes that he had been with Campegio, and had talked of the pope's dispensation. Campegio would not bear to have the pope's power brought into debate: he thought his power had no limits, and so was unwilling to let that be touched, but he was willing to hear it proved, that the dispensation was ill founded. He gives in that letter a relation of the king's sending for the lord mayor of London to give the citizens an account of the scruples he had concerning his marriage: and he writes, that he had said the bishop of Tarbe was the first person that made him entertain them; nor does the bishop of Bayonne pretend to call the truth of that in question.



The same bishop in his letter of the 9th of December writes, "that Anne Boleyn was then come to court, and was more waited on than the queen had been for some years: by this they prepared all people for what was to follow. The people were uneasy, and seemed disposed to revolt. It was resolved to send all the strangers out of the kingdom; and it was reckoned there were above fifteen thousand Flemings in London. So the driving all these away would not be easily brought about: care was taken to search for arms, and to keep all quiet. Wolsey in a great company, above a hundred persons of quality being present, reported that the emperor had said he would drive the king out of his kingdom by his own subjects; one only of all that company expressed an indignation at it: the advocates that the queen expected from Flanders were come, but had not yet their audience."

Le Grand, p. 230.

In one of the 20th of December, the bishop writes, "that the king had showed him what presumptions there were of the forgery of the breve that they pretended was in Spain; and upon that he went through the whole matter so copiously with him, that he saw he understood it well, and indeed needed no advocate: he desired that some opinions of learned men in France might be got, and be signed by them, if it could be obtained."

Le Grand, p. 245.

By the letter of the 25th of December, it appears there was an argument of more weight laid before Campegio, for he was offered Durham instead of Salisbury. He said to them who offered it, that the pope was about to give him a bishopric of that value in Spain, but the emperor would not consent to it. The lawyers that came from the Netherlands had an audience of the king, in which they took great liberties: for they said to him, they wondered to see him forsake his ancient friends, and to unite himself to his mortal enemies. They were answered very sharply. They applied themselves to Campegio with respect, but neglected Wolsey; and after that they had lodged such advices as were sent by them with the queen, they returned home.

Le Grand, p. 259. Endeavours to gain Campegio.

On the 25th of January the bishop of Bayonne writes, "that the court apprehending the pope was changing his measures with relation to the king's affair, had sent Gardiner to Rome to let the pope know, that if he did not order Campegio to proceed in the divorce, the king would withdraw himself from his obedience: he perceived Wolsey was in great fear; for he saw, that if the thing was not done, the blame would be cast wholly on him, and there it would end. Sir Thomas Cheyney had some way offended him, and was for that dismissed the court; but by Anne Boleyn's means he was brought back, and she had upon that occasion sent Wolsey a severe message. The bishop had in a letter sent him from Paris a list of the college of the cardinals, by which they reckoned fifteen of them were Imperialists, and Campegio is reckoned among these; eighteen were of the contrary party; three had not declared themselves, but might be gained to either side, and six were absent. This canvassing was occasioned by the pope's sickness, and it was writ as news from France, that an Englishman passing through and going to Spain, had reported with joy, that there would be no divorce; that Campegio served the pope well; that this was very acceptable to all the great men of England; and that the blame of all was laid on Wolsey, whose credit with the king was sinking: that he was not at the feast of St. George, for which the king had chid him severely, he being the chancellor of the order."

Le Grand, p. 295. Wolsey's Credit is shaken.

P. 299.

In a letter of the 22d of May he writes, "that Wolsey was extremely uneasy. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and others, made the king believe that he did not advance his affair so much as he could: he wishes that the king of France and his mother would make the duke of Suffolk desist; for he did not believe that he or the other duke could be able to manage the king as Wolsey had done. They at court were alarmed at the last news from Rome, for the pope seemed inclined to recall the commission: upon which Benet was sent thither, to use either promises or threatenings as he should see cause. They pressed the pope to declare the breve from Spain null; but he refused to do it. He adds, that in the breve lay one of the most important points of the whole matter" (probably that was, that the consummation of the former marriage was expressly affirmed in

P. 313. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk his Enemies.

it). "Wolsey had pressed the bishop very earnestly to move his master to concur zealously to promote the king's cause; upon which he pressed on Montmorency that the king of France should send one to the pope to let him know that he believed the king's cause was just, and that both kingdoms would withdraw from his obedience if justice was denied on this occasion. To this were to be added all sorts of promises when it should be done; which Wolsey protested, such was his love to the king, he would value much more than if they made him pope. The point then to be insisted on was to hinder the recalling the commission."

By letters of the 30th of June it appears that Gardiner was returned from Rome with the proofs of the breves being a forgery. Campegio was then forced to delay the matter no longer: the bishop of Bayonne had pressed Campegio to it by authority from the court of France. On the 13th of July, Cassali wrote from Rome that the pope had recalled the king's cause at the emperor's suit. P. 333.

But I come now to give an account of the proceedings of the two legates, in which I must correct the errors of all the writers of that time, whom I had too implicitly followed. I go upon sure grounds; for I have before me the original register of their proceedings, made up with such exactness that, at the end, the register and clerk of the court do not only attest it with their hands and marks, but reckon up the number of the leaves with the interlinings that are in every page; and every leaf is likewise signed by the clerk, all in parchment. This noble record was lent me by my reverend and learned brother Dr. More, bishop of Ely, who has gathered together a most invaluable treasure, both of printed books and manuscripts, beyond what one can think that the life and labour of one man could have compassed, and which he is as ready to communicate as he has been careful to collect it.

The Proceedings of the Legates.

The legates sat in a room called the Parliament-chamber, near the church of the Blackfriars. Their first session was on the 31st of May. The bishop of Lincoln presented to them the bull by which the pope empowered them to try and judge the cause concerning the king and queen's marriage, whether it was good or not, and whether the issue by it was legitimate or not. The legates, after the reading of the bull, took it into their hands, and saw it was a true and untouched bull; so they took upon them to execute it. And they ordered the king and queen to be cited to appear before them on the 18th of June; and appointed that the bishop of Lincoln should cite the king, and the bishop of Bath and Wells the queen.

On the 18th, the form of the citation was brought before them, in which the bull was inserted at full length; and the two bishops certified that they had served the citation both on the king and queen, on the 15th: and Sampson, dean of the chapel, and Dr. Bell, appeared with a proxy from the king in due form. But the queen appeared personally, and read an instrument, by which she declined the legates as not competent judges, and adhered to an appeal she had made to the pope. Upon reading this, she withdrew; and though she was required to return, she had no regard to it. Upon which they pronounced her contumacious; and on the 21st of June they ordered the bishop of Bath and Wells to serve her with a monition and a peremptory citation, certifying that if she did not appear they would proceed in the cause. And on the 25th of June, the bishop certified upon oath that he had served the citation, but that the queen adhered to her protestation; so she was again judged contumacious: and as she never came more into the court, so the king was never in it. And from this it is clear, that the speeches that the historians have made for them are all plain falsities *.

The next step made was, that the legates exhibited twelve articles, setting forth the whole progress of the queen's first and second marriage, and of the dispensations obtained from Rome, all grounded upon public fame; and the queen was ordered to be cited again on the 28th of June. The bishop certified upon oath that he had served the queen with the citation, but she not appearing was again judged contumacious; and witnesses were sworn to prove the articles. The king's answer to the articles was laid before them; in which, by his answer to the seventh, it appeared that he was married to the queen by virtue of a papal dispensation.

On the 5th of July, the king's proctors brought the bull of pope Julius, dispensing with

* See the preface to this Part, p. 600; and also note to p. 55, *ante*.—ED.



the impediments in the marriage, as likewise the copy of the breve, of which the original was in Spain, but attested very solemnly from thence. The legates ordered more witnesses to be sworn on the 9th of July. In another session, additional articles were offered; in which it was set forth that impediments lay against the marriage, as being prohibited both by the divine and the ecclesiastical laws, so that it could not be maintained by the dispensations; and that they were of no force, but were null and void. Then they set forth all the objections formerly made against the bull; by which it appeared that the pope was surprised by the false suggestions made to him, on which he had granted it; and in particular, that there was no war nor appearance of war between England and Spain at that time. They did also set forth the presumptions on which they concluded that the breve was not a genuine but a forged piece. On the 12th of July, commission was given to examine the witnesses. On the 14th, additional articles were brought in; and on the 16th of July, the king's proctors were required to bring all instruments whatsoever relating to the articles before the legates; and another commission was given to examine some absent witnesses.

On the 19th of July, publication was made of the depositions of the witnesses; by which it appears that Warham, in his examination, said, he referred the matter of the lawfulness of the king's marriage to divines; but that he himself believed that it was contrary both to the laws of God and to the ecclesiastical laws; and that otherwise there was no need of a dispensation from the pope. He confesses there were great murmurings against the marriage, for nothing of that sort had ever been heard of in this kingdom before; and that he himself murmured against it, and thought it detestable and unnatural; and that he had expostulated with the bishop of Winchester for his advising it, but he acquiesced when the pope's dispensation was obtained. The bishop of Ely deposed, that he doubted concerning the consummation of the queen's marriage with prince Arthur; for the queen had often, upon her conscience, denied it to him; yet many witnesses were brought to prove the consummation: some, because the prince and the queen constantly lodged in the same bed, and that prince Arthur continued in a state of good health till the beginning of Lent: some inferred it from what they themselves had done when they were of his age: some swore to words that he spake next morning after his marriage, not decent enough to be repeated. Other witnesses were brought to prove that there was no war between England and Spain when the dispensation was granted, but that a free intercourse had been kept up between these nations for many years. It was likewise proved, that the matter set forth in the preamble of the bull was false, and that the breve was a forgery. On the 21st, the protestation the king had made, that he did not intend to marry the queen, was read and proved. With that the king's counsel closed their evidence, and demanded a final sentence. So the 23rd of July was assigned for concluding the cause.

On that day the king's proctor moved that judgment should be given; but cardinal Campegio did affirm, on the faith of a true prelate, that the harvest vacation was then begun in Rome, and that they were bound to follow the practice of the consistory; so he adjourned the court to the 28th of September.

At the end of every session, some of the men of quality then present are named; and at this time the duke of Norfolk and the bishop of Ely are only named, which seems to contradict what is commonly reported of the duke of Suffolk's being there, and of what passed between him and cardinal Wolsey. This record is attested by Clayberg the register, and Watkins the clerk of the court. And four years after that, on the 1st of October, anno 1533, it is also attested by Dr. Wootton; which he says he does, being required to attest it by Clayberg and Watkins. How this came to be desired or done at that time, is that of which I can give no other account but that this is affixed to the register. By this extract that I have made of this great record, it appears that Campegio carried on this cause with such a trifling slowness that, if the king had not thought he was sure of him, he could never have suffered such delays to be made; by which the cardinal had a colour from the vacation, then begun in the consistory in Rome, to put off the cause on the day in which a present sentence was expected. It is very natural to think, that as the king was much surprised, so he was offended out of measure when he found he was treated with so much scorn and falsehood.

On the 23rd of August a sad embroilment happened upon the duke of Suffolk's returning from France. Wolsey complained to the king that he had done him ill offices at that court: Suffolk denied it. The cardinal said he knew it by the bishop of Bayonne.

P. 136. Upon which Suffolk came and challenged him: the bishop denied he had said it. Suffolk confessed, indeed, he had said some things to his disadvantage, but the bishop prayed him that the matter might be carried no further; yet he offered to deny in Wolsey's presence that which was charged on him. But he saw the duke of Suffolk intended to oblige him to deny it in the king's presence. The bishop apprehending the ill effects this might have, resolved to keep out of the king's way for some time; and he hoped to avoid the being further questioned in the matter. He found both the king and Wolsey desired that he might make a journey to Paris to get the opinions of the learned men in the king's cause: he would not undertake it till he knew whether the king of France approved of it or not. He desired an answer might be quickly sent him; adding, that if it was not agreed to by France, it would increase the jealousies the king had of that court. He saw they designed to hold a parliament in England; and they hoped by that to make the pope feel the effects of his injustice.

By the bishop's letter of the 18th of September, it appears that Campegio having got his revocation, "resolved to go to court that he might have his audience of leave,

P. 354. where it was thought best to dismiss him civilly: in the meanwhile Wolsey, who seemed full of fear, pressed the bishop to get the matter to be examined by the divines; and though he disguised his fears, yet he could not quite cover them. Some had left him whom he had raised, probably this was Gardiner, for he united himself to the duke of Norfolk in all things. The bishop of Bayonne desired leave to go over, on the pretence of his father's old age and weakness; but really to know the sense of the French divines; and also desired that his brother, William de Bellay, might be sent to the court of England during his absence."

On the 4th of October, he writes, "that he saw the parliament was set to ruin Wolsey.

P. 364. Campegio was well treated by the king, and had good presents at parting; and the king desired that they would use him well as he passed through France; and particularly, that they would suffer him to resign an abbey he had there in favour of his son. He was stopped at Dover, for it was suspected that he was carrying over Wolsey's treasure."

On the 17th of October, he describes the cardinal's fall: "the bishop thought it was the greatest example of fortune that could be seen; both heart and voice failed him;

P. 370. The Cardinal's Disgrace. he wept, and prayed that the king of France and his mother would pity him if they found that he had been true in all that he had promised to them; his visage was quite altered, and the disgrace was so sudden and heavy, that even his enemies pitied him: the bishop saw he would be hotly pursued, and that nothing but intercessions from France could save him: he did not pretend to continue either legate or chancellor; he seemed ready to quit all to his shirt, so he might recover the king's favour again. He was capable of no comfort. He proposed that the French king and his mother should write to the king to this purpose; that they heard of his disgrace, and of the design to ruin him: that they prayed him not to proceed too suddenly: he had been a good instrument between them; if there was just cause for it his power might be lessened; but that they prayed the king would not carry things to extremity. The bishop lays this before Montmorency, without presuming to give advice in it; only he thought this could do no hurt. Whatsoever was done must seem to be of their own motion, and not as coming from a desire of the cardinal, for that would precipitate his ruin. It seems he had received great presents from the king's mother, of which he hoped she would say nothing that might hurt him. It was intended, as he thought, on his ruin, to destroy the state of the church, and seize on their lands, which had been openly talked of at some tables. If the king of France intended to interpose in his favour, no time was to be lost. Anne Boleyn, as it was believed, had got a promise of the king that he would not admit him to a private audience, lest that might beget some pity in him."



On the 22nd of October, he wrote, "that all his goods were seized on, and that his spirit

P. 377. was quite sunk. It was not known who should have the great seal; it was believed it would no more be put into a priest's hands; but he saw Gardiner was like to have a great share in affairs. The cardinal's goods that were seized

All his Goods seized on.

P. 379. on were valued at five hundred thousand crowns. More, who had been chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, was made lord chancellor. The see of York was to be left in his hands, and some of his goods were to be sent back to him. The bishop did apprehend, that if the new ministry did not agree, which he believed they would not do long, he might be brought back to court again."

I have given the relation of this great transaction more particularly than was perhaps necessary; but finding so clear a thread in those letters, I thought it not improper to follow them closely, the rather to show that none of the papers that Mr. Le Grand has published, do in the least contradict but rather establish all that I had written; and so punctual a relation being laid before me by those who bore no good-will to me nor to my work, seemed an invitation to me to enlarge further than perhaps was necessary. I will end therefore all that relates to cardinal Wolsey at once.

Upon his going to York, he behaved himself much better than he had done in the former parts of his life. In a book that was printed in the year 1536, entitled "A Remedy for Sedition," writ by one that was no friend to popery, this character is given of the last part of Wolsey's life. "None was better beloved than he after he had been there awhile. He gave bishops a good example how they might win men's hearts. There was few holidays but he would ride five or six miles from his house; now to this parish church, now to that, and there cause one of his doctors to make a sermon unto the people: he sat among them, and said mass before all the parish. He saw why churches were made, and began to restore them to their right and proper use. If our bishops had done so, we should have seen that preaching the gospel is not the cause of sedition, but rather lack of preaching it. He brought his dinner with him, and had divers of the parish to it. He inquired if there was any debate or grudge between any of them; if there were, after dinner he sent for the parties to the church, and made them all one."

Wolsey's good Conduct in his Diocese.

I had in my work mentioned the concluding character that I found Cavendish gave of him, that was left out in the printed editions, which made me vouch the manuscript from which I had it: but the last edition agreeing with that copy, I need say no more to justify my quotation, for it will be found in it.

It may seem strange, that when the bishop of Bayonne first suggested to Wolsey, that if the king's marriage was against the law of God, the pope's dispensation could be of no force; yet no inferences were made from this. All our writers give Cranmer the honour of having started that first; and they make that the foundation of his advancement. I can see no other way to reconcile all this, but that it may be supposed Wolsey, as true to the interests of the papacy, was unwilling to let it be moved in public; and that he kept this between the bishop of Bayonne and himself, without communicating it to the king. Now the cause was called away to Rome, and so a new process followed with a very slow progress: delays upon delays were granted, and yet all was precipitated in conclusion.

In the meanwhile the king sent his question to the faculties of law and divinity in the several universities of Europe. And understanding that Martin de Bellay, the elder brother of the bishop of Bayonne, distinguished by the title of sieur de Langey, had great credit in the universities, both in France, Italy, and Germany, he engaged him to procure their opinions upon the point of the unlawfulness of his marriage; who, in the view of this service, prevailed with the king to lend the king of France 150,000 crowns, being to be advanced as a part of the 2,000,000 that he was to pay for the redemption of his sons, which was to be repaid to king Henry in five years. Besides, he assigned over to him the forfeiture due by the emperor for not marrying his daughter: and he sent, in a present to his godson Henry, afterwards king of France, a jewel, with some of that which was believed to be the true cross, that had been left in pawn with the king by Philip, Charles's father, for 50,000 crowns; so ready was the king to engage the king of France into his interest at no small charge to himself.

The King consults the Universities.

Mart. de Bellage's Memoirs, p. 282.

I come next to open the transactions in the convocation that was summoned to meet on the 5th of November 1529, two days after the opening of the parliament. At their first meeting, a reformation of abuses was proposed; and with that an inquiry was made concerning heretical books. A committee of bishops was appointed with relation to heresies. On the 19th of December, secrecy was enjoined; and that was again a second time enjoined under the pain of excommunication. Then the prolocutor came up, and had secret conference with the upper house. They remitted to the king the loan that they had made him; and they put an end to that work on Christmas-eve, a week after the parliament was risen.

Proceedings in Convocation.

The bishops were much offended at the translations of the New Testament by Tindall, Joyce, and others, and proceeded severely against those who read them; yet it was not easy to put a stop to the curiosity and zeal of the people. The king came to the star-chamber, and conferred with the bishops and other learned men on this subject. The bishops said these translations were not true; and complained of the prologues set before them. So the king commanded by a proclamation, issued and printed in June 1530, that these translations should be called in, and promised that a new one should be made. On this occasion it is not unfit to mention what doctor Fulk writes that he heard Miles Coverdale say in a sermon he preached at Paul's-cross. After he had finished his translation, some censured it: upon which king Henry ordered divers bishops to peruse it. After they had it long in their hands, he asked their judgment of it: they said there were many faults in it. But he asked, upon that, if there were any heresies in it: they said they found none. Then said the king, "In God's name, let it go abroad among my people." The time is not marked when this was said, therefore I insert it here: for in the beginning of the following year, the king ordered a Bible of the largest volume to be had in every church; but it does not appear to me by whom it was translated.

May 24. Translation of the Scriptures condemned.

On the 19th of September 1530, another proclamation was made against all who should purchase anything from the court of Rome contrary to the king's prerogative, or to hinder his intended purposes. The convocation was again brought together about the 7th of January: their greatest business was to purchase their pardon; for as the cardinal had fallen under a *præmunire*, by the act of the 16th of Richard III., so they were generally involved more or less in the same guilt. The sum was soon agreed to, with the consent of the lower house: one hundred thousand pounds was to be their ransom.

On the 7th of February, some of the king's counsellors and judges came and conferred with them about some words that were proposed to be put in the preamble of the bill of subsidy, which were these: "The king, who is the protector and the only supreme head of the church and clergy of England." Upon this the prolocutor and clergy were called up to confer about it. The lord chief justice, with others, came into the convocation and conferred with the archbishop and his brethren. The next day the prolocutor desired a further time, and the archbishop assigned them one o'clock. Then the archbishop had some discourse with them concerning the king's pardon. Some of the judges came and communicated to them a copy of the exceptions in the act of grace: this was in the 23rd session. In the 24th session there was yet further talk about the king's supremacy.

The Steps in carrying the King's being declared Head of the Church.

The judges came and asked them whether they were agreed upon the exceptions; and added, that the king would admit of no qualifications. When these were gone, the prolocutor came up and asked yet more time: the archbishop appointed two o'clock the same day: a long debate followed. The next day the archbishop had a secret conference with the bishops; and Cromwell came and had some discourse with him. When he went away, the bishops resolved to send the bishops of Lincoln and Exeter to the king; it seems to soften him; but they came back and reported that the king would not speak with them. The judges told them they had no orders to settle the king's pardon till they did agree to the supremacy. They were prorogued till the afternoon; and then there was so great a variety of opinions that no agreement was like to follow. The lord Rochford, Anne Boleyn's father, was sent by the king with some expedients. The archbishop directed them to consider of these; and that when they were come to a resolution upon them, that they should send



three or four of each house to treat with the king's council and with the judges: but the king would admit of no treaty, and asked a clear answer. It was put off a day longer; and on the 11th of February the article was thus conceived in Latin: *Ecclesiæ et cleri Anglicani singularem protectorem et unicum et supremum dominum, et quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam supremum caput, ipsius majestatem recognoscimus.* In English thus: "We recognize the king's majesty to be our only sovereign lord, the singular protector of the church and clergy of England, and, as far as is to be allowed by the law of Christ, likewise our SUPREME HEAD."

Rymer.

The form being thus agreed on, the archbishop offered it to the whole body: all were silent. Upon which he said, "Whosoever is silent, seems to consent." To this one answered, "Then we are all silent." The meeting was put off till the afternoon; and then, after a long conference, all of the upper house agreed to it, none excepted. Fisher is expressly named as present: and in the evening the prolocutor came and signified to the archbishop that the lower house had also consented to it. And thus the bill of subsidy was prepared and offered to the king on the 1st of April. Thus this matter was carried by adding this limitation, which all parties understood according to their different notions.

The Limitation added to it.

Though these words of limitation had not been added, the nature of things required that they should have been supposed; since, among Christians, all authority must be understood to be limited by the laws that Christ has given. But those who adhered to their former notions understood this headship to be only a temporal authority even in ecclesiastical matters; and they thought that, by the laws of Christ, the secular authority ought not to meddle in ecclesiastical matters: whereas others of the new learning, as it was then called, thought that the magistrate had a full authority even in ecclesiastical matters; but that the administration of this was so limited to the laws of the gospel, that it did not warrant him to command anything but what was conform to these. So that these words were equivocal, and differently understood by those who subscribed and afterwards swore them.

It seems the king thought it was of great advantage to him to have this matter settled with any limitation, for that in time would be dropped and forgotten; as indeed it was. This, no doubt, was intended to terrify the court of Rome, since it was published over all Europe that it went unanimously in the convocation of this province.

And accepted by the King.

Tonstal was now translated to Durham; and being a man of great probity, he could not at first approve of a thing in which he saw a fraudulent management and an ill design: so he protested against it. He acknowledged the king's headship in temporal matters, but did not allow it in spirituals: but the king, who had a particular friendship for him, wrote him a letter which, from the printed title to it, I too hastily thought was directed to the convocation at York, but it was writ only to Tonstal; and it seems it so far satisfied him, that he took the oath afterwards without any limitation.

I shall now go through the rest of the abstract of that convocation, by which it will appear what was the spirit that prevailed among them. In the 49th session, after all had agreed to the preamble of the bill of subsidy, the bishop of London laid before them a libel against the clergy. In the next session, Crome, Latimer, and Bilney were examined upon some articles. It does not appear whether the libel was laid to their charge or not; only their examination following the other motion so soon gives ground to apprehend that it might be the matter under examination. In the 55th session the king's pardon was read to them; and it seems exceptions being taken to some things in it, in the 58th session, the emendations that the king's council had made were read to them, in which it seems they acquiesced, for we hear no more of it.

The Proceedings of the Clergy against Heretics.

After that, there was a long conference with relation to Crome's errors; but the matter was referred to the prolocutor and the clergy. The prolocutor had, in the 45th session, complained of Tracy's Testament; but no answer being made, he renewed his complaint in the 62d session, and desired that it might be condemned, and that Crome should be proceeded against; as also that Bilney and Latimer might be cited: but for some reasons, not expressed, the archbishop thought fit to delay it.

Complaints of Tracy's Testament.

In the 64th session the prolocutor repeated his motion for condemning Tracy's Testament; so in the 66th session, on the 23rd of March, the archbishop gave judgment against it. Tracy's son was examined about it: he said it was all written in his father's own hand; and that he had never given a copy of it to any person, except to one only. In the 69th session the archbishop examined Lambert (alias Nicolson, who was afterwards burnt,) before two notaries; and in the 70th session, the sentence condemning Tracy's Testament was publicly read; and after two other sessions, the convocation was prorogued to October.

It appears from all this that the convocation was made up of men violently set against our Reformation: but I turn now to another scene. The king seeing no hope left of succeeding in his suit at the court of Rome, resolved to try the faculties of divinity in the several univer-
P. 383. sities. His chief reliance was upon France, and on those three brothers formerly mentioned. He began to suspect there was some secret negotiation between the court of Rome and the king of France; yet, though he opened this to the bishop of Bayonne, he did on all other occasions express an entire confidence in that king: and the new ministry seemed zealous in the interests of France, and studied to remove all the jealousies that they apprehended Wolsey might have given of them.

At this time the bishop of Tarbes, then cardinal Grandimont, was with the pope, and had
The King's Proceedings at Rome. P. 399. a particular charge sent to him to assist the English ambassadors. He wrote to the French king, on the 27th of March, "that he had served Boleyn, then lord Rochfort, all he could; that he had pressed the pope to show the regard he had to the king of France as well as to the king of England." He writes, "that the pope had three several times said to him in secret that he wished that the marriage had been already made in England, either by the legate's dispensation or otherwise, provided it was not done by him, nor in diminution of his authority, under the pretence of the laws of God." He also wrote, "that the emperor had pressed the pope to create some new cardinals upon his recommendation; but that the pope complained, that when he was a prisoner he had made some cardinals who were a disgrace to the college. The emperor said he was sorry for it; but it was not by his order. The pope said he knew the contrary; for he saw the instructions sent to the cardinal Cordelier, signed by the emperor, in which they were named. So the pope refused to give the two caps that he desired."

There was then an Italian, Joachim sieur de Veaux, at the court of England, who was
P. 411. an agent of France: he, in a letter to the king of France, March the 15th, writes,
Applications made to Divines and Lawyers. that the king thought that by his means he might have the opinion of the faculty at Paris in his cause. On the 4th of April he writes, that the king expected no good from the pope, and seemed resolved to settle his matter at home, with the
P. 418. advice of his council and parliament. He looked on the pope as simoniacal, and as an ignorant man, and not fit to be the universal pastor, and resolved not to suffer the court of Rome to have any advantage from the benefices in his kingdom, but to govern it by a provincial authority, and by a patriarch; and he hoped other kingdoms would do the same.

After some interval, the bishop of Bayonne's letters are again continued. In one of the
An Opinion given by some in Paris, p. 421. 29th of December, he writes, "that the king was marvellously well pleased with the account his ambassadors wrote to him, of what the divines of Paris had done; though he understands there is one Beda, a dangerous person, among them. That declaration which their divines had made, was such, that all other things were forgiven, in consideration of it."

The next letter is from his brother William, who writes, "that the good answer that came from the doctors and universities of Italy made the king wonder that those of Paris were so backward. It was suspected in England, that the king of France, or his counsellors, had not recommended the matter effectually to them. He had a letter from one Gervais, a doctor there, who had much advanced the king's affairs, for which Montmorency had made him great acknowledgments. He showed this letter to king Henry, who, upon that, carried him to his closet where his books lay, and there he entertained him four hours: he told him he was in such perplexity, that it was not possible for him to live longer in it."



This de Bellay was to go to Paris to talk with the doctors; therefore he prayed Mont-
Bishop of Bayonne sent to Paris. morency that he might find a letter from the king, empowering him so to do; that so he might not seem to act without his orders: and he promised to manage the matter with discretion.

In a letter that the bishop of Bayonne wrote from Lusignan on the 13th of April, where
P. 427. he was then with the French king, he writes, that the matter of the divorce was entirely despatched at Paris, as it had been before that done at Orleans by his brother's means. But he adds, some represented to the king that he had showed too much diligence in procuring it, as if he was serving two masters. Joachim had before that,
P. 442. on the 15th of February, written to the king, that king Henry thanked him for his commands to the doctors in Paris in his matter, which he laid to heart more than all other things; and desired they would give their opinions in writing, that they might be laid before the pope.

It does not appear that the pope took any other pains to be well informed in the matter,
Cardinal Cajetan's Opinion against the King. but by consulting cardinal Cajetan, who was then justly esteemed the learnedest man of the college. He, when he wrote commentaries upon Thomas's "Summ," though that father of the schoolmen thought, that the laws in Leviticus, concerning the degrees of marriage that are prohibited, were moral and of eternal
2dus 2dæ. Quæst. 159, Art. 9. obligation, yet, in his Commentary, declares himself to be of another mind, but takes a very odd method to prove it: for instead of any argument to evince it, he goes only on this ground, that they cannot be moral, since the popes dispensed with them; whereas they cannot dispense with a moral law. And for that he gives an instance of the marriage of the king of Portugal, to which he adds, the present queen of England had likewise consummated her marriage with the late brother of the king of England, her husband. By which, as it appears that they took it then for granted at Rome, that her first marriage with prince Arthur was consummated, so he departed only from Aquinas's opinion, because the pope's practice of dispensing in such cases could not be justified, unless he had forsaken his master in that particular. And here he offers neither reason nor authority to maintain his opinion, but only the practice of the court of Rome. Which is in plain words to say, that what opinion soever is contrary to the practice of the popes must for that reason be laid aside: for he offers no other argument but three modern instances, of which this of the queen of England is one, of popes dispensing with those laws. But now being required by the pope to consider the present case more particularly, he, on the 13th of March this year, gave his opinion in writing to him. Raynaldus has inserted it in his Annals. In it, after he had compared the laws in Leviticus and Deuteronomy
Ad An. 1530, Num. 194. together, he concludes, "that the marrying a brother's wife was simply unlawful; but that in some circumstances it might have been good, if a much greater good should follow on such a marriage, than that provided for in Deuteronomy, of continuing the name of a brother dead without children. Now he argues, that the reason of a provision made in a private case, would be much stronger in a case of a public nature; so that a marriage being made to keep peace between two nations must be held lawful, since a dispensation was obtained for it. This was not only good in itself, but it was warranted by the apostolical authority. He confesses that the pope cannot in the least alter or derogate from the laws of God or of nature. But in doubtful cases he may determine with relation to the laws of God and of nature. He insists chiefly upon England's being delivered from a war by the marriage. He acknowledges that both councils, popes, and holy doctors have condemned such marriages as contrary to the laws of God and of nature; but they do not condemn them, when other circumstances accompany them, when it is for the good of both parties, and for a common good; and therefore he justifies pope Julius's
Ad An. 1503, N. 22. dispensation. Who, as the same Raynaldus tells us, did it with the view of the advantages that Spain and England would have; but chiefly, because it was hoped that by this conjunction of force they would be able to depress the French.

This opinion of so great a man was sent over to king Henry, signed by himself, bearing
Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 14. date the 27th of January, 1534; but this date is perhaps only the date of his signing that copy. It had not the effect they expected from it, especially because

it was defective in that way of writing that was then the most cried up against heretics. For he brought no authority from any ancienter writer to confirm his opinion: so that he argued, from his private way of commenting on Scripture, against the streams of tradition, which was called the heretics' way of writing.

The pope made a new step on the 7th of March; for he sent a breve to the king, setting forth a complaint made by queen Katherine, "that king Henry intended to proceed to a second marriage; he therefore prohibited that, under the pain of the severest censures, threatening to put the whole kingdom under an interdict; and charged the king, in the solemnest manner, to live with the queen as formerly." This was granted at Boulogne, upon the emperor's pressing instances. This had been attempted before, but was afterwards disowned by the pope. For when the avocation was sent over to England, there was sent with it an inhibition to proceed further in the matter, threatening censures and punishments in case of disobedience. But complaint being made of this, the pope did by a bull, dated the 5th of October, 1529, declare that the censures threatened in the inhibition were added against his mind, so he annuls them, and suspends the cause to the 25th of December.

The Pope's first Breve against the Divorce.

Rymer, Vol. xiv.

In a letter that the cardinal Grandimont wrote to Montmorency, he tells him that the emperor said he would have the matter of the marriage carried through: if it was judged unlawful, he would not support his aunt; but if otherwise, he would support her. And when Boleyn once offered to answer him, he stopped him and said, he was a party, and ought not to speak in the matter. The cardinal told Boleyn he had orders from the king of France to solicit that matter as if it was his own; but Boleyn thought it was best to look on for some time, to see how matters went; for if the pope and the emperor should fall into new quarrels, then they might hope to be better heard.

P. 454.

On the 12th of June, Bellay wrote to the king a long account of his proceedings with the doctors of the Sorbonne; by which, it seems, what is formerly mentioned of their giving opinion in the king's favour, was only as private doctors, and not in a body as a faculty. "The young princes of France were yet detained in Spain, so it was necessary to proceed with such caution as not to irritate the emperor. He had delayed moving in it for some days; but the English ambassadors were impatient. He complains that there were few honest men in the faculty, but apprehending the inconvenience of delaying the matter any longer, he presented the king's letters to them. The assembly was great; the bishop of Senlis, several abbots and deans, the guardians of the four mendicant orders, and many others, were present, so that of a great while there had not been so numerous an assembly. The proposition was made on king Henry's part with great advantage: an express law in the Scripture was quoted; the four great doctors of the church, eight councils, and as many faculties or universities were of his side: so, in respect to them, the king desired they would determine the matter in the doctrinal way. The emperor, on the other hand, who was likewise the king's ally, opposed the divorce, the queen of England being his aunt; for he thought himself bound to interpose on her account. So the king being pressed by two allies, who both were resolved to be governed by the laws of God and of right reason, laid the whole matter before them, who were now assembled in an extraordinary manner, and enjoined them to recommend themselves to God, and, after a mass of the Holy Ghost, to consider that which was to be laid out to them, without fear or favour; and after full consideration, to determine it as God should inspire their consciences. This was the substance of Bellay's speech. Beda spoke next: he said they all knew how much the king studied to please the king of England. Many strangers that were of the faculty seemed to applaud this. Bellay replied, there was certainly a great friendship between the two kings: the emperor was likewise the king's ally. But they ought to have God only before their eyes, and to search for the truth. And having said that, he withdrew.

P. 458.

The Proceedings of the Sorbonne.

"Those who spoke first, thought the king's desire was reasonable, and that therefore they ought to examine the matter: this could not be refused, if asked on the behalf of the meanest person. Others said the faculty was subject to the pope, from whom they had their privileges; and since this question related to his

Great Heat in their Debates.



power, they ought not to speak to it, till they sent to know his mind; or at least, till they sent to know how the king approved of it, and if he would ask the pope's leave to suffer them to debate about it. Another party moved, that while their letters were despatched to that purpose, they should proceed to examine the question, but suspend the coming to a final resolution till an answer was brought them. They said, they thought that they had their privileges from the king as well as from the pope; and that it was a reflection on the pope to imagine he would be offended if they should examine a case in which the conscience of a Christian was disquieted; and that even an order from the pope to the contrary, ought not to restrain them from examining the matter. Upon these different opinions the beadle began to gather their votes, whether they ought to proceed to examine the question or not. But one of the doctors rose from his place and plucked the scroll out of the beadle's hands, and tore it in pieces: and so they all rose up in a tumult, crying out, that nothing ought to be done without writing first to the king and to the pope. Thus the meeting broke up in confusion. The English ambassadors were near enough to see and hear all this. They said they knew this was laid by Beda and his party: Bellay did not then think so, and prevailed with them not to write to England till he tried what might be done. He went to Lizet, the first president of the court of parliament, to whom the king in especial manner had recommended the managing of that affair. Lizet sent for Beda and other his complices, and prevailed with them to meet again the next day, and to proceed according to the third opinion, which was to discuss the question provisionally, and to seal up their conclusion, and send it to the king: so next morning they met, and appointed to begin the Monday following to examine the question.

"This did not satisfy the English ambassadors; they thought this was only an artifice to gain time; and indeed they had just ground of suspicion from what several of the doctors did openly talk. Bellay, therefore, desired the king would write to the dean, that he would cut off impertinent digressions, and bring the matter to as speedy a conclusion as was possible; for some said they would make it last a year. Beda did give it out that he knew that what he did was for the king's service: of this he made no secret. Bellay complaining of this to Lizet, he sent for Beda, and spake so earnestly to him, that he swore very positively he would be so far from hindering the doctors from obeying the king's commands, that he would employ himself, as if it were for the saving of his life, to get the matter to pass without noise or scandal: but Bellay saw that the president trusted him, so he did acquiesce, though he knew that by the noise he had already made, he had broke a promise which he had made to Montmorency. The bishop of Senlis was very sensible of the disorder of that body: it appearing that the English ambassadors did suspect the court of France was dealing doubly in the matter, the bishop of Senlis was resolved to go to the king, and to let him see how matters were managed in that faculty, and to show him the necessity of reforming them."

The Jealousy of the Court of France.

At this time the duke of Norfolk wrote to Montmorency, that they wondered to find the faculty was so much altered, that before this time fifty-six doctors were in their opinion on the king's side, and there were only seven against him: but that in the late congregation, thirty-six were against it, and twenty-two only were for it. The king of England had reason upon this to suspect some underhand dealing; therefore he hoped they would so manage the matter, as to clear all suspicions.

P. 471.

Upon the changing the Divines' Opinions.

The next letters of De Bellay did certainly give the progress of the deliberations of the Sorbonne; but we find nothing of that in Le Grand's Collection. It is somewhat strange, and may be liable to suspicion, that after so close a series of letters concerning that affair, no letter is produced from the 12th of June to the 15th of August: thus we have no account given us of the deliberations of the Sorbonne, and yet it is not to be doubted, but that a very particular relation was written to the court of every step that was made in it. The producing no letters for these two months, must leave a very heavy suspicion of unfair dealing somewhere; for the first letter of De Bellay's that is published by him, after that of the 12th of June, is of the 15th of August.

P. 473.

Rymer has published the original decision of the Sorbonne on the 2nd of July, 1530, but he adds *avulso sigillo;* yet after that, he publishes an attestation of the notaries of the court

of Paris (*Curiæ Parisiensis*) of the authenticalness of this original decision. The attestation of the notaries, dated the 6th of July, mentions both seal and subscription, free from all blemish, and liable to no suspicion. It is probable this precaution was thought necessary, in case the messenger that was to carry it to England had fallen into the hands of any of the emperor's parties in their way to Calais, who no doubt would have destroyed this instrument: but this notarial attestation would have been a full proof of it; for the difficulties in obtaining it might make those who had conducted the matter think it would be no easy thing to procure a new instrument from the Sorbonne itself. How it came that the seal was pulled from the instrument itself, must be left to conjecture; perhaps it was pulled from it in queen Mary's time.

The Decision of the Sorbonne. Rymer, Vol. xiv.

Bellay, in his letter of the 15th of August, writes, "that he had moved Lizet to send for Beda, and to let him know the king's intentions: Beda talked as a fool, he would not say as an ill man; but the president was possessed with a good opinion of him: the king of France had, at the earl of Wiltshire's desire, ordered an examination to be made of his behaviour; he had also ordered the president to demand of the beadle an authentic copy of an act that Beda had once signed, but then wished he had not signed it; but Lizet would not command the beadle to do this, till he had the consent of the faculty to give it, though he had an order from the king to require it. So Bellay having got the king's letter, went to the president and delivered it to him: he promised he would execute it, and get the authentic copy into his hands: towards the evening he went to the president to see what he had done; he said the beadle told him he could not give it without the consent of the faculty: upon which Bellay said, that might be a rule in case a private person asked it; but when the prince demanded it, he thought it was no just excuse. The act which was demanded, was approved by the faculty, by the dean, and the students, and by all concerned in it: the beadle pretended that it might be said that he had falsified the act: Bellay answered, that was the reason why they desired the act; he was present when it passed, and had minuted it; but since Beda and his complices repented that they had signed it, and that the minute they had signed was in some places dashed and interlined, they might make new dashings and interlineations, therefore he prayed the president to command the beadle to bring him the minute, that he said was conform to the original: for an hour together the president would do no more but desire the beadle to do it; at last he commanded him, but so mildly, that the beadle did not think fit to obey him; upon which Bellay said to him, if he suffered himself to be so treated, he was unworthy of the character that he bore: this quickened Lizet so, that he commanded the beadle, all excuses set aside, to obey him. The act was brought and read, and he promised to bring him a copy of it by the next morning: the president thought that Bellay had spoken too boldly to him, and he would not let him have it, but sent it directly to the king: Lizet had that esteem for Beda, that he thought him a saint, and he would not believe him capable of the faults that he saw him guilty of, which were such, that Bellay wrote, that if he had been to be charged with them, and had a dozen of heads, he had deserved to lose them all. He writes that Beda was not the only bad man of the faculty, he had many companions who seemed to desire an occasion to provoke the king to do that to them which would make them pass for martyrs among the people. He had often heard of their wicked designs, under the hypocritical disguise of sincerity, but could not have believed the tenth part if he had not seen it."

Lizet the President seemed to work against it.

Next to this we have in Le Grand's Collection, the letter that Lizet wrote to Montmorency of the same date, mentioning, "that according to the king's letters to him, he had procured the copy of the act, which the king of England desired: for though the bishop of Bayonne asked it of him, that he might carry it to that king, yet that not being ordered in the king's letters to him, he therefore thought it his duty to send it directly to the king himself: and as touching the examination that the king had ordered to be made of the conduct of that matter, he desired it may be delayed till he was heard give an account of it; for that information would perhaps be a prejudice rather than a service to the king of England: in it he desires to know the king's pleasure, that he might follow it as carefully as was possible."

P. 480. His Letter of that whole Matter.



The bishop of Bayonne gives a further account of this matter, and writes, "that after the assembly of the Sorbonne was dismissed by the dean, and that the bishop of Senlis, with many abbots and nine or ten either generals, provincials, guardians, or priors of the chief convents of the kingdom, and others of great rank and credit, were gone, Beda and his complices did by their own private authority meet and study to overturn that which had been settled in so great an assembly. He writes that this disease was of a long continuance, and was still increasing. This company pretending they were a capitular congregation, sent an order to the bishop of Senlis, who was gone into his diocese, and had carried the original act of the determination with him, requiring him under the pain of disobedience to send it to them: he wrote in answer to them, that he had orders to deliver it to none but to the king; he was resolved to obey the king's orders, and advised them to do the same; upon which they moved to deprive him as a rebel to the faculty: he was not frightened with this, but wrote to them, that he was bound to obey the faculty as his mother, but to obey the king as his father; yet they resolved to proceed further after the feasts. In this letter he tells what pains his brother had taken to prevent the scandal that such proceedings would give, which were better hindered than punished; but he complains that those who had authority to restrain such insolencies did secretly encourage them:" by which it is clear he means Lizet. The date of this letter is printed the 14th of August; but it is more probable it was the 14th of July, some days after the determination was made; for this matter has no relation to the business of the former letter that was written by his brother a day after this, if it is the true date.

A Design to make a contrary Decree.

It is plain from this that there were two instruments: the one was the act of the determination, which at the time of the writing this letter was in the bishop of Senlis' hands; the other was a minute signed by them all, to which the former letter relates, and that might have had rasures and glosses in it, which are not to be imagined could be in the authentic act: it seems the English ambassadors desired both.

There is another letter on the 15th of August of the bishop of Bayonne's to Montmorency, in which "he complains that the faction was going to make a determination contrary to the former, and had made an order that none of the faculty might sign against the marriage, but left it free for any to sign for it; but that the king had ordered that the determination already made should remain entire. The bishop had pressed the president to obey the king's orders: he had promised him to do it; but Beda promised the contrary to his party. Bellay feared the king of England would suspect that the king did not act sincerely. He confessed that from the appearances of things he should do so himself if he had not seen the concern that the king was in upon this occasion. When he pressed Lizet to obey the king's orders, he spoke two or three hours to him in bad Latin (he calls it the Latin of Auvergne), but he could not understand what he meant. He says the beadle pretended there was one little fault in the act, upon which he might be accused of forgery. Upon this the bishop suspected Beda's practice more than he had done, and he had required the president to obey the king's orders, otherwise he would protest if he did not; and he secretly told him he did say that, to justify him at their hands, whom he saw he was resolved not to offend. The president then promised him the act that night, but then delayed it till next morning at five: when he sent for it, sometimes the gate was not opened, and the key was lost; sometimes the president was asleep; and then it was said that he had taken physic, and that the bishop must have patience: but he understood that he had gone out by a back-door to the abbey of St. Germains; thither he followed him, and asked for the act; but he said he had sent it to the king. He reckons many other impertinencies that gave a mean character of Lizet."

P. 560.

But while this matter was transacted thus at Paris, though the university of Angiers had determined against the marriage, yet the faculty of divinity there did on the 7th of May, 1530, determine "that it was lawful for a Christian to marry his brother's widow, he dying without children; but having consummated the marriage, that such marriage was not contrary to the laws of God and of nature, and therefore the pope might upon reasonable grounds dispense in that case." This was the judgment of the faculty; but that university did in a body on that

P. 507. Angiers divided; the University for the Divorce, and the Divines against it.

same day decree the quite contrary, without any mention of this opinion of the divines; so it seems that was kept secret. P. 508.

Thus I have fully opened all that M. Le Grand has thought fit to publish concerning the divines of France. By the relation given of the proceedings in the Sorbonne, it appears that in the opinion of the bishop of Bayonne and his brother that body was then much corrupted; that a few incendiaries influenced many there, so that it was far from deserving the high character that it had in the world. It is highly probable they apprehended that the carrying on the divorce might open a door to let in that which they called heresy into England, which, considering the heat of that time, was enough to bias them in all their deliberations.

I turn next homeward, to give a more particular account of the proceedings both in Cambridge and Oxford. I begin with the former, because it was first ended there; and I have a sure ground to go on. A worthy person found among the manuscripts of Bennet college a manuscript of Dr. Buckmaster, then the vice-chancellor, in which there is a very particular relation of that affair. It was procured to that house in queen Elizabeth's reign by Dr. Jegon, then head of that house, and was by him given to that college; for there is nothing remaining in the registers of the university relating to it, as that learned person has informed me. Col. Num. 16. The King's Letters to the University of Oxford.

The vice-chancellor was then a fellow of Peterhouse, of which Dr. Edmonds was head, who was then a vicar and prebendary in the diocese and cathedral church of Salisbury. The whole will be found in the Collection. It begins with a short introductory speech of the vice-chancellor's, upon which he read the king's letter to them. It set forth, "that many of the greatest clerks in Christendom, both within and without the realms, had affirmed in writing that the marrying the brother's wife, he dying without children, was forbidden both by the law of God and by the natural law. The king, therefore, being desirous to have their minds, to whom he had showed a benevolent affection, did not doubt but they would declare the truth in a case of such importance both to himself and to the whole kingdom. For this end he sent Gardiner and Fox to inform them particularly of the circumstances of the matter; and he expected their answer under the seal of the university." The king's letter is dated the 16th of February. Col. Num. 16.

After this was read, the vice-chancellor told them, "they saw what the king desired of them: they were men of free and ingenuous tempers; every one of their consciences would dictate to them what was most expedient." After this follows the form of the grace that was proposed and granted; "that the vice-chancellor and ten doctors, and the two proctors with seventeen masters of arts, should have full authority to determine the question proposed, and to answer it in the name of the whole university; and whatsoever two parts in three of these persons should agree in, that, without any new order, should be returned to the king as the answer of the university: only the question was to be disputed publicly, and the determination that they should make was to be read in the hearing of the university."

On the 9th of March, at a meeting of the university, the vice-chancellor told them, "that the persons deputed by them had, with great care and diligence, examined the question, and had considered both the passages in the Scriptures and the opinions of the interpreters; upon which they had a public disputation, which was well known to them all: so now, after great labours and all possible industry, they came to the determination then to be read to them." Then follows the determination, in which they add to the question proposed to them these words, after "brother's wife," "she being carnally known by her former husband." So, after above a fortnight's study or practice, this was obtained of them. The vice-chancellor came to Windsor, and on the second Sunday of Lent, after vespers, he delivered it to the king. Of this he gave an account to Dr. Edmonds, in a letter, in which he tells him, "he came to court while Latimer was preaching. The king gave him great thanks for the determination, and was much pleased with the method in which they had managed it with such quietness. The king praised Latimer's sermon; and he was ordered to wait on the king the next day. Dr. Butts brought twenty nobles from the king to him, and five marks to the junior proctor that came with him,—scarce enough to bear their charges, and far from the price of corruption; and gave him leave to go when he pleased. But after dinner, the king came to a gallery where Gardiner and Fox, with the vice-chancellor, Latimer, and the proctor



were, and no more, and talked some hours with them. He was not pleased with Gardiner and Fox, because the other question, 'whether the pope had power to dispense with such a marriage?' was not likewise determined. But the vice-chancellor said, he believed that could not have been obtained: but the king said, he would have that determined after Easter." It appears by his letter that there was a great outcry raised against Cambridge for that which they had done: the vice-chancellor was particularly censured for it; and he had lost a benefice that the patron had promised him, but had upon this changed his mind. Those who did not like Latimer were not pleased with his preaching.

He heard those of Oxford had appointed a select number to determine the king's question; and that Fox, when he was there, was in great danger: but a more particular account of the proceedings in that university, I take from three of king Henry's letters to them, communicated to me by my learned friend, Dr. Kennet, which, since they have not yet been printed, will be found in the Collection. Col. Num. 17.

In the first letter that the king wrote to the university, he sets forth, "that upon certain considerations moving his conscience, he had already consulted many learned men, both within the kingdom and without it; but he desired to feel the minds of those among them who were learned in divinity, to see how they agreed with others: therefore he hoped they would sincerely and truly declare their consciences in that matter, and not give credit to misreports. He requires them, as their sovereign lord, to declare their true and just learning in that cause: therefore, in a great variety of expressions, mixing threatenings with promises if they should not uprightly, according to divine learning, handle themselves, he leaves the declaring the particulars to the bishop of Lincoln, his confessor, to whom they were to give entire credit."

By the second letter, the king tells them, "he understood that a great part of the youth of the university did, in a factious manner, combine together, in opposition to the wise and learned men of that body, to have a great number of regents and non-regents to be joined in a committee of the doctors, proctors, and bachelors of divinity, for the determination of the king's question. This he believed had not been often seen, that such a number of men of small learning should be joined with so famous a sort to stay their seniors in so weighty a cause. The king took that in very ill part, since they showed themselves more unkind and wilful than all other universities had done. He hoped they would bring those young men into better order, otherwise they should feel what it was to provoke him so heinously."

By his third letter, he complains "that they delayed to send him their determination. He tells them the university of Cambridge had in a much shorter time agreed upon the manner of sending their answer, and had sent their answer under their common seal. He would have more easily borne with a delay in making the answer, if they had so far obeyed him as to put the matter in a method: he, therefore, being unwilling to proceed to extremities, had sent his counsellor Fox to them, hoping that the heads and rulers would consider their duty in granting his request, which was only that they would 'search the truth' in a cause that so nearly concerned both himself and his people. And therefore he desired that the numbers of private suffrages might not prevail against their heads, their rulers, and sage fathers; but that they would so try the opinions of the multitude as the importance of the matter did require; hoping that their constitution was such, that there were ways left to eschew such inconveniences when they should happen, as he trusted they would not fail to do; and so to redeem the errors and delays that were past." In conclusion, the matter was brought into the method set forth in my History *.

Here is no threatening them by reason of any determination they might give; but, on the contrary, all the vehemence in those letters is only with relation to the method of proceeding: and it was certainly a very irregular one to join a great number of persons who had not studied divinity with men of the profession, who could only by a majority carry the point against reason and argument.

Here I shall insert some marginal notes that Dr. Creech wrote in his own book of my History, which is now in my hands. He says, that in the determination of Oxford they added the words of the brother's wife (*ab eadem carnaliter cognitam*), "that the first marriage

* See note, Part 1, p. 65.

was consummated;" though this was not in the question sent to the university by their chancellor, archbishop Warham. He says further, that they mention the king's letters, in which it is written, that an answer was already made by the universities of Paris and Cambridge. This of Paris, though not in the king's letter, might have been written to them by their chancellor; for it has appeared, from the letters published by Le Grand, that though the decision of the Sorbonne was not made till July, yet, several months before, the doctors of Paris had given their opinions for the divorce. He also writes, that a letter came from their chancellor, Warham, to remove all the masters of arts out of the convocation, as unfit to determine so weighty a question. Warham also, as he says, made the proposal of choosing thirty, to whom the question might be referred. In another place, he quotes the book that was published for the divorce, which affirms that the determinations of the universities were made without any corruption. The questions were not proposed to all the universities in the same terms: for to some, as to the faculty of the canon law at Paris, and to those of Angiers and Bourges, the consummation of the marriage is expressly asserted in it. And in the book, in which the determinations of the universities are printed, those of the universities in England are not mentioned. These are all the strictures he wrote on this part of my History.

Some more particulars are given us by Rymer, concerning the determination of the foreign universities. A copy of that made at Bologna was carried to the governor: upon which five doctors swore before Crook that they had not carried it to him, and that they had kept no copy of it. This is attested by a notary; and the clerks and notaries swore the same, and that they did not know who carried it. By this it seems Crook had engaged them to secrecy; and that the matter coming some way to the governor's knowledge, they took these oaths to assure him that they had not broken their word to him.

Tome XIV. The Decision made at Bologna.

The decree in Padua was made July the 1st, and was attested by the Podesta; and afterwards by the doge of Venice, on the 20th of September; who affirm that eleven doctors were present, and that the determination was made with the unanimous consent of the whole body: and this is attested by notaries.

And at Padua.

But now the scene must be removed to Rome for some time. The pope had ordered a citation to be made of the king to appear before him to hear his cause judged. The king would not suffer any such citation to be intimated to him; so it was affixed at some churches in Flanders, at Tournay, and Bruges. The king treated this with contempt, while the emperor and his ministers were pressing the pope to proceed to censures. The king of France interposed to obtain delays, in consideration of whom several delays were granted; and the pope said, if king Henry would proceed no further in the matter of the supremacy, he would yet grant a further delay. And whereas the French king pressed for a delay of four months, the pope said, if the king of England would own him as his judge, he would give not only the time that was asked, but a year or more.

Here I shall give an account of a long letter that the king wrote to the pope; there is no date put to it in the copy from which I took it; but the substance of it makes me conclude it was writ about this time. It will be found in the Collection.

Col. Num. 18.

In it he complains "that no regard was had neither to his just desires nor to the intercession of the most Christian king: that the prayers of his nobility were not only despised, but laughed at. All this was far contrary to what he expected; and was indeed so strange, that he could scarce think the pope was capable of doing such things as he certainly knew he was doing. The pope, against what all men thought just, refused to send judges to come to the place where the cause lay. The holy councils of old had decreed that all causes should be determined there where they had their beginning: for this he quotes St. Cyprian among the ancients, and St. Bernard among moderns, who were of that mind. The truth would be both sooner and more certainly found out, if examined on the place, than could possibly be at a distance. The pope had once sent legates to England; and what reason could be given why this should not be done again? But he saw the pope was so devoted to the emperor, that everything was done as he dictated. The queen's allegation, that England was a place so suspected by her that she could not expect to have justice done her in it, must be believed against the clearest evidence

Among Rymer's MSS. The King writes fully to the Pope.



possible to the contrary. The king bore with the liberties that many took, who espoused her cause, more than was fitting; nor did he threaten any, or grow less kind than formerly to those who declared for the marriage; and yet the pope pretended he must give credit to this, and he offered no other reason for his not sending judges to England. This was to fasten a base reflection upon the king, and an injustice, which he must look on as a great indignity done him."

He further complains, "that the pope took all possible methods to hinder learned men from delivering their opinion in his cause; and though, after long and earnest applications, he did give leave by his breves to all persons to give their opinion in it, yet his own magistrates did, in his name, threaten those that were against the power of dispensing with the laws of God: this was particularly done at Bologna. The emperor's ministers everywhere, in contempt of the permission granted by the pope, terrified all who gave their opinion for the king; at which the pope connived, if he did not consent to it. The pope's nuncio did in France openly, and to the king himself, declare against the king's cause, as being founded neither on justice nor on reason. He still expected that the pope would have regard to the prerogative of his crown, and to the laws of England, which are as ancient as the pope's laws are; and that he will not cite him to answer out of his kingdom, nor send any inhibitions into it; for he will suffer no breach to be made on the laws during his reign. He was resolved to maintain that which was his own, as he would not invade that which belonged to another. He did not desire contention; he knew the ill effects such disputes would have. Upon all which he expected the pope's answer." This had no effect on the pope; so far from it, that upon a representation made to him in queen Katherine's name, that king Henry seemed resolved to proceed to a second marriage, the pope sent out a second breve, on the 5th of January, 1531, declaring any such marriage to be null, and the issue by it to be illegitimate, denouncing the severest censures possible against all that should be any ways assisting in it, and requiring the king to live with the queen in all conjugal affection till the suit was brought to a conclusion.

1531. The Pope's Second Breve against the King's marrying another Wife.

Something was to be done to stop proceedings at Rome, or upon this an immediate rupture must follow. This brought on the sending an excusator, in the name of the king and kingdom, to show that the king was not bound to appear upon the citation, nor yet to send a proctor to appear in his name. Sigismund Dondalus and Michael de Conrades, two eminent advocates, were brought to Rome to maintain the plea of the excusator. They sent over the substance of their pleadings, which was printed at London by Berthelet. The sum of it was, Capisuchi, dean of the rota, had cited the king to Rome to answer to the queen's appeal. The chief instructions sent by Carne were to insist on the indignity done the king, to cite him to come out of his kingdom; but it seems that was a point that the advocates thought fit to leave to the ambassadors: they thought it not safe for them to debate it, so they pleaded on other heads.

Pleadings by an Excusator.

They insisted much on that (*de loco tuto*), that no man ought to be cited to a place where he was not in full safety: it could not be safe neither for the king nor the kingdom that he should go so far from it. They showed likewise that, to make a place safe, all the intermediate places through which one must pass to it must be likewise safe. The pope therefore ought to send delegates to a safe place, either (*in partibus*) where the cause lay, or in the neighbourhood of it. It was said against them, that a cause once received in the court of Rome could never be sent out of it; but they replied, the pope had once sent delegates into England in this cause, and upon the same reason he might do it again: indeed, the cause was never in the court, for the king was never in it. But it was said the king might appear by a proctor: they answered, he was not bound to send a proxy where he was not bound to appear in person, but was hindered by a just impediment; nor was the place safe for a proxy. In a matter of conscience, such as marriage was, he could not constitute a proctor; for by the forms he was to empower him fully, and to be bound by all that he should do in his name. It is true, in a perpetual impediment, a proctor must be made; but this was not perpetual, for the pope might send delegates.

An excusator was to be admitted, in the name of the king and kingdom, when the impediment was clear and lasting: they confessed, if it was only probable, a proctor must be

constituted. There was no danger to be apprehended in the king's dominions: the queen's oath was offered that she could not expect justice in that case. They showed this ought not to be taken, and could not be well grounded, but was only the effect of weak fear; it appearing evidently that not only the queen herself, but that all who declared for her were safe in England. They did not insist on this, that the court ought to sit (*in partibus*) in the place where the cause lay: it seems they found that would not be borne at Rome; but they insisted on a court being to sit in the neighbourhood. They showed, that though the excusator's powers were not so full as to make him a proxy, yet they were not defective in that which was necessary for excusing the king's appearance, and for offering the just impediments in order to the remanding of the matter. The book is full of the subtilties of the canon law, and of quotations from canonists.

The French King obtains many Delays. P. 319. Mélange Hist. Lettres du Roy, p. 1.

Thus this matter was pleaded, and by a succession of many delays was kept on foot in the court of Rome above three years, chiefly by the interposition of Francis: for Langey tells us that the king of France wrote once or twice a week to Rome not to precipitate matters. That court, on the other hand, pressed him to prevail with king Henry not to give new provocations. He wrote to Rome from Arques, in the beginning of June 1531, and complained of citing the king to Rome: he said learned persons had assured him that this was contrary to law and to the privilege of kings, who could not be obliged to leave their kingdom; adding, that he would take all that was done for or against king Henry as done to himself.

There is a letter writ from the cardinal of Tournon to king Francis, but without a date, by which it appears "that the motion of an interview between the pope and the king of France was then set on foot. And he assures the king that the pope was resolved to satisfy him at their meeting; that he would conduct king Henry's affair so dextrously, that nothing should be spoiled. He must, in point of form, give way to some things that would not be acceptable to him, that so he might not seem too partial to king Henry; for whom, out of the love that he bore to king Francis, he would do all that was in his power, but desired that might not be talked of." P. 8.

On the 4th of May, he wrote to him that the emperor threatened, that if king Henry went on to do that injury to his aunt, he would make war on him by the king of Scotland: but they believed he would neither employ his purse nor draw his sword in the quarrel. Langey reports the substance of king Henry's letters to Francis: he complained of the pope's citing him to answer at Rome, or to send a proxy thither. In all former times, upon such occasions, judges were sent to the place where the cause lay: kings could not be required to go out of their dominions. He also complained of the papal exactions.

Now there were two interviews set on foot in hopes to make up this matter, that seemed very near a breach. Francis had secretly begun a negotiation with the pope for the marriage of the duke of Orleans, afterwards king Henry II., and the famous Catherine de' Medici. Francis, whose heart was set on getting the duchy of Milan above all other things, hoped by this means to compass it for his second son. He likewise pretended that, by gaining the pope entirely to his interests, he should be able to make up all matters between king Henry and him. But to lay all this matter the better, the two kings were to have an interview first in the neighbourhood of Calais, which the bishop of Bayonne, who was now again in England, was concerting. King Henry pressed the doing it so, that he might come back by All-Saints to hold his parliament. The bishop saw king Henry would be much pleased if Francis would desire him to bring Anne Boleyn over with him, and if he would bring on his part the queen of Navarre. The queen of France was a Spaniard; so it was desired she might not come. He also desired that the king of France would bring his sons with him; and that no imperialists might be brought, nor any of the *railleurs* (*gaudiseurs*), for the nation hated that sort of people. Bayonne writes, he had sworn not to tell from whom he had this hint of Anne Boleyn. It was no hard thing to engage Francis into anything that looked like gallantry; for he had writ to her a letter in his own hand, which Montmorency had sent over. At the interview of the two kings a perpetual friendship was vowed between them; and king Henry afterwards reproached Francis for kissing the pope's foot at Marseilles, which, he

Le Grand, p. 553.

An Interview between the two Kings.



affirms, he promised not to do; nor to proceed to marry his son to the pope's niece till he gave the king of England full satisfaction: and added, that he promised, that if the pope did proceed to final censures against Henry, he would likewise withdraw himself from his obedience, and that both the kings would join in an appeal to a general council.

Soon after that the king returned from this interview, he married Anne Boleyn; but so secretly, that none were present at it but her father and mother and her brother, with the duke of Norfolk. It went generally among our historians that Cranmer was present at the marriage, and I reported it so in my History; but Mr. Strype saw a letter of Cranmer's to Hawkins, then the king's ambassador at the emperor's court, in which he writes, "Notwithstanding it hath been reported throughout a great part of the realm that I married her, which was plainly false; for I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done. And many other things he reported of me, which be mere lies and tales." In the same letter, he says it was about St. Paul's day: this confirms Stowe's relation. But to write with the impartial freedom of an historian: it seems the day of the marriage was given out wrong on design. The account that Cranmer gives of it cannot be called in question. But queen Elizabeth was born, not, as I put it, on the 7th, but, as Cranmer writes in another letter to Hawkins, on the 13th or 14th of September. So there not being full eight months between the marriage and that birth, which would have opened a scene of raillery to the court of Rome, it seems the day of the marriage was then said to be in November: and in a matter that was so secretly managed, it was no hard thing to oblige those who were in the secret to silence. This seems to be the only way to reconcile Cranmer's letter to the reports commonly given out of the day of the marriage *.

The King marries Anne Boleyn.

The news of this was soon carried to Rome. Cardinal Ghinnuccius wrote to the king, "that he had a long conversation with the pope when the news was first brought thither. The pope resolved to take no notice of it; but he did not know how he should be able to resist the instances that the emperor would make. He considered well the effects that his censures would probably have. He saw the emperor intended to put things past reconciliation; but it was not reasonable for the pope to pass censures, when it did not appear how they could be executed. He could not do anything prejudicial to the king unless he resolved to lay out a vast sum of money, which he believed he would not do, the success being so doubtful." And he concludes, "that they might depend upon it that the emperor could not easily bring the pope to pass those censures that he desired."

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 14.

At this time, the third breve was published against the king, on the 15th of November: but it seems it was for some time suppressed; for it has a second date added to it, of the 23d of December, in the year 1532; "in which, after a long expostulation upon his taking Anne as his wife, and his putting away the queen while the suit was yet depending, the pope exhorts him to bring back the queen, and to put Anne away, within a month after this was brought to him, otherwise he excommunicates both him and Anne:" but the execution of this was suspended. Soon after this, Benet wrote a letter to the king, all in cipher; but the deciphering is interlined. He writes, "the pope did approve the king's cause as just and good, and did it in a manner openly; for that reason he did not deliver the severe letter that the king wrote upon this breve, lest that should too much provoke him. The emperor was then at Bologna, and pressed for the speedy calling a general council; and, among other reasons, he gave the proceeding against the king for one. The king's ambassadors urged the decree of the council of Nice, that the bishops of the province should settle all things that belonged to it: so by this, he said, the pope might put the matter out of his hands. But the pope would not hear of that. He writes further, that an old and famous man, who died lately, had left his opinion in writing, for the king's cause, with his nephew, who was in high favour with the pope. The emperor was taking pains to engage him in his interests, and had offered him a bishopric of 6000 ducats a year, likely soon to be void. The king's ambassadors had promised him, on the other hand, a great sum from the king: they, upon that, ask orders about it speedily, lest too long a delay might alienate him from the king."

There is also a long letter, but without a date, written by one who was born in Rome, but

* The birth of Elizabeth on the 7th of September, 1533, is decisively confirmed by letters in the Harl. MSS. 283, 22, and 797, both wrong in the catalogue. See Hallam's Const. Hist. vol. i. p. 66, 4to. 1827.—ED.

was employed to solicit the king's cause. He told the pope, and was willing to declare it to all the cardinals in the consistory, "that if they proceeded further in the king's cause it would prove fatal to the see. They had already lost the Hungarians, with a great part of Germany; and would they now venture to lose England, and perhaps France with it? The king thought his marriage with queen Anne was firm and holy, and was resolved to prosecute his cause in that court no more. The king said he was satisfied in his own conscience; but yet, if the pope would judge for his present marriage, both he and his ministers said it would be agreeable to him."

The cardinals of France pressed the king of France to use all endeavours to bring king Henry with him to the interview at Marseilles, or one fully empowered to put an end to the matter of the divorce. Langey was sent to propose it to king Henry; but that king told him, since he saw such a train of dissimulation in the pope's proceedings, and delays upon delays, that had quite disgusted him, he had now obtained a sentence in England of the nullity of his marriage, in which he acquiesced; and upon that he was married, though secretly. He was resolved to keep it secret till he saw what effects the interview had: if the pope would not do him justice, he would deliver the nation from that servitude.

Langey, p. 317. P. 338.

He had obtained the judgment of some universities concerning the citation to Rome. The university of Orleans gave their opinion that he was not bound to appear at Rome, either in person or by proxy, and that the citation was null; but that there ought to be a delegation of judges in the place where the cause lay. Many advocates in the court of parliament of Paris gave their opinions to the same purpose. The canonists in Paris thought that the king could not be cited to go to Rome, but that judges ought to be sent to determine the matter in some safe place.

Rymer. June 22, 1531. June 14. Aug. 19.

King Henry wrote to his ambassadors, with the king of France, to divert him from the interview with the pope, as a thing too much to the pope's honour. And whereas the king of France wrote, that his chief design in it was to serve the king; he wrote upon it, that he was so sure of his nobility and commons that he had no apprehension of anything the pope could do. He therefore desired him to write to the cardinals of Tournon and Grandimont, and to his ambassadors at Rome, to press the admitting the excusator's plea; for that was a point in which all princes were concerned.

King Henry opposes the Interview with the Pope in vain. Rymer, MS.

King Francis pretended that the breaking off the project of the interview could not be done; it had now gone too far, and his honour was engaged. He was very sorry that the excusator's plea was rejected; yet he did not despair, but that all things might be yet set right, which made him still more earnest for the interview. And he was confident, if the king would come to the meeting, all would be happily made up: but since he saw no hope of prevailing with the king for that, he desired that the duke of Norfolk might be sent over, with some learned persons, who should see the good offices he would do.

The duke of Norfolk was sent over upon this, and he found the king of France at Montpelier in the end of August, but told him, that upon the last sentence that was given at Rome, the king looked on the pope as his enemy, and he would resent his usage of him by all possible methods. He studied to divert the interview, otherwise he said he must return immediately. King Francis answered, that the sentence was not definitive; but though he could not break the interview that was concerted by king Henry's own consent, he promised he would espouse the king's affair as his own. He pressed the duke of Norfolk so earnestly to go along with him, that once he seemed convinced that it might be of good use in the king's cause, and a memorial was given him of the method of settling it: he upon this sent the lord Rochford to the king to see if he would change the orders he had given him; and he stayed only a few days after he had despatched him. But he said his orders for his return were positive: if a change of orders should come, he would quickly return; if not, he would get some learned men to be sent to see what might be devised at Marseilles.

The Duke of Norfolk sent to France.

The king of France wrote to his ambassador with king Henry, that if the duke of Norfolk could have been allowed to go with him to Marseilles, much might have been done; and he sent with that a part of the cardinal of Tournon's last letter

But soon recalled.



to him of the 17th of August, in which he wrote "that he had spoke fully to the pope as the king had ordered him about the king of England's affair: the pope complained that king Henry had not only proceeded to marry contrary to the breve he had received, but that he was still publishing laws in contempt of his see, and that Cranmer had pronounced the sentence of divorce as legate. This gave the cardinals such distaste, that they would have been highly offended with the pope if he had done nothing upon it: he therefore advised the king to carry the duke of Norfolk with him to Marseilles; for if king Henry would but seem to repair the steps he had made in the 'Attentates,' as they called them, and do that which might save the pope's honour, he assured him such was his love to him, that for his sake he would do all that was desired with all his heart. But he feared expedients would not be readily found if the duke of Norfolk went not to Marseilles."

The king of France sent such messages to king Henry by the duke of Norfolk, and such compliments to queen Anne, as highly pleased them: for his ambassador wrote to him, that since the duke of Norfolk's coming, king Henry expressed his confidence and friendship for him in a very particular manner: king Henry had asked him if he had no order to stand godfather in the king of France's name in case the queen should be delivered of a son: he answered he had none, but he would write to the king upon the subject: the duke of Norfolk said he had spoke to the king of France about it, who agreed to it, that either the ambassador or some other sent express should do it. The child's name was to be Edward or Henry (but the birth proving a daughter, this went no further). He adds in his letter, that Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, was sent to Marseilles. The king of France sent from Arles on the 17th of September an order for the christening.

The King of France was to have been Godfather if Queen Anne had brought a Son.

But now the next scene is at Marseilles; where after the ceremonies were over, the king of France set himself, as he writes, with great zeal to bring the pope to be easy in the king's matter: he protested he minded no business of his own till he should see what could be done in the matter of the king's divorce. The pope said he left the process at Rome, so that nothing could be done in it. The French ambassador wrote to his master, that king Henry charged him with this, that he himself brought over instructions with promises that Francis would not proceed to the marriage of his son till the king's matter was done: the ambassador denied this, and offered to show his instructions, that it might appear that no such article was in them. King Henry insisted that the French king had promised it both to himself and to the queen; and if he failed him in this, he could depend no more on his friendship. When the ambassador told the duke of Norfolk how uneasy this would be to the king of France, who had the king's concerns so much at heart, and that all the interest that he could gain in the pope would be employed in the king's service; for if he should break with the pope, that must throw him entirely into the emperor's hands; the duke of Norfolk confessed all that was true, but said that the king's head was so embroiled with this matter, that he trusted no living man, and that both he and the queen suspected himself.

The Interview at Marseilles. Mel. Hist. p. 142.

The bishop of Auxerre, the French ambassador, had wrote from Rome, "that the pope would do all that they asked, and more if he durst or could: but he was so pressed by the emperor's people, that though it was against God and reason, and the opinion even of some of the imperial cardinals, he was forced to do whatsoever cardinal Dosme demanded." In a letter to cardinal Tournon, the bishop of Auxerre complains that the king of England was ill used, and in a letter to the pope's legate in France he writes, "that the pope was disposed to grant king Henry's desire, yet he was so pressed by the Imperialists, that he expected no good from him, unless in the way of dissembling: he firmly believed he would do well if he durst: his answer to the king of France was as good as could be wished for, he hoped the effects would agree to it: cardinal Farnese, the ancientest cardinal (afterwards pope Paul the Third), was wholly for them: the cardinal of Ancona, next to him in seniority, was wholly Imperialist. He writes that the ambassadors had an audience of three hours of the pope, when they delivered the king of France's letters on the king of England's behalf: the pope said he was sorry that he must determine the matter; for he should have small thanks on

Mel. Hist. p. 174. Great Promises made by the Pope.

Mel. Hist. p. 175.

both sides. The thing had been now four years in his hands; he had yet done nothing; if he could do as he wished, he wished as they all wished: and he spake this in such a manner, that they were much mistaken if he spoke not as he thought. The pope asked them what made the king of France to be so earnest in this matter; they answered, that the two kings were so united, that they were both more touched with the affairs each of the other than with their own."

In another letter to Montmorency, he writes "that there was a new delay granted for four months. The pope, upon his granting it, pressed him to write to the king to prevail with king Henry to send a proxy. He answered, he believed that would not be done unless assurance was given that the cause should be remitted. If the matter had been then put to the vote, the ancient and learned cardinals would have judged for the king of England; but they were few, and the number of the others was great; so that the cause would have been quite lost."

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 12. Practices upon Cardinals.

At the same time, the cardinal of Ancona proposed to Bennet and to Cassali, that if a proxy were sent to Rome, they should have not only justice, but all manner of favour: for both the pope and the cardinals did very positively promise that a commission should be made to delegates to hear the witnesses in England, reserving only the final sentence to the pope. Cassali was upon this sent to England; but his negotiation had no effect: only he seems to have known well the secret method of practising with the cardinals. For upon his return he met the king of France at Compiègne, with whom he had much discourse about managing the cardinals, particularly cardinal de Monte (afterwards pope Julius the Third). The king of France had sent forty thousand crowns to be distributed in the court of Rome, upon which he offers some very prudent suggestions. The letter to the king from thence seemed so considerable, that I have put it in the Collection.

Collection, Number 19.

These were the preparations on all hands for the meeting at Marseilles; where Francis protested that he set himself so earnestly to get satisfaction to be given to Henry, that he minded no business of his own, till he should see what could be done in that. The pope said, indeed, that he had left the process at Rome; but they wrote over that they knew this was false: yet by that they saw the pope intended to do nothing in it. Francis, indeed, complained that there was no proxy from the king sent to Marseilles; if there had been one, he said, the business had been ended. It was also reported that the king of France had said to the duke of Norfolk he would be the king's proxy (here in the margin it is set down, "the duke of Norfolk denies he said this"); but the king of France knew that the king would never constitute a proxy, that being contrary to the laws of his kingdom. The pope confessed that his cause was just; all the lawyers in France were of that mind: but the pope complained of the injuries done the see by king Henry. Francis answered, the pope began doing injuries: but king Henry moved, that setting aside what was passed, without asking reparation of either side, justice might be done him; and if it was not done, he would trouble himself no more about it.

Mel. Hist. p. 19.

He afterwards charged king Francis, "that in several particulars he had not kept his promises to him. He believed that if he had pressed the pope more, he would have yielded. It was said king Henry was governed by his council; whereas, he said he governed them, and not they him. Upon this audience, the duke of Norfolk seemed troubled that the king was so passionate: he had advised the king, but in vain, to let the annates go still to Rome." This is put in the margin.

Mel. Hist. p. 19.

In another memorial, set next to the former, and, as it seems, writ soon after it, it is said that the emperor had sent word to the queen and her daughter not to come to Spain till he had first got right to be done them, and that the people were in a disposition to join with any prince that would espouse their quarrel. This is said to be the general inclination of all sorts of people: for they apprehended a change of religion, and a war that would cut off their trade with the Netherlands, so that the new queen was little beloved.

P. 21.

But now I must return and set out the progress of matters that provoked the pope and court of Rome so much. I shall give first the several proceedings of the convocation.

The Convocation meets.



The parliament had complained of the oath *ex officio*, by which the ordinaries obliged persons to answer to such accusations as were laid to their charge upon oath: and as they answered, charging themselves, they were obliged either to abjure or to burn. To this they added some other grievances. When they presented them to the king, he told them he could give no answer till he heard what the clergy would say to them. They also passed acts about some points that the clergy thought belonged to them; as mortuaries, plurality of benefices, and clergymen taking farms.

The first motion made by the lower house was concerning Tracy's testament, who had left his soul to God through Jesus Christ, to whose intercession alone he trusted, without the help of any other saint: therefore he left no part of his goods to any that should pray for his soul. This touching the clergy very sensibly, they began with it; and a commission was given for the raising his body.

In a following session the prolocutor complained of another testament made by one Brown of Bristol in the same strain. So to prevent the spreading of such an example, it was ordered that Tracy's body should be dug up and burnt. In the eighty-fourth session the house being thin, an order was made that all the members should attend, for some constitutions were at that time to be treated of.

They treat concerning Residence.

In the 91st session, which was in the end of February, the prolocutor came up with a motion, that those who were presented to ecclesiastical benefices should not be obliged by their bishops to give any bond obliging them under temporal punishment to residence; but to this no answer was given, nor was any rule made against it. There had been complaints made of clerks nonresidents in the former session of parliament; and it seems some bishops thought the surest way to stop that clamour was, to take bonds for residence. And though this complaint shows the ill-temper of the lower house, since they did not offer any other better remedy; yet the upper house offering no answer to it, seems to imply their approving of it.

In the 93rd session, Latimer, who had been thrice required to subscribe some articles, refused to do it: he was excommunicated, and appointed to be kept in safe custody in Lambeth. Session 96, it was resolved, that if Latimer would subscribe some of the articles, he should be absolved. Upon that he submitted, confessed his error, and subscribed all the articles except two.

An Answer to the Complaint of the Commons.

In the 97th session, on 12th of April, 1532, the archbishop proposed to them the preparing an answer to the complaints that the commons had made to the king against the proceedings in their courts.

In the 98th session, the preamble of that complaint was read by Gardiner, with an answer that he had prepared to it. Then the two clauses of the first articles, with answers to them, were also read and agreed to, and sent down to the lower house. Latimer was also brought again before them, upon complaint of a letter that he had written to one Greenwood, in Cambridge.

In the 99th session, an answer to the complaint of the commons was read and agreed to, and ordered to be laid before the king; with which he was not satisfied. Latimer being called to answer upon oath, he appealed to the king, and said he would stand to his appeal.

Proceedings against Heretics.

Peyto and Elston, two brethren of the house of the Observants, in Greenwich, accused Dr. Curren for a sermon preached there: but the archbishop ordered them to be kept in custody, with the bishop of St. Asaph, till they should be dismissed.

In the 100th session, the king sent a message by Gardiner, intimating that he remitted Latimer to the archbishop: and upon his submission, he was received to the sacraments. This was done at the king's desire; but some bishops protested, because this submission did not import a renunciation usual in such cases. After this, four sessions were employed in a further consideration of the answer to the complaints of the house of commons.

In the 105th session, the prolocutor brought up four draughts, concerning the ecclesiastical authority, for making laws in order to the suppressing of heresy; but declared that he did not bring them up as approved by the house; he only offered them to the bishops as draughts prepared by learned men. He desired they would read them, and choose what was true out

of them; but added, that he prayed, that if they prepared anything on the subject, it might be communicated to the lower house. Some of these are printed: I shall therefore only insert one in my Collection, because it is the shortest of them, and yet does fully set forth their design. It was formed in the upper house, and agreed to in the lower, with two alterations. In it they promise the king, "that for the future, such was the trust that they put in his wisdom, goodness, and zeal, and his incomparable learning, far exceeding the learning of all other princes that they had read of, that 'during his natural life' they should not enact, promulge, or put in execution, any constitution to be made by them, unless the king by his royal assent did licence them so to do. And as for the constitutions already made, of which the commons complained, they would readily submit the consideration of these 'to the king only:' and such of these as the king should judge prejudicial and burdensome, they offered to moderate or annul them according to his judgment; saving to themselves all the immunities and liberties granted to the church by the king and his progenitors, with all such provincial constitutions as stand with the laws of God and holy church, and of the realm, which they prayed the king to ratify: providing, that till the king's pleasure should be made known to them, all ordinaries might go on to execute their jurisdiction as formerly." This did not pass easily; there was great debating upon it; but upon adding the words "during the king's natural life," which made it a temporary law, and by adding the words "holy church" after the laws of God, which had a great extent, this form was agreed to. But what effect this had, or whether it was offered to the king, does not appear. The alterations that were afterwards made will appear to any who compares this with the submission, of which a particular account will be found in my History.

Rights of an English Convocation. Col.Num.20. The Petition to the King.

The bishop of London, presiding in the absence of the archbishop, told them that the duke of Norfolk had signified to him that the house of commons had granted the king a fifteenth, to be raised in two years; so he advised the clergy to be as ready as the laity had been to supply the king. The prolocutor was sent down with this intimation; he immediately returned back, and proposed that they should consider of an answer to be made to the king concerning the ecclesiastical authority; and that some might be sent to the king to pray him that he would maintain the liberties of the church, which he and his progenitors had confirmed to them. And they desired that the bishops of London and Lincoln, with some abbots, the dean of the king's chapel, and Fox his almoner, would intercede in behalf of the clergy; which they undertook to do.

In the 106th session, which was on the 10th of May, the archbishop appointed a committee to go and treat with the bishop of Rochester at his house upon that matter. In the 107th session, the 13th of May, the archbishop appointed the chancellor of Worcester to raise Tracy's body. Then they agreed to the answer they were to make to the king. In the 108th session, on the 15th of May, the writ for proroguing the convocation was brought to the archbishop: at the same time, the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Oxford, the lord Sands, lord chamberlain, and the lord Boleyn, and lord Rochford, were in a secret conference with the archbishop and bishops for the space of an hour: when they withdrew, the prolocutor and clergy came up. The archbishop asked, how they had agreed to the schedule, which, as appears, was the form of the submission. The prolocutor told him how many were for the affirmative, how many for the negative, and how many were for putting off the three articles (of the submission). The archbishop said, he expected those lords would come back to him from the king; and so sent them back to their house. These lords came back to the chapter-house; and after some discourse with the bishops, they retired. After dinner, the schedule was read in English, and the archbishop asked if they agreed to it; they all answered they did agree to it, only the bishop of Bath dissented. Then he sent it down by his chancellor to propose it to the lower house. After that, on the 15th of May, it seems, the schedule was sent back by the lower house, though that is not mentioned in the abstract that we have remaining. For that day the convocation was prorogued; and the next day the archbishop delivered it to the king, as enacted and concluded by himself and others. The convocation was prorogued to the 5th of November.

The Submission made to the King, one Bishop only dissenting.



And thus that great transaction was brought about in little more than a month's time; the first motion towards it being made on the 12th of April, and it was concluded on the 15th of May. It appears by their heat against Tracy's Testament, and against Latimer, that they who managed the opposition that was made to it were enemies to everything that looked towards a reformation. It seems Fisher did not protest; for though, by their sending a committee to his house, it may be supposed he was sick at that time, yet he might have sent a proxy, and ordered a dissent to be entered in his name: and that not being done, gives ground to suppose that he did not vehemently oppose this submission. By it all the opposition that the convocations would probably have given to every step that was made afterwards in the Reformation was so entirely restrained, that the quiet progress of that work was owing chiefly to the restraint under which the clergy put themselves by their submission: and in this the whole body of this reformed church has cheerfully acquiesced, till within these few years that great endeavours have been used to blacken and disgrace it.

I have seen no particular account how this matter went in the convocation at York, nor how matters went there, save only that it was agreed to give a tenth. I have seen a letter of Magnus, one of the king's chaplains, who was required by Cromwell to go thither, where Dr. Lee was to meet him. There is no year added in the date of the letter; but since he mentions the last convocation that had given a great sum of money, and owned the king to be the supreme, that fixes it to this session. He dates it from Marybone, the 21st of April, as it will be seen in the Collection. "He was then in an ill state of health, but promises to be at York soon after the beginning of their convocation. He complains that he had no assistance at the last meeting, and that the books which the king had promised should be sent after him were not sent; which made the king's cause to be the longer in treating before it came to a good conclusion. The prelates and clergy there would not believe any report of the acts passed at London unless they were showed them authentically, either under seal or by the king's letters. He hopes both these things, which had been neglected formerly, would be now done, otherwise the clergy in those parts would not proceed to any strange acts: so he warns him that all things may be put in order."

The Proceedings at York. Col.Num.21.

Whatsoever it was that passed, either in the one or the other convocation, the king kept it within himself for two years; for so long he was in treating terms with Rome: and if that had gone on, all this must have been given up. But when the final breach came on, which was after two years, it was ratified in parliament.

Before the next meeting, Warham died. He had all along concurred in the king's proceedings, and had promoted them in convocation; yet in the last year of his life, six months before his death, on the 9th of February, 1531, he made a protestation of a singular nature, not in the house of lords, but at Lambeth; and so secretly, that mention is only made of three notaries and four witnesses present at the making of it. It is to this effect: "That what statutes soever had passed, or were to pass in this present parliament, to the prejudice of the pope or the apostolic see, or that derogated from or lessened the ecclesiastical authority or the liberties of his see of Canterbury, he did not consent to them, but did disown and dissent from them." This was found in the Longueville library, and was communicated to me by Dr. Wake, the present bishop of Lincoln. I leave it with the reader to consider what construction can be made upon this; whether it was, in the decline of his life, put on him by his confessor about the time of Lent as a penance for what he had done; or, if he must be looked on as a deceitful man, that, while he seemed openly to concur in those things, he protested against them secretly. The instrument will be found in the Collection.

Col.Num.22. Proceedings during the Vacancy of Canterbury.

Upon his death, the prior and convent of Christ's-Church of Canterbury deputed the bishop of St. Asaph to preside in the convocation. On the 20th of February, in the 4th session, the bishop of London moved, that the two universities should be exempted from paying any part of the subsidy. The same was also desired for some religious orders; and it was agreed to, Gardiner only dissenting, as to the exemption of the religious orders. It may reasonably be supposed that his opposing this was in compliance with the king, who began to show an aversion both to the monks and friars, seeing

they were generally in the interests of queen Katherine; and Gardiner was the most forward in his compliances of all the clergy, Bonner only excepted, though the old leaven of popery was deep in them both.

In the 11th session, on the 26th of March, Latimer was again brought before them; and it was laid to his charge that he had preached contrary to his promise. Gardiner inveighed severely against him; and to him all the rest agreed. When the prolocutor came up, the president spoke to him of the subsidy. Then the matter of the king's marriage was brought before them. Gardiner produced some instruments, which he desired them to read: they were the judgments of several universities. Some doubted if it was safe to debate a matter that was then depending before the pope; but the president put an end to that fear by producing a breve of the pope's, in which all were allowed to deliver their opinions freely in that matter. So he exhorted them to examine the questions to be put to them carefully, that they might be prepared to give their opinions about them.

In the 12th session, the president produced the original instruments of the universities of Paris, Orleans, Bologna, Padua, Bourges, and Thoulouse (Angiers and Ferrara are not named); and after much disputing, they were desired to deliver their opinions as to the consummation of the marriage. But because it was a difficult case, they asked more time. They had till four o'clock given them; then there were yet more disputings: in conclusion they agreed with the universities. This was first put to them; though in the instrument made upon it, it is mentioned after that which was offered to them in the next session.

The Convocation judges against the King's Marriage.

On the 2nd of April, 1533, Cranmer being now consecrated and present, two questions were proposed and put to the vote. The first was, "Whether the prohibition to marry the brother's wife, the former marriage being consummated, was dispensable by the pope?" Or, as it is in the minutes, "Whether it was lawful to marry the wife of a brother dying without issue, but having consummated the marriage? And if the prohibition of such a marriage was grounded on a divine law with which the pope could dispense or not?" There were present sixty-six divines, with the proxies of one hundred and ninety-seven absent bishops, abbots, and others: all agreed to the affirmative, except only nineteen.

Rymer.

The second question was, "Whether the consummation of prince Arthur's marriage was sufficiently proved?" This belonged to the canonists; so it was referred to the bishops and clergy of that profession, being forty-four in all, of whom one had the proxy of three bishops: all these, except five or six, affirmed it: of these the bishop of Bath and Wells was one. Of all this, a public instrument was made.

In the account I formerly gave of this matter, I offered a conjecture concerning the constitution of the two houses, that deans and archdeacons who sat in their own right were then of the upper house, which I see was without any good ground. I likewise committed another error through inadvertence: for I said the opinions of nineteen universities were read, whereas only six were read. And the nineteen which I added to the number of the universities was the number of those who did not agree to the vote.

These questions were next sent to the convocation of the province of York, where there were present twenty-seven divines, who had the proxies of twenty-four who were absent; and all these, two only excepted, agreed to the first question. There were likewise forty-four canonists present, with the proxies of five or six: to them the second question was put; and all these were for the affimative, two only excepted. The whole representative of the church of England, in the convocation of the two provinces of Canterbury and York, did in this manner give their answer to the two questions put to them; upon which Cranmer wrote to the king on the 11th of April, complaining that the great cause of his matrimony had depended long; and upon that he desired his licence to judge it, which the king readily granted. So he gave sentence, condemning it on the 23rd of May: and then the king openly owned his second marriage; for the new queen's big belly could be no longer concealed.

The Archbishop, Cranmer, gives Sentence against it.

This was highly resented at Rome as an open attempt upon the pope's authority; and



these steps, in their style, were called the Attentates: so considering the blind submission to the popes, in which the world had been kept so many ages, it was no wonder to find the Imperialists call upon the pope, almost in a tumultuary manner, to exert his authority to the full, when he saw it so openly affronted. And it is very probable, that if the pope had not, with that violent passion that Italians have for the advancing their families, run into the proposition for marrying his niece to the duke of Orleans, he would have fulminated upon this occasion: but he finding that might be broke off, if he had proceeded to the utmost extremities with king Henry, was therefore resolved to prolong the time, and to delay the final sentence; otherwise the matter would have been ended much sooner than it was.

With that the Court of Rome was highly offended.

Gardiner, Bryan, and Bennet were sent as ambassadors to the king of France to Marseilles. Bonner was also sent thither on a more desperate service; for he was ordered to go and read the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, in the pope's own presence, at such time, and in such a manner, as the king's ambassadors should direct. Of the execution of this, he gave the king a very particular account in a letter to him, bearing date at Marseilles, the 13th of November, 1533, which the reader will find in the Collection copied from the original: in it he tells the king—

Cotton. Libr. Vitell. B. 14. Collection, Number 23.

"That being commanded by his ambassadors to intimate to the pope in person the provocations and appeals that he had made to a general council, he caried one Penniston, who it seems was a notary, with him, to make an act concerning it. They came to the pope's palace on the 17th of November in the morning. He found some difficulty in getting access, for he was told that the pope was going to hold a consistory, so that no other business was to interpose: yet he got into the pope's chamber, where the pope was with the two cardinals de' Medici and Lorraine; the pope being apparelled in his stole to go to the consistory. The pope quickly observed Bonner, for he had prayed the datary to let the pope know he desired to speak with him: the datary said it was not a proper time; but Bonner was resolved to go immediately to him, so he told the pope of it; who upon that dismissed the cardinals, and going to a window, he called him to him; upon that Bonner told him the message he had from the king to read before him; making such apology first in the king's name, and then in his own, as was necessary to prepare him for it. The pope cringed in the Italian way, but said he had not time then to hear those papers; but bade him come again in the afternoon, and he would give him a full audience. When he came again, he was, after some others had their audience, called in; Penniston following him, whom the pope had not observed in the morning. So Bonner told him that it was he who had brought over his commission and orders; upon that the pope called for his datary and for Simonetta and Capisuchi. Till they came in, the pope in discourse asked both for Gardiner and Brian, seeming not to know that they were at Marseilles; and he lamented the death of Bennet: he complained of the king's using him as he did. Bonner, on the other hand, complained of his unkind usage of the king; and that he had, contrary to his promise, avocated the cause, when it was brought to the point of giving sentence; and had now retained the cause to Rome, whither the king could not come personally, nor was he bound to send a proctor: and he urged the matter very close upon the pope. He also complained, that the king's cause being just, and esteemed so by the best learned men in Christendom, yet the pope kept it so long in his hands. The pope answered, that had not the queen refused the judges as suspect, and taken an oath that she expected no justice in the king's dominions, he would not have avocated the cause: but in that case, notwithstanding his promise, he was bound to do it; and the delay of the matter lay wholly at the king's door, who did not send a proctor. While Bonner was replying, the datary came in, and the pope cut him short, and commanded the datary to read the commission, which he did: the pope often interrupted the reading it, with words that expressed a high displeasure: and when the appeal was read to the next lawful general council to be held in a proper place, he expressed with some rage his indignation; but restrained himself, and said, all that came from the king was welcome to him: but by his gesture and manner, it appeared he was much discomposed. Yet after that, he showed how willing he was to call a council, but that the king seemed to put it off; he ordered the datary to read it quite through. In the end, mention being made

Bonner intimates the King's Appeal to the Pope.

of the archbishop of Canterbury's sentence, he spake of that with great contempt. He also observed that the king in words expressed respect to the church and to the apostolic see, yet he expressed none to his person. While they were thus in discourse, the king of France came to see the pope, who met him at the door. That king seemed to know nothing of the business, though Bonner believed he did know it: the pope told him what they were about; they two continued in private discourse about three quarters of an hour, and seemed very cheerful: then that king went away; the pope conducted him to the door of the antichamber. When the pope came back, he ordered the datary to read out all that remained; the pope often interrupting him as he read. When the first instrument was read to an end, Bonner offered the two appeals that the king had made to a general council; these the pope delivered to the datary, that he might read them.

"When all was read, the pope said he would consider with the cardinals what answer was to be given them, and seemed to think that the writings were to remain with him: but Bonner pressing to have them again, he said he would consider what answer he was to give to that. So the pope dismissed him after an audience that lasted three hours. The datary told Bonner there was to be a consistory next day; after that he might come to receive his answer. On the 10th a consistory was held; in the afternoon the pope was long taken up with the blessing of beads, and admitting persons of quality, of both sexes, to kiss his foot. When that was over, he called Bonner in, and the pope began to express his mind towards the king, that it was to do him all justice, and to please him all he could; and though it had not been so taken, yet he intended to continue in the same mind: but according to a constitution of pope Pius, that condemned all such appeals, he rejected the king's appeal to a general council as frivolous and unlawful. As for a general council, he would use all his diligence to have it meet, as he had formerly done, but the calling it belonged wholly to him: he said he would not restore the instruments, and told Bonner that the datary should give him his answer in writing. Bonner went to the datary's chamber, where he found the answer already written, but not signed by him; next day he signed it; adding the salvo of answering it more fully and more particularly, if it should be thought meet.

It was rejected by the Pope.

"The pope left Marseilles the next day, and went towards Rome. Bonner concludes that the French knew of their design, and were willing it should be done two or three days before the pope's departure; yet when it was done, they said it had spoiled all their matters and the king's likewise." He says nothing of any threatening of bad usage to himself. The king of France indeed, when he expostulated upon the affront done the pope while in his house, said that he durst not have done that in any other place: this makes it probable that the pope told him how he would have used Bonner if he had served him with that appeal in his own territories. So whether this came to be known afterwards from the court of France, or whether Bonner might have spread it in England at his return, to raise the value of that piece of service which he was capable of doing, cannot be determined. It is certain it was reported in England so, that in the answer to Sanders it is set down; and from him I took it: but I will leave it with the reader to consider what credit may be due to it.

Antisanderus.

At the same time Cranmer hearing the pope designed to proceed against him, did by the king's order appeal likewise to a general council, and sent the instrument with a warrant to execute it to Cromwell, that it might be sent to the bishop of Winchester to get it to be intimated to the pope, in the best manner that could be thought of: he therefore, by the king's command, sent this to him in a letter dated the 22nd of November, which will be found in the Collection; but it does not appear to me what was done upon it.

Collection, Number 24.

I shall in the next place give an account of the instructions that the king of France sent by Bellay, then translated from Bayonne to Paris, whom he despatched immediately after he came back from Marseilles, as the person in the kingdom that was the most acceptable to the king. The substance of them is, "That Francis had at the interview studied nothing so much as to advance Henry's matters: yet he heard that he complained of him as having done less than he expected, which he took much amiss. It was agreed by the two kings, that a proposition

LeGr. p. 571. Bellay sent over to the King by King Francis.



should be set on foot for the duke of Orleans marrying the pope's niece; which had not been before thought of. The matter was so far advanced, and the interview so settled, that Francis could not afterwards put it off with honour; all being done pursuant to their first agreement at Calais. The pope promised to make no new step in king Henry's matter if he would do the same. But king Henry did innovate in many particulars, yet, contrary to all men's expectations, he had effectually restrained the pope from showing his resentments upon it: and he was in a fair way to have engaged the pope against the emperor, if king Henry would have given him any handle for it. Once Francis hoped to have brought Henry to Marseilles; but he judged that was not fit for him, and promised to send the duke of Norfolk in his stead: for notwithstanding the sentence passed at Rome, a remedy was proposed, if a person was sent with full powers as was expected. When Gardiner came to Marseilles, he said he had orders to do whatsoever Francis should direct him, but indeed he brought no such powers. The pope was resolved to do all that he could advise him for Henry's satisfaction: and Francis would enter upon none of his own affairs, till that was first settled: he still waited for powers from England, but none were sent. This might have provoked Francis to have been less zealous, but it did not: instead of sending what Francis expected, there was an appeal made from the pope to a general council, which so highly provoked the pope, that what he had been labouring to do a whole week, was pulled down in one hour. It was also an injury to Francis to use the pope ill without his knowledge, when he was in his house, doing that there which they durst not have done anywhere else. This gave great joy to the Spaniards, and though the pope offered to put Leghorn, Parma, and Placentia, with other places of great importance, into Francis's hand, yet upon the rupture with Henry, he would treat of nothing, so he concluded the marriage, with no advantage to himself from it; and yet for all this zeal and friendship that he had expressed to king Henry, he had no thanks, but only complaints. He saw he was disposed to suspect him in everything, as in particular for his treating with the king of Scotland, though by so doing he had taken him wholly out of the emperor's hands. He proposes of new to king Henry the same means that were proposed at Marseilles, in order to the reconciling him to the pope, with some other motions, which he will see are good and reasonable, and upon that all that passed would be easily repaired: he perceived plainly at Marseilles, that the king's ambassadors had no intentions to bring matters to an agreement; and when he told them that he saw there was no intention to make up matters, they only smiled. It touched the king of France very sensibly to see all his friendship and good offices to be so little understood and so ill requited. He was offered the duchy of Milan if he would suffer the emperor and the pope to proceed against the king of England. But he was now to offer to king Henry, if he would reconcile himself to the pope, a league between the pope and the two kings offensive and defensive. But if king Henry would come into no such agreement, yet he was to assure him that he would still continue in a firm and brotherly friendship with him; and if by reason of his marriage and the censures that might be passed on that account, any prince should make war upon him, that he would assist him according to their treaties: and that he would so manage the king of Scotland, that he should engage him into a defensive league with him. In conclusion, he desired that some other better instruments than the bishop of Winchester might be employed, for he thought he had no good intentions, neither to the one nor the other of them."

There is some reason to suspect that these instructions are not fully set forth by Le Grand: for the best argument to persuade the king to come to terms of reconciliation, was to tell him what the pope had said to him of the justice of his cause. It is certain that Francis owned that on other occasions; this makes it highly probable that it was set forth in these instructions; so that I cannot help suspecting that some part of them is suppressed.

At this time the king in a letter to his ambassador that was at the emperor's court, after he had ordered him to lay open the falsehood of the reports that had been carried to the emperor of queen Catherine's being ill used, and to complain of her obstinate temper, and of her insisting on her appeal to the pope, after the law was passed against all such appeals: he adds, that as he had told the

Cotton Libr. Nero, B. 6. A Representation made to the Emperor.

emperor's ambassador at his court, the pope had to the French king confessed that his cause was just and lawful; and that he had promised to him at Marseilles, that if the king would send a proxy, he would give sentence for him in his principal cause; which the king refused to do, looking on that as a derogation from his royal dignity. The pope it seems looked on his refusing to do this as a contempt, and pronounced sentence against him, notwithstanding his appeal to a general council that had been personally intimated to him. This the king imputed to his malice, and his design to support his usurped authority.

De Bellay's Mem. p. 414. He prevailed much on the King to submit.

The bishop of Paris, coming to London, had very long and earnest conferences with the king. In conclusion, the king promised, that if the pope would supersede his sentence, the king would likewise supersede the separating himself entirely from his obedience. Upon that, though it was in winter, he went immediately post to Rome. At the same time the king sent a letter to his ambassadors at Rome. He tells them, "that after the interview at Marseilles, he had heard, both by Bonner and Sir Gregory, that the pope had in a lively manner spoken to the emperor in favour of the king's cause, and seemed more inclined than formerly to do him justice. He had proposed that the king should send a mandate, desiring his cause might be tried in an indifferent place; upon which he would send a legate and two auditors to form the process, reserving the judgment to himself: or, that the king of France and he would concur to procure a general council, by concluding a truce for three or four years; upon which he would call one, and leave the king's cause to be judged in it. The same overtures were made to the king by the pope's nuncio. He pretended that sir Gregory had made them to the pope in the king's name, and that the pope had agreed to them; yet the king had never sent any such orders to sir Gregory, but rather to the contrary. Yet, since the pope in these overtures showed better inclinations than formerly, which indeed he was out of hope of, he ordered thanks to be given him in his name. The king asked nothing in return for all the service he had done him and the see, but justice according to the laws of God and the ordinances of the holy councils; which if he would now do speedily, setting aside all delays, he might be sure that he and his kingdom would be as loving to him and his see as they had been formerly accustomed to be. But for the truce, how desirous soever he was of outward quiet, yet he could not set himself to procure it till he had first peace in his own conscience, which the pope might give him; and then he would use his best endeavours for a general peace with the king of France, from whom he would never separate himself. He therefore charges them to press the pope to remit the fact to be tried within the kingdom according to the old sanctions of general councils. If the pope would grant his desire, he would dispose all his allies to concur in the service of that see. He could not consent to let his cause be tried out of the realm; it was contrary both to his prerogative and to the laws of his kingdom; and by his coronation oath he was bound to maintain those. So, without the consent of his parliament, he could not agree to it; and he was sure they would never consent to that. He hoped the pope would not compel him to do things prejudicial to the papal dignity as it was then exercised, which, unless he were forced to it by the pope's conduct towards him, he had no mind to do. The pope had said to sir Gregory, that by their laws the pope could not dispense in such a marriage, unless there was an urgent cause pressing it; and the clearing this point, he thought, would more certainly advance the king's cause than the opinion of lawyers and divines that the pope could not dispense with it. The emperor had said to the pope, that there was an extreme bloody war at that time between England and Spain, for the pacifying which the dispensation allowing the marriage was granted; whereas, in the league signed by his father, and by Ferdinand and Isabella, upon which the dispensation was obtained, no such thing was pretended: the marriage was agreed to for the continuance and augmentation of their amity, and upon the account of the good qualities of the queen. It was also plainly expressed in that league that her former marriage was consummated: so the dispensation was granted without any urgent cause; and therefore, by the pope's own concession, it could not be valid. He sent to Rome an attested transcript of that league; so if the pope would refer the judging in this matter to the church of England, and ratify the sentence given in

A Letter of the King's to his Ambassadors at Rome. Rymer MSS. Col. Num. 25.



it, he will not only acquire the obedience of us and of our people, but pacify the disputes that have been raised, to the quiet of all Christendom. He concludes, that if the pope seemed disposed to be benevolent to the king, they were not to declare all this as his final answer, but to assure him that he would study by all honourable ways to concur with the pope's towardly mind, if he will earnestly apply himself, and persevere in such opinion, as may be for the acceleration of the said cause." This is all that I can find of the submission that he offered; but how much further his promises sent by the bishop of Paris went, does not appear to me.

D. of Norfolk's Letter to Montmorency. Le Grand, p. 588.

To quicken the court of France to interpose effectually with the pope, to bring this matter to the conclusion that all the papists of England laboured earnestly for, the duke of Norfolk wrote, on the 27th of January, a very full letter on the subject to Montmorency. "He was glad that the bishop of Paris was sent to Rome with instructions expressing the entire union that was between the two kings. He wished he might succeed; for if the pope would persist in his obstinacy to favour the emperor, and to oppress the king in his most just cause, an opposition to his authority would be unavoidable; and it would give occasions to many questions greatly to his prejudice and against his usurpations. It began to be believed that the pope had no authority out of Rome, any more than any other bishop has out of his diocese; and that this usurped authority grew by the permission of princes blinded by popes, who, contrary to the laws of God and the good of the church, had maintained it. To support this, many clear texts of Scripture were brought, with reasons founded on them: and many histories were alleged, to prove that popes themselves were made by the emperors; and that their authority was only suffered, but not granted, nor confirmed, by emperors or kings. Of all this the bishops and other doctors had made such discoveries, that he himself and other noblemen, as well as the body of the people, were so convinced of it, that if the king would give way to it (which, if no interposition saves it, probably he will do), this present parliament will withdraw from the pope's obedience; and then everything that depends on it will be hated and abhorred by the whole nation, and other states and kingdoms may from thence be moved to do the same. He, out of the friendship that was between them, gave him this advertisement. He apprehended some ill effects from the readiness the king of France had expressed to favour the pope, even to the prejudice of his own authority; for he had taken a bull to do justice in his own kingdom, as if he had not full authority to do that without a bull. The pope and his successors might make this a precedent for usurping on the royal authority. He also complains, that though their king had promised to the earl of Rochford that Beda, who had calumniated the king so much, and was his enemy in his just cause, should be banished, not only from Paris, but out of his kingdom, yet he was now suddenly recalled. He wishes these things may be considered in time: he does not propose that the king of France should turn the pope's enemy; but if there came a rupture between the king and the pope, that he would not so favour the pope as to give him more boldness in executing his malice against the king or his subjects; and that they might not be deceived by his promises, as if he would enable Francis to recover his dominions in Italy, if he should be thereby engaged to lose the friendship of the king and his allies."

This came in time to quicken the court of France; for, by a letter writ from Rome on the 20th of February, it appears that the pope was at that time in great anxiety. He was pressed hard by the imperialists on the one hand, and he saw the danger of losing England on the other hand. To some about him he expressed a great inclination to be reconciled to the king: he sent secretly for some great lawyers; they were positive that the king's cause was just, and that his second marriage was good. But now the matter being brought to a crisis, I shall give it in the words of De Bellay, who, no doubt, had his information from his brother. "King Henry, upon the remonstrances that the bishop of Paris made to him, condescended, that if the pope would supersede the sentence till he sent judges to hear his matter, he would supersede the executing that which he was resolved to do; which was to separate himself entirely from obedience to the see of Rome. And the bishop of Paris offering to undertake the journey to Rome, he assured him, that when he obtained that which he went

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 14. The Pope was in great anxiety.

De Bellay's Mem. p. 414, 415, 416.

to demand there, he would immediately send him sufficient powers to confirm that which he had promised, trusting in him by reason of the great friendship that he had for so long a time borne him; for he had been ambassador in his court for two years.

Bellay was to go to Rome, in hopes to make up the Breach.

"It was a very severe winter; but the bishop thought the trouble was small, so he might accomplish that which he went upon. So he came in good time to Rome, before anything was done; and in an audience in the consistory he gave an account of that which he had obtained of the king of England for the good of the church. The proposition was judged reasonable, and a time was assigned him for getting the king's answer. So he despatched a courier to the king, with a charge to use such diligence that he might return within the time limited.

The final Sentence given in great haste.

"The day that was set for the return of the messenger being come, and the courier not come back, the imperialists pressed in consistory that the pope should give sentence. The bishop, on the other hand, pressed both the pope, in particular, and all the cardinals, that they would continue the time only for six days, alleging that some accident might have happened to the courier,—the sea might not be passable, or the wind contrary; so that either in going or coming the courier might be delayed: and since the king had patience for six years, they might well grant him a delay for six days. He made these remonstrances in full consistory, to which many of those who saw the clearest, and judged the best of things, condescended: but the greater number prevailed over the lesser number of those who considered well the prejudice that was like to happen to the church by it; and they went on with that precipitation, that they did in one consistory that which could not be done in three consistories; and so the sentence was fulminated.

The Courier came Two Days too late.

"Two days had not passed, when the courier came with the powers and declarations from the king of England, of which the bishop had assured them. This did much confound those who had been for the precipitating the matter. They met often, to see if they could redress that which they had spoiled; but they found no remedy. The king of England, seeing with what indignity he was used, and that they showed as little regard to him as if he had been the meanest person in Christendom, did immediately withdraw himself and his kingdom from the obedience of the church of Rome, and declared himself to be, under God, the Head of the Church of England."

Le Grand, p. 630, 631. Further Proofs of this Matter.

We have a further account of this transaction in the letters that M. Le Grand has published. On the 22d of February, Raince, the French ambassador, wrote from Rome a letter full of good hopes; and it seems the bishop of Paris wrote in the same strain: but his letter of the 23rd of March is very different from that. It was on the same day that the consistory was held. "There were two-and-twenty cardinals present when sentence was given; by which king Henry's marriage with queen Katherine was declared good and valid, and the issue by it lawful. Upon hearing the news of this, he went and asked the pope about it, who told him it was true; but that though some would have had it immediately intimated, he had delayed the ordering that till after Easter. He, with the other French ambassadors, made no answer to the pope; only the bishop of Paris told him he had no other business there, so he must return home again. They did not put the pope in mind of the promises and assurances he had given them to the contrary, when they saw it was to no purpose; and it was not easy to say such things as the occasion required: but the bishop intended to speak more plainly to the pope when he should take his leave of him, which would be within three or four days. He adds, that for some reasons, which he would tell the French king, they were in doubt whether that which was done was not conform to a secret intention of the king's that was not made known to them. He apprehended, if he stayed longer there, it might give the king of England cause of suspicion: for he had, by his last letters to him, given him assurances, upon which perhaps he had dismissed his parliament; for which he would be much displeased with the bishop. He desires the king will give advice of this with all diligence to king Henry; and then all the world would see that the king had done all that was possible for him to do, both to serve his friend and to prevent the great mischief that might follow to the church and to all Christendom; for there was not any one thing omitted that could have been done. The imperialists were running about the streets in great bodies, crying 'Empire!' and 'Spain!' as if they had got a victory; and had bonfires and discharges of cannon upon it. The cardinals Trevulce, Rodolphe, and Priane were not of that number: others had not behaved themselves so well as was expected. Raince, one of the ambassadors, said, he would give himself to the devil if the pope should not find a way to set all right that is now spoiled. He pressed the other ambassadors to go again to the pope for that end, it being a maxim in the canon law that matrimonial causes are never so finally judged, but that they may be reviewed. They were assured that the pope was surprised in this, as well as he had been in the first sentence passed in this matter. The pope had been all that night advising with his doctors how to find a remedy, and was in great pain about it: upon the knowledge of this, they were resolved to go to him, and see if anything was to be expected. In a postscript, he tells the king that he ought not to think it strange if, in their last letters, they gave other hopes of the opinions of the cardinals than appeared now by their votes. They took what they wrote to him from what they said, which they heard, and not from their thoughts, which they could not know." By a letter that Pompone Trevulce wrote from Lyons to the bishop of Auxerre, it appears that the bishop of Paris passed through Lyons in his return on the 14th, two days before. "In it he gave him the same account of the final sentence that was formerly related. The bishop said to him it was not the pope's fault, for he was for a delay; and if they had granted a delay of six days, the king of England would have returned to the obedience of the apostolic see, and left his cause to be proceeded in according to justice; but the imperialists and their party in the consistory pressed the matter so, that they would admit of no delay: but when, after a day, the courier came, the imperialists themselves were confounded. He adds one thing that the bishop told him of his brother the cardinal, that he pressed the delay so earnestly that he was reproached for it, and called a Frenchman. He avowed that he was a servant to the most Christian king, and that the king of France and his predecessors had never done anything but good to the apostolic see."

Mel. Hist. p. 117.



Reflections on this Breach.

And now I have laid together all the proceedings in the matters relating to the king's divorce and his breach with the court of Rome. In opening all this, I have had a great deal of light given me by the papers that M. Le Grand has published, and by the book that he gave me; for which, whatever other differences I may have with him, I return him, in this public way, my hearty thanks. There appears to have been a signal train of Providence in the whole progress of this matter, that thus ended in a total rupture. The court of Rome, being overawed by the emperor, engaged itself far at first; but when the pope and the king of France were so entirely united as they knew they were, it seems they were under an infatuation from God to carry their authority so far at a time in which they saw the king of England had a parliament inclined to support him in his breach with Rome. It was but too visible, that the king would have given all up if the pope would have done him but common justice; but when the matter was brought so near a total union, an entire breach followed in the very time in which it was thought all was made up. Those who favoured the Reformation saw all their hopes, as it seemed, blasted; but of a sudden all was revived again. This was an amazing transaction; and how little honour soever this full discovery of all the steps made in it does to the memory of king Henry, who retained his inclinations to a great deal of popery to the end of his life, yet it is much to the glory of God's providence that made the persons most concerned to prevent and hinder the breach to be the very persons that brought it on, and in a manner forced it.

The sentence was given at Rome on the 23rd of March, on the same day in which the act of the succession to the crown of England did pass here in England. And certainly the parliament was ended before it was possible to have had the news from Rome of what passed in the consistory on the 23rd of March; for it was prorogued on the 30th of March. So that if king Henry's word had been taken by the pope and the consistory, he seems to have put it out of his power to have made it good, since it is scarce possible to think that a parliament that had gone so far in the breach with Rome could have been prevailed on to undo all that they had been doing for four years together.

Nothing material passed in convocation before the 31st of March; and then the actuary exhibited the answer of the lower house to this question. "Whether the bishop of Rome has

any greater jurisdiction given him by God in the holy Scriptures, within the kingdom of England, than any other foreign bishop?" There were thirty-two for the negative, four for the affirmative, and one doubted. It was a thin house, and no doubt many absented themselves on design: but it does not appear how this passed in the upper house, or whether it was at all debated there; for the prelates had, by their votes in the house of lords, given their opinions already on the point.

All in England concur to renounce the Pope's Authority.

The convocation at York had the same position, no more made a question, put to them on the 5th of May: there the archbishop's presidents were deputed by him to confirm and fortify this. After they had examined it carefully, they did all unanimously, without a contrary vote, agree to it; upon which an instrument was made by the archbishop, and sent to the king, which will be found in the Collection as it was taken out of the register of York.

Col. Num. 26.

The king sent the same question to the university of Oxford, and had their answer. That part of the king's letter that relates to this matter, and the university's answer, were sent me, taken from the archives there by the learned Mr. Bingham, which will be found in the Collection. The king required them to examine the question sent by him to them, concerning the power and primacy of the bishop of Rome, and return their answer under the common seal with convenient speed, according to the sincere truth: dated from Greenwich the 18th day of May. The answer is directed to all the sons of their mother church, and is made in the name of the bishop of Lincoln, their chancellor, and the whole convocation of all doctors, and masters regents, and non-regents. "It sets forth, that whereas the king had received the complaints and petitions of his parliament against some intolerable foreign exactions, and some controversies being raised concerning the power and authority of the bishop of Rome, the king, that he might satisfy his people, but not break in upon anything declared in the Scriptures (which he will be always most ready to defend with his blood), had sent this question to them (setting it down in the terms in which it was proposed to the convocation). They, upon this, to make all the returns of duty and obedience to the king, had brought together the whole faculty of divinity; and for many days they had searched the Scriptures and the most approved commentators; and had collated them diligently, and had held public disputations on the matter. And at last they had all unanimously agreed that the bishop of Rome has no greater jurisdiction given him by God in the holy Scriptures, in this kingdom of England, than any other foreign bishop. This determination, made according to the statutes of their university, they affirm and testify as true, certain, and agreeing to the Holy Scriptures: dated on the 27th June, 1534." Here was a long deliberation: it lasted above five weeks after the king's letter, and was a very full and clear determination of the point.

Col. Num. 27.

To this I shall add the fullest of all the subscriptions, instruments, and oaths that was made, pursuant to these laws and decrees of convocation. I have seen several others to the same purpose, of which Rymer has published many instruments, all from from page 487 to page 527, of Ecclesiastics, Regulars as well as Seculars, Mendicants, and Carthusians: but that from the prior and chapter of Worcester being much the fullest of them all, I shall only insert it in my Collection, and leave out all the rest, that I may not weary the reader with a heavy repetition of the various forms in which some expatiated copiously, to show their zeal for the king's authority and against the papacy, which was looked on then as the distinguishing character of those who designed to set on a further reformation; whereas those who did adhere to their former opinions thought it enough barely to sign the proposition, and to take the oath prescribed by law.

Collection, Number 38.

There was likewise an order published, but how soon it does not appear to me; Strype says in June 1534; it was before queen Anne's tragical fall, directing the bidding prayers for the king, as the only and "Supreme Head" of this catholic church of England, then for queen Anne, and then for the lady Elizabeth, daughter to them both, our princess: and no further in the presence of the king and queen; but in all other places they were to pray for all archbishops and bishops, and for the whole clergy, and such as shall please the preacher to name of his devotion; then for all the nobility, and such as the preacher should name; then for the

An Order for the bidding of Prayers and Preaching.



souls of them them that were dead, and such of them as the preacher shall name. Every preacher was ordered to preach once in the greatest audience against the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome; and he was left after that to his liberty: no preachers were in the pulpit to inveigh against, or to deprave one another: if they had occasion to complain, they were to do it to the king or the bishop of the diocese. They were not to preach for or against purgatory, the honouring of saints, that faith only justifieth, to go on pilgrimages or to support miracles; these things had occasioned great dissensions; but those were then well pacified: they were to preach the words of Christ, and not mix with them men's institutions, or to make God's laws and men's laws of equal authority, or to teach that any man had power to dispense with God's law. It seems there was a sentence of excommunication with relation to the laws and liberties of the church published once a year against all such as broke them; this was to be no more published. The collects for the king and queen by name were to be said in all high masses; they were likewise to justify to the people the king's last marriage, and to declare how ill the king had been used by the pope in all that matter, with the proofs of the unlawfulness of his former marriage; and a long deduction was made of the process at Rome, and of all the artifices used by the pope to get the king to subject himself to him, which I need not relate: it contains the substance of the whole cause, and the order of the process formerly set forth. I have put it in the Collection. All that is particular in it is, that the king affirms, that a decretal bull was sent over, decreeing, that if the former marriage was proved, and if it did appear as far as presumptions can prove it, that it was consummated, that marriage was to be held unlawful and null. This bull, after it was seen by the king, was, by the bishop of Rome's commandment, embezzled by the cardinals. He adds another particular, which I find nowhere but here; that the pope gave out a sentence in the manner of an excommunication and interdiction of him and his realm; of which complaint being made, as being contrary to all law and right, the fault was laid on a new officer lately come to the court, who ought to have been punished for it, and the process was to cease; but though this was promised to the king's agents, yet it went on, and was set up in Flanders. Perhaps the words in the bishop of Paris's last letter, that the pope was surprised in the last sentence as he had been in the first, are to be explained and applied to this. He also mentions the declarations that the pope had made to the French king and his council, of what he would gladly do for the king, allowing the justness of his cause; and that he durst not do it at Rome for fear of the emperor, but that he would come and do it at Marseilles; and there he promised to that king to give judgment for the king; so he would send a proxy, which he knew before that he would not do, nor was he bound to do it.

Collection, Number 29.

Thus the king took care to have his cause to be fully set forth to all his own subjects: his next care was to have it rightly understood by all the princes of Europe. I have found the original instructions that he gave to Paget, then one of the clerks of the signet, whom he sent to the king of Poland and the dukes of Pomerania and Prussia, and to the cities of Dantzic, Stetin, and Coningsburgh; and it is to be supposed, that others were sent to other princes and cities with the like instructions, though they have not come in my way. I have put them in the Collection. By these

Collection, Number 30.

"Their old friendship was desired to be renewed; the rather because the king saw they were setting themselves to find out the truth of God's word and the justice of his laws, and the extirpation of such corrupt errors and abuses by which the world has been kept slaves under the yoke of the bishop of Rome, more than the Jews were under the ceremonies of Moses's law. The king orders Paget to let them understand his great desire to promote, not only a friendship with them, but the common good of all Christendom: he orders him to give them an account of the whole progress of his cause of matrimony, with the intolerable injuries done him by the bishop of Rome, and the state in which that matter then stood. He was first to show them the justice of the king's cause, then to open the steps in which it had been carried on. Here all the arguments against his marriage are stated, to make it appear to be contrary both to the laws of God, of Nature, and of men. In this the king did not follow his own private opinion, nor that of the whole clergy of his realm, but that of the most famous universities

Instructions given to Paget sent to some Northern Courts.

of Christendom: and therefore by the consent of his whole parliament, and by the sentence of the archbishop of Canterbury, he has, for the discharge of his own conscience and the good of his people, and that he might have a lawful successor to rule over them, separated himself from the princess dowager, and was then married to queen Anne; of whom follows a very exalted character, setting forth the purity of her life, her constant virginity, her maidenly and womanly pudicity, her soberness, her chasteness, her meekness, her wisdom, her descent of noble parentage, her education in all good and lawful shows and manners, her aptness to procreation of children, with her other infinite good qualities, which were more to be esteemed than only progeny. If any should object to this second marriage as contrary to the pope's laws; he asserts, that every man's private conscience is to him the supreme court for judgment: so the king was satisfied in his own conscience, that, being enlightened by the Spirit of God, and afterwards by the means formerly set forth, he was judged to be at liberty from his former marriage, and free to contract a new one. The king also took great pains to satisfy the world by long travel and study, with inestimable cost and charges, though he had no fruit from it all. Upon this head Paget was to set forth the pope's ungodly demeanour in the whole progress of the king's cause, keeping him off by delays for seven years and more. At first the pope, instead of judging the matter himself, sent a commission to England, to try it with full powers, pretending that it could not be judged at Rome. He gave with these a decretal bull, in which he pronounced sentence, that the king might (*convolare ad secundas nuptias*) 'marry another wife;' yet he gave the legate secret directions not to proced by virtue of the decretal bull, nor to give sentence. He wrote a letter to the king with his own hand, in which he approved of the king's cause, and promised to the king, on the word of the pope, that he would not avocate the cause, but leave it in its due course; yet afterwards, contrary to his conscience and knowledge, he decreed several citations against the king to appear at Rome, to the subversion of the royal dignity; or to send a proxy, which cannot be justified by any colour of reason. He cites the councils of Nice, Afric, and Milevi against appeals to remote places. It was not reasonable to send original instruments and other documents to a distant place; nor, in a matter of conscience, could a man give such a power to a proxy, by which he was bound to stand to that which he should agree to: it was fit that all princes should consider what an attempt this made upon their dignity, for the pope to pretend that he could oblige them to abandon their kingdoms, and come and appear before him, by which he might depose kings, or rule them according to his own pleasure. So that all this was not only unjust, but null of itself. Dr. Karn being then at Rome, as the king's subject, he offered a plea excusatory; yet this was not regarded by the dean of the Rota, who in that acted as he was directed by the pope, pretending he had no powers from the king, which by law was not necessary for an excusator. Karn had appealed to the pope: to this Capisucchi gave an ambiguous answer, promising to give a more determinate one afterwards, which yet he never did; but upon a second appeal, the cause was brought into the consistory, and there it was judged that Karn could not be heard, unless he had a proxy from the king: and when Karn objected that such proceeding was against law, the pope answered that he might judge all things according to his own conscience: and so they resolved to proceed in the main cause. At that time the king's ambassadors at Rome showed the pope the determination of the universities of Paris and Orleans, with the opinions of the most learned men in France and Italy, condemning the pope's proceedings as unjust and null; the words of their opinion being inserted in the instructions: yet the pope still went on, and sent out slanderous breves against the king, and designed to excommunicate him. To prevent that, the king did order a provocation and appeal to be made from the pope to a general council, and caused it to be intimated to the pope, but he would not admit it, and pretended that by a bull of pope Pius's, that was condemned; and that he was superior to all general councils. He rejected it arrogantly, saying they were heretics and traitors to his person who would appeal from him to any general council. It appeared evidently that the pope, for the defence of his own glory and ambition, regarded not what injuries he did to Christian princes: so they were all obliged now to be on their guard against such invasions of their authority. For these reasons the king was resolved to reduce that exorbitant power which the pope had assumed



within due limits: so that in his dominions he shall exercise no other jurisdiction than what is granted to him by express words of Scripture. Paget was to open all these things to those princes and states, desiring that they would adhere to the king in this matter, till it should come to be treated of in a general council; and in the mean time to give him their best assistance and advice, especially in some articles, of which a schedule was to be given him signed with the king's hand, which he was to communicate to them as he should find it convenient. They related to some abuses and customs which seemed necessary to be reformed: and if they would propose any other, Paget was to receive their mind, and to assure them that the king, as he desired their assistance in his causes and quarrels, so he would kindly admit of whatsoever they should propose, and would endeavour to extirpate all abuses against God's word and laws, and to do all that lay in him for the reformation thereof, for the maintenance of God's word, the faith of Christ, and the welfare of Christendom."

But because the king did not know what the mind of those princes might be, nor how far they were devoted to the pope, Paget was to try to find out their inclinations before he should deliver the king's letters to them; and so to proceed according to his discretion, to deliver or not to deliver his letters, or to show his instructions to them. What followed upon this, and how it was executed, does not appear.

The judicious and diligent Sechendorf, in his history of Lutheranism, gives an account of a negotiation of Paget's, two years before this. Cranmer, who was then the king's ambassador at the emperor's court, met with John Frederick, elector of Saxony, at Noremberg, who had secretly left the diet of Ratisbon; and there he delivered letters from the king, both to the elector, to the duke of Lunenberg, and to the prince of Anhalt, which contained only a general offer of friendship. Cranmer came the next day to the elector, who had two of his ministers about him, and asked him many questions concerning their agreement with the state of religion, the Turkish war, and the church lands, which (as they heard) they had seized on. He said great things of the king, and of the aid he had offered the emperor against the Turk, in conjunction with the French king. He asked where Paget was, whom the king had sent to the elector. General answers were made to all his questions; and for Paget, he had been with the elector the former year. This passed on to the 15th of July, 1532. Four days after this, he came privately to Spalatin, one of the elector's secretaries, and assured him that both the king and the French king would assist the elector and his allies in the matter of religion. In August after that, Paget came to the elector, who proposed many things to him concerning religion: but the princes had then come to an agreement with the emperor; so they could enter into no treaty at that time. Only John Frederick did, in a writing under his own hand, offer the scheme of that which was afterwards proposed in their name to the king.

L. 3. § 6. Par. 16 Add. Negotiations in Germany.

All these negotiations were set on foot pursuant to a paper of advices offered to the king by Cromwell; in which there are divers marginal notes writ in the king's own hand, which will be found in the Collection. "First, all the bishops were to be sent for, especially those nearest the court, to examine them, whether they can prove that the pope is above the general council, or the council above him? And whether, by the law of God, he has any authority in England? Next, they are to be charged to preach this to the people; and to show that the pope's authority was an usurpation grown up by the sufferance of princes. This ought to be preached continually at Paul's Cross; and the bishop of London was to suffer none to preach there but those who will set this forth. The same order was to be given to all other bishops, and to the rulers of the four orders of friars, particularly to the 'Friars Observants,' and to all abbots and priors. The king's appeal was also to be set up on every church-door in England, that so none may pretend ignorance; as also the act against appeals to Rome. It was also proposed, that copies of the king's appeal might be sent to other realms, particularly to Flanders. A letter was also proposed, complaining of all the injuries done the king by the pope; to be written to him by all the lords spiritual and temporal. The king writes on the margin, 'Not yet done, nor can it well be done before the parliament.' To send spies into Scotland

Advices offered the King. Collection, Number 31.

to see what practices were there: on the margin the king's orders, 'Letters to be written to the lord Dacres, the duke of Norfolk, and sir Thomas Clifford.' To send to the kings of Poland and Hungary, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, the landgrave of Hesse, and the three ecclesiastical electors. On the margin the king writes, 'In the king's arbitrement.' This, it seems, gave the occasion of sending Paget. The like proposed for the Hans towns: on the margin in the king's hand, 'To know this of the king.' To remember the merchant-adventurers, chiefly those of Brabant. On the margin, 'This is already done.' Then it is proposed, that an order be given for establishing the princess dowager's house, and the lady Mary's, and for my lady princess's house: this was Elizabeth's. To this, on the margin, it is written by the king, 'The order is taken.'"

In June, in the year 1535, after the parliament had settled everything demanded of them, the king published a circular letter, which will be found in the Collection, taken from the original. "In which, after he had set forth that both clergy and temporalty had abolished the bishop of Rome's usurpations, and had united to the crown the dignity of 'Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England;' which was also approved in convocation, and confirmed by their oaths and subscriptions; he adds, that considering what quiet would follow in the nation if the bishops and clergy would sincerely, and without dissimulation, publish the many and great abuses of the pope's usurpation, he had sent letters to all bishops, charging them not only in their own persons, but by their chaplains, to preach the true and sincere word of God to the people, and to give warning to all ecclesiastical persons to do the same; and to cause the pope's name to be rased out of all the books of divine service. He had also required the justices of peace to examine whether the bishops and clergy did this sincerely; or whether they did it coldly or feignedly, or used any addition or gloss to it. Upon all this, the king requires them, at their assizes and sessions, to make diligent search, whether the bishops and clergy do their duty sincerely. Likewise, at their meetings, they were to set the same forth to the people; and also declare the treasons committed by the bishop of Rochester and sir Thomas More, who by diverse secret practices intended to breed among the people most mischievous opinions, for which they, with some others, had suffered as they deserved. He requires them if they found any fault or dissimulation in any person, that they should immediately signify it to the king and his council, as that which was of the greatest moment to the quiet of the kingdom, threatening such punishment of those who were negligent in this, as would make them examples to all others: and he charges them upon their allegiance to obey all this punctually."

Collection, Number 32.

A Letter of the King's to the Justices to observe the Behaviour of the Clergy.

But it seems this had not the effect that was expected; therefore, in April, after this, a new letter, or proclamation, was writ to some of the nobility, setting forth that he had heard that some, both regulars and seculars, did secretly extol the authority of the bishop of Rome; praying for him in the pulpit, and making him a god; preferring his power and laws to God's most holy laws. The king, therefore, out of his desire to maintain unity and quiet among his people, and to bring them to the knowledge of the truth, and to be no more blinded with superstition and false doctrine, required them that wheresoever they found any person spreading such pernicious doctrines to the exaltation of the bishop of Rome, to cause them to be apprehended and put in prison without bail or mainprise.

Col.Num.33.

Among the bishops, all were not equally honest nor zealous. Lee, archbishop of York, and Gardiner, were those in whom the old leaven had the deepest root: so the king, being informed that Lee, though he had given in his profession, subscribed and sealed by him, yet did not his duty in his diocese and province, neither in teaching himself nor causing others to teach the people, conform to what was settled both in convocation and parliament, sent him orders both to preach these things and to order all other ecclesiastical persons in his province to do the same. Upon this he wrote a long vindication of himself, in June 1535, which will be found in the Collection.

The Archbishop of York is suspected to favour the Pope.

Col.Num.34.

"He sets forth in it the complaints that the king signified had been made of him, with the orders that he had received from the king; and then sets out his own conduct.



He acknowledges he had received, at the end of the last parliament, a book sent from the archbishop of Canterbury as a book of orders for preaching (probably that which is the 28th paper in the Collection). Upon his receiving it, he went on Sunday next to York, and there he set forth the cause of the king's marriage and the rejecting the pope's authority very fully. And that this might be done the more publicly, he had caused it to be published at York the Sunday before that he would be there, and so took care to have a full audience: so that there was a great multitude there. His text was, 'I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come:' and he so declared the king's matters, that all seemed satisfied. It is true, he did not touch the title of the king as the supreme head, for there was no order given as to that; for it was thus only ordered to have it named in the prayer. It is true, he did not use to bid prayers, for the greater haste to utter his matter; but, upon the receipt of that book, he commanded his officers to make out a great number of them, to be sent to every preacher in his diocese. And by all that he ever heard, every one of his curates followed that book, and has done their duty in every particular enjoined in it. He took care that all who preached in their churches should follow the rules prescribed in it. He also sent a book to every house of friars. And for the religious, when any such person came to him, naming particularly the Carthusians and the Observants, for counsel, he told them what he had done himself, and advised them to do the same. On Good-Friday last he had ordered the collect for the pope to be left out, and also the mentioning him in other parts of the service. He desired the king would examine these things, and he would find he was not so much in fault as he imputed it to him. He had been hitherto open and plain, and had never deceived the king: he had also sent letters to the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, pursuant to the letters that he had from the king; and had charged his archdeacons to see that all obedience might be given to the king's orders. He had, since he received the king's last letters, on the Sunday following, declared to the people everything comprised in them. He refers himself to Magnus and Lawson, two of the king's chaplains, who heard him, to make report of what they thought of it. Whatever he promised to the king he would fulfil it; and he had done everything as the king commanded, and would still do it, so God were not offended by it. He besought the king not to believe any complaints of him till he have heard his answer. Some thought it was a high sacrifice when they could bring such a poor priest as he was under the king's displeasure; but he trusted God would continue in him a gracious mind to his priests and chaplains, and that he would give their enemies, who studied to provoke him against them, better minds for the future."

He justifies himself.

I have no particulars to add to the relation I gave of the sufferings of Fisher and More. There are heavy things laid to their charge; but, except Fisher's being too much concerned in the business of the Nun of Kent, which was without doubt managed with a design to raise a rebellion in the nation, I do not find any other thing laid to his charge; and it does not at all appear that More gave any credit or countenance to that matter, yet I have seen that often affirmed. In our own days, when things have happened both together, though the one did not by any sort of proof appear to be connected with the other, yet they have been represented as done in concert: so the conspiracy of the nun, and those who managed that imposture, was given out, both at home and abroad, as having its rise from Fisher, who indeed knew of it, and seemed to give credit to it; and from More, though he had no share at all in it.

Of the Sufferings of Fisher and More.

The king of France was not satisfied with this way of proceeding; he thought it too violent, and that it did put things past all possibility of a reconciliation. He had answered for the king to the pope at Marseilles; and he was in such a concern for him, that the wrong steps he made reflected on himself. He told the king's ambassador that he advised the banishing of all such offenders rather than the putting them to death. That king confessed there had been extreme executions and cruelty lately exercised in his own kingdom; but he was now putting a stop to it, and resolved to call home all those that had fled out of his kingdom. He had seen a relation of More's sufferings, by which it appeared that he exhorted his daughter to all duty and respect to the king, which made the proceedings against such a man to be the more censured.

The ambassadors wrote this to the king soon after More's death. The king wrote, on the 23rd of August, an answer from Thornbury to this purpose: "If the king of France had answered for the king, and had justified his cause, he had done what was just and suitable to their friendship. The conspiracies of Fisher and More to sow sedition, and to raise wars both within and without the kingdom, were manifestly proved to their face; so that they could not avoid nor deny it. The relation he had seen, concerning More's talk with his daughter at his death, was a forged story: the king took it in ill part that king Francis should so lightly give ear and credit to such vain tales. This ungrateful behaviour showed that the king of France had not that integrity of heart that the king deserved, and might expect from him. Then follows a vindication of the laws lately made, which indeed were only old laws revived. The banishing of traitors was no ways convenient: that was to send them in places where they might more safely and conveniently execute their conspiracies. Upon all which the ambassador was ordered to expostulate plainly, but discreetly, both with the king and with the great-master." There appears a strain of coldness in the whole intercourse between the two courts of France and England, ever from the interview at Marseilles to this time.

Col.Num.35. Rymer MS. An Expostulation with the Court of France.

Pope Clement was now dead, with whom the king of France was more closely united; and he found the king's friendship was yet so necessary to him, that he resolved to remove all jealousies: so, to give the king a full assurance of his firmness to him, he sent him a solemn engagement to adhere to him. It is true, I have seen only a copy of this; but it is minuted on the back by Cromwell's hand, and is fairly writ out. There is no date set to it, but it was during queen Anne's life, and after pope Clement's death; so probably it was sent over about this time: it will be found in the Collection.

The King of France engages himself to adhere to and defend the King in his second Marriage. Col.Num.36.

It begins thus: "That both friendship and piety did require that he should employ his whole strength and authority to maintain the justice of his dearest friend. The king of England, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and, 'under God, supreme head of the church of England,' had, by a dispensation granted by pope Julius, contracted a marriage in fact with Katherine of Spain, relict of the king's elder brother Arthur, and had one daughter yet living of that marriage. That king, upon great and weighty reasons, well known to king Francis, had withdrawn himself from that marriage, and had lawfully and rightfully married Anne now his queen, of whom he hath issue the princess Elizabeth. And a debate had arisen concerning the dispensation and the first marriage, and the legitimacy of the issue by it. In which king Francis, by many arguments, did perceive that the pope himself had not a due regard to equity; and that what by the iniquity of the times, what by ill practice against all law and right, many things were done. The king therefore consulted the men of the greatest integrity in his kingdom, and the most learned both in divinity and in the laws of the church; whom he charged to make a report to him according to their consciences, as in the sight of God, having first conferred among themselves fully upon the whole matter. He does, therefore, upon all their unanimous opinion, clearly perceive that the dispensation granted by the pope was in itself null, both by reason of the surprise put on him by the grounds pretended in it for obtaining it, but chiefly because the pope could not dispense in that case; since such marriages are contrary to the laws of God and of nature. For the pope has no authority to dispense in that case; so that the marriage between king Henry and queen Katherine was incestuous and null; as contrary to the laws of God and man; and by consequence the lady Mary, born of that marriage, was illegitimate. And further, that the marriage the king has contracted with Anne, now his queen, was holy, lawful, and good; and that Elizabeth, born of that marriage, and all the other issue that might come of it, was lawful, and ought so to be esteemed." He adds, "that many of the cardinals, naming particularly the late cardinal of Ancona, and even the late pope Clement himself, did declare their own positive opinion to himself personally, at Marseilles, and frequently to his ambassadors, that the dispensation granted by pope Julius, upon which the first marriage was made, was null and void. And the pope would have declared this by a final and definitive sentence, if private affections and human regards had not stood in his way. All which that king did solemnly declare. He therefore, looking on that dispensation as null and void, and by consequence on the marriage contracted by that authority as unlawful and incestuous; and on the lady Mary as incapable to succeed, being born in it; did judge and affirm that the marriage with queen Anne, and the issue come, or to come of it, was lawful and valid; and that the just right of succeeding to the crown was vested in the issue of that marriage. And that all judgments and censures, either by the late pope Clement or by any other judge, that were made and published, or that might hereafter be made or published, were and are null and void, unjust, and unlawful. And he promised, on the word and faith of a king, and under the forfeiture of all his goods, and of all the goods of his subjects, in the form of a contract of guaranty, both for himself and his heirs successors, that he, at all times and in all places, particularly in all synods or general councils, and before all persons, and against all men whatsoever that should oppose it, of what rank or condition soever they might be, he would, both by himself and by his subjects, maintain and defend it, and (if need were) justify it by a strong hand and with all his forces. Nor would he ever, for the future, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, go against it, or so much as attempt it, nor suffer it to be attempted by any other as much as in him lay."



Here was as positive an assurance as could be put in words. And though princes have, in former times as well as in our own days, made bold with their promises and treaties, and have very easily thrown them off, or broke through them without any appearance of great remorse or shame, yet it must be confessed that Francis did never, even in the war that he afterwards had with king Henry, depart from or falsify this engagement.

From which he never departed.

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THE

# HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

# CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY

GILBERT BURNET, D.D.,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

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The King was much pleased with the Title of Supreme Head.

KING HENRY seemed not a little pleased with his title of the Supreme Head of the Church of England; of which it was enacted, in the session of parliament that sat after the breach was made with Rome, that it should be for ever joined to the other titles of the crown, and be reckoned one of them. He ordered an office for all ecclesiastical matters, and a seal to be cut; which, in an inhibition sent to the archbishop, in order to a royal visitation of the whole clergy of all England, is, for aught I know, first mentioned. It is dated the 18th of September 1535; and at the end these words are added; "under our seal, that we use in ecclesiastical matters, which we have ordered to be hereunto appended."

The Archbishop of Canterbury's title changed.

The archbishop of Canterbury's title was also in convocation ordered to be altered: instead of the title of legate of the apostolic see, he was to be designated Metropolitan and Primate. This last was one of his antient titles. In that session there was some discourse concerning heresy, and of some English books; in particular of Tindal's books. And there was a book laid before them, with the title of a "Primer;" of which there is no other account given but that from the Rubrics of it, they suspected it was a book not fit to be published. This, it seems, produced a petition to the king, that he would command all heretical books to be called in within a time limited; and that he would appoint the Scripture to be translated in the vulgar tongue; but that though the laity might read it, yet they were to be required not to dispute concerning the catholic faith.

Cranmer and Gardiner oppose one another.

It is very probable that a breach was upon this occasion begun between Cranmer and Gardiner. The sharpness against heresy was probably supported by Gardiner; as the motion for the translation of the Bible was by Cranmer. But when Cranmer, in order to an archiepiscopal visitation of the whole province, having obtained the king's licence for it on the 28th of April, sent out his inhibition, according to form, to the ordinaries during the visitation; upon this Gardiner complained to the king of it for two reasons. He thought the title of Primate of England did derogate from the king's power. The other was, that since his diocese had been visited within five years last passed, and was now to pay for ever tenths to the king, it ought not

to be charged with this visitation. Of this Cromwell gave Cranmer notice. He, on the 12th of May, wrote a vindication of himself, which will be found in the Collection.

Col. Num. 37.

Cranmer vindicates himself.

"He believed that Gardiner (who wanted neither law, invention, nor craft, to set out his matters to the best advantage), studied to value himself upon his zeal for the king's supremacy, that so he might seem more concerned for that than for himself. Cranmer laid himself and all his titles at the king's feet: but he wrote why did not Gardiner move this sooner? for he had received his monition on the 20th of April. The pope did not think it lessened his supremacy, that he had many primates under him: no more did his title lessen the king's supremacy. Gardiner knew well, that if the pope had thought those subaltern dignities had weakened his supreme one, he would have got all the bishops to be put on the level, there being many contentions concerning jurisdiction in the court of Rome. But if all the bishops of the kingdom set no higher value on their styles and titles than he did, the king should do in those matters what he pleased: for if he thought that his style was in any sort against the king's authority, he would beg leave to lay it down. He felt in his heart that he had no sort of regard to his style or title, further than as it was for the setting forth of God's word and will; but he would not leave any just thing at the pleasure of the bishop of Winchester, he being no otherwise affectionate to him than he was. In the apostles' days there was a Diotrephes, who loved the pre-eminence; and he had more successors than all the other apostles, from whom all glorious titles and much pomp was come into the church. He wished that he and all his brethren might leave all their styles, and call themselves only the apostles of Jesus Christ; so that they took not the name vainly, but were such indeed; and did order their dioceses, so that not parchment, lead, or wax, but the conversation of their people might be the seals of their office; as St. Paul said the Corinthians were to him." He answers the other part very fully; but that will be found in the letter itself; it not being of that importance to deserve that any abstract should be made of it.

It was soon observed, that there was a great faction formed against any reformation in doctrine or worship; and that those who favoured and promoted it, were ill-used by the greater part of the bishops: of which I shall give one instance, and by it one may judge of the rest, for I have seen many complaints to the same purpose. Barlow was, by queen Anne's favour, made prior of Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire. He set himself to preach the pure gospel there, and found many were very desirous to hear it; but he was in danger of his life daily by reason of it: and an accusation being brought against him by a black friar there, set on by Rawlins, then bishop of St. David's, who both rewarded him for it, and recommended him to the Arches: for Barlow had appealed to the king. He owns that by Cromwell's favour, their design against him was defeated: but he having sent a servant home about business, the bishop's officers cited him to their courts, and ransacked his house, where they found an English Testament, with an exposition of the sermon on the mount, and of some other parts of the New Testament. Upon this they clamoured against him as a heretic for it. They charged the mayor of the town to put him and some others in prison, seeking by all means to find witnesses against them; but none appearing, they were forced to let them go, but valued themselves upon their zeal against heresy. He sets forth the danger that all were in who desired to live according to the laws of God, as became faithful subjects: for in that multitude of monks, friars, and secular priests, that was then in those parts, there was not one that sincerely preached the word of God, and very few that favoured it. He complains of the enormous vices, fraudulent exactions, and heathenish idolatry, that was shamefully supported under the clergy's jurisdiction; of which he offered to make full proof if it should be demanded and received: but that being done, he desired leave to remove from thence; for he could neither go home nor stay there safely, without a special protection. This letter will be found in the Collection.

Bishops proceed against those who desired a Reformation.

Collection, Number 38.

Barlow was that year made bishop of St. Asaph, and the year after was translated to St. David's; and was after that removed to Wells, but driven out by queen Mary; and was made bishop of Chichester by queen Elizabeth, in which he lived ten years.



The secret opposition that the bishops gave to the steps made towards a reformation, obliged Cromwell to send many agents in whom he trusted up and down the nation, to observe all men's tempers and behaviour. Legh, among others, being sent to York, did (in January) enjoin the archbishop, by an order from the king, to preach the word of God, and to set forth the king's prerogative. He also enjoined him to bring up to the king all the foundations of his see, and all commissions granted to it. In these, he did not doubt, but they would find many things fit to be reformed: and he advised that every bishop might be so ordered, that their dioceses might be better instructed and edified. That would establish them in their fidelity to the king and to his succession: but the jurisdictions might be augmented or diminished, as should seem convenient. This letter, which will be found in the Collection, opens a design that I find often mentioned, of calling in all the pope's bulls and all the charters belonging to the several sees, and regulating them all. But, perhaps, the first design being the suppressing the monasteries, it was not thought fit to alarm the secular clergy till that was once done: yet the order for sending up all bulls was at the same time generally executed. There is a letter of Tonstal's, writ soon after this to Cromwell, put in the Collection, in which he mentions the king's letters to all the bishops to come up immediately after the feast of the purification, with all the bulls they had obtained from Rome at any time. But the king considering that Tonstal had gone down but late, ordered Dr. Layton to write to him that he needed not come up; but advised that he should write to the king that he was ready to do as other bishops did, and to deliver up all such bulls as the king desired of him. Layton wrote to him that Cromwell, as his friend, had assured the king that he would do it.

The Archbishop of York much suspected.

Collection, Number 39.

Collection, Number 40.

In answer to this, Tonstal thanked him for his kindness on that and on many other occasions. "He did not understand to what intent these bulls were called for (and it seems he apprehended it was to have all the bishops give up their right to their bishopries), yet he had sent them all up to be delivered at the king's pleasure: he adds, that he hoped by this demand, the king did not intend to make him leave his bishopric, and both to turn him out of his living, and to ruin all his servants, that had their living only by him; in which he wrote he could not be thought either ambitious or unreasonable: so he desired to know what the king's pleasure was; not doubting but that the king would use him as well as he used the other bishops in the kingdom, since as he had obtained these bulls by him, he had renounced everything in them that was contrary to his prerogative. He had but five bulls, for the rest were delivered to those to whom they were addressed: so he commits himself to the king's goodness, and to Cromwell's favour." Dating his letter from Aukland the 29th of January, which must be in the year 153$\frac{5}{6}$.

Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 4.

Tonstal might be under more than ordinary apprehensions of some effect of the king's displeasure; for as he had opposed the declaring him to be the Supreme Head in the convocation of York; so he had stuck firmly to the asserting the lawfulness of the king's marriage to queen Katherine. Before the meeting of the parliament, on which that matter was determined; he with the proxy that he sent to the bishop of Ely, wrote him a letter, of which Mr. Richard Jones saw the original, which he has inserted in his voluminous collections that are in the Bodleiam library; in which these words are, after he had told him that he had given him full power to consent or dissent from everything that was to be proposed: he adds,

"Yet, nevertheless, I beseech you, if anything harmful or prejudicial in any point to the marriage between the king's highness and the queen's grace shall be proposed, wherein our voices shall be demanded; in your own name say what you will, and what God putteth in your mind: but I desire you, and on God's behalf I require you, never in my name to consent to any such thing proposed, either harmful or prejudicial to the marriage aforesaid; but expressly to dissent unto the same: and for your discharge on that behalf, ye may show, when you think it requisite, this my particular declaration of my mind, made unto you therein: and what I have willed and required you to do in my name in this point, praying your lordship not to do otherwise in my name, as my singular trust is in you, that ye will not." Dated from Aukland in January, but neither day nor year are mentioned.

The session of parliament in which the act of the succession passed, by which the king's marriage with queen Katherine was condemned, meeting in January, this letter seems to be written before that session; and yet no opposition was made to that act in the house of lords, either by the bishop of Ely or by the bishop of Bath, whom he had made his second proxy as appears by the same letter, in which he is also named: the act passed so soon, that it was read the first time on the 20th of March, and passed on the 23rd in the house of lords, without either dissent or protest. It is also certain that Tonstal afterwards took the oath enjoined by that act. But how these bishops came to be so silent upon that occasion, being so solemnly required to do otherwise by Tonstal; and how he himself came to change and to take the oath, is that of which I can give no account. It is certain king Henry had a very particular regard for him; but yet by this letter it appears that he had some fears of a severity aimed at himself: but he was afterwards in all things very compliant, even to the end of king Edward's reign.

Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 4.

There came up from all parts of the kingdom many complaints of the ill-behaviour and bad practices of the monks and friars: of the last chiefly, for the Mendicant order being always abroad begging, they had many more occasions to show themselves: and though the monks had not those occasions to be in all public places, yet it was very visible that they were secretly disposing the people to a revolt. So it was resolved to proceed against them all by degrees: and after the visitations and injunctions, which had no great effect, they began with the smaller houses that were not above 200*l.* a year: this swept away at once all the Mendicants, who were the most industrious, and by consequence the most dangerous.

Complaints of the Monks and Friars.

The archbishop of York was much suspected; and if many apologies look like intimations of some guilt, he had a great deal, for he took many occasions to justify himself. Upon the act for taking all the lesser monasteries into the king's hands, he expressed great zeal in serving the king, which appeared in a letter of his to Cromwell in April 1536. He gave a strict commandment to his archdeacons to warn all in the monasteries within the act, not to embezzle or to convey away any thing belonging to the house; and if they had done any such thing to restore it. He ordered them to give warning to all others not to meddle with any such goods. He had also warned the mayor of York and his brethren, and the master of the mint there, to receive none of the goods or plate of these monasteries: having thus expressed his care in that matter, he made an earnest suit for two places that were of the patronage of his see. The one was St. Oswalds, which was a free chapel; the prior was removable at the archbishop's pleasure, and he might put secular priests in it if he pleased. The other was Hexham upon the borders of Scotland, which was once an episcopal see; and there not being a house between Scotland and that lordship, if that house should go down, there would be a great waste that would run far into the country: whether he obtained these suits or not, does not appear to me: after that he adds, that he had given order that no preachers should be suffered that preached novelties, and did sow seeds of dissension: some after that they were forbid to preach, did go on and preach still, he had ordered process against them; some of them said they would get the king's licence: if that were done, he must be silent, but he hoped Cromwell would hinder that, and give him notice if they had obtained the king's licence: some said they had the archbishop of Canterbury's licence; but none of these should be obeyed there, none but the king's licences and his.

The Archbishop of York clears himself.

Collection, Number 41.

Upon the many complaints of preachers of all sorts, king Henry wrote a circular letter to all the bishops on the 12th of July, letting them know that, considering the diversity of opinion in matters of religion, he had appointed the convocation to set forth certain articles of religion most catholic; but, to prevent all distraction in the minds of his people, he ordered that, till that was published, no sermons should be preached till Michaelmas, unless by the bishop, or in his presence, or in his cathedral, where he is to take care to furnish such as he can answer for: every bishop is therefore required to call in all his licences for preaching, and to publish this in the king's name. He is also required to imprison all those who acted against this order, and not to suffer any private conventicles or disputations about these matters. To this is added a direction for the "bidding of prayers;" that they should pray for departed souls,

Reg. Heref. Fox, Fol. 6. All Preaching is for some Time prohibited.



that God would grant them the fruition of his presence: and a strict charge is laid on curates, that when the articles of religion shall be sent them they should read them to their people without adding or diminishing, excepting only such to whom he shall, under his seal, give power to explain them.

The blind bishop of Norwich, Nix, was condemned in a *præmunire*, and put out of the king's protection, for breaking through a custom that the town of Thetford had enjoyed past all memory,—that no inhabitant of that town could be brought into any ecclesiastical court, but before the dean of that town; yet that old and vicious bishop cited the mayor before him, and charged him, under the pain of excommunication, not to admit of that custom. Upon this, judgment was given in the temporal courts against the bishop; but he was now received into the king's protection. In the pardon, mention is made of his being convicted upon the statute of provisors. Stokesly, bishop of London, was charged with the breach of the same statute, for which he took out a pardon.

During these years, Cromwell carried no higher character than that of secretary of state; but all applications were made to him in ecclesiastical matters: so whether this was only by reason of his credit with the king, or if he was then made vicar-general, does not appear to me. But as the king took care to keep all things quiet at home, so he set himself to cultivate a particular friendship with the princes of the empire of the Augsburgh confession, hoping by their means to be able to give the emperor a powerful diversion if he should go about to execute the pope's censures. The king of France had been for some time endeavouring to beget a confidence of himself in the minds of those princes, pretending that he was neither for the divine nor the unbounded authority that the popes had assumed, but only he thought it was reasonable to allow them a primacy in the church, and to set limits to that. Langey was the person most employed in the managing of this matter: but when the king came to understand that the king of France had sent for Melancthon, being then at Langley, he ordered the duke of Norfolk and the lord Rochford to write to Cromwell, commanding him to despatch Barnes immediately to Germany; and to use such diligence, that if it was possible he might meet Melancthon before he was gone into France, and to dissuade his going thither, since the French king was then persecuting those who did not submit to the pope's usurped authority. He was to use all possible arguments to divert him from going, and to persuade him all he could to come over to England; showing him the conformity of the king's opinions with his own, and setting forth the king's noble and generous temper. But if he was gone into France, Barnes was to go on to the princes of Germany, and Cromwell was to send a messenger with him, to be sent back with an account of the state of matters among them. He was to engage the princes to continue firm in the denial of the pope's authority, in which their honour was deeply concerned; and they might depend upon the king in that matter, who had proceeded in it with the advice of the most part of the great and famous clerks in Christendom, from which he would never vary, nor alter his proceedings. Barnes was to carry over a book written on that subject, and some sermons of the bishops, and to put the princes on their guard as to the French king; for he assured them that both he and his council were altogether papists.

Rymer.

A Treaty with the Lutheran Princes.

Barnes was likewise directed to send Hains (afterwards dean of Exeter) and Christopher Mount (an honest German, who was long employed by the crown of England,) to sir John Wallop, the king's ambassador in France, on pretence that they went as his friends to visit him. If Melancthon was in France, they were to go secretly to him to dissuade his stay long there, or his altering his opinion in any particular. Some copies of the book and the sermons were to be carried by them to France. If it is true that the king of France was so set to maintain the pope's supremacy, Wallop was to represent to him how contrary that was to his honour to subject himself to the pope, and to persuade others to do the same; and to charge him that he would remember his promise to maintain the king's cause and proceedings; and since the king did not move the subjects of any other prince, why should the French king study to draw the Germans from their opinion in that matter which the king thought himself much concerned in, since it was so much against the king's interest and his own promise. Wallop was to use all means to incline him rather to

Barnes sent to them.

be of the king's opinion. They also ordered Cromwell to write to the bishop of Aberdeen, that the king took it very unkindly that his nephew, the king of Scotland, was suing to marry the duke of Vendome's daughter without his advice: he had proposed it to him before, and then he would not hearken to it. This negligence the king imputed to that bishop and to the rest of the Scottish council: the latter concludes that Barnes should not be stayed for further instructions from the bishop of Canterbury: these should be sent afterwards by the almoner (Fox). This letter will be found in the Collection.

Col. Num. 42.

This came soon enough to stop Melancthon's journey to France. The great-master and the admiral of France did not think of anything with relation to Germany, but of a civil league, to embroil the emperor's affairs: they were against meddling in points of religion, and so were against Melancthon's coming to France. They were afraid that the French divines and he would not agree; and that might alienate the German princes yet more from the court of France. Hains and Mount wrote this over from Rheims, on the 8th of August, 1535. It is true, Langey was sent to bring him, hoping to meet him at Wirtemberg; but he was not come thither; only the heads of their doctrine were sent to him: with these he came back to France. The king's divines made some emendations, which Langey said to Mount he believed the Germans would submit to: and so he was sent back, with a gold chain and letters, to bring Melancthon, and six other eminent German divines with him. Of this, Mount gave the king advice, the 7th of September, in that year.

Melancthon's going to France prevented. Paper-Office.

This whole matter came to nothing; for Francis's sister, the queen of Navarre, was the person who pressed him chiefly to it, hoping by this, once to engage him in some point of doctrine which, as she hoped, might draw on a rupture with Rome. But his ministers diverted him from all thoughts of engaging in doctrinal matters; and they put him on entering into a league with the princes of the empire only with relation to their temporal concerns. Nor were the German princes willing to depart in a tittle from the Augsburgh confession, or enter upon new treaties about points that were settled already among them, which might give occasion to new divisions among themselves. And no doubt the king's interposing in the matter with such earnestness had great weight with them: so he was delivered from the alarm that this gave him. But to go on with our king's affairs in Germany.

The French King fluctuates.

Fox, with Heath (on whom Melancthon set a high value), was sent soon after Barnes, to negotiate with the Germans. He had many conferences with some of their divines; and entered into a large treaty, about several articles of religion, with those of Wittemberg, which lasted three months, to the elector's great charge, and the uneasiness of the Germans.

Seck. l. 3. § 13, par. 39. Fox sent to Germany.

Melancthon had dedicated his Commentary on the Epistles to the king, who sent him (upon it) a present of two hundred crowns, and wrote a letter to him full of particular expressions of esteem, and assurances that he would always assist him in those his pious labours; dated from Winchester, the 1st of October, 1535. Fox seemed to assure them that the king would agree with them in all things; and told them that the king had already abolished the popish superstitions, which he called the Babylonish tyranny; calling the pope antichrist. They of Wittemberg insisted on the abuses of the mass, and on the marriage of the clergy; and took notice that the king had only taken away some smaller abuses, while the greatest were still kept up. So that Melancthon wrote on the margin of their paper, at this part of it, in Greek, "Nothing sound." All this was sent over to the king, but did not at all please him; for, in an answer written by Cromwell, these words are a part of it: "The king knowing himself to be the learnedest prince in Europe, he thought it became not him to submit to them; but he expected they should submit to him." They, on the other hand, saw the great advantage of his protection and assistance; so that they brought Luther to make an humble submission to him, asking him pardon for the manner of his writing against him, which I find intimated, though it never came in my way. They studied also to gain both upon his vanity—offering him the title of the defender, or "protector of their league,"—and on his interest, by entering into a close confederacy with him.

It was an opinion, common enough in that time, that the emperor was the sovereign of



Germany. Gardiner, in several of his letters, seems to be of that mind; and upon that account he endeavoured to possess the king with a prejudice against his treating with them, that it was to animate subjects to revolt against their prince: whereas, by the constitution and laws of the empire, the princes had secured to themselves the right of coining, fortifying, arming, and entering into treaties, not only with one another, but with foreign princes, for their defence. A homage was indeed due to the emperor, and a much greater submission was due to the diet of the empire; but the princes were sovereigns in their own territories, as the Hanse towns were free states. Fox pressed them to approve of all that the king had done in the matter of his divorce, and of his second marriage. To which they gave the answer that I had inserted in my History, among the transactions of the year 1530: but the noble Seckendorf shows that it was sent in the year 1536. In their answer, as they excused themselves from giving their opinion in that matter till they were better informed, they added (which, it seems, was suppressed by Fox), "Though we do agree with the ambassadors, that the law against marrying the brother's wife ought to be kept, yet we are in doubt whether a dispensation might not take place in this case, which the ambassadors denied; for that law cannot oblige us more strictly than it did the Jews. And if a dispensation was admitted to them, we think the bond of matrimony is stronger." Luther was vehemently against the infamy put on the issue of the marriage: he thought the lady Mary was cruelly dealt with when she was declared a bastard. Upon queen Katherine's death, they earnestly pressed the restoring her to her former honour; so true were they to that which was their principle, without regarding the great advantage they saw might come to them from the protection of so great a king.

His ambassadors, at that time, gave these princes an advertisement of great importance to them, that was written over to the king by Wiat, then his ambassador in Spain: that the emperor had, in a passionate discourse with him, called both the elector and the landgrave his enemies and rebels. The truth was, the elector did not entirely depend on all that Fox said to him: he thought the king had only a political design in all this negotiation, intending to bring them into a dependence on himself without any sincere intentions with relation to religion. So he being resolved to adhere firmly to the Augsburgh confession, and seeing no appearance of the king's agreeing to it, he was very cold in the prosecution of this negotiation. But the princes and states of that confession met at this time at Smalcald, and settled the famous Smalcaldic league, of which the king's ambassadors sent him an authentic copy, with a translation of it in English, which the reader will find in the Collection.

Col. Num. 43.

By it, "John Frederick, elector of Saxony, with his brother Ernest; Philip, Ernest, and Francis, dukes of Brunswick; Ulric, duke of Wirtemberg, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, the dukes of Pomeren; four brothers, princes of Anhalt; two brothers, counts of Mansfield; the deputies of twenty-one free towns" (which are not named in any order, for Hamburg and Lubeck are the last, save one; but, to avoid disputes, they were named in the order in which they came, and produced their powers): all these "did, on behalf of themselves and their heirs, seeing the dangers of that time, and that many went about to disturb those who suffered the sincere doctrine of the gospel to be preached in their territories; and who, abolishing all abuses, settled such ceremonies as were agreeable to the word of God; from which their enemies studied to divert them by force and violence: and since it was the magistrate's duty to suffer the sincere word of God to be preached to his subjects, and to provide that they be not violently deprived of it; therefore, that they might provide for the defence of themselves and their people, which is permitted to every man, not only by the law of nature, but also by the written laws, they entered into a Christian, lawful, and friendly league, by which they bound themselves to favour all of their body, and to warn them of any imminent danger, and not to give their enemies passage through their territories. This was only for their own defence, and not to move any war. So if any of them should be violently assaulted for the cause of religion, or on any pretence, in which the rest should judge that religion was the true motive, the rest of the confederacy were bound, with all their force and power, to defend him who was so assaulted, in such a manner as, for the circumstances of the time, shall be adjudged: and none of them might make any agreement or truce without the

consent of the rest. And that it might not be understood that this was any prejudice to the emperor their lord, or to any part of the empire, they declare, that it was only intended to withstand wrongful violence. They also resolved to receive all into this confederacy who received the Augsburgh confession, and desired to be joined to it. And whereas the confederacy made six years before was to determine on the Sunday *Invocavit* of the following year, in which the princes of Wirtemberg, Pomeren, and Anhalt, and six of the cities, were not comprehended, they received them into this confederacy, which was to last for ten years after the Sunday *Invocavit*. And if any war should be begun, but not finished within these ten years, yet it shall be continued till the war is brought to an end; but at the end of the ten years, it shall be lawful to the confederates to prolong it further. And they gave their faith to one another to observe this religiously; and set their seals to it."

On the same day, the king's answer was offered to the demands the princes had made: both which are in the Paper-office, and both will be found in the Collection.
Col.Num.44. Their demands were, "That the king would set forth the true doctrine of Christ, according to the Augsburgh confession; and that he would defend that doctrine at the next general council, if it be pious, catholic, free, and truly Christian: and that neither the king, nor the princes and states of that union, should, without mutual consent, agree to any indiction of a general council made by the bishop of Rome; but that if such a council should be called, as they had desired in their answer to Vergerius, the pope's ambassador, it should not be refused: and that if a council shall be celebrated, to which the king and these princes do not agree, they shall (to their power) oppose it. And that they will make protestations against it; that they will not obey any constitution made in it; nor suffer any decrees made in it to be obeyed, but will esteem them null and void; and will make their bishops and preachers declare that to their people. That the king will associate himself to the league, and accept the name of the defender or protector of it. That they will never suffer the monarchy of the bishop of Rome to take place; nor grant that it is expedient that he should have pre-eminence before all other bishops, or have any jurisdiction in the dominions of the king and of the princes. That upon these grounds they enter into a league with one another. And in case of any war, either for the cause of religion, or any other cause whatsoever, that they should not assist those who begin any such war. That the king shall lay down a hundred thousand crowns, which it shall be lawful to the confederates to make use of as a moiety of that which they themselves shall contribute; and, if need be, in any cause of urgent necessity, to contribute two hundred thousand crowns, they joining as much of their own money to it. And if the war shall end sooner than that all the money is employed in it, what remains shall be restored to the king. And they assured him, that they should not convert this money to any other use, but to the defence of the cause of religion, together with their own money. And since the king's ambassadors were to remain some time in Germany, disputing with their learned men about some points, they desire that they may know the king's mind, and that he will signify it to the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse; and then the princes will send their ambassadors, and a learned man with them, to confer with the king about the articles of doctrine and the ceremonies of the church."

To these the king sent two different answers, one after another. The first, that will be found in the Collection, was, "That the king intended to set forth the true
Col.Num.45. doctrine of Christ, which he was ready to defend with life and goods; but that he being reckoned somewhat learned, and having many learned men in his kingdom, he could not think it meet to accept at any creature's hand what should be his faith or his kingdom's, the only ground of which was in Scripture; with which he desired they would not be grieved; but that they would send over some of their learned men to confer with him and his learned men, to the intent that they might have a perfect union in faith. He would also join with them in all general councils that were catholic, free, and held in a safe place for the defence of the true doctrine of the gospel. And as for ceremonies, there may be such a diversity in these used through the whole world, that he thought that ought to be left to the governors of the several dominions, who know best what is convenient for themselves. He agreed, that neither he nor they should accept of the indiction of a general council, but



by all their mutual consent; but that if such a free council may be held in a safe place, it shall not be refused. The king did not think fit to accept the title offered by them, till first they should be thoroughly agreed upon the articles of doctrine; but that being once done, he would thankfully accept of it. To that of a defensive league, he added one clause— that they should not suffer any of their subjects to serve those who set on them in any such war. He thought it not reasonable that he should bear any share of the wars already past (which it seems was secretly mentioned, though not expressed in their demands), but for the future he was willing to contribute a hundred thousand crowns as they desire." Upon further con-
Col.Num.46. sidering their demands, the king sent a second and fuller answer, which will be likewise found in the Collection.

"It begins with very tender expressions of the sense the king had of their benevolence to him, and of their constancy in adhering to the truth of the gospel. He acknowledges the goodness of God in giving them such stedfastness and strength: their wondrous virtues had so ravished the king, that he was determined to continue in a correspondence of love with them on all occasions." Then follow some explanations of the former memorial, but not very important, nor differing much from it; only he lets them know "that it was not for any private necessity of his own that he was moved to join in league with them; for by the death of a woman all calumnies were extinct (this is meant of queen Anne), so that neither the pope nor the emperor, nor any other prince, had then any quarrel with him: yet, that they might know his good affection to them, he would contribute the sum they desired, and upon the terms they proposed; only, on his part, he demanded of them, that in case any prince invaded his dominions on the account of religion, that they would furnish him, at their expense, with five hundred horsemen, completely armed, or ten ships, well arrayed for war, to serve for four months. And that it should be at the king's choice, whether horse or ships. And that they should retain, at the king's charge, such a number of horse and foot as the king should need, not exceeding the number of two hundred horse and five thousand foot; or, instead of the foot, twelve ships in order, with all things necessary, which the king might keep in his service as long as he pleased. And last of all, that the confederates will promise, in all councils, and everywhere else, to promote and defend the opinion that Dr. Martin (so they named Luther), Justus, Jonas, Cruciger, Pomeran, and Melancthon had of his marriage." This negotiation sunk to a great degree upon queen Anne's tragical fall; and as the king thought they were no more necessary to him, so they saw his intractable humour, and had no hope of succeeding with him unless they would have allowed him a dictatorship in matters of religion. Yet, to end all this negotiation at once,

The elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse wrote a letter to the king, which will
Col.Num.47. be found in the Collection, taken from the original, occasioned by pope Paul III.'s summoning a general council to meet at Mantua on the 23rd of May, "upon which the emperor had sent messengers to them to give them notice of it, and to require them to come to it, either in person or by their proctors. But though they had always desired a council for the reforming of those abuses that had continued so long by the negligence or corruption of popes and prelates, yet in this bull the pope clearly insinuates that he will not suffer the restoring of true doctrine, or the correcting of abuses to be treated of; but that their doctrine, without any examination, was to be condemned with infamy. He also endeavoured to oblige all by the receiving of his bull, without taking cognizance of the matter, to extirpate and destroy the doctrine they professed. So that if they had accepted the bull, they had seemed to be involved in that design. They therefore told the emperor's minister, that they looked on that bull as unjust and pernicious; and they desired he would let the emperor know that they could not accept of it. They did not doubt but the pope, or his party about the king, would, upon this occasion, pretend that the pope had done his duty, and would study to load them with ill characters; so they thought it necessary to justify themselves to the king and other princes on this occasion.

"They sent over with this a full vindication of their proceedings, which they desired the king would read; and that he would consider not only the present danger of the Germans, but the common concern of the whole church, in which it was visible that all good discipline

was lost; and that great and worthy men had wished and desired that some received abuses, that could not be denied, might be amended. Therefore they recommend the cause of the church and their own cause to his care." This is dated the 25th of March, 1537.

I have, in my other work, given an account of the ambassadors whom they sent into England, of the representations they made, and of a full paper that they offered to the king. To all which I have nothing now to add, but that I have found a letter of Cranmer's to Cromwell, which I have put in the Collection, in which he complains of the backwardness of the bishops. The ambassadors had been desired to tarry one month, that their book might be considered; but though he moved them to treat about it, as they had done upon other articles, they answered him they knew the king had taken it on himself to answer them, and that a book to that end was already devised by him; therefore they would not meddle with the abuses complained of. The bishops desired that the archbishop would go on to treat of the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction; in which they knew certainly that the Germans would not agree with them, except only in matrimony. "He saw the bishops were seeking an occasion to break the concord, and that nothing would be done unless there came a special command from the king. They saw they could not defend the abuses, and yet they would not yield that point. He complains likewise that the ambassadors were very ill lodged; multitudes of rats were running in their chambers, day and night; and their kitchen was so near their parlour, that the smell was offensive to all that came to them. He wishes that a more convenient house might be offered them."

Col. Num. 48.

It is true the king used them with a particular civility, and spoke to them before all his court in a most obliging manner, and often wished that Melancthon might be sent over to him. Cranmer and Cromwell used them with all possible kindness. Cranmer wrote often by them to the elector, exhorting him to continue firm and zealous for the truth and purity of the gospel: but under all the shows of the king's favour, they understood that his heart was turned from them. He wrote, when he dismissed them, to the elector, in terms full of esteem for their ambassadors: "Not doubting but good effects would follow on this beginning of the conferences with them: but the matter being of the greatest importance, it ought to be very maturely considered. He again desired that Melancthon might be sent over to him, that he might treat with him, promising that he would apply himself wholly to what became a Christian prince to pursue." Dated the 1st of October 1538. During this embassy there was an anabaptist seized by the landgrave of Hesse, in whose papers they found that he had some followers in England, that he had hopes of great success there, and was designing to go thither, but he said he was forbidden by the Spirit: upon this they wrote an account of all they found to the king, and gave him a description of the anabaptists of Germany. They were much spread through Frisia and Westphalia and in the Netherlands; chiefly in those places where none of their preachers were tolerated. The not baptising infants was the known character of the party; but with this, they were for a community of goods: they condemned all magistracy, and all punishing of crimes, which they thought was revenge forbidden by Christ: they condemned all oaths, and were against all order and government. They seemed to be Manicheans in religion: they despised the Scriptures, and pretended to particular illuminations; and allowed both polygamy and divorce at a man's pleasure: and wheresoever their numbers increased, they broke out into sedition and rebellion. They wrote all this to the king in a letter, that by the style is believed to be penned by Melancthon, both to let him see how far they themselves were from favouring such corruptions, and to put the king on his guard against them.

Seck. L. 3. Par. 66.

Here ends this negotiation; for I find no mark of any further commerce between them: and though this run out far beyond the year 1535, in which it was begun, yet I thought it best to lay it all together, and so to dismiss it. The unlooked-for accidents that happened in England, had wrought much on the king's temper; his own inclinations were still biassing him to adhere to the old opinions and practices; and the popish party watched and improved all advantages, of which a very signal one happened soon to their great joy.



Queen Katherine, or, as she was called, the princess dowager, died first. I have nothing to add concerning her, but that I fell on a report of a conversation that sir Edmond Bedingfeld and Mr. Tyrrel had with her, in which she solemnly protested to them that prince Arthur never knew her carnally, and insisted much on it; and said many others were assured of it. But on the contrary, Bedingfeld urged very fully all the probabilities that were to the contrary; and said, that whatever she said on that subject, it was little believed, and it seemed not credible. The tragedy of queen Anne followed soon after this: it broke out on the 1st of May, 1536, but it seems it was concerted before; for a parliament was summoned, at least the writs were tested the 27th of April before.

Cotton Libr. Otho. C. 10.

There is a long account of her sufferings given by Meteren in that excellent history that he wrote of the "Wars in the Netherlands," which he took from a full relation of it given by a French gentleman, Crispin, who was then in London, and as Meteren relates the matter, wrote without partiality. He begins it thus:— "There was a gentleman who blamed his sister for some lightness that appeared in her behaviour: she said the queen did more than she did, for she admitted some of her court to come into her chamber at undue hours; named the lord Rochford, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton the musician: and she said to her brother, that Smeton could tell much more." All this was carried to the king.

Meteren, Hist. des Pays Bas, L. 1. F. 20.

When the matter broke out on the 1st of May, the king, who loved Norris, sent for him, and said, if he would confess those things with which the queen was charged, he should neither suffer in his person nor his estate, nor so much as be put in prison: but if he did not confess, and were found Guilty, he should suffer the extremity of the law. Norris answered, he would much rather die than be guilty of such falsehood: that it was all false, which he was ready to justify in a combat against any person whatsoever: so he was sent with the rest to the Tower. The confession of Smeton was all that was brought against the queen: he, as was believed, was prevailed on to accuse her; yet he was condemned contrary to the promise that had been made him: but it was pretended that his crime was, that he had told his suspicions to others, and not to the king: and when it was alleged that one witness was not sufficient, it was answered that it was sufficient. He adds that the queen was tried in the Tower, and that she defended her honour and modesty in such a way, as to soften the king (for she knew his temper) by such humble deportment, to favour her daughter. She was brought to her trial without having any advocate allowed her; having none but her maids about her. A chair was set for her, and she looked to all her judges with a cheerful countenance, as she made her curtsies to them without any fear: she behaved herself as if she had been still queen: she spoke not much in her own defence; but the modesty of her countenance pleaded her innocence much more than the defence that she made; so that all who saw her, believed her innocent. Both the magistrates of London, and several others who were there, said, they saw no evidence against her; only it appeared that they were resolved to be rid of her.

She was made to lay aside all the characters of her dignity, which she did willingly, but still protested her innocence. When she heard the sentence that she was to be beheaded or burnt, she was not terrified; but lifted up her hands to God and said; "O Father! O Creator! Thou, who art the Way, the Truth, and the Life; Thou knowest that I have not deserved this death!" And turning herself to her judges (her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, being the lord high steward), she said, "My lords, I will not say that your sentence is unjust; nor presume that my opinion ought to be preferred to the judgment of you all. I believe you have reasons, and occasions of suspicion and jealousy, upon which you have condemned me: but they must be other than those that have been produced here in court; for I am entirely innocent of all these accusations; so that I cannot ask pardon of God for them. I have been always a faithful and loyal wife to the king. I have not, perhaps, at all times showed him that humility and reverence, that his goodness to me, and the honour to which he raised me, did deserve. I confess I have had fancies and suspicions of him, which I had not strength nor discretion enough to manage: but God knows, and is my witness, that I never failed otherwise towards him: and I shall never confess any other at the hour of my

death. Do not think that I say this on design to prolong my life: God has taught me to know how to die; and he will fortify my faith. Do not think that I am so carried in my mind, as not to lay the honour of my chastity to heart; of which I should make small account now in my extremity, if I had not maintained it in my whole life long, as much as ever queen did. I know these, my last words, will signify nothing, but to justify my honour and my chastity. As for my brother and those others who are unjustly condemned, I would willingly suffer many deaths to deliver them: but since I see it so pleases the king, I must willingly bear with their death, and shall accompany them in death, with this assurance, that I shall lead an endless life with them in peace." She said all this and a great deal more: and then, with a modest air, she rose up and took leave of them all. Her brother and the other gentlemen were executed first. "He exhorted those who suffered with him to die without fear; and said to those that were about him that he came to die. since it was the king's pleasure that it should be so. He exhorted all persons not to trust to courts, states and kings, but in God only. He had deserved a heavier punishment for his other sins; but not from the king, whom he had never offended. Yet he prayed God to give him a long and a good life." With him, all the rest suffered a death which they had no way deserved. Mark Smeton only confessed, he had deserved well to die, which gave occasion to many reflections.

When the queen heard how her brother and the other gentlemen had suffered, and had sealed her innocence with their own blood; but that Mark had confessed, he deserved to die; she broke out into some passion, and said, "Has he not then cleared me of that public shame he has brought me to? Alas! I fear his soul suffers for it, and that he is now punished for his false accusation. But for my brother and those others, I doubt not, but they are now in the presence of that Great King, before whom I am to be to-morrow."

It seems that gentleman knew nothing of the judgment that passed at Lambeth, annulling the marriage, for it was transacted secretly. It could have no foundation or colour, but from that story mentioned in Cavendish's "Life of Wolsey," of the lord Percy's addresses to her. He was now examined upon that: but it will appear from his letter to Cromwell, that he solemnly purged both himself and her from any precontract; being examined upon oath by the two archbishops: and that he received the sacrament upon it before the duke of Norfolk and some of the king's council that were learned in the spiritual law; assuring them by his oath, and by the sacrament he had received, and intended to receive, that there was never any contract, or promise of marriage, between her and him. This he wrote on the 13th of May, four days before queen's execution, which will be found in the Collection.

Collection, Number 49.

This shows plainly that she was prevailed on, between fear and hope, to confess a precontract, the person not being named.

The French gentleman gives the same account of the manner of her death, and of her speech, that all the other writers of that time do. "When she was brought to the place of execution within the Tower, he says, her looks were cheerful, and she never appeared more beautiful than at that time. She said to those about her, be not sorry to see me die thus; but pardon me from your hearts, that I have not expressed to all about me that mildness that became me; and that I have not done that good that was in my power to do. She prayed for those who were the procurers of her death. Then, with the aid of her maids, she undressed her neck with great courage, and so ended her days."

This long recital I have translated out of Meteren; for I do not find it taken notice of by any of our writers. I leave it thus, without any other reflections upon it, but that it seems all over credible.

Thevet, a Franciscan friar, who, for seventeen or eighteen years had wandered up and down Europe, to prepare materials for his Cosmography (which he published in the year 1563), says, that many English gentlemen assured him, that king Henry expressed great repentance of his sins, being at the point of death; and, among other things, of the injury and the crime committed against queen Anne Boleyn, who was falsely accused, and convicted of that which was laid to her charge. It is true, Thuanus has very much disgraced that writer, as a vain and ignorant plagiary: but he

Cosmog. L. 16. c. 5.



having been of the order that suffered so much for their adhering to queen Katherine, is not to be suspected of partiality for queen Anne. We must leave those secrets to the great day.

It may be easily believed, that both the pope and the emperor, as they were glad to be freed from the obligation they seemed to be under to protect queen Katherine, so queen Anne's fall gave them a great deal of ill-natured joy. The pope, upon the first news of her disgrace, sent for Cassali, expressing a great deal of pleasure upon the queen's imprisonment, and, at the same time, spoke very honourably of the king. "He hoped, upon these emergents, all matters would be brought to a good agreement; and that the king would reconcile himself to the see, by which he would become the arbiter of all Europe. He told Cassali that he knew how good an instrument he was in pope Clement's time, and what pains he took both with the pope and the emperor to prevent the breach. He added, that the naming of Fisher to be a cardinal was so pressed on him, that he could not decline it. He desired Cassali would try how any messenger that he might send to the king would be received: for as soon as he knew that, he would send one immediately." Of all this, Cassali wrote an account to the king.

At the same time, Pace gave him an account of a long conversation he had with the emperor on the same subject: for he was then the king's ambassador in that court. "The emperor excused his adhering to his aunt, whom he could not in honour forsake: but at the same time, he said, he abhorred the pope's bull for deposing the king; and he was so far from any thoughts of executing it, that he commanded it to be suppressed in his dominions: nor did he encourage, as was suspected, the king of Scotland to undertake to execute it. He imputed the breach that had been made between him and the king, to the French king, who, he said, was like an eel in a man's hand, ready to forsake him, and even to renounce God, who, he believed, had given him over to a reprobate mind. He was resolved now to return to his old friendship with the king, and he would not hearken to intimations given him by the agent of France, that the king had poisoned his aunt. He pressed him to legitimate the princess Mary. He might do that without owning the lawfulness of the marriage, which was a point in which he would stir no more. She was born in a marriage in fact, and *bonâ fide;* and in many cases in which marriages had been dissolved, yet the legitimacy of the issue was often secured."

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 14.

Of all this Pace gave the king an account; and pressed, with some vehemence, the legitimating the princess. The emperor was then going to Rome; so king Henry intended to join Cassali with Pace in his embassy to the emperor. Pace begged that might not be done, expressing a great aversion to him, as being a base and a perverse man. It is plain, Pace pressed the king much to think of being reconciled to the pope. Cardinal Ghinucci offered his service again to the king with expressions full of zeal. Grandville also entered with Cassali upon the same subject; but Cassali wrote to the king, that he did not at all meddle in that matter. The emperor went to Rome, and Pace followed him thither. The king sent a despatch to Pace, which will be found in the Collection, telling him of the motion that the emperor's ambassador made to him for returning to the old friendship with their master: they also made him some overtures in order to it. First, the emperor would be a mean to reconcile him to the bishop of Rome: he also hoped that the king would contribute towards the war against the Turk; and that since there was an old defensive league between them, and since it seemed that the French king intended to invade the duchy of Milan, he expected the king would assist him according to that league.

Paper-Office. Collection, Number 50.

To all this the king answered, "That the interruption of their friendship proceeded from the emperor, who had made him ill returns for the services he had done him. For he pretends he made him first king of Spain, and then emperor: when the empire was at his disposition, he had furnished him with money, so that he ought to thank the king only for all the honour he was advanced to; but in lieu of that, he had showed great ingratitude to the king, and had not only contemned his friendship, but had set on all the ill-usage he had met with from the bishop of Rome, which, as he under-

The King answered that coldly.

stood, he owed chiefly to him: yet such was the king's zeal for concord among Christian princes, and such was his nature, that he could continue his displeasure against no man, when the cause of it was once removed; so if the emperor would desire him to forget all that was passed, and would purge himself of all particular unkindness to him, he would be willing to return to their old friendship: but he having received the injuries, would not sue for a reconciliation, nor treat upon the foot of the old leagues between them, till the reconciliation should be first made, and that without any conditions: when that was done, he would answer all his reasonable desires.

"But as for the bishop of Rome, he had not proceeded on such slight grounds that he could in any sort depart from what he had done; having founded himself on the laws of God, of Nature, and honesty, with the concurrence of his parliament. There was a motion made to him from that bishop for a reconciliation, which he had not yet embraced, nor would he suffer it to be compassed by any other means: and therefore he would not take it in good part, if the emperor would insist in that matter, for the satisfaction of the bishop of Rome, that was his enemy; or move him to alter that which was already determined against his authority. When there was a general peace among Christian princes, he would not be wanting to give an aid against the Turk; but till the friendship between the emperor and him was quite made up, he would treat of nothing with relation to the king of France: when that was done, he would be a mediator between them. This was the answer given to the emperor's ambassador, which was communicated to Pace, that in case he had any discourse with the emperor on the subject, he should seem only to have a general knowledge of the matter, but should talk with him suitably on these grounds; encouraging the emperor to pursue what he had begun, and extolling the king's nature and courage, with his inclination to satisfy his friends, when he was not too much pressed: that would hurt and stop good purposes: and he orders him to speak with Grandville of it, of whom it seems he had a good opinion, and that he should represent to the emperor the advantage that would follow on the renewing their old friendship, but not to clog it with conditions; for whatever the king might be afterwards brought to upon their friendship, when made up, the king would not suffer it to be loaded with them; for the king had suffered the injury: but he was ordered to say all this, as of himself, and Pace was ordered to go to court and put himself in Grandville's way, that he might have occasion to enter upon these subjects with him." Thus that matter was put in a method; so that in a little time the friendship seemed to be entirely made up.

He refuses any Treaty with the Pope.

The king would never hearken to a reconciliation with the pope. On the contrary, he went on in his design of reforming matters in England. In the convocation, in the year 1536, Cromwell came and demanded a place as the king's vicar-general; the archbishop assigned him the place next above himself. On the 21st of June, the archbishop laid before the house the sentence definitive of the nullity of the king's marriage with queen Anne, which Cromwell desired they would approve. It was approved in the upper house, and sent down to the lower, in which it was also approved. On the 23rd of June, the prolocutor, with the clergy, offered a book to the upper house, in which they set forth a collection of many ill doctrines that were publicly preached within the province. On the 28th of June, the confirmation of the decree concerning the king's last marriage was subscribed by both houses. On the 11th of July, the book concerning the articles of faith, and the ceremonies, was brought in by the bishop of Hereford, and was signed by both houses. These were also signed by the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham. On the 20th of July, the bishop of Hereford brought another book containing the reasons why the king ought not to appear in a council summoned by the pope to meet at Mantua: this was likewise agreed to, and subscribed by both houses. I have nothing new to add to the account I have given in my History of the other proceedings in matters of religion this year, in which no convocation sate at York. There are several draughts of these articles that are in several places corrected by the king's own hand. Some of the corrections are very long and very material: of these only it was that I meant, and not of the engrossed and signed articles themselves, when I said they were corrected by the king; as I have been misunderstood.

Proceedings in Convocation.



By these steps it appearing clearly that the king had no thoughts of a reconciliation with Rome, the pope on his part resolved to create him as much trouble as he could. Pole had been sent over from England to Paris, while the suit of divorce was in dependence: he was particularly recommended by the bishop of Bayonne in one of his letters to Montmorency, as a person of great hopes, and much favoured by the king: he came after that to England; for he tells himself that he was in England while the point of the "Supreme Headship" was in debate. He says he was then absent, which shows that at that time he was contented to be silent in his opinion, and that he did not think fit to oppose what was doing. He was afterwards suffered to go and settle at Padua, where the gravity of his deportment, that was above his age, and the sweetness of his temper, made him be very much considered. He was still supported from England, whether only out of his deanery of Exeter, or by any farther special bounty of the king's, is not certain. In several letters from Padua, he acknowledges the king's bounty and favour to him, and in one he desires a farther supply. He being commanded by the king to do it, wrote over his opinion concerning his marriage: the king sent it to Cranmer before his being sent out of England: for that faithful and diligent searcher into the transactions of those times, Mr. Strype, has published the letter that he wrote upon it; the year is not added, but the date being the 13th of June, it must be before he was sent out of England, this being writ before he was consecrated; for he subscribes Cranmer, and upon his return he was consecrated long before June. It is written to the earl of Wiltshire: he mentions Pole's book, and commends both the wit and eloquence of it very highly: he thinks if it should come abroad, it would not be possible to stand against it. Pole's chief design in it was to persuade the king to submit the matter wholly to the pope. In it

Pole made a Cardinal.

"He set forth the trouble that might follow upon the diversity of titles to the crown, of which the wars upon the titles of Lancaster and York had given them a sad warning. All that was now healed, and therefore care should be taken not to return to the like misery. He could never agree to the divorce, which must destroy the princess's title, and accuse the king of living so long in a course of incest against the law of God and of Nature. This would increase the hatred the people began to bear to priests, if it should appear that they had so long approved that which is found now to be unlawful. As for the opinions of the universities, it was known they were often led by affections, and that they were brought over with great difficulty to declare for the king: but he sets in opposition to them, the king's father and his council, the queen's father and his council, and the pope and his council: it could not be expected that the pope would condemn the act of his predecessor, or consent to the abridging his own power, and do that which would raise sedition in many kingdoms, particularly in Portugal. He next shows the emperor's power and the weakness of France, that the prohibiting our trade to the Netherlands would be very ruinous, and that the French were never to be trusted: they never kept their leagues with us; for neither do they love us, nor do we love them; and if they find their aid necessary to England, they will charge it with intolerable conditions." This is the substance of that letter. So that at this time Pole wrote only to persuade the king by political considerations to submit wholly to the pope's judgment. The matter rested thus for some time: but when the breach was made, and all was passed reconciling, then Cromwell wrote to him by the king's order, to declare his opinion with relation to the king's proceedings. Upon this reason only he wrote his book, as he set forth in a paper of instructions given to one to be showed to the king, which will be found in the Collection. In which he writes, "That he thinks if it had not been for that, he had never meddled in the matter, seeing so little hope of success; and that he had reason to think that what he should write would not be acceptable. They had sent unto him from England the books written on the contrary part: but he said he found many things suppressed in these; and all the colours that could be invented were set upon untrue opinions. Besides, what had followed was grievous, both in the sight of God and in the judgment of the rest of Christendom: and he apprehending yet worse effects, both with relation to the king's honour and the quiet of his realm, did upon that resolve to employ all the wit and learning that God had given him to

He wrote first against the Divorce.

Collection, Number 51.

Sends one to the King with Instructions.

set forth the truth, and to show the consequences of those ill opinions. He hoped that what he wrote on the subject would fully satisfy all that would examine it. This he did in hopes that the king, whom God had suffered to be carried away from those opinions that he had the honour formerly to maintain, would yet, by the goodness of God, be recovered out of the evil way he was then in.

"There were great instances of such cases in Scripture, in the stories of David and Solomon; the last particularly, who, notwithstanding the gift of wisdom that he had from God, yet fell into idolatry. So, though the king was not fallen from the true doctrine of Christ, yet, as David, when in a state of sin, was, by a prophet sent to him from God, brought to true repentance, and restored to the favour of God, he hoped he might, by the grace of God, be an instrument to bring the king to a better sense of things. Therefore, as he set himself to study the matter, so he prayed earnestly to God to manifest the truth to him: in which he hoped God had heard his prayer; so he looked for good success. And that he might make the king apprehend the danger he was in, both from his own people, who hated innovations in religion, and from other princes, to whose honour it belongs to defend the laws of the church against all other princes who impugn them; and to make the king more apprehensive of this, he had, as in his own person, brought out all such reasons as might provoke people or princes against him, since he was departing from the course in which he had begun. These reasons, if read apart, without considering the purpose he proposed of representing to the king the danger to which he was exposing himself, might make one think, from his vehemence of style in that argument, that he was the king's greatest enemy; but the reading the whole book will show what his intent in it all was. The book was too long for the king to read: he desired, therefore, that he would order some learned and grave man to read it, and to declare his judgment upon it; he being bound with an oath of fidelity, first to God, and then to the king, to do it without affection on either part. He named particularly Tonstal, bishop of Durham, whom he esteemed, both for learning and fidelity, to the king, above any other he knew. After Tonstal had first examined it, the king may refer the further examination of it to such other persons as he may think fit: he was likewise resolved that his book should never come abroad till the king had seen it.

"In these instructions he mentions that he had sent another book to the king concerning his marriage; but in that he was disappointed of his intent, as the bearer might inform him, who knew the whole matter. And since God had detected her who had been the occasion of all the errors the king had been led into, it was the hope of all who loved him that he would now come to himself, and take that discovery as a favourable admonition of God to consider better the opinion of those who dissented from that marriage, as seeing the great dishonour and danger like to follow on it. He wished the king would look on that as a warning to return to the unity of the church. He was sensible nothing but the hand of God could work a change in the king's mind; and when that should be done, it would be one of the greatest miracles that the world had seen for some ages; with the most signal characters of God's favour to him, which would deliver him out of those very great dangers that must follow upon the meeting of a general council. Whereas, if he should return to the unity of the church, no prince would appear in that assembly with more honour than would be paid to him, if he should return. Even his fall would prove a great blessing to the church, and tend to the reformation of the whole, and to the manifestation of the honour of God. It would then appear that God had suffered him to fall to make him rise with more honour, to the greater wealth, not only of his own realm, but of the whole church besides." With these instructions he sent a private letter to Tonstal, from Venice, dated Corpus Christi Eve.

When his book against the divorce came first to England, he was written to, in the king's name, to come over and explain some things in it: but he excused himself; he pretended the love of retirement, and of the noble company with whom he lived in an easy and learned friendship there. Eloquence seems to be that which he turned his mind most to; for in everything he wrote there is much more of declamation than of argument.

Tonstal being thus provoked by Pole, and commanded by the king, wrote a full and solid answer to him, on the 13th of July, 1536, which will be found in the Collection.

Col. Num. 52. "He acknowledged he had received his letter, as the king has received his book;



in which he desired that the reading of it might be first put upon him. He had read both his letter and his long book; and was truly grieved as he read it, seeing both the vehemence of his style, and that he misrepresented the whole matter as if the king was separated from the church. He wished he had rather written his opinion privately, in a letter to the king, which might have been read by himself, and not have enlarged himself into so great a book, which must be communicated and seen of others. What stupidity was it to send so long a book so great a way, by one who might have miscarried in it, and so the book might have fallen into the hands of those who would have published it to the slander of the king and the kingdom; but most of all to his own, for his ingratitude to the king, who had bred him up to that learning which was now used against him, in whose defence he ought to have spent both life and learning! He advised him to burn all that he had written on that subject. There appeared a strain of bitterness in his whole book that was very unbecoming him. He then comes to the argument, to show that the king, by the title of the 'supreme head,' did not separate himself, nor his church, from the unity of the whole body. The king did not take upon him the office belonging to spiritual men, the cure of souls; nor that which belongs to the priesthood, to preach the word of God, and to minister the sacraments. He knew what belonged to his own office as king, and what belonged to the priest's office: no prince esteemed spiritual men, that were given to learning and virtue, more than he did. His only design was to see the laws of God sincerely preached, and Christ's faith (without blot) observed in his kingdom; and to reduce his church out of the captivity of foreign powers (formerly usurped) into the state in which all the churches of God were at the beginning; and to put away all the usurpations that the bishops of Rome had, by undue means, still increased, to their own gain, but to the impoverishing of the kingdom. By this he only reduced things to the state that is most conformable to the ancient decrees of the church, which the bishops of Rome solemnly promise to observe at their creation; naming the eight general councils; and yet any one, who considers to what a state the bishop of Rome had brought this church, would soon see the diversity between the one and the other. At Venice he might see these in Greek, and they were already published in Latin; by which it appears that the bishop of Rome had then no such monarchy as they have usurped of late.

Tonstal writes copiously to him.

"If the places of Scripture which he quoted did prove it, then the council of Nice did err, which decreed the contrary; as the canons of the apostles did appoint that the ordinations of priests and bishops should be made in the diocese, or at most in the province where the parties dwelt. These canons Damascen reckoned Holy Scriptures: nor can it be thought that the four general councils would have acted as they did, if they had understood those passages of Scripture as he did; for above a thousand years after Christ, the customs were very contrary to those now used by the bishop of Rome. When the blood of Christ and of the martyrs were yet fresh, the Scriptures were then best understood; and the customs then used in the church must be better than those that through ambition and covetousness had crept in since. Light and darkness may be as well reconciled as the worldly authority in temporal things now usurped can be proved from St. Peter's primacy in preaching the word of God. He refers him to cardinal Cusa's second book, in which he will find this well opened.

"The king going to reform his realm, and to reduce things to the state in which they were some ages ago, did not change, but establish, those laws which the pope professes to observe. If other princes did not follow him in this, that ought not to hinder him from doing his duty; of which he did not doubt to be able to convince him, if he had but one day's discourse with him, unless he were totally addicted to the contrary opinion. Pole wrote in his letter, that he thought the king's subjects were offended at the abolishing the pope's usurpations; but Tonstal assured him, that in this he was deceived, for they all perceived the profit that the kingdom had by it, since the money that was before carried over to Rome was now kept within the kingdom. That was become a very heavy burden, and was daily increasing: so that if the king would go about to restore that abolished authority, he would find it more difficult to bring it about than anything he had ever yet attempted in his parliament. Pole had, in his letter, blamed Tonstal for fainting in his heart, and not

dying for the authority of the bishop of Rome. He assures him, that from the time that he understood the progress of Christ's church from the beginning, and had read ecclesiastical history, he never thought to shed one drop of blood in that cause. None of those who had advantage by that authority would have lost one penny of it to have saved his life. He would do what in him lay to cool that indignation which his book had raised in the king. He desired him not to fancy (from what he saw in Italy or in other places) that it was so from the beginning: the councils would show him how that dignity was given to the bishops of Rome. The emperors called those councils; and the dignity that was given him was because he was bishop of the chief city of the empire, and not for the sake of Peter and Paul. The second place was given to the patriarchs of Constantinople, because it was called New Rome, and so was preferred to Antioch, where St. Peter was bishop, and where the name Christian first began; and it was set before Alexandria, and likewise before Jerusalem, where Christ himself preached, and the whole college of the apostles after him, and where James (the brother of our Lord) was the first bishop. That church was called the mother of all the churches: it was also set before Ephesus, where St. John wrote his gospel, and died. To all these, Constantinople was preferred; and yet this was fully settled in the council of Calcedon, where 630 bishops met. If he read the Greek fathers, Basil, Nazianzen, Chrysostome, and Damascen, he would find no mention of the monarchy of the bishop of Rome. He desired him to search further into this matter, and he would find that the old fathers knew nothing of the pope's late pretensions and usurpations. He wished, therefore, that he would examine these matters more carefully, which had been searched to the bottom in England. The learned men here thought they were happily delivered from that captivity to which he endeavours to bring them back. He tells him how much all his family and kindred would be troubled to see him so much engaged against his king and his country, whom he might comfort, if he would follow the establishment of the whole church of God from the beginning, and leave the supporting of those usurpations. He refers him to Gregory the Great, who wrote against the bishop of Constantinople, pretending to the like monarchy. St. Cyprian writes, that all the apostles were of equal dignity and authority, which is also affirmed by the third council of Ephesus. He begged him not to trust too much to himself, but to search further, and not to fancy he had found out the matter already. He prayed him to burn all his papers; and then he hoped he should prevail with the king to keep that which he had sent him secret. He concludes all with some very kind expressions."

This I have abstracted the more fully for the honour of Tonstal's memory, who was a generous and good-natured, as well as a very learned man. Pole, who was then a cardinal, wrote no answer to this, that I could find; but he wrote a long letter, either to Tonstal or to Cromwell, in May 1537, which will be found in the Collection.

Col. Num. 53.

Cardinal Pole's Vindication of himself.

"He begins it with protestations of his affection to the king, though the king had taken such methods to destroy him as the like had not been known in Christendom against any who bore the person that he did at that time; yet he still maintained a deep affection to him. He knew well all that the king had designed against him, which, if he bore the king a small degree of love, would be enough to extinguish it. He saw what he did for the best was taken in the worst part. He did not think it possible that the king should conceive such indignation against him as to break through all laws to have him in his hands, and to disturb the whole commerce of nations rather than not have his person in his power. But he still adhered to his former principles, and maintained his former temper towards the king.

"Upon his arrival in France, he was ashamed to hear that, he coming thither in the quality of an ambassador and legate, one prince should desire of another to betray him, and deliver him into the king's ambassador's hands. He himself was so little disturbed at it, when he first heard of it, that he said upon it (to those who were about him), that he never felt himself in full possession of being a cardinal till then, since he was now persecuted by him whose good he most earnestly desired. Whatever religion men are of, if they would observe the law of nations, the law of nature alone would show how abominable it was to grant such a request; and it was no less to desire it. So that if he had the least spark of an alienation from the king in him, such proceedings would blow it up into a fire. He might, upon this, be justly tempted to give over all commerce with the king, and to procure (by all honest ways) the means to repay this malignity by doing him the utmost damage he could devise: but he did not, for that, abstain from trying to do all he could for the king's honour and wealth. He acknowledges, that the bishop of Verona was sent by him to the court of France to intimate that the pope (for the common good of Christendom) had committed some affairs to him to treat with the king. That bishop passed through Abbeville when the bishop of Winchester and Mr. Brian were there; so he could not but wonder at the king's acting towards him, the whole design of his legation being for the king's honour. Upon which that bishop desired to confer with the king's ambassadors, that he might declare to them the whole truth of the matter which was made known to them. They, it is true, had no communication with him; but they sent their secretary, after the bishop had declared the effect of his legation, as far as it related to the king, to him.



"It seemed visible to all that the king (in what he had done against him) was abused by false reports, and by the false conjectures of some; so it was hoped that, the matter being once cleared, the king would have changed his mind. All this he understood from the bishop of Verona at his return, and he readily believed it. That bishop had been the king's true servant, and had showed (when he was in a capacity to serve him) the sincere love that he bore him. He had been also Pole's particular acquaintance ever since he came out of England. He would have been ready, if the king had consented to it, to have gone and given the king full satisfaction in all things; for the chief reason of his being sent into France was, the pope's intending to gain the king, knowing the friendship that was between him and the French king. So the bishop of Verona was thought the fittest person to be first employed, who had great merits on both kings for the services he did them when he was in office. And being esteemed the best bishop in Italy, it was designed that he should accompany Pole, as well as he was sent before, to prepare matters for his coming; which he, out of his zeal to do God and the king service, undertook very willingly, and resolved to try how he could get access to the king's person. So now having fully explained himself, he hoped it would not be thought possible that he had those designs of which the king's proceeding against him showed he suspected him (which was, that he came on purpose to animate the people to rebel).

"Upon his first coming to Rome, he acquainted the king with the design for which he was called thither; and he had acquainted him with the cause of his legation. These were not the methods of those who intended to rebel. He had then procured a suspension in sending forth the censures, which at that time might have caused the king more trouble: and he sent his servant purposely with the offer of his assistance, animating the chief of his kindred to be constant in the king's service. If any had been at Rome, in the king's pay, to do him service, they could not have done more than he did; so that some began to reflect on him, because he would not consent to divers things that would have been uneasy to him; and particularly because he had the censures in his hand, which were instantly called for by those who had authority to command: yet they never came into their sight nor hands; and to that hour he had suppressed them. He would go no further in justifying himself: if what he had already done, and what the bishop of Verona had said, did not do it, he would take no more pains to clear himself. He rather thought he had been faulty in his negligence in these matters; but there was nothing now left to him but to pray for the king."

This letter is dated from Cambray; for upon the king's message to the French king, to demand him to be delivered into his hands, Francis could in no sort hearken to that, but he sent to him not to come to his court, but to go with all convenient haste out of his dominions. So he retired to Cambray, as being then a peculiar sovereignty. The king had a spy, one Throckmorton, secretly about Pole, who gave him an account of all his motions; but by what appears in his letters, he was faithfuller to Pole than to the king. He wrote over that his book was not then printed, though he had been much pressed to print it by those at Rome; but he thought that would hinder the design he went on: he believed, indeed, that upon his returning thither he would print it. He tells him that he had procured the suspensions of the pope's censures, to try if it was possible to bring about a reconciliation between the pope and the king: and he adds, that many wondered to see the king so set against him, and that

he did not rather endeavour to gain him. He intended to have stayed some time in Flanders, but the regent sent him word that it could not be suffered. He went from thence, and stayed at Liege, where he was on the 20th of August; for the last of Throckmorton's letters is dated from thence. He writes, that the pope had called him back, having named him to be his legate to the council that he had summoned to meet the 1st of November, though it did not meet for some years after this.

The king's indignation upon his advancement, and for his book, carried him to a great many excesses, and to many acts of injustice and cruelty, which are not the least among the great blemishes of that reign. Wyat was then the king's ambassador at the emperor's court; and by his letters to the king, it seems an entire confidence was then settled with the emperor. The king pressed him much not to suffer the pope to call a council, but to call one by his own authority, as the Roman emperors had called the first general councils; and he proposed Cambray as a proper place for one. But he saw he was not like to succeed in that; so he only insisted on a promise that the emperor had made, that nothing should be done in the council, whensoever it should meet, against him or his kingdom.

The King was reconciled to the Emperor.

The king was at this time under much uneasiness, for he sent both Bonner and Hains over to the emperor's court in conjunction: the one seems to have been chosen to talk with those who were still papistical, and the other had great credit with the protestants. Our merchants in the emperor's dominions were threatened by the inquisition for owning the king as supreme head of this church. Upon this, Wyat complained to the emperor; but though that prince vindicated the inquisitors, he promised to give such order that they should not be disquieted on that account; and when Pole applied himself to the emperor for leave to affix the pope's bull against the king in his dominions, he would not consent to it.

I cannot add much to what I wrote formerly, with relation to the suppression of the monasteries. There are many letters setting forth their vices and lewdness, and their robberies, and other ill practices; and now that the design against them was apparent, many ran beyond sea with their plate and jewels: but I must not conceal that the visitors give a great character of the abbess and nuns of Pollesworth, in Warwickshire. Dr. London, that was afterwards not only a persecutor of protestants, but a suborner of false witnesses against them, was now zealous even to officiousness in suppressing the monasteries. In the first commission that the visitors had, there was no order for the removing shrines, yet he, in his zeal, exceeding his commission, had done it; upon which Leighton, Legh, and others, desired that a commission for that end might be sent after them of the same date with their other commissions. He also studied to frighten the abbess of Godstow into a resignation. She was particularly in Cromwell's favour; so she wrote a plain honest letter to him, complaining of "London's violence, of his artifices to bring them to surrender their house, and of the great charge he put them to. She writes, that she did not hear that any of the king's subjects had been so handled: she insists on her care to maintain the honour of God, and all truth and obedience to the king; therefore she was positively resolved not to surrender her house, but would be ready to do it whensoever the king's command or his should come to her, and not till then." The great character I gave of that abbess, and of her house, in my former work, made me resolve to put this letter in the Collection.

Dr. London's violent Proceedings in suppressing the Monasteries.

Col.Num.54.

The discovery of the cheats in images and counterfeits in relics contributed not a little to their disgrace. Among these, that of Boxley, in Kent, was one of the most enormous. Among the papers that were sent me from Zurich, there is a letter, written by the minister of Maidstone to Bullinger, that describes such an image, if it is not the same, so particularly, that I have put it in the Collection. He calls it the Dagon of Ashdod, or the Babylonish Bell. It was a crucifix that sometimes moved the head, the eyes, and did bend the whole body to express the receiving of prayers; and other gestures were at other times made to signify the rejecting them: great offerings were made to so wonderful an image. One Partridge suspected the fraud, and removing the image, he saw the whole imposture evidently: there were several springs within it, by which all these motions were made. This was brought to Maidstone, and

Cheats in Images discovered.

Col.Num.55.



exposed to all the people there. From thence it was carried to London, and was showed to the king and all his court, and in their sight all the motions were performed. The king's council ordered a sermon to be preached at Paul's, by the bishop of Rochester, where this imposture was fully discovered; and after sermon it was burned.

Upon the birth of prince Edward matters had a better face: here was an undoubted heir born to the crown. It is true, the death of his mother did abate much of the joy that such a birth would have given otherwise; for, as she was, of all the king's wives, much the best beloved by him, so she was a person of that humble and sweet temper that she was universally beloved on that account. She had no occasion given her to appear much in business, so she had no share of the hatred raised by the king's proceedings cast on her. I fell into a mistake, from a letter of queen Elizabeth's, directed to a big-bellied queen, which I thought belonged to her; but I am now convinced of my error; for it was no doubt written to queen Katherine when, after king Henry's death, she was with child by the lord Seymour. Upon queen Jane's death, Tonstal, being then at York, wrote a consolatory letter to the king, which will be found in the Collection. It runs upon the common topics of affliction, with many good applications of passages of Scripture, and seems chiefly meant to calm and cheer up the king's spirit. But the truth is, king Henry had so many gross faults about him, that it had been more for Tonstal's honour, and better suited to his character, if he had given hints to awaken the king's conscience, and to call upon him to examine his ways while he had that load upon his mind. Either Tonstal did not think him so faulty as certainly he was, or he was very faulty himself in being so wanting to his duty upon so great an occasion.

Tonstal wrote a consolatory Letter to the King when queen Jane died.

Col.Num.56.

But I go on to more public concerns. The king had, by the lord Cromwell, sent injunctions to his clergy in the year 1536, as he did afterwards in the year 1538, which I have printed in my former work. There was also a circular letter written to the bishops: that to the bishop of Hereford is dated on the 20th of July, 1536, requiring them to execute an order abrogating some holidays. The numbers of them were so excessively great, and by the people's devotion, or rather superstition, were like to increase more and more, which occasioned much sloth and idleness, and great loss to the public in time of harvest. It sets forth, that the king, with the advice of the convocation, had settled rules in this matter. The feast of the dedication of churches was to be held every year on the first Sunday in October; but the feast of the patron of the church was to be no more observed. All the feasts, from the 1st of July to the 29th of September, and all feasts in term-time, were not to be observed any more as holidays, except the feasts of the apostles, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of St. George, and those days in which the judges did not use to sit; but the four quarter-days were still to be offering-days. These are all the public injunctions set out about this time. But after the first of these, I find the bishops sent likewise injunctions to their clergy round their dioceses, of which a copy, printed at that time, was given me by my worthy friend Mr. Tate, minister of Burnham. The first was by Lee, archbishop of York, which will be found in the Collection.

Reg. Heref. Fox, fo. 9. Orders about Holidays.

Injunctions given by the Archbishop of York.

Col.Num.57.

"He begins with the abolishing of the bishop of Rome's authority, and the declaring the king to be 'supreme head' of the church of England, as well spiritual as temporal. He requires his clergy to provide a New Testament in English or Latin, within forty days, and to read daily in it two chapters before noon, and two in the afternoon; and to study to understand it. He requires them also to study the book to be set forth by the king, of the Institution of a Christian Man. They were to procure it as soon as it should be published, that they might read two chapters a day in it, and be able to explain it to their people. All curates and heads of religious houses were required to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Ave-Maria, in English, and, at other parts of the service, the Creed and the Ten Commandments, also in English, and to make the people repeat these after them; and none were to be admitted to the sacrament at Easter that could not repeat them. All parishes were required, within forty days, to provide a great Bible, in English, to be chained to some open place in the church, that so all persons might resort to it, and read it for their instruction. Priests were forbidden to haunt taverns or ale-houses, except on necessary

occasions. The clergy that did belong to any one church were required to eat together, if they might; and not to play at prohibited games, as cards and dice. They must discourage none from reading the Scriptures, exhorting them to do it in the spirit of meekness, to be edified by it. They were required to read to their people the Gospel and Epistle in English. Rules are set for the frequent use of sermons, proportioned to the value of their livings: generally four sermons were to be preached every year, one in a quarter. None were to preach but such as had licence from the king or the archbishop; nor were they to worship any image, or kneel or offer any lights or gifts to it: but they might have lights in the rood-loft, and before the sacrament, and at the sepulchre at Easter. They were to teach the people that images are only as books to stir them up to follow the saints; and though they see God the Father represented as an old man, they were not to think that he has a body, or is like a man. All images, to which any resort is used, are to be taken away. They are to teach the people that God is not pleased with the works done for the traditions of men, when works commanded by God are left undone: that we are only saved by the mercy of God and the merits of Christ; that our good works have their virtue only from thence. They were to teach the midwives the form of baptism: they were to teach the people to make no private contracts of marriage, nor to force their children to marry against their wills; and to open to their people often the two great commandments of Christ, 'To love God and our neighbour,' and to live in love with all people, avoiding dissension."

The rest relate to the matters set out in the king's injunctions.

There were about the same time injunctions given by Sampson, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, for his diocese, which will be found in the Collection. He begins with a charge to his clergy, "to instruct the people concerning the king's being the Supreme Head of the church of England, by the word of God; and that the authority used by the bishop of Rome was an usurpation: then he charges them to procure by the next Whitsuntide a whole Bible in Latin, and also one in English, and to lay it in the church, that every man may read in it. Then with relation to the reading the Scriptures, and the having sermons every quarter, he gives the same charge that Lee gave. As to their sermons, he charges them that they be preached purely, sincerely, and according to the true Scriptures of God. He next requires them in the king's name, and as his minister, to teach the people to say the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave, and the Creed in English: and that four times in every quarter they declare the seven deadly sins and the ten commandments. And because some out of neglect of their curates, and to hide their lewd livings, used in Lent to go to confession to friars, or other religious houses; he orders that no testimonial from them shall be sufficient to admit one to the sacrament, called by him 'God's Board;' till they confess to their own curates, unless upon some urgent considerations of conscience, that he or his deputies should grant a special licence for it: that on holidays, and in time of divine service, none should go to ale-houses or taverns, nor be received in them: and that the clergy should go in such decent apparel, that it might be known that they were of the clergy."

Injunctions by the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield.

Collection, Number 58.

The last of the injunctions in that book was given by Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, for his diocese, which will be found in the Collection; they are said to be given out from the authority given him by God and the king.

Collection, Number 59.

"He begins with provision about non-residents and their curates in particular, that no French or Irish priest that could not perfectly speak the English tongue should serve as curates. They were at high mass to read the Gospel and Epistle in the English tongue, and to set out the king's supremacy and the usurpations of the bishop of Rome: the same rules are given about sermons as in the former, with this addition, that no friar nor any person in a religious habit be suffered to perform any service in the church: as for reading the New Testament, the clergy are only required to read one chapter every day, and that every person having a cure of souls should be able to repeat, without book, the Gospels of Saint Matthew and Saint John, with the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, and the Acts of the Apostles, and the canonical Epistles; so that every fortnight they should learn one chapter without book, and keep it still in their memory: and that the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy should be read every

And by the Bishop of Salisbury.



quarter instead of the general sentence. He gave the same orders that the others gave about images, pilgrimages, and other superstitious observances, and for teaching the people the elements of religion in English; only he does not join the Ave Maria with the Lord's Prayer as the others did: he requires the curates to exhort the people to beware of swearing and blaspheming the name of God, or of Christ's precious body and blood, and of many other sins then commonly practised; he dispensed with all lights before images, and requires that every church should be furnished with a Bible: he complains of the practice of putting false relics on the people, naming stinking boots, mucky combs, ragged rockets, rotten girdles, locks of hair, gobbets of wood, as parcels of the holy cross, of which he had perfect knowledge; besides the shameful abuse of such as were perhaps true relics: he prays and commands them, by the authority he had under God and the king, to bring all these to him, with the writings relating to them, that he might examine them, promising to restore such as were found to be true relics, with an instruction how they ought to be used: he also orders that the Ave and pardon bell, that was wont to be tolled three times a day, should be no more tolled."

These are all the injunctions set out by bishops that have fallen into my hands. Here I must acknowledge a very great omission made in the copy that I printed in the Collection added to my History, of a very important paragraph in the second injunction given by Cromwell, which will be found in the Collection, together with an omission of a few lines in bishop Bonner's injunctions that were passed over by a very common fault of transcribers, who seeing the words that they wrote last in the original before them, do not enough examine, whether the same words did not belong to a new portion, and so write on without examining whether there are no words or lines between the one and the other: for churches and chapels being in two different places, my copier wrote on from the second place, and so omitted some lines between the one and the other. I am very ready to correct what I find amiss; I rather wonder that there is no more occasion for such reprehensions. I know I am not to expect either favour or common civility from some hands. I do not enter into faults of a worse nature made by others, but am very ready to confess my own when I see them *.

I find nothing to add with relation to the dissolution both of the smaller and the greater monasteries, nor of the several risings that were in different parts of the kingdom; only I find a letter of Gresham, then lord mayor of London; I suppose he was the father of him who was the famed benefactor to the city; but by the letter which will be found in the Collection, his father was the occasion of procuring them a much greater benefaction. He began his letter with a high commendation of the king, who, as he writes, "seemed to be the chosen vessel of God, by whom the true word of God was to be set forth, and who was to reform all enormities. This encouraged him, being then the mayor of the city of London, to inform him, for the comfort of the sick, aged, and impotent persons, that there were three hospitals near or within the city—that of Saint George, Saint Bartholomew, and Saint Thomas, and the new abbey on Tower-hill, founded and endowed with great possessions, only for the helping the poor and impotent, who were not able to help themselves; and not for the maintenance of canons, priests, and monks to live in pleasure, not regarding the poor who were lying in every street, offending all that passed by them: he therefore prayed the king, for the relief of Christ's true images, to give order that the mayor of London and the aldermen may from thenceforth have the disposition and rule both of the lands belonging to those hospitals, and of the governours and ministers which shall be in any of them. And then the king would perceive that whereas now there was a small number of canons, priests, and monks in them for their own profit only; that then a great number of poor and indigent persons should be maintained in them, and also freely healed of their infirmities: and there should be physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries with salaries to attend upon them: and those who were not able to labour should be relieved; and sturdy beggars not willing to labour should be punished: in doing this, the king would be more charitable to the poor than his progenitor Edgar, the founder of so many monasteries; or Henry the Third, the

Gresham's Letter to the King for putting the great Hospitals in the hands of the City.

Collection, Number 61.

* The errors here noticed are corrected in the present edition.—ED.

renewer of Westminster; or Edward the Third, the founder of the new abbey; or than Henry the Fifth, the founder of Sion and Shene, and he would carry the name of the protector and defender of the poor."

How soon after this, these hospitals were put under the government of the lord mayor and aldermen of London, will be found in the history of the city. But I thought this letter was worth remembering, since probably it gave the rise to the putting those endowments in such hands, in which, to the wonder of all the world, we see such a noble order and management, and such an overflowing of charity, that not only all their revenues are with the exactest management possible applied wholly to the use for which they were designed; but that the particular bounties of those whom God has blessed in the city, that are annually given to them, do far exceed their stated revenues: of which there are yearly accounts published in Easter week; and which no doubt do bring down great blessings on the city, and on all its concerns.

The state of matters began to turn about this time. The king seemed to think that his subjects owed an entire resignation of their reasons and consciences to him, and as he was highly offended with those who still adhered to the papal authority, so he could not bear the haste that some were making to a further reformation, before or beyond his allowance. So in the end of the year 1538 he set out a proclamation on the 16th of November.

The King grows severe against the Reformers.

In it he prohibits the importing of all foreign books, or the printing of any at home without licence, and the printing any parts of Scripture till they were examined by the king and his council, or by the bishop of the diocese: he condemns all the books of the Anabaptists and Sacramentaries, and appoints those to be punished who vended them: he requires that none may argue against the presence of Christ in the sacrament, under the pain of death, and of the loss of their goods; and orders all to be punished who did disuse any rites or ceremonies not then abolished; yet he orders them to be observed without superstition only as remembrances, and not to repose in them a trust of salvation by observing them. He requires that all married priests should no more minister the sacrament, but be deprived, with further punishment or imprisonment at the king's pleasure.

What follows after this will be found in the Collection; for the whole did not seem so important as to be all set down, it being very long. "The king considering the several superstitions and abuses which had crept into the hearts of many of his unlearned subjects, and the strife and contention which did grow among them, had often commanded his bishops and clergy to preach plainly and sincerely, and to set forth the true meaning of the sacramentals and ceremonies, that they might be quietly used for such purposes as they were at first intended: but he was informed that this had not been executed according to his expectation; therefore he requires all his archbishops and bishops that in their own persons they will preach with more diligence, and set forth to the people the word of God sincerely and purely, declaring the difference between the things commanded by God and these rites and ceremonies commanded only by a lower authority, that they may come to the true knowledge of a lively faith in God, and obedience to the king, with love and charity to their neighbours. They were to require all their clergy to do the same, and to exhort the people to read and hear with simplicity, and without arrogance, avoiding all strife and contention, under the pain of being punished at the king's pleasure."

Collection, Number 62.

He sets out a long Proclamation.

To this he adds, "That it appearing clearly that Thomas Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, did stubbornly withstand the laws established against the enormities of the clergy by king Henry the Second, and had fled out of the realm into France, and to the bishop of Rome to procure the abrogating of these laws; from which there arose great troubles in the kingdom: his death, which they untruly called his 'martyrdom,' happened upon a rescue made by him, upon which he gave opprobrious words to the gentlemen who counselled him to leave his stubbornness, and not to stir up the people who were risen for that rescue: he called one of them bawd, and pulled Tracy by the bosom almost down to the pavement of the church: upon this fray one of the company struck him, and in the throng he was slain. He was canonised by the bishop of

An Account set forth by the King of Tho. Becket.



Rome, because he had been a champion to maintain his usurped authority, and a defender of the iniquity of the clergy. The king, with the advice of his council, did find there was nothing of sanctity in the life or exterior conversation of Becket, but that he rather ought to be esteemed a rebel and a traytor; therefore he commands that he shall be no more esteemed nor called a 'Saint,' that his images shall be everywhere put down, and that the days used for his festival shall be no more observed, nor any part of that service be read, but that it should be razed out of all books. Adding, that the other festivals already abrogated shall be no more solemnised, and that his subjects shall be no more blindly abused to commit idolatry, as they had been in time past." I will leave it to our historians to compare the account here given of Becket's death with the legends, and to examine which of them is the truest.

Soon after this, the king understanding that very malicious reports were spread about the country, poisoning people's minds with relation to everything that the king did; saying they would be made pay for everything they should eat; and that the register of births and weddings was ordered for this end, that the king might know the numbers of his people, and make levies; and send, or rather sell them to foreign service: he sent in December following a circular letter to all the justices of England, which will be found in the Collection; in which, after he had set forth his good intentions for the wealth and happiness of his people, he added, "That he hoped that all the maintainers of the bishop of Rome's authority should have been searched for and brought to justice: and that all the inventors and spreaders of false reports to put the people in fear, and so to stir them up to sedition, should have been apprehended and punished; and that vagabonds and beggars should have been corrected according to the letters he had formerly written to them. The king understood that sundry of them had done their duty so well, that there had been no disquiet till of late; that some malicious persons had by lies and false rumours studied to seduce the people; and that among these some vicars and curates were the chief; who endeavoured to bring the people again into darkness; and they did so confusedly read the word of God and the king's injunctions, that none could understand the true meaning of them: they studied to wrest the king's intentions in them to a false sense: for whereas the king had ordered registers to be kept for showing lineal descents and the rights of inheritance, and to distinguish legitimate issue from bastardy; or whether a person was born a subject or not; they went about saying that the king intended to make new examinations of christenings, weddings, and buryings, and to take away the liberties of the kingdom: for preserving which, they pretended Thomas Becket died: whereas his opposition was only to the punishing of the offences of the clergy, that they should not be justified by the courts and laws of the land, but only at the bishops' pleasure: and here the same account is given of Becket that was in the former proclamation. Becket contended with the archbishop of York, and pretended that when he was out of the realm, the king could not be crowned by any other bishop, but that it must be stayed till he returned. These detestable liberties were all that he stood for, and not for the commonwealth of the realm. To these lies they added many other seditious devices, by which the people were stirred up to sedition and insurrection, to their utter ruin and destruction, if God had not both enabled him by force to subdue them, and afterwards move him mercifully to pardon them. The king therefore required them in their several precincts to find out such vicars and curats as did not truly declare the injunctions, and did confusedly mumble the word of God, pretending that they were compelled to read them, but telling their people to do as they did, and live as their fathers had done, for the old fashion was the best. They were also required to search out all the spreaders of seditious tales, and to apprehend and keep them in prison till the justices came about to try them, or till the king's pleasure was known: the justices of the peace are very earnestly pressed to do their duty diligently, and to take care likewise that the injunctions and laws against the Anabaptists and Sacramentaries be duly executed." Dated from Hampton Court in December, in the thirtieth year of his reign.

A Circular Letter to the Justices of Peace.

Collection, Number 63.

Among the letters sent me from Zurich, I find one written to Bullinger on the 8th of

March, in the year 1539, by Butler, Elliot, Partridge, and Traheron, who had studied for some time under him, and were then entertained either by the king or by Cromwell. They write, "That many of the popish ceremonies were still tolerated; but that new significations were put on them; such as, that the 'holy water' did put us in mind of the blood of Christ, that cleansed us from all defilement: the 'pax' was carried about to represent our reconciliation to God through Christ. Things that were visible were thought fit to be preserved, to prevent commotions. This correction quieted some: but though these rites were ordered to be kept up till the king should think fit to alter them, yet some preached freely against them, even before the king.

New Significations put on the Old Rites.

"They write of the executions of the marquis of Exeter, the lord Montague, and sir Edward Nevil, who (they add) was a very brave, but a very vicious man. Sir Nic. Cary, who had been before a zealous papist, when he came to suffer, exhorted all people to read the Scriptures carefully. He acknowledged that the judgments of God came justly upon him for the hatred that he formerly bore to the gospel. The king was threatened with a war, in which the emperor, the French, and the Scots would attack him on all hands; but he seemed to despise it, and said, he should not sleep the less quietly for all these alarms. The day after these tidings were brought him, he said to his councillors, that he found himself moved in his conscience to promote the word of God more than ever. Other news came at the same time, which might perhaps raise his zeal, that three English merchants were burnt in Spain, and that an indulgence was proclaimed to every man that should kill an English heretic. Cranmer was then very busy instructing the people, and preparing English prayers to be used instead of the Litany." I can go no further on these subjects, but must refer to my History for the prosecution of these matters.

Many Executions in England.

The foundation of the new bishoprics was now settled. Rymer has given us the charters by which they were founded and endowed. The new-modelling of some cathedrals was next taken care of. I have found the project that Cromwell sent to Cranmer for the church of Canterbury. It was to consist of a provost, twelve prebendaries, six preachers, three readers, one of humanity and of Greek, another of divinity and of Hebrew, and another of humanity and divinity in Latin, a reader of civil law, another of physic; twenty students in divinity, ten to be kept at Oxford, and as many at Cambridge: sixty scholars were to be taught grammar and logic, with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin: for these, a schoolmaster and an usher were to have salaries. Besides these, there were eight petty canons, twelve singing men, ten choristers, a master of the children, a gospeller, an epistler, and two sacristans; two butlers, two cooks, a caterer, two porters; twelve poor men, a steward, and an auditor; in all one hundred and sixty-two persons, with the salaries for every one of these; together with an allowance for an annual distribution of 100*l.* for the poor, and as much for reparations, and 40*l.* for mending the highways: in all, amounting to about one thousand nine hundred pounds a year. This I have put in the Collection, together with the letter that Cranmer wrote to Cromwell after he had considered of it: though perhaps this will sharpen some men's spirits that are of late much set to decry him, as much as any of his other opinions may have done: but a true historian, that intends to glean all that he could find relating to those transactions, must neither alter nor suppress things, but set them out as he finds them.

Tom. xiv., from p. 717 to p. 736, and from p. 748 to p. 758.

The Project of endowing the Church of Canterbury.

Disapproved by Cranmer. Collection. Number 64.

Collection, Number 65.

"He proposes the altering the prebendaries to somewhat more useful; for, by all the experience that he had, the prebendaries had spent their time in much idleness, and their substance in superfluous living; so he thought it was not a state to be maintained. Commonly, they were neither learned nor given to teach others, but only good vianders. They look to be the chief, and to bear the whole rule; and by their ill example, the younger sort grew idle and corrupt. The state of prebendaries hath been so excessively abused, that when learned men have been advanced to that post, they desisted from their studies, and from all godly exercises of preaching and teaching; therefore he wished the very name of a prebendary



might be struck out of the king's foundations. The first beginning of them was good, so was that of religious men; but both were gone off from their first estate; so, since the one is put down, it were no great matter if both should perish together. For, to say the truth, it is an estate which St. Paul did not find in the church of Christ; and he thought it would stand better with the maintenance of the Christian religion, that there were in their stead twenty divines, at ten pounds a-piece, and as many students of the tongues, and of French, at ten marks a-piece. And, indeed, if there was not such a number there resident, he did not see for what use there were so many lectures to be read; for the prebendaries could not attend for the making of good cheer, and the children in grammar were to be otherwise employed. He, in particular, recommends doctor Crome to be dean."

But I leave this invidious subject, to turn now to a very melancholy strain. The king had thrown off all commerce with the Lutherans in Germany, and seemed now to think himself secure in the emperor's friendship; yet he did not break with France, though on many occasions he complained both of the ingratitude and inconstancy of that king. The duchy of Milan seemed to be the object of all his designs; and he was always turned, as the prospect of that seemed to come in view or to go out of sight. All the king's old ministers still kept up his zeal for his admired book "Of the Sacraments," most particularly for that article of transubstantiation; so that the popish party prevailed with him to resolve on setting up the Six Articles, which (they said) would quiet all men's minds, when they saw him maintain that and the other articles with learning and zeal. It is certain he had read a great deal, and heard and talked a great deal more of those subjects; so that he seems to have made himself a master of the whole body of divinity. I have seen many chapters of the "Necessary Erudition of a Christian" much altered by him; and in many places so interlined with his hand, that it is not without some difficulty that they can be read, for he wrote very ill.

The Design of the Six Articles.

Upon the carrying the Six Articles, the popish party were much exalted. This appears by the end of a letter written to the ambassadors abroad, which will be found in the Collection. It sets forth, "how the king had showed himself in that parliament so wise, learned, and catholic, that no prince ever did the like: so it was no more doubted but the act would pass. The bishops of Canterbury, Ely, Salisbury, Worcester, Rochester, and St. David's defended the contrary side; yet, in the end, the king confounded them. The bishops of York, Durham, Winchester, London, Chichester, Norwich, and Carlisle showed themselves honest and learned men." He writes as one of the peers; for he adds, "We of the temporalty have been all of one opinion. The lord chancellor and the lord privy-seal had been of their side: Cranmer and all the bishops came over; only, he adds that Shaxton continued a lewd fool. For this victory, he writes that all England had reason to bless God."

Col. Num. 66.

Cromwell, though he complied with the king's humour, yet he studied to gain upon him, and to fix him in an alliance that should certainly separate him from the emperor, and engage him again into a closer correspondence with France, on design to support the princes of Germany against the emperor, whose uneasiness under the laws and liberties of the empire began to be suspected, and all the popish party depended wholly on him. I did, in my second volume, publish a commission to Cromwell, thinking it was that which constituted him the king's vicegerent, which I, upon reading the beginning of it, took to be so; but that was one of the effects of the haste in which I wrote that work. It does, indeed, in the preamble, set forth, "that the king was then in some sort to exercise that supreme authority he had over the church of England under Christ; since they who pretended that that authority ought to be lodged with them did pursue their own private gains more than the public good; and had brought matters, by the negligence of their officers and their own ill example, to such a state that it might be feared that Christ would not now own his own spouse. Therefore, since the supreme authority over all persons, without any difference, was given him from Heaven, he was bound (as much as he could) to cleanse the church from all briars, and to sow the seeds of virtue in it. Those who before exercised this authority,

The King marries Anne of Cleves.

Part ii. Coll. Rec. Book 2. N. 29. Commission to Cromwell to constitute some under him.

thinking themselves above all censure, had (by their own bad examples) laid stumbling-blocks before the people. He therefore, designing a general reformation of his kingdom and church, resolved to begin with the fountains; for they being cleansed, the streams would run clear. But since he could not be personally present everywhere, he had deputed Thomas Cromwell, his principal secretary and master of the rolls, to be, in all ecclesiastical causes, his vicegerent and vicar-general; with a power to name others, to be authorised under the great seal: but he being so employed in the public affairs of the kingdom that he could not personally discharge that trust, therefore he deputed A, B, C, D, to execute that trust. The king being pleased with this deputation, did likewise empower them to visit all churches, both metropolitical, cathedral, and collegiate churches, hospitals, and monasteries, and all other places, exempt or not exempt; to correct and punish what was amiss in them, by censures of suspension and deprivation; to give them statutes and injunctions in the king's name; and to hold synods, chapters, or convocations, summoning all persons concerned to appear before them, and presiding in them, giving them such rules as they shall judge convenient: calling such causes as they shall think fit from the ecclesiastical courts to be judged by them, and to force obedience both by ecclesiastical censures and fines, and other temporal punishments:" with several other clauses of a very extended and comprehensive nature. How far this was put in practice does not fully appear to me: it certainly struck so deep into the whole ecclesiastical constitution that it could not be easily borne. But the clergy had lost their reputation and credit, so that every invasion that was made on them, and on their courts, seemed to be at this time acceptable to the nation, one extreme very naturally producing another; for all did acquiesce tamely in submitting to a power that was now in high exaltation, and that treated those that stood in its way not only with the utmost indignation, but with the most rigorous severity.

But to return to Cromwell. He, in concurrence with the court of France, carried matters so, that the marriage with Anne of Cleves was made up: this occasioned one of the most unjustifiable steps in all that reign. Among the papers that were sent me from Zurich, there is a long and particular account of many passages in this matter, with some other important transactions of this year, writ by one Richard Hille, who writes very sensibly and very piously; and he being zealous for a further reformation, went out of England as a man concerned in trade, which he pursued only as a just excuse to get out of the way. But before he went over, he wrote a long account to Bullinger of the affairs in England: he tells him, "that, before Whit-Sunday, three persons were burned in Southwark, because they had not received the sacrament at Easter, and had denied transubstantiation. There was, after that, one Collins, a crazed man, likewise burned, all by Gardiner's procurement." A little before Midsummer, it began to be whispered about that the king intended a divorce with Anne, who had been married to him above five months. It was observed that the king was much taken with a young person, a niece of the duke of Norfolk's (whom he afterwards married). Gardiner took care to bring them together to his palace, where they dined once, and had some meetings and entertainments there. This went on some time before there was any talk of the divorce: it was, indeed, believed that there was an ill commerce between them. Cromwell was newly made earl of Essex: Bourchier, in whom that line was extinct, who had been a severe persecutor, falling from his horse, and breaking his neck, died without being able to speak one word. The king gave Cromwell not only his title, but all that fell to the crown by his dying without heirs; yet he enjoyed not this long, for in the beginning of June he was sent to the Tower. He did not know the secret cause of his fall: it was generally believed it was because he did not flatter the king enough; and that he was against the divorce, as thinking it would neither be for the king's honour nor the good of the kingdom. Some suspected that his late advancement, and great grants the king had given him, was an artifice to make people conclude, when they saw him disgraced after such high favour, that certainly some very black thing was discovered: and it was also thought that the king restored to his son (who was so weak that he was thought almost a fool) much of his father's estate and goods (as he made him a baron, in December, after his father's death,) on design to make the father more silent, for fear of provoking the king to take from him

He is in love with Katherine Howard.

Cromwell's Fall.



what he had then given him. Here I stop the prosecuting the rest of the letter, till I have added somewhat more concerning Cromwell.

He had many offices in his person; for besides that he was lord vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, and lord privy-seal, he was lord chamberlain and chancellor of the exchequer. Rymer, t. 14. Rymer has published the grants that the king made of those offices, in which it is said that they were void upon his attainder; but, which was more, he was the chief minister, and had the king's confidence for ten years together, almost as entirely as cardinal Wolsey had it formerly. Mount had been sent to Germany to press a closer league defensive against the pope, and any council that he might summon. When the princes did object the act of the Six Articles, and the severities upon it, he confessed to one of the elector's ministers that the king was not sincere in the point of religion, he had, therefore, proposed a double marriage,—of the king with Anne of Cleves, and of the duke of Cleves with the lady Mary; for he said the king was much governed by his wives. The elector of Saxony, who had married the other sister of Cleves, had conceived so bad an opinion of the king, that he expressed no heartiness, neither in the marriage, nor in any alliance with England; but he yielded to the importunities of others, who thought the prospect of the advantage from such an alliance was great.

A new Treaty with the German Princes.

There are great remains that show how exact a minister Cromwell was; there are laid together many remembrances of things that he was to lay before the king. They are too short to give any great light into affairs, yet I will mention some of them. In one, he mentions the abbots of Glastonbury and Reading, who were then prisoners, and were examined. The witnesses, with the council, were ordered to be sent to Berkshire and Somersetshire. Mention is made of their complices, who were to be tried, and to suffer with them. To this I must add, that in one of the Zurich letters it is written to Bullinger, that three of the richest abbots in England had suffered for a conspiracy, into which they had entered for restoring the pope's authority in England.

Cott. Libr. Titus, B. 1. Some of Cromwell's Memorandums.

The learned Dr. Tanner has sent me the copy of a letter, that three visitors wrote to Cromwell from Glastonbury, concerning that abbot, on the 22d of September; but they do not add the year. It will be found in the Collection, signed by Richard Pollard, Thomas Moyle, and Richard Layton. "They give him an account of their examining the abbot upon certain articles. He did not seem to answer them clearly; so they desired him to call to his memory the things which he then seemed to have forgot. They searched his study, and found in it a written book against the king's divorce. They found also pardons, copies of bulls, and a printed life of Thomas Becket; but found no letter that was material. They examined him a second time upon the articles that Cromwell had given them; and sent up his answer, signed by him, to court: in which they write, that his cankered and traitorous heart, against the king and his succession, did appear; so, with very fair words, they sent him to the Tower. They found he was but a weak man, and sickly. Having sent him away, they examined the state of that monastery: they found in it above 300*l.* in cash; but had not the certainty of the rest of their plate; only they found a fair gold chalice, with other plate, hid by the abbot, that had not been seen by the former visitors; of which, they think, the abbot intended to have made his own advantage. They write, that the house was the noblest they had ever seen of that sort: they thought it fit for the king, and for none else." This I set down the more particularly, to demonstrate the falsity of the extravagant account that Sanders gives of that matter, as if it had been, without notice given, that the abbot was seized on, tried and executed, all of a sudden. But to return to Cromwell.

Col. Num. 67.

In another note, he mentions the determinations made by Day, Heath, and Thirleby, of the Ten Commandments, of Justification, and of Purgatory. Another is about Fisher and More. The judges' opinion was asked concerning More and the nun. Another is, whether the bishop of Rochester, and the monk, who wrote the letter as from heaven, should be sent for? In another, that Bocking printed the nun's book, and took away 500 copies, but left 200 with the printer. In another, he proposed to send Barnes for Melancthon. In another, he asks, who shall be prolocutor in the convocation. In another, he proposes the making

lady Mary a considerable match for some foreign prince, the duke of Orleans or some other. This is all that I could gather, out of a vast number of those notes, which he took of matters, to move the king in.

Upon Cromwell's imprisonment, the comptroller was sent to him, and he ordered him to write to the king, what he thought meet to be written concerning his present condition; and, it seems, with some intimations of hope. Upon that, Cromwell wrote a long letter to the king, which will be found in the Collection. "He begins it with great thanks to the king, for what the comptroller had said to him. He was accused of treason; but he protests, he never once thought to do that which should displease him, much less to commit so high an offence. The king knew his accusers: he prayed God to forgive them. He had ever loved the king, and all his proceedings: he prays God to confound him, if he had ever a thought to the contrary. He had laboured much, to make the king a great and a happy prince; and acknowledges his great obligations to the king. So he writes, that if he had been capable to be a traitor, the greatest punishment was too little for him. He never spoke with the chancellor of the augmentations (Baker) and Throckmorton together, but once: but he is sure, he never spoke of any such matter" (as, it seems, was informed against him). "The king knew what a man Throckmorton was, with relation to all his proceedings: and what an enemy Baker was to him, God and he knew: the king knew what he had been towards him. It seems, the king had advertised him of them; but God, who had delivered Susan when falsely accused, could deliver him. He trusted only in God, and in the king. In all his service, he had only considered the king; but did not know that he had done injustice to any person: yet he had not done his duty in all things; therefore he asked mercy. If he had heard of conventicles, or other offences, he had for the most part revealed them, and made them to be punished, but not out of malice. He had meddled in so many things, that he could not answer them all; but of this he was sure, that he had never willingly offended: and wherein he had offended, he humbly begged pardon. The comptroller told him, that fourteen days ago the king had committed a great secret to him, which he had revealed: he remembered well the matter, but he had never revealed it. For, after the king had told him what it was that he misliked in the queen, he told the king, that she often desired to speak with him, but he durst not: yet the king bade him go to her, and be plain with her, in declaring his mind: upon which, he spake privately with her lord chamberlain, desiring him, not naming the king, to deal with the queen to behave herself more pleasantly towards the king; hoping thereby to have had some faults amended. And when some of her council came to him, for licence to the stranger maids to depart, he did then require them to advise the queen to use all pleasantness with the king. Both these words were spoken before the king had trusted the secret to him, on design that she might render herself more agreeable to the king: but after the king had trusted that secret to him (which it seems was his design to have the marriage dissolved) he never spoke of it, but to the lord admiral; and that was by the king's order on Sunday last; who was very willing to seek remedy for the king's comfort: he protests he was ready to die to procure the king comfort: he wishes he were in hell if it was not true. This was all he had done," (it seems the king thought the change in the queen's deportment towards him was the effect of his discovering the secret of the king's purpose, and in order to prevent it); "but for this he humbly begs pardon: he understood that it was charged upon him, that he had more retainers about him than the laws allowed: he never retained any, except his household servants, but against his will: he had been pressed by many, who said they were his friends, he had retained their children and friends, not as retainers, for their fathers and friends promised to maintain them: in this, God knows, he had no ill intent, but begs pardon if he had offended," (for that was represented as the gathering a force about him to defend himself). "He concludes he had not behaved himself towards God and the king as he ought to have done: and as he was continually calling on God for mercy, for offences committed against him, so he begs the king's pardon for his offences against him, which were never wilful; and he assures him he had never a thought of treason against him, either in word or deed: and he continued to pray for him and the prince, ending, indeed, with too abject a meanness."

The Matters at first charged on him, from which he clears himself.

Col. Num. 68.



These were all the particulars that were charged on him upon his first imprisonment: other matters were afterwards added to throw the more load on him; but it seems they were not so much as thought on or mentioned at first: but now I return to the letter writ to Zurich. Hill adds, that they heard they once designed to burn Cromwell as a heretic, and that these considerations made him confess that he had offended the king. What he said that way at his execution was pronounced coldly by him; upon that the writer runs out very copiously, and acknowledges that their sins had provoked God to bring upon them that great change that they saw in affairs: they had wholly trusted to the learning of some, and to the conduct of others; but God, by the taking these away, was calling on them to turn sincerely to him, to trust entirely in him, and to repent with their whole heart. There was at that time a great want of sincere labourers, so that from east to west, and from south to north, there was scarce one faithful and sincere preacher of the gospel to be found.

Reflections on the State of Affairs at that Time.

The act of dissolving the king's marriage did set forth that some doubts were raised concerning the king's marriage, which, as he writes, was manifestly false, for nobody thought of any doubtfulness in it: nor did they pray, as is in the act, that it might be inquired into: for nobody spake of it till the king was resolved to part with the queen, that he might be married to Mrs. Howard, whom in his bad Latin he calls "Parvissima Puella," a very little girl. The archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the bishops, judged she was yet a virgin, which none that knew the man could believe. Here again I must leave my letter.

Of the King's Divorce with Anne of Cleves.

There had been no convocation for two years, for "the institution of a Christian man" was prepared by a commission, given to some bishops of both provinces, and to some archdeacons, but no deans were summoned with them: a convocation sate in both provinces in May, in the year 1539, to which abbots and priors were summoned; but though there were eight abbots and nine priors in Exeter diocese, yet the return from thence says, there were none in the diocese. I do not know how to reconcile that with the abbot of Tavistock's sitting in the house of lords, as appears by the journals of that parliament.

What passed in Convocation.

Upon this occasion there was a particular summons for both provinces, to meet in a national synod, to judge of the king's marriage. When I wrote of this in my History, I did not at all reflect on the doctrine of the church of Rome, that makes marriage a sacrament, in which the two parties are the ministers, who transfer their persons to one another: and according to the doctrine of the necessity of the intention in him that ministers the sacrament, how vile soever this decision in the matter of the king's marriage may seem to be, yet it was a just consequence from that doctrine: for without a true, free, and inward intention, which the king affirmed he had not, the marriage could be no sacrament: so that the heaviest part of the shame of that decision falls indeed on that doctrine. When the news came to France of the king's dissolving his marriage with Anne of Cleves, king Francis himself asked the ambassadors upon what grounds it went: the cardinal of Ferrara did also send one to ask what was alleged for it by divines and lawyers. Wallop and others were then the ambassadors from England at the court: they sent to the council an account of this; and Wallop wrote over to know what he should say upon the subject. The answer which the council wrote to him was, that the queen herself affirmed, her person had not been touched by king Henry: that a learned convocation had judged the matter; that the bishops of Durham, Winchester, and Bath, were known to be great and learned clerks, who would do nothing but upon just and good grounds: so that all persons ought to be satisfied with these proceedings, as she herself was. And here this matter ended, to the great reproach of that body, that went so hastily and so unanimously into that scandalous decision.

Paper-Office.

But to return to my Zurich letter: after he had related the manner of that judgment of those called spiritual, who indeed were very carnal, he mentions the exceptions in the act of pardon; for besides particular exceptions, all anabaptists and sacramentaries were excepted, and all those that affirmed there was a fate upon men, by which the day of their death was unalterably determined.

Exceptions in the Act of Grace.

There was at this time a great design against Dr. Crome, whom Cranmer had recommended to be dean of Canterbury, in these words: "I know no man more meet for the dean's room in England than Dr. Crome, who by his sincere learning, godly conversation, and good example of living, with his great soberness, hath done unto the king's majesty as good service, I dare say, as any priest in England: and yet his grace daily remembereth all others that doth him service, this man only excepted, who never had yet, besides his gracious favour, any promotion at his hands. Wherefore if it please his majesty to put him in the dean's room, I do not doubt but that he should be a light to all the deans and ministers of colleges in this realm; for I know, that when he was but a president of a college in Cambridge, his house was better ordered than all the houses in Cambridge besides." Certainly this good opinion that Cranmer had of him made him, in the state in which things were at this time, to be the worse thought of, and the more watched. So, when he heard that he was to be searched for, he went to the king, and, on his knees, begged he would put a stop to the severities then on foot, and that he would set many, then in prison on the account of religion, at liberty. The king had such a regard for him that, upon this, he ordered a stop to be put to further prosecutions; and he set those at liberty who were then in prison, they giving bail to appear when they should be called for. The king seemed to think that by this small favour, after some severities, people would be more quiet and more obedient; but after the parliament was dissolved, six persons suffered. Three of these were popish priests, who suffered as traitors, for denying the king's supremacy; and Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome were the other three. They were tied to one stake, and suffered without crying out, but were quiet and patient, as if they had felt no pain. He could never hear any reason given for this their suffering, unless it was to please the clergy: they were not condemned by any form of law. They had been so cautious, ever since the act of the Six Articles passed, that they had not opened their mouths in opposition to them in public; and, by the act, all offences done before it had passed were pardoned. Barnes himself said, at the place of execution, that he did not know for what cause he was brought thither to be burnt; for they were attainted by act of parliament, without being brought to make their answers.

A Design against Crome.

The bishop of Chichester, Sampson, though a man compliant in all things, and Dr. Wilson, were exempted out of the general pardon, for no other crime, as he heard, but that Abel who suffered for denying the king's supremacy, being in the greatest extremity of want and misery in prison, where it was said he was almost eat up by vermin, they had sent him some alms. From this Hill goes on to give an account of Crome, whose constant way had been, when he saw a storm rising, to preach with more zeal than ordinary against the prevailing corruption: so on Christmas-day his enemies that were watching to find matter to accuse him, framed some articles which they carried to the king against him: he had condemned in his sermon all masses for the dead, and said, "if they were profitable to the dead, the king and parliament had done wrong in destroying the monasteries endowed for that end: he also said, that to pray to the saints, only to pray for us, was a practice neither necessary nor useful: he added, you call us the seditious preachers of a new doctrine, but it is you are the seditious persons, who maintain the superstitious traditions of men, and will not hear the word of God himself. The church of Christ will ever suffer persecution as it has done of late among us."

These and some other complaints being carried to the king, Crome was commanded to answer them. He in his answer explained and justified all he had said. The king had no mind to carry matters further against so eminent a man; so he passed a sentence, in which he set forth, that Crome had confessed the articles objected to him; but the king out of his clemency, intending to quiet his people, appointed Crome to preach at Saint Paul's, and there to repeat all the articles objected to him, and then to read the judgment that the king gave in the matter: and it concluded, that if ever he fell into the like offence again, he was to suffer according to law. The king's judgment was, "that private masses were sacrifices profitable both to the living and to the dead, but yet that the king's majesty with his parliament had justly abolished monasteries." Upon this Crome preached, and at the end of his sermon, he told the people he had received an order from the king to be read to them;



which he read, but said not one word upon it, and with a short prayer dismissed the congregation: whereas the king expected that he should have applauded his judgment, and extolled his favour to himself, as Dr. Barnes and his two companions were unhappily prevailed on to do, and yet were burned afterwards. Hill was therefore afraid that Crome might be brought into further trouble. There was an order sent to him from the king to preach no more, as he had before forbidden both Latimer and Shaxton to preach any more. They were not excluded from the general pardon, but were still prohibited to preach: and when they were set at liberty, they were required not to come within ten miles of either of the universities, or the city of London, or the dioceses in which they had been bishops. Thus, says he, faithful shepherds were driven from their flocks, and ravenous wolves were sent in their stead: he concludes, hoping that God would not suffer them to be long oppressed by such tyranny. Thus I have given a very particular account of that long letter writ with much good sense and piety, but in very bad Latin, therefore I do not put it into the Collection.

Sampson, though he fell into this disgrace for an act of Christian piety, yet hitherto had showed a very entire compliance with all that had been done: he had published an explanation on the first fifty Psalms, which he dedicated to the king: in which, as he extolled his proceedings, so he run out into a severe invective against the bishop of Rome, and the usurpations and corruptions favoured by that see, and he reflected severely on Pole. Pole's old friend Tonstal did also in a sermon at Saint Paul's on Palm Sunday in his grave way set forth his unnatural ingratitude. But now the popish party upon Cromwell's fall, and the exaltation of the duke of Norfolk by the king's marrying his niece, broke out into their usual violence; and they were, as we may reasonably believe, set on to it by Bonner, who upon Stokesly's death, a year before, had been brought to London, and immediately upon Cromwell's disgrace changed sides, and from having acted a forced part with heat enough, now came to act that which was natural to him.

There were so many informations brought in the city of London, that a jury sitting in Mercers' Chapel presented five hundred persons to be tried upon the statute of the Six Articles, which, as may be easily imagined, put the city under great apprehensions: but Audley, the lord chancellor, represented to the king that this was done out of malice: so they were all dismissed, some say pardoned. Informations came against papists on the other side: a letter was sent from the council to Cranmer, to send Dr. Benger to the Tower. Two of Bonner's chaplains were, by order of council, sent to the archbishop, to be examined by him. A vicar was brought out of Wiltshire, out of whose offices Thomas Becket's name was not yet rased: but he was dismissed, for it was believed to be the effect only of negligence, and not of any ill principles. There was a letter of Melancthon's against the king's proceedings, printed in English; (perhaps it was that which I published in the Addenda to my first volume). Goodrick bishop of Ely's chaplain and servant were examined, and his house was searched for it. Many were brought into trouble for words concerning the king and his proceedings. Poor Marbeck, of Windsor, was imprisoned in the Marshalsea. Many printers were prosecuted for bringing English books into the kingdom against the king's proceedings. In one council-day (for all these particulars are taken out of the council-books), five-and-twenty booksellers were examined as to all books, more particularly English books, that they had sold these last three years. Hains, the dean of Exeter, was oft before the council; but particulars are not mentioned. Articles were brought against him, and they were referred to the king's learned council. The bishops of Ely, Sarum, Rochester, and Westminster were appointed to examine him, and to proceed with all diligence. He was also sent to the Fleet for "lewd and seditious preaching" (the words in the council-book), and sowing many erroneous opinions; but, after a good lesson and exhortation, with a declaration of the king's mercy and goodness towards him, he was dismissed under a recognisance of five hundred marks, to appear (if called for) any time within five months, to answer to such things as should be laid against him.

Prosecutions upon the Six Articles.

On the 4th of May, 1542, an entry is made, Cranmer being present; that it was thought good, if the king's highness shall be so content, that a general commission shall be sent to

Kent, with certain special articles; and generally, that all abuses and enormities of religion were to be examined. This was laid on design to ruin Cranmer; but there is no other entry made in the council-book relating to this matter; unless this was a consequence of it, that on the 27th of June, Hards, of Canterbury, a prisoner for a seditious libel, was, after a good exhortation, dismissed. And this is all the light that the only council-book of that reign, for two years, affords as to those matters. Mr. Strype has helped us to more light.

Ch. 25. Mem. Cranmer. A Conspiracy against Cranmer.

While Cranmer was visiting his diocese, there were many presentments made of a very different nature. Some were presented for adhering still to the old superstitions condemned by the king, and for insinuations in favour of the pope's authority. Others again were, on the other hand, presented for doctrines, either contrary to the Six Articles, or to the rites still practised. This created a great confusion through that whole country, and the blame of all was cast on Cranmer by his enemies; as if he favoured and encouraged that which was called the "New Learning" too much.

A plot was contrived, chiefly by Gardiner's means, with the assistance of Dr. London and of Thornden (suffragan of Dover and prebendary of Canterbury), who had lived in Cranmer's house, and had all his preferment by his favour. Several others engaged in it, who had all been raised by him, and had pretended zeal for the gospel; but, upon Cromwell's fall, they reckoned, that if they could send Cranmer after him, they would effectually crush all designs of a further reformation.

They resolved to begin with some of the prebendaries and preachers. Many articles were gathered out of their sermons and private discourses, all terminating in the archbishop, who, as was said, showed so partial a favour to the men of the "New Learning," and dealt so harshly and severely with the others, that he was represented to be the principal cause of all the heat and divisions that were in Canterbury, and in the other parts of Kent. These articles went through many hands; but it was not easy to prevail with a proper person to present them. The steps made in the matter are copiously set forth by Mr. Strype. At last they came into the king's hands; and he, upon that, passing by Lambeth, where the archbishop stood, in respect to him, as he passed by, called him into his barge, and told him, he had now discovered who was the greatest heretic in Kent. With that he showed him the articles against himself and his chaplains. The archbishop knew the falsehood of many particulars, so he prayed the king to send a commission to examine the matter. The king said he would give him a commission, but to none else. He answered, it would not seem decent to appoint him to examine articles exhibited against himself. The king said he knew his integrity, and would trust it to no other person: nor would he name above one (though pressed to it) that should be joined in commission with him: and he even then seemed persuaded it was a contrivance of Gardiner's to ruin him.

His great Mildness.

The archbishop went down himself into Kent; and then the conspirators seeing the king's favour to him, were struck with fear. Some of them wept and begged pardon, and were put in prison: but the rest of the commission, in whose hands the archbishop left the matter, being secretly favourers of that party, proceeded faintly: so it was writ to court, that unless Dr. Legh were sent down, who was well practised in examinations, the conspiracy would never be found out: he was upon that sent down; and he ordered a search to be made at one and the same time of all suspected places, and so he discovered the whole train. Some of the archbishop's domestics, Thornden in particular, were among the chief of the informers. He charged them with it. They, on their knees, confessed their faults with many tears. He, who was gentle even to excess, said he did forgive them, and prayed God to forgive them, and to make them better men. After that, he was never observed to change his countenance, or alter his behaviour towards them. He expressed the like readiness to pardon all the rest: many were imprisoned upon these examinations, but the parliament granting a subsidy, a general pardon set them all at liberty; which otherwise the archbishop was resolved to have procured to them. This relation differs in several particulars from the account that I gave of it in my History: but this seems to be the exacter and the better vouched, and therefore I acquiesce in it. Another instance is given by the same writer of the king's zeal for Cranmer. Sir John



Gostwick, knight for Bedfordshire, did in the house of commons charge him for preaching heresy against the sacrament of the altar, both at Feversham and Canterbury: the king hearing of this, did, in his rough way, threaten Gostwick, calling him varlet, and charged him to go and ask Cranmer pardon, otherwise he should feel the effects of his displeasure. The king said if he had been a Kentish man, he might have had some more shadow for accusing him; but being of Bedfordshire, he could have none. Gostwick, terrified with this message, made his submission to Cranmer, who mildly forgave him, and went to the king and moved him for his favour, which he did not obtain without some difficulty.

Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5. Some Steps made in setting out true Religion. Col. Num. 32. Refor. Vol. i. Col. Num. 69.

It appears plainly that the king acted as if he had a mind to be thought infallible; and that his subjects were bound to believe as much as he thought fit to open to them, and neither more nor less. He went on this year, before he took his progress, in finishing "The necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man." A great part of it was corrected by his own hand, particularly in that article of the creed, "the catholic church," where there are severe reflections added on the bishops of Rome. Here I found likewise some more of the answers made to the seventeen queries upon the matter of the sacraments that I published in my first volume. I set them out again in my Collection, that by these the reader may better understand the two following papers, that I print separately, and not intermixed with one another, as I did before, which I thought to be an ease to the reader: but since that was made a great offence, I will do it no more. One of these is only an answer to the queries: the writer of the first is not named; it is probably Tonstal's: he is plainly of the same side with the archbishop of York. It will be found in the Collection; as also another paper, with several marginal notes in the king's hand, by which it appears that the king was much shaken from his former notions. He asked for Scripture in several particulars that could not easily be brought. On the margin, Cranmer and Barlow are often named; but I do not understand with what view it was that they, and no other (except Cox, once), are named. Over against the 15th article, their names are set down in this order: York, Durham, Carlisle, Corren, Simon, Oglethorp, Edgworth, Day, Redman, Robinson, Winchester; and a little below, Canterbury, Hereford, Rochester, Davys (I suppose St. David's), Westminster, Layton, Tresham, Cox, Crayford: these are writ in a hand that I do not know, but not in the same hand. It seems those lists were made with relation to the different parties in which they stood. The book, thus carefully examined, was finished and published.

Col. Num. 70. Col. Num. 71.

Katherine Howard's Disgrace.

The king went in progress with his queen, who began to have a great influence on him; and on what reason I do not know, she withdrew from her uncle, and became his enemy: but before the king's return, her ill life came to be discovered, which ended fatally to her. It is scarce worth the reader's while to say any more of a matter that is so universally acknowledged; but having found an original account, subscribed by herself, of one of her examinations, I have put it in the Collection. It appears there was a particular view in the archbishop of Canterbury's examining her, to draw from her all the discoveries they could make to fasten a pre-contract with Dereham on her. Many trifling stories relating to that being suggested, she was examined to them all: but though she confesses a lewd commerce with Dereham, she positively denied everything that could infer a pre-contract; nor did she confess anything of that sort done after the king married her, which she still denied very positively, even to the last. On the 15th of December, letters were written to the king's ambassadors abroad, that contain a severe account of the lewd and naughty behaviour and lightness of her lately reputed for queen (I give the words of the letter), at which the king was much troubled.

Col. Num. 72. Paper-Office.

Upon her disgrace there was a new negotiation proposed with the protestant princes of Germany. Mount was again sent over to excuse, as well as he could, the divorce with Anne of Cleves. He said she was treated nobly and kindly in all respects by the king: he renewed the proposition for a league, with relation to their common interests; but they still stood upon this, that they could enter into no alliance with him unless they agreed in religion; insisting particularly on private masses, the denying the chalice, and the celibate of the clergy. Upon which a con-

Secken. lib. 3. p. 78. A Negotiation with the German Princes.

ference was proposed in Gelderland, or at Hamburgh or Bremen. The king, in answer to this, wrote, that he would carefully examine all that they laid before him: he expressed great regard to the elector, but complained that some of his learned men had written virulently against him, and misrepresented his proceedings. Cranmer likewise wrote to the elector, and set forth the great things the king had already done in abolishing the pope's authority, the monastic state, and the idolatrous worship of images. He desired they would not be uneasy, though the king in some things differed still from them: he was very learned himself, and had learned men about him; he was quick of apprehension, had a sound judgment, and was firm in what he once resolved on; and he hoped the propositions they had sent over would be well considered.

Lord William Howard, the late queen's uncle, was then ambassador in France. He tells, in one of his letters, that the admiral was restored to favour, chiefly by the means of madame D'Estampes, whose credit with that king is well known. There were reports that the emperor and the French king were in a treaty, and that, in conclusion, they would join to make war on the king. This was charged on the French, but solemnly disowned by that king. It appears the proposition for marrying the lady Mary to the duke of Orleans was then begun. Great exceptions were taken to her being declared a bastard; but it was promised that, when all other things were agreed to, she should be declared legitimate. Upon queen Katherine Howard's disgrace, lord William was recalled, and Paget was sent over in his room.

There is in the Paper-office an original letter of Paget's to the king, that gives an account of his conversation with the admiral, who was then in high favour, Montmorency being in disgrace. It is very long, but it contains so many important passages that I have put it in the Collection, and shall here give an abstract of it. It is dated from Chablais, the 22d of April, in the year 1542.

Col.Num.73.

Paget's Negotiation with the Court of France.

"He gave the admiral an account of his instructions, and of what both the king and his council had ordered him to say. He perceived the admiral sighed and crossed himself often; and said, in his answer to him, that he saw the king of France resolved to enter into some confederacy. He desired it might be with the king, and would think of no other prince till the king refused him. He thought both the kings were, by their interests, obliged to stick to one another, though the marriage had never been spoke of: it is true, that would fix and strengthen it. But he thought two hundred thousand crowns was a very mean offer for such a king's daughter to such a prince: four or five hundred thousand crowns was nothing to the king. The duke of Orleans was a prince of great courage, and did aspire to great things. So mean an offer would quite discourage them. The daughter of Portugal was offered with four hundred thousand ducats, together with the interest of it since her father's death, which was almost as much more. At the first motion of the matter, it was answered, the man must desire the woman. Now he does desire her, and you offer nothing: with this he sighed. Paget answered, and fully set out the personal love that he knew his master had for the French king; that none of the occasions of suspicion that had been given could alienate him from it; and he reckoned up many of these. He acknowledged there were great hopes of the duke of Orleans; but he studied to show that the offer was not unreasonable, all things considered. Louis XII. had but three hundred thousand crowns with the king's sister; and the king of Scots had with the other but one hundred thousand crowns: but he said, besides the two hundred thousand crowns which he offered to give, they will also forgive eight hundred thousand crowns that France owed the king, and discharge the one hundred thousand crowns yearly pension. To this the admiral replied, he counted the forgiving the eight hundred thousand crowns for nothing; and, for the annual pension, they would be at as much charge to maintain her and her court. Paget said the eight hundred thousand crowns was a just debt, lent in an extreme necessity; and because it had been long owing, and often respited, must that pass for nothing? So he bad him ask reasonably, or offer what was proper reciprocally for it. The admiral said the king was rich; and what was eight hundred thousand crowns to him, which they were not able to pay? So the admiral, said he, wished the thing had never been spoke of. He fell next to turn the motion to the lady Elizabeth; and he proposed a league offensive and defensive against the emperor; and that whatever should be got from the emperor should be the king's, in lieu of the pension during life. He knew the emperor was practising with the king, as he was, at the same time, with them. Bonner was then sent ambassador to Spain, and had carried over from the king to the emperor three horses of value. The emperor might say what he will in the way of practice; but he knew he would never unite with the king, except he would return to the pope: for so the nuncio told the chancellor, and the chancellor told it to the queen of Navarre, who fell out with him upon that occasion. She told him he was ill enough before; but now, since he had 'the mark of the beast' (for he was lately made a priest), he grew worse and worse. The emperor's design was only to divide them. He offered to them that the duke of Orleans should be king of Naples, and to give Flanders to the crown of France; but in lieu of that he asked the renunciation of Milan and Navarre, and the restoring of Piedmont and Savoy. But by this, the father and son being so far separate, the emperor would soon drive the duke of Orleans out of Naples. He was also studying to gain the duke of Cleves, and to restore him Gueldres quietly, provided that he and his wife would renounce Navarre. But he concluded that they knew the emperor did nothing but practise. They knew he offered to the king to reconcile him to the pope without any breach of his honour, for it should be at the pope's suit. Paget said he knew nothing of all that; but believed it would be hard to reconcile him to the bishop of Rome, for virtue and vice cannot stand together in one predicament. 'Call ye him Vice,' said the admiral; 'he is the very devil, and I trust to see his confusion: everything must have a time and a beginning.' 'But when begin you?' said Paget. The admiral answered, 'Before it be long, the king will give all the abbeys to his lay gentlemen; and so by little and little overthrow him altogether. Why may not we have a patriarch in France?' This the pope's legate began to perceive; and though they talked of a general council, he believed the pope would as soon be hanged as call one. Paget said, he would be glad to see them once begin to do somewhat. 'Ah!' said the admiral, 'I'm ill-matched.' He wished the entire union of the two kings; and if an interview might be between them, it would be the happiest thing could befal Christendom: but he believed some of the king's council leaned too much to the emperor, and proposed several advantages from it. He said, the emperor cared not if father, friend, and all the world should sink, so his insatiable desires might be satisfied. He suffered two of his brothers-in-law to perish for want of fifty thousand crowns; first, the king of Hungary, and then the king of Denmark, whom he might have restored, if he would have given him ten thousand crowns. He was then low enough; and they would do well to fall on him, now that he was so low, before he took breath. So he pressed Paget to put matters on heartily with the king. He thought it an unreasonable thing for the emperor and his brother to ask aid against the Turk, to defend their own dominions, when they kept the king's dominions from him. Paget gave the king an account of all this conversation very particularly, with an humble submission to him if in anything he had gone too far. The court of France believed the emperor was treating with the king for the marriage of the lady Mary; and that, for that end, Bonner was sent to Spain, who was looked on as a man thoroughly imperial." After Paget had ended his letter, written on the 19th of April, he adds a long postscript on the 22d, for the admiral had entered into farther discourse with him the next day. "He told him how sorry he was to see all his hopes blasted; he could not sleep all night for it. They had letters from their ambassadors in England, and were amazed to find that a king who was so rich stood for so small a matter. The pope had offered the duke of Guise's son two hundred thousand crowns with his niece: he said he was much troubled at all this. All that were about the king his master were not of one mind; and he had been reproached for beginning this matter. They knew the falsehood and the lies of the pope and the emperor well enough: he wished they would consider well what the effects of an entire friendship with the king of France might be: the French could do no more than they could do. Within two years, they would owe the king one hundred thousand crowns, besides the one hundred thousand crowns during the king's life, and fifty thousand crowns for ever after that. But he said, in those treaties, many things ought to be done for their own defence. At this he was called away by the king, but came afterwards to Paget. He said, it was not one hundred thousand nor two hundred thousand

crowns could not enrich the one, nor impoverish the other king. So he added, we ask your daughter, and you shall have our son; but desired that they might carry the matter further into a league, to make war on the emperor, defensive, for all their territories.

"He proposed that the king should send ten thousand foot and two thousand horse into Flanders, and to pay five thousand Germans; and the French king should furnish the same number of foot and of Germans, and three thousand horse, and an equal number of ships on both sides; and the king of France should, in some other places, fall into the emperor's dominions, at an expense of two hundred thousand crowns a month. What a thing, said he, would it be, to the king, to have Gravelines, Dunkirk, and all those quarters joining to Calais! Paget answered, they might spend all their money, and catch nothing; and he did not see what ground of quarrel his master had with the emperor. Upon which the admiral replied, 'Does not he owe you money? Hath not he broken his leagues with you in many particulars? Did not he provoke us to join with the pope and him, to drive your master out of his kingdom? And hath he not now put the pope on offering a council to sit at Mantua, Verona, Cambray, or Metz (this last place was lately named), all on design to ruin you? A pestilence take him!' said he, 'false dissembler that he is! If he had you at such an advantage as you now have him, you should feel it!' And he run out largely, both against the bishop of Rome and the emperor. He desired the war might begin that year, the emperor being so low that, for all his millions, he had not a penny."

On all this the admiral seemed wonderfully set. Paget excused himself from entering further into these matters, and desired that they might be proposed to the king by the French ambassador, then at London; yet, being pressed by the admiral, he promised to lay all before the king; and he did it very fully, but with many excuses and much submission.

Paper-Office. The king's council writ a short answer to this long letter: "They expressed their confidence in the admiral, with great acknowledgments for his affection to the king; but they seemed to suspect the king of France, that all his professions were only to get money from the king. Two hundred thousand crowns seemed nothing, when they were willing to forgive him a million; but, by this letter, it seems the French ambassadors did still insist on six hundred thousand crowns to be paid down." So this matter was let fall. But to say all that relates to the duke of Orleans at once:

The Duke of Orleans promised to declare himself a Protestant.

M. Le Vassor has published instructions, of which a collated copy was found among cardinal Granville's papers. It is a question that cannot be answered, how he came by it: whether the original was taken with the landgrave of Hesse, or by what other way, is not certain. It bears date at Rheims, the 8th of September, 1543. "It expresses the great desire that he had, that the holy gospel might be preached in the whole kingdom of France; but the respect that he owed to the king his father, and to the dauphin his brother, made that he did not order it to be preached freely in his duchy of Orleans, that being under their obedience. But he sent to the duke of Saxony, to the landgrave of Hesse, and the other protestant princes, to assure them that he was resolved, and promised it expressly to them that he would order that the gospel should be preached in the duchy of Luxemburgh, and in all other places that should belong to him by the right of war. He desired to be received into their alliance, and to a league offensive and defensive with them. He desired earnestly that they would grant this request; not to be aided by them against any prince, but only on the account of the Christian religion, of which he desired the increase above all things; that by these means light may be spread into other dominions, and into the kingdom of France, when the king his father should see him so allied to those princes, which will be the cause of making him declare the good zeal he has to that matter; and will be able always to excuse it to him, and to defend it against all his enemies. He desires, therefore, that as soon as he shall give order that the gospel shall be preached in the duchy of Luxemburgh, this league and alliance may begin. He hopes this will not be delayed, from the opinion that they may have that he cannot quickly show what power he has to support the love he bears to this cause. He hopes in a little time to show, if it pleases God, some good effect of it; and he offers at present, not only all his own force, but the whole force of the king his father, who has given him authority to employ it in everything that he shall judge to be good for them, and in everything that may concern their welfare, their profit, and freedom."



It is impossible to read this, and to doubt either of his being sincerely a protestant, or at least that he was willing to profess it openly: and it can as little be doubted, that in this he had his father's leave to do what he did. The retaking of Luxemburgh put an end to this proposition: but, it seems, the emperor apprehended that the heat of this young prince might grow uneasy to him, therefore he took all methods to satisfy his ambition; for, on the 18th of December, 1544, the ambassadors at the emperor's court write over, that he was treating a match between his own eldest daughter and the duke of Orleans; and that he offered to give with her the ancient inheritance of the house of Burgundy, the two Burgundies, and the Netherlands: or if he would marry his brother Ferdinand's second daughter, to give the duchy of Milan with her. They also mention in April thereafter, that he came to the emperor, and stayed some days with him at Antwerp, and then went back. On this they all concluded that the treaty was like to go on, but do not mention which of the two ladies he liked best; for there could be no comparison made between what was offered with them. But all the negotiation and all the hopes of that prince vanished on the 11th of September, 1545; for Karn, the king's ambassador in Flanders, writ over, that on that day he died of the plague.

Practices on him end with his Life.

I come next to put together all that I find in the minutes of convocation during this reign. The necessary erudition was never brought in convocation: but it was treated by some bishops and divines of both provinces, and published by the king's authority. It seems, when the doctrine was thus settled, there was a design to carry on the Reformation further. There was a convocation held in January 1541; in the second session of which, the archbishop delivered them a message from the king, that it was his pleasure, that they should consult concerning the reforming our errors. And he delivered some books to them to be examined by them: it does not appear what sort of books or errors those were; whether of papists, sacramentaries, or of anabaptists; for of this last sort some had crept into England. The business of Munster had made that name so odious, that three years before this, in October 1538, there was a commission sent to Cranmer, Stokesly, Sampson, and some others, to inquire after anabaptists, to proceed against them, to restore the penitent, to burn their books, and to deliver the obstinate to the secular arm: but I have not seen what proceedings there were upon this.

Proceedings in Convocation.

A new Translation of the Bible designed.

In October 1545 there was an order of council published, to take away shrines and images: several commissions were granted for executing this; in some, they add bones to images. The archbishop did likewise move the convocation, in the king's name, to make laws against simony, and to prepare a book of homilies, and also a new translation of the Bible: for, it seems, complaints were made of the translation then printed and set up in churches. The several books of the Bible were parcelled out, and assigned to several bishops to translate them. This came to nothing during this reign; but this same method was followed in queen Elizabeth's time. In the fifth session, the persons were named for this translation. Cranmer had, some few years before this, parcelled out an old translation of the New Testament to several bishops and divines, to be revised and corrected by them: but it was then much opposed. The Acts of the Apostles was assigned to Stokesly; but he sent in no return upon it, so the archbishop sent to him for it. His answer was sullen: "He wondered what the archbishop meant thus to abuse the people, by giving them liberty to read the Scripture, which did nothing but infect them with heresy. He had not looked on his portion, and never would: so he sent back the book, saying, he would never be guilty of bringing the simple people into error." Notwithstanding this, Cranmer had published a more correct New Testament in English, which is referred to in the injunctions that were formerly mentioned; but now he designed a new translation of the whole Bible. In the sixth session, which was on the 17th of February, a statute against simony was treated of: there was also some discourse about the translating the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue; and it was considered how some words in them ought to be translated; but what these were is not mentioned: only, it seems, there was a design to find faults in everything that Cranmer had done.

Memor. of Cranmer. Strype, ch. 8.

On the 24th of February several matters were treated of; that in particular is named,

that none should let leases beyond the term of twenty-one years. They treated about many of the rituals, and of Thomas Becket, and of the adorning of images, and about reforming some scandalous comedies. On the 3rd of March, the archbishop told them from the king, that it was his pleasure that the translation of the Bible should be revised by the two universities. But all bishops, except Ely and St. David's, protested against this; and, it seems, they insisted much upon trifles; for they treated of this, whether in the translation of the Bible, "the Lord," or "our Lord," should be the constant form. On the same day, the lord chancellor exhibited to them an act, allowing that the bishops' chancellors might marry. To this the bishops dissented. Some other matters were proposed; but all was referred to the king. Upon the convocation's being assembled on the 16th of February, 1542, some homilies were offered on different subjects, but nothing is marked concerning them. The archbishop also told them, that the king would have the books of the several offices used in churches to be examined and corrected: in particular, that both at matins and vespers, one chapter of the New Testament should be read in every parish. Some petitions were offered by the clergy; the first was, for making a body of the ecclesiastical laws. Of this we hear no more in this reign: but we are assured, that there was a digested body of them prepared; probably it was very near the same that was also prepared in king Edward's time. Cranmer, in a letter that he wrote to the king out of Kent, on the 24th of January $154\frac{5}{6}$, which I did put in my second part, tells him, "That, according to his commands, he had sent for the bishop of Worcester (Heath), to let him know that the king's pleasure was to have the names of such persons sent him as he had formerly appointed to make ecclesiastical laws for the realm." The bishop promised, with all speed, to inquire out their names, and the book which they made, and to bring both the names and the book to the king; which, he writes, he had done before that time. By this it appears, that persons had been named for that; and that a commission was granted, pursuant to which the work had been prepared: for things of this kind were never neglected by Cranmer. It seems it had been done some years before, so that it was almost forgotten; but now, in one of king Henry's lucid intervals, it was prepared, as Mr. Strype has published: but how it came to pass, that no further progress was made during this reign, in so important and so necessary a work, is not easily to be accounted for; since it must have contributed much to the exaltation of the king's supremacy, to have all the ecclesiastical courts governed by a code authorised by him. In the convocation, in the year 1543, we have only this short word, that on the 29th of April, the archbishop treated of the sacraments, and on the next day, on the article of free will. This is all that I could gather from the copy of the minutes of the convocations, which was communicated to me by my most learned and worthy brother, the lord bishop of Lincoln, who assured me, it was collated exactly with the only ancient copy that remains, to give us light into the proceedings in the convocations of those times.

Second Part, Coll. of Rec. N. 61.

A Reformation of the Eccles. Laws was far advanced.

It does not appear to me, what moved Bell, bishop of Worcester, to resign his bishopric. Rymer has printed his resignation, in which it is said that he did it simply of his own accord. He lived till the year 1556, as his tombstone in Clerkenwell church informs us. Whether he inclined to a further reformation, and so withdrew at this time; or whether the old leaven yet remaining with him, made it uneasy for him to comply, does not appear: if his motives had been of the former sort, it may be supposed he would have been thought of in king Edward's time; and if of the latter, then in queen Mary's reign he might again have appeared: so I must leave it in the dark, what his true motive was.

Bell, Bishop of Worcester, resigned his Bishopric. Rymer, tom. 15.

Audley, who had been lord chancellor from the time that sir Thomas More left that post, fell sick in the year 1544, and sent the great seal to the king by sir Edward North and sir Thomas Bland. The king delivered it to the lord Wriothesley, and made him lord keeper during the lord Audley's infirmity, with authority to do everything that the lord chancellor might do; and the duke of Norfolk tendered him the oaths. It seems, there was such a regard had to the lord Audley, that, as long as he lived, the title of lord chancellor was not given with the seals; but, upon his death, Wriothesley was made lord chancellor. This seems to be the first instance of a lord keeper, with the full authority of a lord chancellor.

Audley, Lord Chancellor, died.

Rymer, ibid.



I have not now before me such a thread of matters as to carry me regularly through the remaining years of this reign; and therefore, hereafter I only give such passages as I have gathered, without knitting them together in an exact series. The breach between England and France was driven on by the emperor's means, and promoted by all the popish party: so the king, to prevent all mischief from Scotland during this war with France, entered into an agreement with the earls of Lennox and Glencairn, and the elect bishop of Caithness, brother to the earl of Lennox, in May 1544. The articles are published. They promised, "that they should cause the word of God to be truly taught in their countries. 2dly, They should continue the king's faithful friends. 3dly, They should take care that the queen be not secretly carried away. 4thly, They should assist the king to seize on some castles on the borders." And they delivered the elect bishop of Caithness to the king as an hostage, for their observing these things. On the other hand, "the king engaged to send armies to Scotland, both by sea and land, and to make the earl of Lennox (written in this Levinax), as soon as he could, governor of Scotland; and that he should bestow his niece, lady Margaret Douglas, on him." There was a fuller agreement made with them, with more particulars in it, on the 26th of June; and a pension of 250*l.* was assigned to the earl of Glencairn, and 125*l.* to his son, both during life. Those in the castle of St. Andrew's were also taken into the king's protection: and they promised to promote the marriage and the king's interests, and to deliver up the castle when demanded. There were also private agreements made with Norman Lesley, Kirkaldy of the Grange, and some others, all to be found in Rymer.

Practices on some Lords of Scotland.

Rymer.

Tom. 15. Seck. l. 3, p. 121.

The often-cited Seckendorf tells us, that at this time they in Germany began to have greater hopes of the king than ever. Mount was again sent to offer an alliance with them: he excused all the late proceedings. He said, Cromwell had rashly said, "That he hoped to see the time that he should strike a dagger into the heart of him that should oppose the Reformation;" which his judges thought was meant of the king. He said, Barnes had indiscreetly provoked the bishop of Winchester: he also blamed their ambassadors for entering into disputes in writing with the king. He believed Melancthon and Bucer would have managed that matter with more success. Bucer seconded Mount's motions, and magnified what the king had already done; though there was no complete reformation yet effected.

Mount sent to Germany.

This did not move the elector: he looked on the king as an enemy to their doctrine. His whole design in what he had done, was, to make himself the "Head of the Church," to which he was not called of God. His government was tyrannical, and his life flagitious; so he looked for no good from him. The king of France moved him to undertake a mediation between him and the king; but the elector referred that to a general meeting of those who were engaged in the common Smalcaldic league. The princes in Germany having their chief dependence on the kings of France and England, saw how much they were weakened and exposed to the emperor by the war which was going on between those two kings; so they sent some empowered by them, to try if it was possible to prevent that war, and to mediate a reconciliation between them. To these, when they delivered their message to the king, he complained of the injustice and wilfulness of the French king: he thought their interposition could have no effect, and he used these words in an answer to their memorial, "We give them well to understand, that we do both repose an ampler and a fuller confidence in them than the French king either doth or will do."

De Bellay, who, being oft employed, understood those matters well, tells us that the emperor and king Henry had agreed to join their armies, and to march directly into France: he tells in another place, that if king Henry had followed the opinion of his council, which was for his landing in Normandy with 30,000 men, he would have carried that whole duchy: and he ascribes his error in that matter to the providence of God, that protected France from so great a danger: the emperor had proposed to the king that upon the junction of their two armies, they should march straight to Paris; for they

P. 1094. P. 1115.

reckoned that both their armies would have amounted to ninety thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse; but after the emperor had drawn the king into his measures, he went on taking some towns, pursuing his own ends, and then made his own peace with France, and left the king engaged in the war: so the king finding the emperor's main army was not like to join him, some bodies out of the Netherlands only coming to act in conjunction with him, upon that he sent the duke of Norfolk to besiege Montrevel, and he himself sat down before Boulogne. Marshal Bies, governor of Boulogne, apprehending the importance of Montrevel, carried a considerable part of the garrison of Boulogne with him, and threw himself into Montrevel: by this means he left Boulogne weak, and in ill hands. In the mean time the emperor took Luxemburgh, and some other places; so all the project with which he had amused the king vanished, and a peace was struck up between him and the king of France.

A War with France.

Boulogne taken.

The French sent an army to raise the siege of Montrevel; and they were moving so as to get between the duke of Norfolk and the king's army: upon which the duke of Norfolk raised the siege, but Boulogne was taken; and that small conquest was out of measure magnified by those who saw their own advantage in flattering their master, though at a vast charge he had gained a place scarce worth keeping.

The emperor had that address, and he had so strong a party about the king, that even all this was excused, and the intercourse between the two courts was not discontinued. In one point the emperor was necessary to the king, and he kept his word to him. It is certain the king had great apprehensions of the council that was now sitting at Trent, and the more because Pole was one of the legates sent to preside in it; who, as he had reason to apprehend, would study to engage the council to confirm the pope's censure thundered out against the king; and it was believed he was named legate for that end. The king of France had offered to Gardiner, that if the king would join with him, he would suffer no council to meet, but as the king should consent to it. But his fluctuating temper was so well known, that the king trusted in this particular more to the emperor, whose interest in that council he knew must be great: and the emperor had promised that the council should not at all intermeddle in the matter between the pope and the king: the effect showed he was true in this particular.

The King is forsaken by the Emperor.

The king finding himself so disappointed, and indeed abandoned by the emperor, sent the earl of Hertford with Gardiner to him, to expostulate with him. A letter of the king's was sent by them to the emperor, written in a very severe strain, charging him with perfidy. The emperor either had the gout, or pretended to have it, so that he could not be spoke with: his chief ministers at that time, who were Grandville, and his son the bishop of Arras, delayed them from day to day, and discovered much chicane, as they wrote; upon which they grew so uneasy, that at last they demanded a positive answer; and then these ministers told them that the emperor could not carry on the war longer against France: but he offered to mediate a peace between England and France. After that they complain that they saw the pretence of mediation was managed deceitfully; for the emperor's design upon Germany being now ready, he apprehended those two kings, if not engaged in war one with another, would support the princes of the empire, and not suffer the emperor, under the pretence of a religious war, to make himself master of Germany. Therefore he studied to keep up the war between France and England. I find Maurice of Saxony was this year, during the emperor's war with France, in his court: whether he was then mediating, or treating, about his perfidious abandoning the elector, and the other princes of the Smalcaldic League, I know not.

Paper-Office.

Before the king went out of England a great step was made towards the reforming the public offices. A form of procession in the English tongue was set out by the king's authority, and a mandate was sent to Bonner to publish it. The title of it was, "An Exhortation to Prayer, thought meet by his majesty and his clergy to be read to the people: also a Litany, with suffrages to be said or sung in the time of the processions." In the litany they did still invocate the Blessed Virgin, the angels and archangels, and all holy orders of blessed spirits, all holy patriarchs and prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, and all the blessed company of heaven

A Litany set out in English, with other Devotions.



to pray for them: after the word "conspiracy" this is added, "from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities:" the rest of the litany is the same that we still use, only some more collects are put at the end, and the whole is called a prayer of procession. To this are added some exercises of devotion, called Psalms, which are collected out of several parts of Scripture, but chiefly the Psalms: they are well collected, and the whole composition, as there is nothing that approaches to popery in it, so it is a serious and well-digested course of devotion. There follows a paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer: on the 4th petition there are expressions that seem to come near a true sense of the presence of Christ in the sacrament; for by daily bread, as some of the ancients thought, the sacrament of the Eucharist is understood, which is thus expressed: "The lively bread of the blessed body of our Saviour Jesu Christ, and the sacred cup of the precious and blessed blood which was shed for us on the cross." This agrees with our present sense that Christ is present, not as he is now in heaven, but as he was on the cross: and that being a thing passed, he can only be present in a type and a memorial. The preface is an exhortation to prayer, in which these remarkable words will be found: "It is very convenient, and much acceptable to God, that you should use your private prayer in your mother tongue; that you, understanding what you ask of God, may more earnestly and fervently desire the same; your hearts and minds agreeing to your mouth and words." This is indeed all over of a pious and noble strain, and except the invocation of the saints and angels, it is an unexceptionable composition. At the same time Katherine Parre, whom the king had lately married, collected some prayers and meditations, "wherein the mind is stirred patiently to suffer all affliction here, to set at nought the vain prosperity of this world, and always to long for the everlasting felicity," which were printed in the year 1545.

But so apt was the king, whether from some old and inherent opinions that still stuck with him, or from the practices of those who knew how to flatter him suitably to his notions, to go backward and forward in matters of religion; that though on the 15th of October, 1545, he ordered a mandate to be sent to Bonner, to publish the English procession ordained by him, which was executed the day following; yet on the 24th of that month, there was a letter written to Cranmer, declaring the king's pleasure for the setting up an image that had been taken down by his injunctions; ordering him at the same time to abolish the use of holy water about St. John's tide, and to take down an image called "Our Lady of Pity in the Pew," for the idolatry that was committed about it. At this time it was discovered that great indulgences, with all such like favours, were sent from Rome to Ireland; so that generally in that kingdom the king's supremacy was rejected; and yet at the same time it appears that many were put in prison for denying the presence in the sacrament: and a proclamation was set out, both against Tindall's New Testament and Coverdale's.

Thirleby, bishop of Westminster, was sent ambassador to the emperor, and afterwards secretary Petre was sent to the same court. Mount continued likewise to be employed, but without a character: he seems to have been both honest and zealous; and in many letters writ both in the year 1545 and 1546, he warned the king of the emperor's designs to extirpate Lutheranism, and to force the whole empire to submit to the pope and the council, then sitting at Trent. The German princes sent over a vehement application to the king, to consider the case of Herman, bishop of Cologne, praying him to protect him and to intercede for him. They gave a great character of the man, of which Mount makes mention in his letters; but I do not find that the king interposed in that matter: the emperor seemed to enter into great confidences with Thirleby, and either imposed on him, or found him easily wrought on. He told him that the king of France was making great levies in Switzerland, and he was well assured that they were not designed against himself: so he warned the king to be on his guard. This being inquired into, was not only denied by the court of France, but was found to be false, and was looked on as an artifice of the emperor's, to keep up a jealousy between those two courts. By such practices he prevailed on Thirleby to assure the king that the emperor did not design to enslave Germany, but only to repress the insolence of some princes, and to give justice a free course: all the news he wrote from thence did run in this strain: so that Germany was fatally abandoned by both kings. Yet still the king sent

The King neglects the German Princes.

Paper-Office.

over to the emperor repeated complaints of the ill treatment his subjects met with in Spain, from inquisitors; and that in many courts justice was refused to be done them, upon this pretence, that the king and all who adhered to him were declared heretics, and, as such, they were excommunicated by the pope, and so were not to be admitted to sue in judicatories. These were sent over to Thirleby; but I do not see what was done upon all those representations.

The last message the king sent to the Germans was in the year 1546, by Mount, with whom one Butler was joined: the German princes, in general terms, prayed the king to insist on rejecting the Council of Trent, assuring him that the pope would suffer no reformation to be made. This letter was agreed to by the greater number of the princes of the union, only the elector of Saxony had conceived great prejudices against the king: "He said he was an impious man, with whom he desired to have no commerce. He was no better than the pope, whose yoke he had thrown off only for his own ends; and that he intended, out of the two religions, to make a third, only for enriching himself, having condemned the principal points of their doctrine in his parliament."

The Elector of Saxony's ill Opinion of the King.

I find, at this time, a secret disgust the emperor was in towards his brother Ferdinand; upon which Ferdinand sent a message to the king, setting forth the just claim he had to his father's succession in Spain; since, by the agreement of the marriage between Ferdinand of Arragon and Isabel of Castile, a special provision was made, that whensoever there was a second son issuing from that marriage, the kingdom of Arragon, and all that belonged to it, should be again separated from Castile. He also pretended that he ought to have had a larger share in the succession of the house of Burgundy; and that, instead of those rich provinces, he was forced to accept of Austria, and the provinces about it, which lay exposed to the Turks, and were loaded with great debts, contracted by his grandfather Maximilian. To this the king sent an answer secretly, and ordered the person (who he was does not appear, but I think it was Mount,) that carried it to insist on the discourse of his pretensions to the Netherlands, which were then vastly rich. He was particularly required to observe Ferdinand's behaviour, and all that he said on that subject: and it seems that our court, being then in a good understanding with the court of France, communicated the matter to Francis; for he wrote, soon after that, a letter to Ferdinand, encouraging him to stand on his claim, and promising him his assistance to support his pretensions on the emperor. But Ferdinand, not being inclined to trust the court of France with this secret, sent the letter to the emperor. So I see no more of that matter.

Ferdinand discontented with the Emperor.

The last transaction of importance in this reign was the fall of the duke of Norfolk, and of the earl of Surrey, his son. I find in the council-book, in the year 1543, that the earl was accused for eating flesh in Lent without licence, and for walking about the streets in the night, throwing stones against windows, for which he was sent to the Fleet. In another letter, he is complained of for riotous living. Towards the end of the year 1546, both he and his father were put in prison: and, it seems, the council wrote to all the king's ambassadors beyond sea an account of this, much aggravated, as the discovery of some very dangerous conspiracy, which they were to represent to those princes in very black characters. I put in the Collection an account, given by Thirleby, of what he did upon it. The letter is long; but I only copy out that which relates to this pretended discovery, dated from Hailbron, on Christmas-day, 1546.

The Duke of Norfolk's Imprisonment.

Col.Num.74.

"He understood, by the council's letters to him, what ungracious and ingrateful persons they were found to be. He professes he ever loved the father, for he thought him a true servant to the king. He says, he was amazed at the matter, and did not know what to say. God had not only on this occasion, but on many others, put a stop to treasonable designs against the king, who (next to God) was the chief comfort of all good men. He enlarges much on the subject, in the style of a true courtier. The messenger brought him the council's letters, written on the 15th of December, on Christmas-Eve; in which he saw the malicious purpose of these two ungracious men. So, according to his orders, he went immediately to demand audience of the emperor; but the emperor intended to repose himself for three or



four days, and so had refused audience to the nuncio, and to all other ambassadors; but he said he would send a secretary, to whom he might communicate his business. Joyce, his secretary, coming to him, he set forth the matter as pompously as the council had represented it to him. In particular, he spoke of the haughtiness of the earl of Surrey, of all which the secretary promised to make report to the emperor, and likewise to write an account of it to Grandville. Thirlby excuses himself, that he durst not write of this matter to the king: he thought it would renew in him the memory of the ingratitude of these persons, which must wound a noble heart."

After so black a representation, great matters might be expected; but I have met with an original letter of the duke of Norfolk's, to the lords of the council, writ indeed in so bad a hand that the reading it was almost as hard as deciphering; it gives a very different account of that matter, at least with relation to the father. He writes, "that the lord great chamberlain and the secretary of state had examined him upon divers particulars. The first was, whether he had a cipher with any man. He said, he had never a cipher with any man but such as he had for the king's affairs when he was in his service; and he does not remember that ever he wrote in cipher, except, when he was in France, with the lord great master that now is, and the lord Rochford; nor does he remember whether he wrote any letters then or not, but these two lords signed whatsoever he wrote. He heard that a letter of his was found among bishop Fox's papers, which, being shown to the bishop of Durham, he advised to throw it into the fire. He was examined upon this: he did remember the matter of it was the setting forth the talk of the northern people, after the time of the commotions; but that it was against Cromwell, and not at all against the king (so far did they go back to find matter to be laid to his charge); but whether that was in cipher or not, he did not remember. He was next asked, if any person had said to him, that if the king, the emperor, and the French king came to a good peace, whether the bishop of Rome would break that by his dispensation; and whether he inclined that way. He did not remember he had ever heard any man speak to that purpose; but, for his own part, if he had twenty lives, he would rather spend them all than that the bishop of Rome should have any power in this kingdom again. He had read much history, and knew well how his usurpation began and increased; and both to English, French, and Scots he had upon all occasions spoken vehemently against it. He was also asked, if he knew anything of a letter from Gardiner and Knevet, the king's ambassadors at the emperor's court, of a motion made to them for a reconciliation with that bishop, which was brought to the king at Dover, he being then there.

Col.Num.75. His Letter to the King.

"In answer to this, he writes, he had never been with the king at Dover since the duke of Richmond died: but for any such overture he had never heard anything of it, nor did any person ever mention it to him. It had been said in council, when sir Francis Bryan was like to have died, as a thing reported by him, that the bishop of Winchester had said he could devise a way to set all things right between the king and the bishop of Rome. Upon which, as he remembers, sir Ralph Sadler was sent to sir Francis to ask the truth of that; but sir Francis denied it; and this was all that ever he heard of any such overture." It seems these were all the questions that were put to him; to which those were his answers. He therefore prayed the lords to intercede with the king that his accusers might be brought face to face, to say what they had against him; and he did not doubt but it should appear he was falsely accused. He desired to have no more favour than Cromwell had, he himself being present when Cromwell was examined. He adds, Cromwell was a false man; but he was a true, poor gentleman. He did believe some false man had laid some great thing to his charge. He desired, if he might not see his accusers, that he might at least know what the matters were; and if he did not answer truly to every point, he desired not to live an hour longer.

"He had always been pursued by great enemies about the king; so that his fidelity was tried like gold. If he knew wherein he had offended, he would freely confess it. On Tuesday, in the last Whitsun-week, he moved the king that a marriage might be made between his daughter (the duchess of Richmond) and sir Thomas Seymour; and that his son Surrey's children might, by cross-marriages, be allied to my lord great chamberlain's children (the earl of Hertford). He appealed to the king, whether his intention in these motions did

not appear to be honest. He next reckons up his enemies: cardinal Wolsey confessed to him, at Asher, that he had studied for fourteen years how to destroy him, set on to it by the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, and the lord Sandys, who often told him, that if he did not put him out of the way he would undo him. When the marquis of Exeter suffered, Cromwell examined his wife more strictly concerning him than all other men, of which she sent him word by her brother, the lord Mountjoy. And Cromwell had often said to himself, that he was a happy man that his wife knew nothing against him, otherwise she would undo him. The late duke of Buckingham, at the bar, where his father sate lord high steward, said, that he himself was the person in the world whom he had hated most, thinking he had done him ill offices with the king; but he said he then saw the contrary. Rice, that married his sister, often said, he wished he could find the means to thrust his dagger in him. It was well known to many ladies in the court how much both his two nieces, whom it pleased the king to marry, had hated him. He had discovered to the king that for which his mother-in-law was attainted of misprision of treason. He had always served the king faithfully, but had of late received greater favours of him than in times past; what could therefore move him to be now false to him? 'A poor man as I am, yet I am his own near kinsman. Alas, alas! my lords (writes he), that ever it should be thought any untruth to be in me!' He prays them to lay this before the king, and jointly to beseech him to grant the desires contained in it. So he ends it with such submissions as he hoped might mollify the king."

Here I must add a small correction, because I promised it to the late sir Robert Southwell, for whose great worth and virtues I had that esteem which he well deserved. Sir Richard Southwell was concerned in the evidence against the duke of Norfolk. He gave me a memorandum, which I promised to remember when I reviewed my History. There were two brothers, sir Richard and sir Robert, who were often confounded, an R serving for both their christened names. Sir Richard was a privy-councillor to Henry VIII., king Edward, and queen Mary: the second brother, sir Robert, was master of the rolls in the time of Henry VIII. and in the beginning of Edward VI. I had confounded these, and in two several places called sir Richard master of the rolls.

I have now set forth all that I find concerning the duke of Norfolk; by which it appears that he was designed to be destroyed only upon suspicion, and his enemies were put on running far back to old stories to find some colours to justify so black a prosecution. This was the last act of the king's reign, which, happily for the old duke, was not finished when the king's death prevented the execution.

A Recapitulation of King Henry's Reign.

Thus I have gone over all those passages in this reign that have fallen in my way since I wrote my History. I have so carefully avoided repeating anything that was in my former work, that I have, perhaps, not made it clear enough into what parts of it everything here related ought to be taken in. Nor have I put in my Collection any of those papers that either the lord Herbert or Mr. Strype had published, one or two only excepted in each of them; but these I put in it, both because I copied them from the originals when I did not reflect on their being published by those writers, and because they seemed of great importance to the parts of my History to which they belonged. Some of these being very short, and the others not long, I thought the inserting them made my Collection more complete. I would not lessen the value of books, to which I have been too much beholden, to make so ill a return; to the last especially, from whose works I have taken that which seemed necessary to make the History as full as might be, but refer my reader to such vouchers as he will find in them.

His Mind corrupted by a course of Flattery.

And now, having ended what I have to say of king Henry, I will add a few reflections on him, and on his reign. He had certainly a great measure of knowledge in learning, more particularly in divinity, than most princes of that or of any age, that gave occasion to those excessive flatteries which, in a great measure, corrupted his temper and disfigured his whole government. It is deeply rooted in the nature of man to love to be flattered, because self-love makes men their own flatterers; and so they do too easily take down the flatteries that are offered them by others, who, when they expect advantages by it, are too ready to give this incense to their vanity, according to the returns that they expect from it.



Few are so honest and disinterested in their friendship as to consider the real good of others, but choose rather to comply with their humour and vanity. And since princes have most to give, flattery (too common to all places) is the natural growth of courts; in which, if there are some few so unfashioned to those places as to seek the real good and honour of the prince by the plain methods of blunt honesty, which may carry them to contradict a mistaken prince, to show him his errors, and, with a true firmness of courage, to try to work even against the grain; while they pursue that, which, though it is the real advantage and honour of the prince, yet it is not agreeable to some weak or perverse humour in him; these are soon overtopped by a multitude of flatterers, who will find it an easy work to undermine such faithful ministers, because their own candour and fidelity makes them use none of the arts of a countermine. Thus the flattered prince easily goes into the hands of those who humour and please him most, without regarding either the true honour of the master or the good of the community.

The Course of all Courts.

If weak princes, of a small measure of knowledge and a low capacity, fall into such hands, the government will dwindle into an unactive languishing, which will make them a prey to all about them, and expose them to universal contempt both at home and abroad; while the flatterers make their own advantages the chief measure of the government, and do so besiege the abused and deluded prince, that he fancies he is the wonder and delight of all the world, when he is under the last degrees of the scorn of the worst, and of the pity of the best, of his people.

But if these flatterers gain the ascendant over princes of genius and capacity, they put them on great designs under the false representations of conquests and glory. They engage them either to make or break leagues at pleasure; to enter upon hostilities without any previous steps or declarations of war; to ruin their own people for supporting those wars that are carried on with all the methods both of barbarity and perfidy; while a studied luxury and vanity at home is kept up to amuse and blind the ignorant beholders with a false show of lustre and magnificence.

Wolsey began it, but was a wise Minister.

This had too deep a root in king Henry, and was too long flattered by cardinal Wolsey, to be ever afterwards brought into due bounds and just measures; yet Wolsey pursued the true maxims of England, of maintaining the balance during his ministry. Our trade lay then so entirely in the Netherlands, without our seeming to think of carrying it further, that it was necessary to maintain a good correspondence with those provinces; and Charles's dominions were so widely scattered, that, till Francis was taken prisoner, it was visibly the interest of England to continue still jealous of France, and to favour Charles: but the taking of Francis I. changed the scene; France was then to be supported. It was also so exhausted, and Charles's revenue was so increased, that, without great sums both lent him and expended by England, all must have sunk under Charles's power if England had not held the balance.

A great Occasion of Flattery given by his Book.

It was also a masterpiece in Wolsey to engage the king to own that the book against Luther was written by him, in which the secret of those who, no doubt, had the greatest share in composing it was so closely laid, that it never broke out. Seckendorf tells us, that Luther believed it was writ by Lee, who was a zealous Thomist, and had been engaged in disputes with Erasmus, and was afterwards made archbishop of York. If any of those who still adhered to the old doctrines had been concerned in writing it, probably, when they saw king Henry depart from so many points treated of in it, they would have gone beyond sea, and have robbed him of that false honour, and those excessive praises which that book had procured him. It is plain More wrote it not; for the king having showed it him before it was published, he (as he mentions in one of his letters to Cromwell) told the king, that he had raised the papacy so high that it might be objected to him if he should happen to have any dispute with the pope, as was often between princes and popes. And it will be found in the remarks on the former volumes, that he, in another letter, says he was a sorter of that book: this seems to relate only to the digesting it into method and order.

How far king Henry was sincere in pretending scruples of conscience with relation to his first marriage can only be known to God. His suit of divorce was managed at a vast

expense, in a course of many years; in all which time, how strong soever his passion was for Anne Boleyn, yet her being with child so soon after their marriage is a clear evidence that, till then, they had no unlawful commerce. It does not appear that Wolsey deserved his disgrace, unless it was that, by the commission given to the two legates, they were empowered to act conjunctly or severally; so that though Campegio refused to concur, he might have given sentence legally; yet he being trusted by the pope, his acting according to instructions did not deserve so severe a correction. And had any material discovery been made to render Wolsey criminal, it may be reasonably supposed it would have been published.

The new flatterers, falling in with the king's passion, outdid and ruined Wolsey. More was the glory of the age; and his advancement was the king's honour more than his own, who was a true Christian philosopher. He thought the cause of the king's divorce was just, and as long as it was prosecuted at the court of Rome, so long he favoured it; but when he saw that a breach with that court was like to follow, he left the great post he was in with a superior greatness of mind. It was a fall great enough to retire from that into a private state of life; but the carrying matters so far against him as the king did, was one of the justest reproaches of that reign. More's superstition seems indeed contemptible, but the constancy of his mind was truly wonderful.

The Character of More.

Cromwell's ministry was in a constant course of flattery and submission; but by that he did great things, that amaze one who has considered them well. The setting up the king's supremacy instead of the usurpations of the papacy, and the rooting out the monastic state in England, considering the wealth, the numbers, and the zeal of the monks and friars in all the parts of the kingdom, as it was a very bold undertaking, so it was executed with great method, and performed in so short a time, and with so few of the convulsions that might have been expected, that all this shows what a master he was that could bring such a design to be finished in so few years with so little trouble or danger.

Cromwell's Ministry.

But in conclusion, an unfortunate marriage, to which he advised the king, not proving acceptable, and he being unwilling to destroy what he himself had brought about, was, no doubt, backward in the design of breaking it when the king had told him of it. And then, upon no other visible ground but because Anne of Cleves grew more obliging to the king than she was formerly, the king suspected that Cromwell had betrayed his secret, and had engaged her to a softer deportment on design to prevent the divorce, and did upon that disgrace and destroy him.

The duke of Norfolk was never, till Cromwell's fall, the first in favour; but he had still kept his post by perpetual submission and flattery. He was sacrificed at last to the king's jealousy, fearing that he might be too great in his son's infancy; and being considered as the head of the popish party, might engage in an uneasy competition with the Seymours during the minority of his son: for the points he was at first examined on were of an old date, of no consequence, and supported by no proof.

When the king first threw off the pope's yoke, the reformers offered him, in their turn, all the flatteries they could decently give. And if they could have had the patience to go no further than as he was willing to parcel out a reformation to them, he had perhaps gone further in it: but he seemed to think, that as it was pretended in popery that infallibility was to go along with the supremacy, therefore those who had yielded the one ought likewise to submit to the other. He turned against them when he saw that their complaisance did not go so far; and upon that, the adherers to the old opinions returned to their old flatteries, and for some time seemed to have brought him quite back to them, which probably might have wrought more powerfully, but that he found the old leaven of the papacy was still working in them. So that he was all the while fluctuating, sometimes making steps to a reformation, but then returning back to his old notions. One thing probably wrought much on him: it has appeared that he had great apprehensions of the council that was to meet at Trent, and that the emperor's engagements to restrain the council from proceeding in his matter, was the main article of the new friendship made up between them; and it may be very reasonably supposed that the emperor represented to him that nothing could secure that matter so certainly as his not proceeding to any further inno-

The King's Inconstancy in matters of Religion.



SIR THOMAS MORE.

OB. 1535.

W. J. LENTHAL ESQ^re.

vations in religion; more particularly his adhering firmly to the received doctrine of Christ's presence in the sacrament, and the other articles set forth by him. This agreeing with his own opinion had, as may be well imagined, no small share in the change of his conduct at that time.

The dexterous application of flattery had generally a powerful effect on him: but whatsoever he was, and how great soever his pride and vanity and his other faults were, he was a great instrument in the hand of Providence for many good ends. He first opened the door to let light in upon the nation: he delivered it from the yoke of blind and implicit obedience: he put the Scriptures in the hands of the people, and took away the terror they were formerly under by the cruelty of the ecclesiastical courts: he declared this church to be an entire and perfect body within itself, with full authority to decree and to regulate all things without any dependence on any foreign power: and he did so unite the supreme headship over this church to the imperial crown of this realm, that it seemed a just consequence that was made by some in a popish reign, that he who would not own that this supremacy was in him did by that renounce the crown, of which that title was made so essential a part that they could no more be separated.

He attacked popery in its strongholds, the monasteries, and destroyed them all; and thus he opened the way to all that came after, even down to our days. So that while we see the folly and weakness of man in all his personal failings, which were very many and very enormous, we at the same time see both the justice, the wisdom, and the goodness of God, in making him, who was once the pride and glory of popery, become its scourge and destruction; and in directing his pride and passion so as to bring about, under the dread of his unrelenting temper, a change that a milder reign could not have compassed without great convulsions and much confusion. Above all the rest, we ought to adore the goodness of God in rescuing us by his means from idolatry and superstition; from the vain and pompous shows in which the worship of God was dressed up, so as to vie with heathenism itself, into a simplicity of believing, and a purity of worship, conform to the nature and attributes of God and the doctrine and example of the Son of God.

May we ever value this as we ought; and may we, in our tempers and lives, so express the beauty of this holy religion that it may ever shine among us, and may shine out from us to all round about us; and then we may hope that God will preserve it to us, and to posterity after us for ever.

# PART IV.—BOOK IV.

## OF WHAT HAPPENED DURING THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH, FROM THE YEAR 1547 TO THE YEAR 1553.

I HAD such copious materials when I wrote of this king, partly from the original council-book, for the two first years of that reign, but chiefly from the journal writ in that king's own hand, that I shall not be able to offer the reader so many new things in this as I did in the former, and as I may be able to do in the succeeding reign. Some gleanings I have, which I hope will not be unacceptable.

A true Account of a Paper of Luther's wrong published in my History.

I begin with acknowledging a great error committed in copying out a letter of Luther's, that I found among Bucer's collections. The noble Seckendorf was the first that admonished me of this, but with a modesty suitable to so great a man; without that rancour in which some among ourselves have vented their ill nature against me. I took the sure method to confess my error, and to procure an exact collated copy of that paper from that learned body, to whose library it belongs, which will be found in the Collection. It is an original in Luther's own hand; but it could not have been easily read, if Bucer had not writ out a copy of it, which is bound up in the same volume with the original. It was an instruction that Luther gave to Melancthon, when he went into Hesse, in the year 1534, to meet and treat with Bucer, upon that fatal difference concerning the manner of the Presence in the sacrament. "In which it appears, that Luther was so far from departing from his opinion, that he plainly says, he could not communicate with those of the Zuinglian persuasion; but he would willingly tolerate them, in hope that in time they might come to communicate together. And as for a political agreement, he does not think the diversity of religion ought to hinder that; no more than it was a bar to marriage or commerce, which may be among those of different religions." And now I have, I hope, delivered myself from all the censures to which the wrong publishing of that paper had exposed me.

Collection, Number 1.

I should next enter into the historical passages of king Edward's reign; but a great discovery, made with relation to the most important foreign transaction, that happened both in king Henry and king Edward's reign (I mean the council of Trent, the first session of which was in the former reign, and the second in this), has given me an opportunity of acquainting the world with many extraordinary passages relating to it.

Vargas's Letters concerning the Council of Trent.

There was a large parcel of original letters writ to Grandville, then bishop of Arras, afterwards cardinal, and the chief minister of Charles the emperor, that, when he left the Netherlands, were in the hands of some of his secretaries, and were not carried away by him. About fifty years after that, Mr. William Trumball, then king James the First's envoy at Brussels, grandfather to sir William Trumball (a person eminently distinguished by his learning and zeal for religion, as well as by the embassies and other great employments he has so worthily borne), got these into his hands; no doubt, under the promise of absolute secrecy, during the lives of those who had them: since, if they had been then published, it might have been easily traced from whence they must have come, which would have been fatal to those who had parted with them in a court so bigotted as was that of Albert and Isabella. I have read over the whole series of that worthy gentleman's own letters to king James the First, and saw so much honesty and zeal running through them all, that, it seems, nothing under some sacred tie could have obliged both father and son to keep such a treasure so secret from all the world, especially Padro Paulo's history coming out at that time in London; to which these letters, as far as they went, which is from the 7th of October 1551 to the last of February 155$\frac{1}{2}$, would have given an authentic confirmation. I have been trusted by the noble owner with the perusal



of them. It is impossible to doubt of their being originals: the subscriptions and seals of most of them are still entire.

Translated into English by Dr. Geddes;

These were by sir William deposited in bishop Stillingfleet's hands when he was sent to his foreign employments; that such use might be made of them, when he found a person that was master of the Spanish tongue, as the importance of the discovery might deserve. Soon after that, my very worthy friend, Dr. Geddes, returned from Lisbon, after he had been above ten years preacher to the English factory there: and since he is lately dead, I hope I shall be forgiven, to take the liberty of saying somewhat concerning him. He was a learned and a wise man. He had a true notion of popery, as a political combination, managed by falsehood and cruelty, to establish a temporal empire in the person of the popes. All his thoughts and studies were chiefly employed in detecting this, of which he has given many useful and curious essays in the treatises he wrote, which are all highly valuable. When bishop Stillingfleet understood that he was master of the Spanish tongue, he put all these papers in his hands. He translated them into English, intending to print the originals in Spanish with them: but none of our printers would undertake that; they reckoning, that where the vent of the book might be looked for, which must be in Spain and Italy, they were sure it would not be suffered to be sold: he was therefore forced to print the translation in English, without printing the originals.

And into French by M. Le Vassor.

Since that time, that learned and judicious Frenchman, monsieur Le Vassor, has published a translation of them in French, with many curious reflections: but though he found, that a complete edition of the letters in Spanish was a thing that the booksellers in Holland would not undertake, yet he has helped that all he could, by giving the parts of the letters that were the most critical, and the most important, in Spanish. Both these books are highly valuable. The chief writer of those letters, Vargas, was a man not only very learned, but of a superior genius to most of that age, as appears both by the letters themselves, and by the great posts he went through. He was specially employed by the emperor, both in the session that was held in the former reign, and in that which sat in this reign, to which only these letters do relate. He was the chief of the council that the emperor's ambassadors had, in matters, in which either divinity or canon law (the last being his particular profession) were necessary: and such a value was set on him, that the emperor sent him ambassador to the republic of Venice. And when the last session was held by pope Pius the Fourth, Philip sent him ambassador to Rome, as the person that understood best how to manage that court, with relation to the session of the council.

The Fraud and Insolence of the Legate.

I think it may give the reader a just idea of that council, both of the fraud and insolence of the legate, and of the method in which matters were carried there, to see some of the more signal passages in those letters, that it may both give him true impressions of what was transacted there, and may move him to have recourse to the letters themselves. "He sets forth, how much the pope and his ministers dreaded the coming of the protestants to the council: we can plainly perceive that they are not themselves, nor in a condition to treat about any business, when they are brought to touch on that point.—These may, to their mortification, deliver their minds freely against abuses, and some other things.—Whosoever offers anything that is not grateful to the legate, or that doth not suit exactly with some people's prepossessions, he is reported to have spoke ill, and to think worse; and to have taken what he said out of I do not know whom.—There are several matters which the legate ought to treat with more deliberation than he hath hitherto handled things: I pray God give him grace to understand this."

October 7.

In the next letter without date, mention is made of a letter that the emperor wrote to the pope, in which he did "assure him, that nothing should be done in the council, but that which he had a mind should be done in it; and that he would oblige the prelates to hold their tongues, and to let things pass without any opposition. The copy of this being showed the ambassador, he was astonished at it: but Vargas said, it was not to be understood literally (in the original it is Judaically); it was only writ to bring the pope to grant the bull: but that it was not intended by it

The Promise that the Emperor made the Pope.

Judaics.

that the pope should be suffered to do such things as would bring all to ruin; but only to do such things as are reasonable. He adds in Latin, that the liberty the pope took, was not only a disease and sickness of mind, but was really grown to a fury and a madness." Here the spirit of the promise is set up against the letter; and a strict adhering to words is counted a part of the yoke of Judaism, from which some most Christian princes have thought fit, on many occasions, to emancipate themselves.

In another letter he sets forth the behaviour of the prelates: "the legate never so much as acquaints them with the matter; all things appearing well to them at first sight, and, who knowing nothing of matters until they are just ready to be pronounced, pass them without any more ado.—I am willing to let you know how things are carried here, and what the pope's aims are, who seeks to authorise all his own pretensions by the council.—There are several other things I am not at all satisfied with, which were carried here with the same slight that pope Paul made use of.—And is not this a blessed beginning of a council!—As to the canons of reformation, they are of so trivial a nature, that several were ashamed to hear them; and had they not been wrapped up in good language together, they would have appeared to the world to be what they are."

October 12. The Bishops knew not what they did.

In another letter he writes, "I cannot see how either catholics or heretics can be satisfied with what is done here.—All that is done here is done by the way of Rome: for the legate, though it were necessary to save the world from sinking, will not depart one tittle from the orders he receives from thence, nor indeed from anything that he has once himself resolved on."

October 28.

In another he writes; "As for the legate he goes on still in his old way, consuming of time to the last hour, in disputations and congregations, concerning doctrines, and will at last produce something in a hurry in false colours, that may look plausible: by which means they have no time to read, and much less to understand what they are about.—Words, or persuasions, do signify but very little in this place, and, I suppose, they are not of much greater force at Rome.—By what I can perceive, both God and his majesty are like to be very much dishonoured by what will be done here. And if things should go on thus, and be brought to such an issue as the pope and his ministers aim at and give out, the church will be left in a much worse condition than she was in before.—I pray God the pope may be prevailed on to alter his measures; though I shall reckon it a miracle if he is, and shall thank God for it as such."

Nov. 12.

In another he writes; "There are not words to express the pride, the disrespect and shamelessness, wherewith the legate proceeds.—The success and end of this synod, if God by a miracle does not prevent it, will be such as I have foretold. I say by a miracle, because it is not to be done by any human means: so that his majesty does but tire himself in vain in negotiating with the pope and his ministers.—The legate has hammered out such an infamous reformation (for it deserves no better epithet), as must make us a jest to the world. The prelates that are here resent it highly; many of them reckoning that they wound their consciences by holding their tongues, and by suffering things to be carried thus."

Nov. 26. The Pride and Impudence of the Legate.

Upon the point of collating to benefices, he writes, "we ought to put them to show what right the pope has to collate to any benefice whatsoever: I will undertake to demonstrate from the principles and foundations of the law of God and of nature, and of men, and from the ancient usage of the church, and from good policy, that he has no manner of right to it; and all this without doing injury to his dignity, and the plenitude of his power. He advises the leaving those matters to a better time, in which God will purge the sons of Levi: which purgation must come, and that with a severe scourge; it being impossible that a thing so violent and so fraught with abuses, should hold long: the whole nerve of ecclesiastical discipline being broke, and the goods of the church made a perfect trade and merchandise."

Speaking of general councils, he writes: "This which is now sitting here will totally undeceive the world, so as to convince it, that by reason of the opposition and industry of the popes to engross all to themselves, nothing of reformation is ever to be expected from a general council. I would not have things wherein the pope and his court have such great interest and pretensions, to be decided,

No good to be expected from a Council.



or handled here; since it cannot be done, but to our great prejudice, and to the great detriment of the whole church; which at present has neither strength nor courage to resist; and if God do not remedy it, I do not see when it will."

Speaking of exemptions, he writes, "The canonists have made strange work, having made many jests as well as falsehoods, to pass for current truths. When I speak of the canonists, I speak as a thief of the family, being sensible of the abuses which have been authorised by them in the church. The exemption of chapters ought to have been quite taken away, that so there might be something of order and discipline, and that they who are the head should not be made the feet. It troubles me to see how those matters are managed and determined here; the legate doing whatever he had a mind to, without either numbering or weighing the opinions of the divines and prelates; hurrying and reserving the substance of things which ought to have been well weighed and digested, to the last minute: the major part not knowing what they are doing. I mean before the fact; for believing that Christ will not suffer them to err in their determinations, I shall bow down my head to them, and believe all the matters of faith that shall be decided by them: I pray God everybody else may do the same. The taking no care to reform innumerable abuses, has destroyed so many provinces and kingdoms; and it is justly to be feared that what is done in this council may endanger the destroying of the rest. I must tell you further, that this council drawing so near an end, is what all people rejoice at here exceedingly; there being a great many who wish it never had met; and for my own part, I would to God it had never been called; for I am mistaken if it do not leave things worse than it found them."

He complains of the exemption of Chapters.

In another of the same date, if there is no error in writing, "He complains that the decree of the doctrine was not finished, till the night before the session: so that many bishops gave their "placet" to what they neither did nor could understand. The divines of Louvaine and Cologne, and some Spanish divines, being much dissatisfied with several of those matters, have publicly declared they were so. This is a very bad business; and should things of this nature come once to be so public, it must totally ruin the credit of all that has been done, or shall be done hereafter; and must hinder the council from being ever received, either in Flanders or in Germany. The bishop of Verdun, speaking to the canons of reformation, said, they would be unprofitable and unworthy of the synod, calling it a pretended reformation. The legate fell upon him with very rude language, calling him a boy, an impudent raw man, with many other hard names: nor would he suffer him to speak a word in his own defence, telling him with great heat, he knew how to have him chastised. It is really a matter of amazement to see how things appertaining to God are handled here; and that there should not be one to contend for him, or any that have the courage to speak in his behalf; but that we should be all dumb dogs that cannot bark."

A decree secretly amended after it was passed.

In another he writes, "That the legate himself wished that the decrees were corrected as to some particulars:" and in another without date, he tells how "the divines were employed in correcting them." This secret was never heard of before: Father Paul knew nothing of it. A decree after it has passed in council was thus secretly corrected by divines; so the infallibility was removed from the council, and lodged with the divines.

Nov. 28.

In another he writes, "It would have been a happy thing that this council had never met, which is no more than what I have often wished and declared, by reason of the many mischiefs it has already done, and is still doing. It is to little purpose, either in this or any following age, to hope for anything of a reformation from a general council, or to see any better order therein than is in this. He supposes the emperor will still continue to solicit the pope that things may not be carried there at such a scandalous rate as they have been hitherto; and that he will take care that no occasion be given to the council for to disperse itself upon the prelates speaking their mind freely, or denying their consent to such matters as are not convenient; which is a thing that may very justly be feared."

Decemb. 19. It had been happy that the Council had never met.

In another he writes: "This synod must end tumultuously and ingloriously."

Jan. 10.

In another he writes, "that it was an astonishing thing that the legate had foisted

Jan. 19.

in several passages into the doctrine of orders, which must of necessity ruin all. By the brutal violences, pretensions, and obstinacy of the legate, things are running into such a state, as must in the end, if I am not mistaken, make both himself and the whole earth to tremble: or if it does not make him tremble, it must be because he is given over to a reprobate sense: as in truth, he seems to be abundantly, in everything that he does."

In another he writes, "All they drive at is to get the pope's pretensions established under the doctrine of order; and so instead of healing, to destroy and ruin all: those being matters which were never so much as proposed or disputed in the council: neither is it fitting, as things stand here, that they, or anything else of the same nature should be meddled with in this synod." Jan. 20.

He enlarges on the authority of bishops being derived from Christ, though subjected to the pope, and he writes, that "upon this bottom only the hierarchy of the church can be established: to settle it on any other is in effect to confound and destroy it. Nevertheless, the pope, if he could carry this point, though all things else were ruined, and whatever was done in the ancient church condemned, would find his own account in it: for after that there would be no possibility of ever having anything redressed." The decree of order on which the legate had set his heart is set down at the end of this letter: the translation of it into English runs thus:—

The Decree concerning the Pope's authority, proposed, but not passed.

"This may be called the New Jerusalem, that comes down from heaven: which was by the most exactly regulated policy of the Old Jerusalem, shadowed only as a pattern to represent the heavenly Jerusalem; for as she had many different orders under one chief governor, so the visible church of Christ has his chief vicar; for he is the only and supreme head on earth, by whose dispensation offices are distributed so to all the other members that in the several orders and stations in which they are placed, they may execute their functions to the good of the whole church, with the greatest peace and union. A deputation of twenty was named to consider of this. The legate and the two presidents making three of that number, it was severely attacked by the bishop of Guadix.

In his last letter he writes that "the legates would one way or other bring about the dissolution of the synod: which will be certainly done, if they can but get the said clauses determined; because in them they will have gained all that they desire: and after that they will never stand in need of any more councils for to serve their pretensions. And in case they should not be able to carry those points, they will then, to rid themselves of this yoke that is upon their neck, and of the fears they will be under, when they shall find that they are not able to bring the synod to do all the mischief to the church, and to the authority of the present, and all future general councils, that the pope and his ministers would have them do, they will then perplex and confound all." The last of February.

He expresses the same opinion of the former Session under Pope Paul.

These are very clear discoveries of the zeal and indignation which possessed this great statesman during this whole session: he shows also the opinion he had of the former session under pope Paul (in which he had likewise assisted), in the directions he gives concerning the government of a council, and of the office of an ambassador, which he drew up before the council was re-assembled, in this its second session, in which these words are:

"In the whole conduct of this council of Trent there does not appear the least footsteps of any of the forementioned essentials of a general council. On the contrary, the most pernicious and effectual methods that can be contrived, have been taken to destroy liberty totally; and to rob councils of that authority, which in case of great storms used to be the sheet anchor of the church; by which means they have cut off all hope of ever having any abuses that infest the church redressed, to the great disparagement of all past, as well as future councils; from which no good is ever to be expected.

No shadow of Liberty in the Council.

"The conduct of this council has been of pernicious consequence, in which, under the title of directing it, the pope's legates have so managed matters, that nothing but what they have a mind to can be proposed, discussed, or defined therein; and that, too, after such a manner as they would have it. All the liberty that is here being only imaginary, so that their naming it is nothing but cheat and banter—which



is so notorious, that several of the prelates, even among the pope's pensioners, have not the face to deny it. The clause that they have inserted into the canons of reformation, which is, 'saving in all things the authority of the apostolical see,' is telling the world in plain terms, that what the pope does not like shall signify nothing. He writes of certain methods that the legates have used in negotiating with people to change their minds: this they have done so often, that it is now taken notice of by everybody: neither can there be any course more pernicious or destructive of the liberty of the council. The legates many times when they proposed a thing, declared their opinion of it first. Nay, in the middle of voting, when they observed any prelate not to vote as they would have him, they have taken upon themselves to speak to it, before another was suffered to vote, doing it sometimes with soft words, and at other times with harsher; letting others to understand thereby how they would have them vote. Many times railing at the prelates, and exposing them to scorn, and using such methods as would make one's heart bleed to hear of, much more to see.

"The common method was; the legates assembled the prelates in a general congregation, the night before the session was to be held. Then they read the decrees to them, as they and their friends had been pleased to form them. By which means, and by their not being understood by a great many prelates, some not having the courage to speak their minds, and others being quite tired out with the length of the congregation, the decrees were passed. We, who saw and observed all these doings, cannot but lament both our own condition and the lost authority of councils.

The Legate's way in Correcting manifest Abuses.

"He shows, the legate's drift was to canonize all the abuses of the court of Rome: so they never suffered them to be treated of freely, but managed them like the compounding of a law-suit: in all which courses, it is certain, the Holy Ghost did not assist. They striving still to authorize abuses; and giving the world to understand that the pope is gracious in granting them anything, as if all were his own. Taking abuses, though never so pernicious, and splitting them as they thought good: by which artifice, that part of the abuse which was approved of by the synod, becomes perpetual; and for the part that was reprobated, they will, according to their custom, find ways to defeat its condemnation.

"There is nothing that can be so much as put to the vote, without the consent of the legates: who notwithstanding that they are (by reason of the great number of pensioners, which the pope has here) always sure of a majority, do nevertheless make use of strange tricks, in their conduct of the council. Besides, by having made their own creatures the secretaries, notaries, and all the other officers of the council, they have made it thereby a body, without anything of soul or strength in it: whereas, all those officers ought to have been appointed by the council, and especially the notaries.

"This is the course that has been hitherto taken in the council of Trent, which is employed rather in struggling with the pope and his legates, who seek to engross all to themselves, than in reforming and remedying the evils under which the church groans. I pray God it do not increase them, by the course it takes, by artifice and dissimulation, to reduce the whole synod to the will of the pope.—It may be truly said, we are in a convention of bishops, but not in a council.—It would have been much better not to have celebrated a council at this time, but to have waited till God had put the christian commonwealth in a better disposition;—rather than to have celebrated one after this manner, with so little fruit, to the great sorrow of catholics, the scorn of heretics, and the prejudice of the present, and of all future councils." So much may serve to show the sense that Vargas had of the first, as well as of the second session of the council of Trent.

Malvenda and others made the same Complaints. Oct. 12.

Malvenda, one of the emperor's divines, that was there, complains in one letter, "that the decrees, but especially the matters of doctrine, were communicated to them very late. So that notwithstanding the substance of these decrees may be found, which it is well if it is, nevertheless considering that they are to correct them upon a bare hearing them read, on the eve of a session, that must in my opinion hinder them from having that authority and majesty, which such matters do use to have. I pray God give them grace to mend this."—He confesses, it was not fit anything should be done without the pope's consent: yet that ought to be managed with all

possible secrecy, in order to prevent the Lutherans, if they should come to know it, from reflecting on the liberty of the council, and the freedom that the prelates ought to have; who might safely enjoy more, without having anything pass to the prejudice of his holiness.

In another he writes, "As there will not want those that write of this council, so, for my own part, I pray God it may not do more harm than good, and especially to the Germans that are here; who seeing how little liberty it enjoys, and how much it is under the dominion of the legate, cannot possibly have that respect and esteem for it, as is convenient."

Nov. 22.

There are some letters from the bishop of Oren, written in the same strain. In one he writes, "That for what concerns a reformation, the emperor must set himself about it in earnest, both with the pope, and the fathers: for if he does it not, we shall have our wounds only skinned over, but shall have the rotten core left, to the corrupting of all quickly again.—The prelates here are all very much troubled, to see with how ill a grace people that say anything of a reformation, are heard." In another he writes, "They discover here little or no inclination, for to do anything that deserves the name of a true reformation. Several things might be done, that would be of great advantage to the people, and would be no prejudice to his holiness, or to his court. May God remedy things! under whom, unless his majesty and your lordship labour very hard, there will be no remedy left for the church." In a postscript, he tells the same story that Vargas had told, of the legate's treating the bishop of Verdun so ill, for his calling the reformation offered 'a pretended reformation': and he commanded him to be silent, when he was about to say somewhat in his justification. The bishop answered, that at this rate there was no liberty; and having obtained leave of the emperor, by whom he was sent thither, he would be gone. The legate told him, he should not go, but should do what he commanded him.—He writes, that it was "a great reproach to the bishops, from whom the world expected canons of reformation; that in truth they could give them nothing, but what the legate pleases.—It were just with the people, if we do not treat about their interest more in earnest than we have done hitherto, for to stone us, when we return home."

Octob. 12.

Nov. 28.

I have set all this out so copiously, that it may appear, from what those, who were far from being in any sort favourers of the reformation, who were at Trent, and were let into the secret of affairs, wrote of the council to the emperor's chief minister, how little, not only of liberty, but even of common decency, there appeared in the whole conduct of that council.

Reflections upon those Proceedings.

This digression is, I hope, an acceptable entertainment to the reader; and it must entirely free every considering person from a vulgar but weak prejudice, infused into many by practising missionaries, which was objected to myself by a great prince, that no nation ought to have reformed itself, in a separation from the rest of the church: but that there ought to have been a general acquiescing in such things as were commonly received, till by a joint concurrence of other churches the reformation might have been agreed and settled in a general council. These letters do so effectually discover the vanity of this conceit, that at first sight it evidently appears that even those abuses and corruptions that could not be justified, yet could not be effectually reformed at Trent; and that everything was carried there, partly by the artifices of the legates, and partly by the many poor Italian prelates, who were all pensioners of the court of Rome: so that no abuse, how gross or crying soever, could be amended, but as the popes for their own ends thought fit to give it up. This appears so evidently in the letters, out of which I have drawn this abstract, that I hope any prejudice formed upon the prospect of an universal reformation, is by it entirely removed. I turn next to the affairs of England.

The earl of Hertford, advanced to be duke of Somerset, depended much on Paget's advices. He told him on the day that king Henry died, that he desired his friendship; and promised to him, that he would have a great regard to his advice. But though Paget put him oft in mind of this, he forgot it too soon. His great success in his first expedition to Scotland was a particular happiness to him, and might have established him; but his quarrelling so soon with his brother was fatal to them both.



Thirlby was still ambassador at the emperor's court: he studied to make his court to the protector, and wrote him a very hearty congratulation upon his exaltation; and added, that the bishop of Arras seemed likewise to rejoice at it. At the same time, he warned him of the designs of the French against England. He gave him a long account of the Interim, in which he writes, that Malvenda had secretly a great hand: he himself seems to approve of it; and says, that it was as high an act of supremacy, as any in all king Henry's reign; for by it, not only many of the doctrines of popery had mollifying senses put on them, different from what was commonly received; but the sacrament was allowed to be given in both kinds, and the married priests were suffered to officiate. It is true, all was softened by this, that it was only a prudent connivance in the Interim, till the council should be reassembled, to bring all matters to a final settlement.

Thirlby writes of the Interim.

The protector either mistrusted Thirlby, or he called him home, to assist Cranmer in carrying on the reformation. He sent sir Philip Hobby in his stead. He was a man marked in king Henry's time, as a favourer of the preachers of the new learning, as they were then called. There was one parson, a clerk, known to have evil opinions (so it is entered in a part of the council-book, for the year 1543,) touching the Sacrament of the Altar, who was maintained by Weldon, one of the masters of the household, and by Hobby, then a gentleman-usher; for which they were both sent to the Fleet; but they were soon after discharged.

Hobby sent Ambassador to the Emperor.

Hobby was therefore sent over ambassador, as a person on whose advices the government here might depend, with relation to the affairs of Germany. I have seen a volume of the letters, writ to him by the protector and council, with copies of the answers that he wrote.

His first dispatch mentioned a particular dispute between the emperor and his confessor. The confessor refused to give him absolution, unless he would recal the decree of the Interim, and, instead of favouring heresy, would with the sword extirpate heretics. The emperor said, he was satisfied with what he had done in the matter of the Interim, and that he would do no more against the Lutherans: if the fryar would not give him absolution, others would be found who would do it. So the fryar left him.

The Emperor's Confessor refused him Absolution for not persecuting Heretics.

At that time, a proposition of a marriage for the lady Mary was made by the emperor, who seemed to apprehend that she was not safe in England. It was with the brother of the king of Portugal. He was called at first the prince of Portugal; and it was then hearkned to: but when the council understood he was the king's brother, they did not think fit to entertain it. And in the same letter, mention is made of Geoffrey Poole, who was then beyond sea, and desired a pardon: the council wrote, that he was included in the last act of pardon; yet since he desired it, they offer him a special pardon. This letter is signed T. Cant., Wiltshire, Northampton, Wentworth, T. Ely, T. Cheyne, A. Wyngfield, Herbert, N. Walton, J. Gage.

The next dispatch to him has a particular account of two persons, whom the king of France had corrupted to betray one of their forts to him. The king of France had said to their ambassador, "par la foy de gentilhomme," by the faith of a gentleman, he would make no war, without giving warning first. This he promised on the 20th of July; yet hearing of the commotions that were in England, he began hostilities against Boulogne within three or four days after. This is signed E. Somerset, T. Cant., R. Ryche, Can., W. St. Johns, W. Paget, W. Petre, J. Smith, E. Watton. So long ago did it appear that the *bonâ fides* of that court was not a thing to be much relied on. I would have printed these letters, if they were in my power: but having had the originals in my hands about 30 years ago, I did not then copy them out, but contented myself with taking extracts out of them, to which I shall upon other occasions have recourse.

The Perfidy of the French King.

As for the progress in the reformation at home, Cranmer was delivered from too deep a subjection, in which he had lived to king Henry. The load of great obligations is a weight on a generous mind: the hope he had of gaining on the king, to carry him to a further reformation, did, no doubt, carry him too far in his compliances to him. He did, perhaps, satisfy himself, as I have reason to believe many in the Roman communion do, to this day, that he did not in his mind, or with his thoughts, go along in

The Progress of the Reformation.

those devotions, that they cannot but think unlawful; but what, through a fearfulness of temper, or an ill-managed modesty, they do not depart from established practices, even though they think them unlawful. The compliances that we find in the apostles, particularly in St. Paul himself, the apostle of the Gentiles, in order to the gaining the Jews, might all meet together, to carry him too far in his submissions to king Henry. This can neither be denied, nor justified; but the censures passed on it may be much softened, when all these things are laid together. Now he was delivered from that servitude, so he resolved to set about a further reformation, with much zeal, though perhaps still with too great caution. He studied if it was possible to gain upon Gardiner. He had reason to believe from his forwardness in complying with king Henry, that he had no great scrupulosity in his own thoughts: so he tried to draw him to assist, at least not to oppose the steps that were to be made; and judging that it was necessary to give the people due instruction, to carry them to a further measure of knowledge, he set about the preparing a book of Homilies to be read in churches: and to give some more light into the meaning of the New Testament, he chose Erasmus's paraphrase as the most unexceptionable book that could be thought on; since he had been so much favoured in England; and as he had written against Luther, so he lived and died in the Roman communion.

Cranmer communicated his designs, with the draught of the Homilies to Gardiner: but he was resolved to set himself at the head of the popish party. He had no doubt great resentments, because he was left out of the council, which he imputed to the Seymours: Cranmer tried if the offer of bringing him to sit at that board could overcome these; yet all was in vain. He insisted at first on this, that during the king's minority, it was fit to keep all things quiet, and not to endanger the public peace by venturing on new changes: he pressed the archbishop with the only thing that he could not well answer; which was, that he had concurred in setting forth the late king's book of a necessary doctrine. Gardiner wrote that he was confident Cranmer was a better man than to do any such thing against his conscience upon any king's account; and if his conscience agreed to that book, which he himself had so recommended, he wished things might be left to rest there. Cranmer pressed him again and again in this matter, but he was intractable. In particular, he excepted to the homily of Justification, which was thought to be of Cranmer's own composing: because justification was ascribed to faith only, in which he thought charity had likewise its influence; and that without it faith was dead, and a dead thing could not be the cause of justification. But the archbishop showed him his design in that was only to set forth the freedom of God's mercy, which we relying on, had by that, the application of it to ourselves; not meaning that justifying faith was ever without charity; for even faith did not justify as a meritorious condition, but only as it was an instrument applying God's mercy to sinners. Upon this there was perhaps too much of subtilty on both sides. As for Erasmus's Paraphrase, Gardiner excepted to it as being in many things contrary to the Homilies: so he thought since they agreed so little together, they ought not to be joined and recommended by the same injunctions: to this it was said that the Paraphrase was a good and useful book, though, in some particulars, the Homilies differed from it.

Gardiner at the Head of the Opposition to it.

But as they had the perverseness of the popish party to deal with, so it was not easy to restrain their own side. Those whose heat could not be well managed were apt to break out into great disorders; some insulting the priests as they were officiating, others talking irreverently of the sacrament; some defining the manner of the presence, and others asserting the impossibility of it, as it was explained. These disorders gave occasion to two proclamations this year; the first was on the 12th of November, against insolence towards priests, such as the reviling them, tossing them, and taking their caps and tippets violently from them: the other was on the 27th of December against irreverent talkers of the sacrament, and against those who in their sermons went to define the manner, the nature and fashion, and the possibility or impossibility of the presence. The visitors went about with their injunctions. They are registered in the books of the dean and chapter of York, where the visitation was held in September. It came not to Winchester till October, for the monition concerning it was made on the 7th of October. Whether the slowness of the visitors



coming thither was occasioned by any secret practice with Gardiner, and upon the hopes of gaining him or not, I cannot tell. He it seems had before that refused to receive or obey the injunctions, for which he was put in the Fleet: and when he wrote his letter to the protector, complaining of the proceedings against him, he had been then seven weeks there.

I can say nothing new of the parliament that sate this year. When the convocation was opened on the 5th of November, the archbishop told them that it was with the king and the lords' consent that the prelates and clergy should consult together about settling the Christian religion right, and delivering it to the people. He sent them to choose their prolocutor, and to present him the Friday following. It is set down in the minutes, that the lower house consulted how they might be joined to the lower house of parliament, and about the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws. On the 9th of December some were appointed to know if the archbishop had obtained licence (in the minutes called indemnity or immunity) for them to treat of matters of religion. In the fifth session, on the last of November, the prolocutor exhibited an order given him by the archbishop for receiving the communion in both kinds, to which in the next session they agreed, no man speaking against it. Sixty-four agreed to this; Polydore Virgil and Weston being two of them. And in the eighth session, on the 17th of December, a proposition was offered to them in these words:—"That all such canons, laws, statutes, decrees, usages, and customs, heretofore made or used, that forbid any person to contract matrimony, or condemn matrimony already contracted by any person, for any vow or promise of priesthood, chastity or widowhood, shall from henceforth cease, be utterly void, and of none effect." Here it was that Redman's opinion was read, which I had in my History put as read the following year. This proposition went to all monastic vows, as well as to the marriage of priests. The proposition was subscribed by fifty-three who were for the affirmative, only twenty-two were for the negative: after which a committee was named to draw the form of an act for the marriage of priests. But all that is in the often-cited minutes as to this matter is,—"Item, propounded for the marriage of priests;" and to it is added, "and that the ecclesiastical laws should be promulgated;" there is no more in the minutes of the convocations during this reign.

Proceedings in Convocation.

They affirm that it was free for the Clergy to marry.

Strype adds to this a particular remark out of the defence of the priests' marriage, that divers of those who were for the affirmative did never marry: and that some of those who were for the negative, yet did afterwards marry. Cranmer went on gathering authorities out of Scripture and the fathers against unwritten traditions: he wrote a book on this subject in Latin; but in queen Mary's time it was translated into English, and published by an English exile beyond sea. He took a special care to furnish Canterbury with good preachers: but though their labours were not quite without success, yet superstition had too deep a root there to be easily subdued; and in the universities, the old doctrines were so obstinately persisted in, that when some in Cambridge offered to examine the mass by the Scriptures and the fathers, and to have a disputation upon it, the vice-chancellor did forbid it. The archbishop had procured a confirmation of their privileges of Cambridge at least, for Strype only mentions that: the mildness he expressed towards all who opposed him, even with insolence, was remarkable: when one who thought he carried this too far, told him that if ever it came to the turn of his enemies, they would show him no such favour; he answered, "Well, if God so provide, we must abide it."

Cranmer's Labours and Zeal.

I did in the account of the arguments against transubstantiation, mention a letter of St. Chrysostom's to Cesarius, of which Peter Martyr brought over a copy in Latin to England. Since that time the popish clergy were sensible, that by that letter it appeared plainly that St. Chrysostom did believe that the substance of bread and wine remained still in the sacrament, as the human nature remained in the person of Christ: so that by this, all the other high figures used by that father must be understood so as to reconcile them to this letter; therefore they have used all possible endeavours to suppress it. When the learned bigot had brought a copy of it from Florence to France, and printed it with other things relating to that father, they ordered it to be cut out in such a manner, that in the printed book it appeared that some

St. Chrysostom's Letter to Cesarius brought to England.

leaves were cut out; yet one copy of it was brought to the present learned and pious bishop of Lincoln, then chaplain to our ambassador at Paris, who first printed it here in England; as the learned Le Moyne, having another copy sent to him, printed it about the same time in Holland.

I have nothing to add concerning the tumults of the year 1549, but that the popish clergy were generally at the head of the rebels. Many of these were priests that had complied and subscribed the new book; some of them were killed in every skirmish, and very few of the clergy showed much zeal against them: so that the earl of Bedford could have none but Miles Coverdale to go along with the force that he carried into Devonshire to subdue them.

Troubles at Frankfort, p. 187.

Upon some information, that lady Mary's servants were active in assisting those commotions, the protector and council wrote to her on the 17th; that letter being delivered to her on the 20th of July, she presently wrote an answer, which I had from sir William Cook, and it will be found in the Collection. In it "she expresses her dislike of those revolts. A chaplain of her's in Devonshire had been named, but she writes she had not one chaplain in those parts. Another that was named, lived constantly in her house: she justifies all her servants that had been named; and assured them, that all of her household were true subjects to the king. The council had likewise charged her, that her proceedings in matters of religion had given the rebels great courage: which she wrote, appeared to be untrue, since the rebels in her neighbourhood touched upon no point of religion. She prayed God, that their new alterations and unlawful liberties might not rather be the occasion of such assemblies: as for Devonshire, she had neither lands nor acquaintance in those parts."

The Lady Mary denies that she or her Servants were concerned in the Risings.

Collection, Number 2.

In the suppressing these tumults, the protector did visibly espouse the people's interest, and blamed the lords for their inclosures, and the other oppressions that had, as he said, occasioned all those disorders. By this he came to be universally beloved by the people; but trusting to that, he began to take too much upon him; and was so wedded to his own thoughts, that he often opposed the whole council. Upon which Paget wrote him a long letter, in which, as a faithful friend, he set before him his errors; chiefly his wilfulness, and his affecting popularity too much. He desired to be dismissed the council; for while he was there, he was resolved to deliver his opinion according to his reason, and not seek to please another: he had offered him faithful advices, and warned him of the cloud that he saw gathering against him. This he wrote on the 6th of July, some months before it broke out: it seems the protector took this freedom well from him, for he continued firm to him to the last. His brother, the lord Seymour's fall lay heavy on him: though that lord had almost compassed another design of marrying the lady Elizabeth: so I find it in the council's letters to Hobby of the 18th of January $154\frac{8}{9}$.

Cotton Libr. Titus, D. 3.

As for the other matter with which he was loaded, the entertaining some German troops, I find among sir Philip Hobby's letters a great many orders and letters signed by the whole council, as well as by the protector, which show that they all concurred in that matter. The true secret of it on both sides was this: the bulk of the people of England was still possessed with the old superstition to such a degree, that it was visible they could not be depended on in any matter that related to the alterations that were made, or were designed to be made: whereas the Germans were full of zeal on the other side; so that they might well be trusted to: and the princes of Germany, who were then kept under by the emperor, so that they neither durst nor could keep their troops at home, but hoped they might at some better time have an occasion to use them, were willing to put them in the hands of the present government of England. Howsoever, this had an odious name put on it, and was called a ruling by strangers: so that it very much shook the duke of Somerset's popularity; for though it could not be denied that all the council had concurred with him in it, yet the load and blame of all was laid on him.

The entertaining Foreign Troops in England.

The popish party was very active in procuring the change of measures that followed. The council wrote over to the emperor to let him know that the necessity of their affairs was



like to force them to treat for the delivering up of Boulogne to the French; though this was a secret not yet communicated to the whole privy council.

Bonner's being removed was not much resented, neither at home nor abroad. He was a brutal man; few either loved or esteemed him; and Ridley, who came to succeed him, was the most generally esteemed man of all the reformers. One thing that made it more acceptable to those who favoured the Reformation was, the suppressing the bishopric of Westminster, and the removing Thirleby to Norwich, where it was thought he could do less mischief than where he was; for though he complied as soon as any change was made, yet he secretly opposed everything while it was safe to do it. He had a soft and an insinuating way with him, which, as was thought, prevailed too much even on Cranmer himself: but Gardiner was a dexterous man, and much more esteemed, though as little beloved as Bonner was; so the falling on him gave a greater alarm to the whole party. He, who was so well known both in the emperor's court and in the French court, sent over tragical accounts of the usage he met with. This was writ over hither by our ambassador at the court of France. Upon which a very severe character of him is given in a letter, signed E. Somerset, T. Cant., R. Rich, C. W. Wiltshire, J. Warwick, J. Bedford, W. Northampton, G. Clinton, W. Petre, W. Cecil. In it they gave an account of the proceedings against him; and add, "he had showed not only a wilful pride, but a cankered heart, guilty of open and shameful lies; by which impudent falsehood he showed himself most unworthy to be a bishop, whatsoever strangers may think of him. For religion, he is as far from any piety, or fashion of a good bishop, as a player of a bishop in a comedy is from a good bishop indeed."

Whether the protector designed anything against the constitution of the church, or at least to swallow up the great endowments that were not yet devoured, I cannot tell. But there is an advice in one of Hobby's letters, dexterously enough proposed, that gives reason to suspect this might be on design to broach a business that was to be so cunningly proposed: and Hobby being a confident of the protector's, he may be supposed to have written as he was directed by him. He wrote it in September 1548. He tells the council, "that the protestants of Germany hoped that the king, seeing that the late wars in Germany happened chiefly by the bishops continuing in their princely and lordly estate, would, for preventing the like, appoint the godly bishops an honest and competent living, sufficient for their maintenance, taking from them the rest of those worldly possessions and dignities, and thereby avoid the vain-glory that letteth them truly and sincerely to do their office, and preach the gospel and word of Christ. On the other side, he wrote, the papists say they doubt not but my lords the bishops, being a great number of stout and well-learned men, will well enough weigh against their adversaries, and maintain still their whole estate; which coming to pass, they have good hope that, in time, these princely pillars will well enough resist this fury, and bring all things again into the old order."

I have no particulars to add concerning the protector's fall, and the new scene; but that soon after, when it appeared that the papists were not like to be more favourably dealt with than they were under the duke of Somerset, the bishop of Arras did expostulate upon it with Hobby. He said, they had been assisting to the pulling down of the duke of Somerset, and that hopes of better usage had been given them, yet things went worse with them than before: upon that he fell to rail at Bucer, and said he believed he inflamed matters in England as much as he had done in the empire. For at this time many were forced to come to England for shelter, the chief of whom were Bucer, Fagius, Peter Martyr, and Bernardin Ochinus. All these were entertained by Cranmer till he got good provisions to be made for them in the universities, which were now most violently set against every step that was made towards a reformation. Hobby came over to England, and tried what service he could do to his friend the duke of Somerset; but the faction was grown too strong to be withstood. Upon his submission, the matter went for some time very high against him and his friends. On the 13th of October, sir Thomas Smith, sir Michael Stanhope, sir John Thynne, and Edward Wolfe, called adherents to the duke of Somerset, and the principal instruments of his ill government, were sent to the Tower; and on the 14th, he himself was sent thither. No more mention is made of them till the 6th of February, that the duke of Somerset was

The Popish Party deceived in their Hopes on the Protector's Fall.

Council-Book.

set at liberty, but bound in a recognizance of ten thousand pounds not to go above four mile from Shene or Sion, nor to come into the king's presence unless he was called for by the king and his council; and when he knew that the king was to come within four miles of these houses, he was to withdraw from them. Yet it seems his enemies were still in some apprehension of him; and probably some messages went between him and his friends in the Tower; for on the 18th of February they were all made close prisoners, and their servants were not suffered to attend upon them. But it seems, upon examination, this was found not to be of a criminal nature; so, on the 22d, they were dismissed upon their recognizances. And upon the 10th of April, the duke of Somerset was again brought to the council-board, being that day sworn of the privy-council.

On the 20th of April, Hobby, being sent back to the emperor's court, had orders to try if the proposition for a marriage of the lady Mary to the prince of Portugal might be again set on foot; and in excuse for its being rejected before, he had orders to say that few of the council had been made acquainted with it. He was desired, therefore, to inquire what that prince's estate was. Whether this flowed from the earl of Warwick's ambitious designs, which might make him wish to have her sent away far out of England, or if it flowed from the uneasiness the council was in by reason of her persisting in the old way of religion, I cannot determine. Hobby had also orders to represent to the emperor that they had hitherto connived at her mass, in hopes that she would by that connivance be moved to conform herself to the laws. Diversity of rites in matters of religion ought not to be suffered: the laws were so strict that no licence could be granted in opposition to them; yet they were resolved to connive a little longer, though she abused the king's favour; for she kept, as it were, an open church, not only for her servants, but for all her neighbours. They therefore wished that the emperor would give her good advice in this matter. The letter was signed by Cranmer, by the earls of Wiltshire and Warwick, the marquis of Northampton, the lord Wentworth, and Paget, Petre, Herbert, Darcy, and Mason. To all this, it seems, the emperor had little regard; for not long after that, the ambassador wrote over, that, by the emperor's command, an order was served on him not to have the English service in his house. The council looked on this as contrary to the privileges of ambassadors by the law of nations; so they ordered that the emperor's ambassador should not have mass in his house, and gave him notice of it. When the emperor knew this, he complained of it as a high violation of the dignity of that character; but the council-books show that they stood firm, and would not recal their order till the emperor recalled his order against the new service in the English ambassador's house. What further proceedings were of either side in this matter, does not appear to me. I find, by the council-books, that the carrying on the Reformation was cordially espoused and pursued at that board.

Gardiner had been long a prisoner; and his being detained in the Tower, no proceedings being had against him, occasioned a great outcry. So, on the 8th of June, 1550, it was resolved to send some to him, to see if he repented of his former obstinacy, and would apply himself to advance the king's proceedings; upon which the king would receive him into favour, and all past errors should be forgiven. So the duke of Somerset and others were sent to him. They made report, on the 10th of June, that he desired to see the book of the king's proceedings, and then he would make a full answer. He seemed to them, in all things, willing to conform himself to it; promising, that if he found anything in it against his conscience, he would open it to none but to the council. So the book was sent him; and he was allowed the liberty of the gallery and gardens in the Tower when the duke of Norfolk was not in them. On the 13th of June, the lieutenant of the Tower reported that he had given him back the king's book, and that he said he would make no answer to it till he was set at liberty, and that then he would speak his conscience. So the lords who had been with him were appointed to go to him again. The matter rested till the 8th of July.

Proceedings against Gardiner.

In an imperfect book of the minutes of the council that I have by me, it is set down that Gardiner did at last subscribe six articles. The two first appear not; the third is, "That the book of Common-Prayer was a godly and christian book, to be allowed and observed by all the king's true subjects. 4th, That the king, in his young and tender age, was a full and entire king; and that the subjects were bound to obey the statutes, proclamations, and commands set forth in this age, as well as if he were thirty or forty years old. 5th, That the statute of the Six Articles was, for just causes, repealed by the authority of parliament. 6th, That the king and his successors had full authority, in the churches of England and Ireland, to reform and correct errors and abuses, and to alter rites and ceremonies ecclesiastical, as shall seem most convenient for the edification of his people, so that the alteration is not contrary to the Scriptures and the laws of God." To all this he subscribed his name; but no date is added in those minutes. But it is entered, that he did it in the presence of the council, who also subscribed as witnesses to it. Their names are, E. Somerset, W. Wiltshire, J. Warwick, J. Bedford, W. Northampton, E. Clinton, G. Cobham, W. Paget, W. Herbert, W. Petre, E. North. It was resolved to carry his submissions further; so twenty new articles were drawn up, in which "the obligation to celibacy, and all the vows made by the monks, all images, relics, and pilgrimages, are condemned. It is affirmed, that the Scriptures ought to be read by all; that the mass was full of abuse and superstition, and was justly taken away; that the eucharist ought to be received in both kinds; that private masses were not agreeable to Scripture; that the sacrament ought not to be adored; that the book of Homilies was godly and wholesome; that the book of Ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, ought to be received and approved by all; and that the lesser orders were not necessary. That the Scriptures contained all things necessary to salvation; and that Erasmus' Paraphrase was, upon good and godly considerations, ordered by the king to be put in all churches."



But to this a preface was added, setting forth, "That whereas he had been suspected as favouring the bishop of Rome's authority, and that he did not approve of the king's proceedings in altering some rites in religion; upon which he had been brought before the council, and admonished; and was ordered to preach, declaring himself in those things. But though he promised to do it, he had not done this as he ought to have done. By which he had not only incurred the king's displeasure, but divers of the king's subjects were encouraged by his example (as the king's council was certainly informed) to repine at his majesty's proceedings: for which he was very sorry, and confessed that he had been condignly punished. And he thanked the king for his clemency, treating him not with rigour, but mercy. And that it might appear how little he did repine at his highness' doings, which in religion were most godly, and to the commonwealth most prudent, he did, therefore, of his own will, and without any compulsion, subscribe the following articles." But, on the margin of the minutes, the bishop's answer to this is thus set down: "I cannot in my conscience confess the preface, knowing myself to be of that sort; I am, indeed, and ever have been——." The rest is torn out. On the 15th of July it is entered, that report was made by those who were sent to him, that he said he had never offended the king; so he prayed that he might be brought to his trial, in which he asked no mercy, but only justice. When he had passed his trial, and was released, it should then appear what he would do with relation to the Articles; but it was not reasonable that he should subscribe them while he was yet in prison.

Some of the privy-councillors were sent again to him, and they were ordered to carry with them a divine and a temporal lawyer; so they took with them Ridley, bishop of London, and Mr. Goodrick: his answer was to the same purpose, and was next council-day reported. Upon which he was brought before the council, and required to subscribe the paper; but he still refusing to do it, the sentence of sequestration was read, with a denunciation of deprivation, if he did not conform within three months: nevertheless (it is added in the council-book) upon divers good considerations, and especially upon hope that within that time he might be yet reconciled, it was agreed, that the said bishop's house and servants should be maintained in their present estate, until the time that this intimation should expire: and the matter in the mean time was to be kept private. These are all the additional passages taken from the council-book relating to Gardiner.

Those steps, in which the Reformation was advancing but slowly, occasioned great distractions over most parts of the kingdom: while those who adhered to the old practices and doctrines preached severely against all innovations, and others as severely against all corruptions and abuses. The ill effects of these contradictory sermons had given occasion

to a proclamation on the 24th of April 1550, prohibiting all preaching, except by persons licensed by the king or the archbishop of Canterbury: and the disorders occasioned by men's divorcing their wives, or marrying more wives than one, were likewise ordered to be proceeded against by the same proclamation. On the 9th of August, there came out another proclamation, prohibiting all plays till Allhallowtide: what the reason of this last was does not appear. That against all preaching was much censured. It was represented that by reason of the proclamation against preaching, the people were running into great ignorance and dissoluteness. So letters were ordered to be written to the bishops of Durham and Ely; and eight days after to the bishop of Lincoln and other bishops, to appoint their chaplains and others by their discretion to preach in their dioceses, notwithstanding the proclamation against preaching. There was also an order made in council, that some bishops and other learned men should devise an order for the creation of bishops and priests. I use the words in the council-book. Twelve were appointed to prepare it. Heath, bishop of Worcester, was one of them. It seems there was a digested form already prepared, probably by Cranmer, for that service: for the order was made on the 2nd of February, and on the 28th it was brought to the council, signed by eleven of the number, Heath only refusing to sign it: he said, as it is entered in the council-book, that all that is contained in the book was good and godly; he also said he would obey it; but added that he would not sign it. The matter was respited for some days, and great pains was taken by Cranmer and others to persuade him to sign it; but he still refusing it (as the council-book has it) obstinately, he was on the 4th of March sent to the Fleet. He was in September called again before the council, and required to subscribe the book: and divers learned men argued to persuade him that the book was expedient and allowable: his obstinacy was charged on him, for which they said he had deserved a longer imprisonment; but he might still recover the king's favour if he would subscribe it. He acknowledged he had been very gently used, rather like a son than a subject: he insisted on what he had formerly said, that he would not disobey the order set forth in the book: every one in the council took pains on him, for it seemed a contradiction to say he would obey it, and yet not subscribe it. He was offered more time for conferences. He said he knew he could never be of another mind; adding, that there were other things to which he would not consent, as to take down altars and to set up instead of them tables. The matter ended with a charge given him to subscribe under the pain of deprivation: at this time two entries made in the council-books show the good effects of Latimer's zealous preaching. On the 10th of March he brought in 104*l.* recovered of one who had concealed it from the king; and a little after 363*l.* of the king's money, of which for his attendance in Lent 50*l.* was allowed to him. I find there was in this reign, as in the former, a peculiar seal for ecclesiastical matters, which was in secretary Petre's keeping: many took out licences under this seal for eating meat in Lent; some only for a man and his wife; and some for four, six, or ten, that did eat with them; and some for as many as should come to their house. Licences of another nature, I find, were often taken out for keeping a number of retainers, above what was allowed by the statute.

All Preaching is forbidden, except by Persons especially licensed.

Heath refuses to subscribe the Book of Ordinations.

All endeavours were too weak to overcome the aversion that the people had to the steps that were made towards a reformation. Dr. Cox, the king's almoner and preceptor, was sent to Sussex to preach and instruct the people there, who were much disturbed (as the council-book has it) by the seditious preaching of Day, bishop of Chichester, and others. Day denied this: so an order was made in council, that he should bring in writing that which he had preached. The duke of Somerset reported to the council that Day had been with him, and owned that he had received the order that the council had made for the taking down of altars, and setting tables in their stead; but answered that he could not in conscience obey it. This seemed indeed unaccountable; but he insisted that he could not in conscience obey it, and prayed to be excused: upon that he was summoned to appear before the council, and there, he said, he could not conform himself to their order; for he thought he followed in that both the Scriptures, and the doctors, and fathers of the church; and that he did not perceive any

Day, Bishop of Chichester, in Trouble for not removing Altars.



strength in the six reasons given by the bishop of London to justify the change. He quoted a passage in Isaiah, which the archbishop, with the bishop of London, and the rest of the council, thought not at all to the purpose; so he was ordered to confer with the archbishop, and the bishops of Ely and London, and to appear before them on the 4th of December. When he was again before the council, he entered into a dispute with the archbishop and the bishop of Ely. They pressed him to give his reasons for being so positive; he insisted on those words in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "We have an altar:" and though they thought it was clear that by the altar Christ himself was meant, yet that did not satisfy him: they also showed him, from Origen, that the Christians in those days had no altars: he might call the table an altar if he pleased: so the ancient writers did; but all this had no effect on him. A few more days were given him to consider of the matter: he positively answered he could not obey their order with a good conscience; and rather than do it, he was resolved to suffer the loss of all he had. Two days more were given him, but he was still firm. So on the 11th of December, 1550, he was sent to the Fleet. Further proceedings against him were stopped for many months; in which time it is said that the king himself wrote to him; but all was in vain. So in September, 1551, a commission was given to judge him; and on the 14th of October, it seems, both Heath and he were deprived: for then an order passed in council for seizing the temporalities of both their bishoprics. Letters were written in June 1552 concerning them to the bishops of Ely and London; the former was to receive Day, and the latter Heath, and to use them as in Christian charity should be most seemly. It seems that both Heath and Day saw the change of doctrine that was preparing with relation to the sacrament: so they were willing to lay hold on the first colour to break off from any further compliances; for the points they stood upon did not seem of such importance as to suffer deprivation and imprisonment for them.

There was at that time a very scandalous venality of all offices and employments, which was so much talked of at the court of France, that the ambassador whom the king had there wrote over an account of it; and it was said that whereas king Henry had by his endowments made some restitution, yet for all the wealth they had seized on in chantries and collegiate churches, no schools nor hospitals were yet endowed. Here a very memorable passage in Ridley's life deserves to be remembered: he wrote to Cheke, that he, being to give Grindal a prebend in St. Paul's, had received a letter from the council to stop collation, for the king was to keep that prebend for the furniture of his stable. "Alas! sir (he writes), this is a heavy hearing. Is this the fruit of the gospel? Speak, Mr. Cheke, speak for God's sake, in God's cause, unto whomsoever you think you may do any good withal: and if you will not speak, then I beseech you let this my letter speak." There was nothing that opened all men's mouths, more than a complaint entered in the council-book, made by one Norman against the archbishop of York, that he took his wife and kept her from him. The council gave such credit to this, that as a letter was written to that archbishop not to come to parliament, so they ordered a letter to be written to sir Thomas Gargrave and Mr. Chaloner to examine the matter. What they did, or what report they made, does not appear to me. Holgate, during all the time he was archbishop of York, was more set on enriching himself than on anything else. He seemed heartily to concur in the Reformation, but he was looked on as a reproach to it, rather than a promoter of it. This might have a share in the censure that, as was reported, king Edward passed on the bishops in that time, "Some for sloth, some for ignorance, some for luxury, and some for popery, are unfit for discipline and government." At this time the anabaptists were again inquired after, and a commission was granted to Cranmer, Thirleby, Cox, and sir Thomas Smith, to inquire after them, and to judge them.

Scandals given by many.

Now Gardiner's business was brought to a conclusion. On the 23rd of November, a committee of the council was appointed to consider how to proceed further against him: on the 14th of December an order was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower to carry him to Lambeth on the 16th, and after that as often as they required him. The commission to try him was directed to Cranmer and others: he desired council; it was granted; and his lawyers had free access to him. On the 19th of January his servants moved in council, that some of that board might be sworn as his witnesses:

Gardiner is deprived.

they said they would answer upon their honour, but would not be sworn: and on the 15th of February, the last mention made of him in the council-book is in these words: "For as much as the bishop had at all times, before the judges of his cause, used himself unreverently to the king's majesty, and very slanderously towards his council, and especially yesterday being the day of the judgment given against him, he called the judges heretics and sacramentaries; these being there as the king's commissioners, and of his highness's council; it was ordered that he should be removed from his present lodging into a meaner one in the Tower, and have but one servant to wait on him; that his books and papers should be taken from him, and that from henceforth he should have neither pen, ink, nor paper given him, but be sequestered from all conference, and from all means that may serve him to practise any ways." Here was severity upon severity, which as it raised him to be depended on as the head of the popish party, so it must have recommended him to the compassions of all equitable people.

Whether these hard orders were rigorously executed or not, does not appear to me. I find in a letter of Hooper's to Bullinger one circumstance relating to Gardiner. It is without date. In it, as he tells him that Crome did with zeal oppose their doctrine concerning the sacrament, but commends him as a person of great learning, and a man of a most holy life; he tells him also, that Gardiner had a month before sent him a challenge to a public disputation upon that head; promising, that if he did not clearly carry away the victory, he would submit himself to the laws, and would willingly suffer the cruellest hardships. Hooper accepted the challenge, and a day was set for them to dispute: but when the day came near, Gardiner said he must be first set at liberty: so all this show of a readiness to maintain the old doctrine vanished to nothing. Concerning the king, Hooper writes in that same letter, that these thousand years, there had not been any person of his age who had such a mixture both of piety and learning, with so true a judgment, as appeared in him. If he lived, and went on suitably to these beginnings, he would be the wonder and the terror of the world. He took notes of all the sermons he heard; and after dinner he asked the young persons that were bred up with him an account of what they remembered of the sermon, and went over the whole matter with them. He wrote further in this letter, that then they were every day expecting that the duke of Somerset should be again called to sit in the council.

Poinet, bishop of Rochester, was translated to Winchester, being nominated to it the 8th of March: and on the 5th of April, he took his oath of homage. While he was bishop of Rochester, he had no house to live in, so he kept his benefice in London. But it is entered in the council-book, that no bishop after him was to have any benefice besides his bishopric.

A new scene of contention was at this time very unhappily opened. Hooper, a zealous, a pious, and a learned man, had gone out of England in the latter years of king Henry's reign, and had lived at Zurich, at a time when all Germany was in a flame on the account of the Interim. Upon that a great question arose among the Germans concerning the use of things in themselves indifferent. For a great part of the design of the Interim was to keep up the exterior face of things as it had been in popery, with the softenings of some other senses put on them. It was said, "if things were indifferent in themselves, it was lawful, and that it became the subject's duty to obey them when commanded." Many thought that Melancthon himself went in that matter too far. It was visible the design in it was to make the people think the difference was not great between that and popery: so the rites were ordered to be kept up on purpose to make it easy to draw the people over to popery. Out of this another question arose, "Whether it was lawful to obey in indifferent things, when it was certain they were enjoined with an ill design?" Some said the designs of legislators were not to be inquired into nor judged; and whatever they were, the subjects were still bound to obey. This created a vast distraction in Germany, while some obeyed the Interim, but many more were firm to their principles, and were turned out of all for their disobedience. Those who submitted were, for the most part, Lutherans, and carried the name of Adiaphorists, from the Greek word that signifies, things indifferent. The reformed were generally firmer. Those of Switzerland, particularly at Zurich, had at this time great apprehensions of a design of introducing popery, by keeping up an exterior that resembled it. Of this I find a very late instance, the year before this, in a letter that Mont wrote from Strasburg on the 18th of February, 1548, to Musculus, which will be found in the Collection.

An Account of B. Hooper.

Collection, Number 3.

"When he left Augsburg, there were no changes then begun there; but they expected every day, when the new superstitious practices were to be set up. One of the ministers told him that the magistrates had desired the ministers not to forsake them in that time of distress. They promised that they would give them timely notice when those rites were to be brought in among them. They prayed them likewise to recommend the Interim in the softest manner, and with the best colours they could. This was refused by the greater number of them, who said they could never approve that which was by an unanimous consent condemned. He did not doubt but they had heard what was done in Saxony. He wishes the German courage and firmness might now appear: that if they could not act with their usual courage, they might at least show their courage in suffering. The duke of Deux-Ponts had left Augsburg, and said, the publishing the Interim did not belong to him, but to the bishops. Those of Breme had such a heavy composition laid on them by the emperor, that they said it was not in their power to comply with it, though they had a mind to it. So it was thought this was done on design to take their town as a convenient post for a garrisoned place, to keep that country in order. He concludes, desiring to know what agreement there was, as to these matters, in the Helvetic churches." They were, indeed, much inflamed on this occasion, and very zealous against any compliance with the Interim, or the use of the rites prescribed by it: so Hooper came from Zurich in the heat of this debate, and with this tincture upon his mind.

When he came to Brussels on the 20th of April, 1549, he wrote a letter to Bullinger, that is in the Collection. "He sets forth in it very tragically the misery of the Netherlands under the violent oppressions of the Spaniards. Complaints were heard in all places of rapes, adulteries, robberies, and other insolencies every day committed by them: so that an hostess of a public-house said to him, if she could but carry her children in her arms with her, she would choose to go and beg from door to door, rather than suffer their brutalities every day as they were forced to do. He hoped this would be a warning, to put others on their guard.

Collection, Number 4.

"The emperor came seldom out of his chamber. Hooper had been at the duke of Saxony's house, who had about thirty of his servants still attending on him: he designed to have talked with Hooper, but the Spaniards hindered it. He had no hope of obtaining his liberty, though his health was much broken: but he continued firm in his religion, and did not despair of things, but hoped religion would be again revived. The landgrave was kept at Oudenard. He was both uneasy and inconstant. Sometimes he was ready to submit to the emperor, and to go to mass: at other times he railed at the emperor and at the Interim (Hooper was entertained by Hobby, the English ambassador, from whom probably he heard these things); he prayed God to pity him, for he suffered justly for his treachery. The pope's legate was there, and preached all that Lent in his own court.

"The pope and the emperor were then in very ill terms. The pope pressed the emperor to own the council at Bologna, for he was afraid to let it sit again in Trent: but the emperor was as positive for their coming back to Trent; and said roundly, he would break with the pope if that were not done. The ambassador told him that if the emperor's confessor were to any degree right set, there might be good hope of the emperor: but both he and all his ministers were strangely governed, and in a manner driven by the confessor. About seven months before this he had left the emperor, because he would not be more severe, and would not restore popery entirely in Germany. The emperor had offered him a bishopric in Spain worth twenty thousand crowns; but he refused it, and said he would be tied to the church, but not to him, unless he would serve the church with more zeal. The emperor seemed to design to break the peace of Switzerland; and Hooper understood that some of Lucern were then hanging on at court, probably with no good design. He wishes they would fear God, lead holy lives, and fight bravely, and so they might expect to be protected by God: yet he understood that the emperor was troubled that he had meddled so much as he had done

in matters of religion in Germany: he found that was like to cross his other designs, which might have succeeded better if he had left that matter more at liberty. His army lay then near Bremen, but was undertaking nothing. The cities there had furnished themselves with stores and provisions for five years, and were making no submissions." This account I thought no digression from my chief design in writing, since this intelligence came, no doubt, from the ambassador. Upon Hooper's coming to England, he applied himself much to preaching and to the explaining the Scriptures. He was much followed, and all churches were crowded where he preached. He went through the Epistle to Titus, and ten chapters of the Gospel of St. John: his fame came to court. Poinet and he were ordered to preach all the Lent at court; Hooper on Wednesdays, and Poinet on Fridays: he was also sent to preach both in Kent and in Essex. At this time Bullinger wrote to the king, and sent with it a book that he dedicated to him, which was presented to the king by the marquis of Northampton; for an order was made that none but privy councillors might bring books or papers to the king. The king said to Hooper, that he had read the letter, and would read Bullinger's book, and spoke to the marquis of a present to be sent him: but Hooper told him he never took any; besides, that it was forbidden by the laws of Zurich. Hooper, in his letters to Bullinger, on the 8th of February, 1550, says, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Rochester, Ely, St. David's, Lincoln, and Bath, were sincerely set on advancing the purity of doctrine, agreeing in all things with the Helvetic churches. He commends particularly the marquis of Dorchester, afterwards duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Warwick, afterwards duke of Northumberland, who at that time put on such a show of zeal, that Hooper calls him a most holy instrument, and the best affected to the word of God. He writes of Cranmer, that he wishes he were not too feeble. He was at London when the council divided from the duke of Somerset, but had not meddled in that matter: and he says not a word of it, but that he blesses God the duke of Somerset was to be set at liberty. In June he was was named to be bishop of Gloucester; for he gives an account of it in a letter to Bullinger on the 29th of June. He declined it, as he writes, both for the oath, which he says was foul and impious, and by reason of the Aaronical habits. The king asked what his reasons were? He told them very freely to him. He says of him, that the world never saw such a prince as he was for his age. He likewise says, the lady Elizabeth, his sister, was wonderfully zealous and very knowing: she read both Greek and Latin; and few could maintain an argument against her, particularly in matters of religion.

Fœdumetimpium.

Among the letters sent me from Zurich, I find some written upon the occasion of the difficulty that was made in Hooper's business, to Bullinger and Gualter, pressing them very earnestly to write to the king, to let fall all the ceremonies: they tell them that Ridley, though he stood upon the forms of the law, yet was very earnest to have Hooper made a bishop. They seem also to reflect on the bishops for their earnestness in that matter, as if they were ashamed to have that to be blamed, to which they themselves had submitted: and they reflect on Bucer for supporting the matter too much. Those of Zurich were more discreet and modest than to interpose in such a manner. It would have been too great a presumption in them to have made any such application; but it seems Bullinger wrote about it to the king's preceptor, Cox. I have not found his letter; but I find, by Cox's letter to him, that he himself was for proceeding easily in this matter. He wrote to him in May, in these words:—"I think all things in the church ought to be pure and simple, removed at the greatest distance from the pomps and elements of this world. But, in this our church, what can I do in so low a station? I can only endeavour to persuade our bishops to be of the same mind with myself. This I wish truly, and I commit to God the care and conduct of his own work." Of the king he writes, "believe me, there appears in him an incredible beginning of learning, with a zeal for religion, and a judgment in affairs almost already ripe." Traheron, at the same time, writes of him, "We are training up a prince that gives the greatest hopes of being a most glorious defender of the faith, even to a miracle. For, if God is not so provoked by our sins as to take him too early from us, we do not doubt, but that England shall again give the world another Constantine, or rather one much better than he was."



This matter took up much time, and was managed with more heat than might have been expected, considering the circumstances of that reign: he being named to be bishop of Gloucester, was recommended by Dudley to Cranmer, that he would not charge him with an oath that was (as is expressed) burdenous to his conscience. This was the oath of supremacy. He next desired to be excused from accepting the bishopric, or from the ceremonies used in the consecration; upon which the king writ to Cranmer in August, freeing him from all dangers and penalties that he might incur by omitting those rites, but left the matter to the archbishop's discretion, without any persuasion or command to omit them. The archbishop did not think fit upon that letter to act against the laws: there were several conferences between Ridley and Hooper, not without heat: Hooper maintaining that if it was not unlawful, yet it was highly inexpedient to use those ceremonies. The council apprehending the ill effects of controversies between men of the same profession, sent for Hooper, and wished him to let this opposition of his fall. He desired leave to put his reasons in writing; that was granted him: and when he offered his reasons, they were communicated to Ridley. I gave an account in my former work how honestly and modestly both Bucer and Peter Martyr behaved themselves on this occasion. Peter Martyr mentions Hooper's unseasonable and bitter sermons, which it seems his heat carried him to: and probably that was the reason that moved the council to command him to keep his house, unless it were to go to the archbishop of Canterbury, or to the bishops of Ely, London, or Lincoln, for the satisfaction of his conscience, and not to preach or read till he had further licence. But he did not obey this order: he writ a book on the subject, and printed it. This gave more distaste. He also went about and complained of the council, for which being called before the board, he was committed to the archbishop's custody, to be reformed by him, or to be further punished. The archbishop represented that he could in no sort work upon him, but that he declared himself for another way of ordination: upon that he was, on the 27th of January, committed to the Fleet.

Micronius, a minister of the German church at London, in a letter to Bullinger on the 28th of August, 1550, tells him that the exception that Hooper had to the oath of supremacy, was because the form was "by God, by the Saints, and by the Holy Gospels." This he thought impious; and when he was before the council, the king being present, he argued that God only ought to be appealed to in an oath, for He only knew the thoughts of men. The king was so fully convinced by this, that with his own pen he struck these words out of the oath, saying that no creature was to be appealed to in an oath. This being cleared, no scruple remained but with relation to the habits. The king and council were inclined to order him to be dispensed with as to these. But Ridley prevailed with the king not to dispense in that matter. The thing was indifferent, and therefore the law ought to be obeyed. This had such an effect, that all Hooper's exceptions were after that heard with great prejudice. Micronius was on Hooper's side as well as Alasco. Ridley had opposed the settling the German church in a different way from the rites of the church of England: but Alasco had prevailed to obtain an entire liberty for them to continue in the same forms of worship and government in which they had been constituted beyond sea, in which he had been assisted by Cranmer. It is added in that letter, that it was believed that the emperor had sent one over to carry away the lady Mary secretly, but the design was discovered and defeated. To explain this matter of the oath, I shall insert in the Collections the oath of the bishops, as it was practised in king Henry's reign, and continued to be used to that time, which is on record, and is among Mr. Rymer's manuscripts. Hooper's matter hung in suspense nine whole months; in which time he seemed positively resolved not to yield, not without severe and indecent reflections on those who used the habits. Cranmer expressed a willingness to have yielded to him; but Ridley and Goodrick stood firm to the law; while many reflected on them, as insisting too much on a thing practised by themselves, as if vain-glory and self-love had been their chief motives. They said they wished that distinction of habits was abolished; but they thought the breaking through laws was so bad a precedent, and might have such ill consequences, that they could not consent to it. Bucer and Peter Martyr expressed their dislike of the habits, but thought the thing was of itself indifferent; so they blamed him for

Collection, Number 5.

insisting so much on it. Alasco, on the other hand, encouraged him to continue in his refusal to submit to the laws in that matter: in conclusion, he was prevailed on to submit, and was consecrated. This was written to Bullinger by one of the ministers of the German church. His standing out so long, and yielding in the end, lost him much of the popularity, that, to speak freely, he seemed to be too fond of; yet his great labours in his diocese, and his patience and constancy during his imprisonment, and in his last most extreme sufferings, made all good people willing to forget what was amiss, and to return to a just esteem of what was so truly valuable in him.

In conclusion, he submitted and was consecrated according to the established form, and went into his diocese, which he found overrun with ignorance and superstition: he applied himself to his duty with great and indefatigable industry; preaching often twice, sometimes thrice in a day, to instruct the people, and to reform the clergy: he did earnestly wish that the articles of religion, which he knew were under consideration, might be quickly published. He found the greatest opposition in his diocese rose from the prebendaries of his church. Of this he made great complaints; as indeed all the bishops that were well affected to the Reformation found the greatest opposition in their cathedrals; though none of them expressed it so severely as Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, who wrote to a lord, desiring that he might have leave to defend himself against those "high-minded, arrogant, stubborn, ambitious, covetous canons," who for private revenge were set against him: yet, on the other hand, there were great complaints made of his behaviour in his diocese, as both indiscreet and contentious. A petition was sent up to the council in the name of the inhabitants of his diocese against him, complaining of his insatiable covetousness, and his daily vexing his poor tenants and clergy without cause; and indeed his firmness and sufferings afterwards raised his character more than his conduct in his diocese had done.

The last and the most eminent of all the popish clergy that fell in trouble during this reign, was Tonstall, bishop of Durham. He was a generous and well-tempered man, learned far above the common rate. He retained his old opinion concerning the presence in the sacrament; but he had hitherto submitted, and gone along in all that was done: he had no heat, nor a spirit of opposition in his temper, yet his opinion was known. The true account of his matter has been taken out of the council-book, which has come to light since I wrote my history. One Ninian Mainvil charged him as consenting to a conspiracy in the north for raising a rebellion there; to this the bishop answered, and Mainvil made replication. The council-book only refers to these, and gives no account of the bishop's answer. Mainvil had a letter of the bishop's, which was his main evidence, upon which the issue of the trial depended: but that was then wanted; and, as appeared afterwards, the letter was put in the duke of Somerset's hands, and he still kept it; but whether he did it out of kindness to him, or to have this as a check to overawe Tonstall, does not appear.

This letter was found among the duke of Somerset's papers, after his last apprehension: upon which Tonstall was sent for, and his letter was produced against him. He could not deny it to be of his own hand; and not being able to make any further answer, he was on the 20th of December sent to the Tower. Whitehead, dean of Durham, and Handmarsh, Tonstall's chancellor, were accused of the same crime by Mainvil. The dean's death put an end to his trouble, but Tonstall lay in the Tower till queen Mary set him at liberty: and there, in the 77th year of his age, he wrote his book asserting the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. It seems the evidence against Tonstall did not at all amount to a consent to a conspiracy; for he was only charged with misprision of treason; whereas the consenting to it would have been carried further, to high treason itself: but even that must have been by a stretch of his words, since if his letter had imported that, Cranmer could not have opposed, much less have protested against the bill attainting him for misprision, if the evidence had been clear. This is confirmed by the opposition made in the house of commons, where the bill fell. So, since the parliament would not attaint him, a commission was issued out some months after; and on the 22d of September, 1552, a letter was written to the lord chief justice, signifying to him that there was a commission addressed to him, and to some others, for determining the bishop of Durham's case, with eight letters, and other writings touching the same, which he is required to consider and to hear, and to



give order in the matter as soon as the rest of his colleagues were brought together. He was brought before these commissioners: he desired counsel and time convenient to make his answer. Both were denied him, as is set forth in the sentence that reversed this. He was charged as a conspirator against the king and the realm. The commission empowered them to proceed against him for all offences, both according to the ecclesiastical and the temporal laws. He made divers protestations against the several steps of their proceedings, and at last he appealed from them to the king. The commissioners on the 11th of October deprived him of his bishopric, but did not attaint him of misprision of treason; for the judgment in that case must have been the forfeiture of his goods, and imprisonment for life: but he was, by order of council on the 31st of October, to receive money for his necessities, remaining prisoner in the Tower, till further order should be given touching the money and goods lately appertaining to him.

This was one of the violent effects of the duke of Northumberland's ambition, who was all this while a concealed papist, as himself declared at his execution. I have laid all these things relating to the deprivation of the bishops that opposed the Reformation together, to give a full view of that matter. But now I must look back to some matters that happened while these proceedings went on. There was an information brought to the council, of some at Bocking, who were irregular in the worship of God, who thought that to stand or to kneel at prayer, or to be covered, or bare-headed, was not material, and that the heart only was necessary: when they were brought before the council, they confessed that they met together; sometimes to confer about the Scriptures; and that they had refused to receive the communion above two years, as was judged upon very superstitious and erroneous principles (so it is entered in the council-book), with diverse other evil opinions, worthy of great punishment. Five of them were sent to prison, and seven gave bonds to appear when called for: they were required to resort to their ordinaries, if they had any doubt in religion, for resolution from them. These were probably some of the anabaptists, though that is not objected to them.

The great point that was then most canvassed in the universities was, the presence in the sacrament. Concerning this I have, among the papers sent me from Zurich, a letter of Peter Martyr's to his friend Bullinger, dated from Oxford the 1st of June, 1550, which will be found in the collection. "He excuses himself for his slowness in answering his letters, by reason of the constant labours he was engaged in. For, besides his daily exposition of St. Paul, which might claim his whole time, there was a new load brought on him: he was commanded, by an order from the king, to be present at the public disputations upon theological matters, which were held once a fortnight. And in the college in which he was placed, there was a disputation, where he was appointed to be present, and to moderate. He was in a perpetual struggle with most obstinate adversaries. The business of religion did not go on with the zeal and success to be wished for: yet it made a better progress than he had expected four months before. The number of their adversaries was great; they had few preachers on their side; and many of those who professed the gospel were guilty of gross vices. Some, by a human policy, were for purging religion, but for altering outward things as little as might be. They being secular men, apprehended, that upon a more visible change, such disorders would follow as might prove fatal: whereas, it was evident that the innumerable corruptions, abuses and superstitions, that had overrun the church, were such, that it was impossible to reform it, without bringing matters back to those pure fountains, and to the first sound principles of religion. The devil studied to undermine those good designs, by keeping up still many relics of popery, that by these the memory of the old abuses might be preserved, and the return to them rendered easier. On the other hand, they had this great comfort, that they had a holy king, full of fervent zeal for true religion. He writes, that he speaks in all this tender age, with that learning, that prudence, and that gravity, that it amazes all people who hear it. Therefore they were all bound to pray God earnestly, to preserve him long for the good of the church. There were several of the nobility well inclined, and some bishops not of the worst sort, among whom the archbishop of Canterbury was the standard-bearer. Hooper was lately made a bishop, to the joy of all good men, who was to pass through Oxford, in

Coll. Numb. 6.

his way to his diocese. He believed that he himself had given Bullinger an account of his being made a bishop, otherwise he would have wrote it. He also commends Coverdale's labours in Devonshire, and adds, that if they could find many such men, it were a great happiness. Alasco being forced to leave Friezeland, by reason of the Interim, was then about the settling his congregation in London. He was at that time in the archbishop's house. The peace with France gave them some hopes. All were under great apprehensions from the pope's designs of bringing his council again together: but they must still trust in God. And after somewhat of their private concerns, he desires his prayers, for the progress of God's word in this kingdom."

He also, in a letter written on the 6th of August, 1551, laments the death of the young duke of Suffolk, "looking on him as the most promising of all the youth in the nation, next to the king himself." After some more on that subject, he adds this sad word, "There is no end put to our sins, nor any measure in sinning*." He commends Hooper's labours in his diocese mightily, and wishes that there were many more such bishops as he was.

1551.

Upon the death of the two young dukes of Suffolk, Grey, marquis of Dorchester, was made duke of Suffolk. He had married their sister, but had no sons by her. He had three daughters, of whom the eldest, lady Jane, was esteemed the wonder of the age. She had a sweetness in her temper, as well as a strength of mind, that charmed all who saw her. She had a great aptness to learn languages, and an earnest desire to acquire knowledge. Her father found out a very extraordinary person, to give her the first impressions: Ailmer, who was afterwards, in queen Elizabeth's time, advanced to be bishop of London. Under his care, she made an amazing progress. He found, it seems, some difficulty in bringing her to throw off the vanities of dress, and to use a greater simplicity in it. So, on the 23d of December, 1552, he wrote to Bullinger, "That the lady Elizabeth was a pattern to all, in the modesty of her dress; and yet nobody was prevailed on by such an illustrious example to follow it; and, in all this light of the gospel, to abstain from wearing gold, or gems, or platting of hair." He was particularly charged with the education of lady Jane Grey, whom he calls his scholar: but, it seems, he could not prevail in this particular; so he desires Bullinger to write his thoughts to her on that head.

There was nothing done for almost two whole years, pursuant to the act passed in November 1549, for making a new body of ecclesiastical laws: concerning which, it is not easy to guess what was the clause in it that gave the bishops so much offence, that the greatest part of the bench protested against it. For both the archbishops, and the bishops of Ely, Durham, Worcester, Westminster, Chichester, Lincoln, Rochester, and St. David's, joined in the protestation. There were only two clauses that I can imagine could give them this disgust. One is, that only four bishops and four common lawyers were made necessary to be of the number of the thirty-two persons. The other might be, the limitation of the time to three years: though that seems designed to make the act have its effect in a little time. Two years were almost ended before any steps were made towards the execution of it. On the 6th of October, 1551, the council wrote to the lord chancellor, to make out a commission for thirty-two persons, to reform the ecclesiastical laws. These were the archbishop, the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Exeter, Gloucester, Bath, and Rochester. The eight divines were, Taylor, Cox, Parker, Latimer, Cook, Peter Martyr, Cheke, John Alasco. The eight civilians were, Petre, Cecil, Smith, Taylor of Hadley, May, Trahern, Lyell, Skinner. The eight common lawyers were, Hales, Bromley, Goodrick, Gosnald, Stamford, Caryl, Lucas, Brook.

This, it seems, brought Peter Martyr from Oxford to London, in March 1552. And on the 8th of that month he wrote to Bullinger, from Lambeth, being lodged with the archbishop. He tells him, "That the king did earnestly press the bishops, that since the papal authority was cast out of this church, the ecclesiastical laws might be so reformed, that none of the papal decrees might continue to be of any authority in the bishops' courts; and that another body of laws ought to be compiled for them. He had therefore appointed two-and-thirty persons to set about it, of which number he himself was one. He says, the greater number of them were persons both eminently learned and truly pious: in this, he

1552.

* "Peccatis neque finis neque modus imponitur."



desires both their advices and their prayers. This work must be so prepared, as to receive a confirmation in parliament, in which he foresaw some difficulties." It seems that this number was thought too great to bring anything to a good conclusion, or these persons had not all the same views; for soon after, on the 9th of November after this, a new commission was ordered to be made out to eight persons, for preparing the same work. These were the archbishop, the bishop of Ely, doctor Cox, Peter Martyr, Taylor, May, Lucas, Goodrick. Strype tells us he saw the digest of the ecclesiastical laws, written out by the archbishop's secretary; the title being prefixed to each chapter, with an index of the chapters in the archbishop's own hand. In many places there are corrections and additions in his hand, and some lines are scored out: some of them were also revised by Peter Martyr: the 7th chapter in the title De Prescriptionibus is all written by Peter Martyr. Several chapters are added to the first draught. which is probably that which was prepared in king Henry's time. There was a later and more perfect draught of this work, prepared for king Edward, which coming into Fox's hands, he printed it in the year 1571: the differences between the two draughts, as Mr. Strype assures us, are not very material. But all this was brought to no conclusion.

Life of Cranmer, B. 1, c. 30.

I find somewhat to be added concerning the duke of Somerset's tragical death, in a letter that one John ab Ulmis, a Switzer, then in England, wrote from Oxford the 4th of December, 1552, to Bullinger; that the duke of Somerset was censured, as having been too gentle to the lady Mary, in conniving at her mass: but when he proposed the doing that in council, the earl of Warwick answered, "The mass is either of God or of the devil: if it is of God, we ought all to go to it; if it is of the devil, why should it be connived at in any person?" yet still the gentleness of the duke of Somerset made him suffer it to go on. But now, he adds, since the earl of Warwick had the greatest share in the government, he had put her priests in prison, and had given strict orders to suffer no mass to be said in her house.

The D. of Somerset's last Fall.

He tells one remarkable particular in the duke of Somerset's trial: "That after he was found guilty of the conspiracy against the earl of Warwick (upon which the people expressed a great concern), the earl of Warwick addressed himself to the duke, and told him, that now, since by the law he was adjudged to die, he, as he had saved him formerly, so he would not now be wanting to serve him, how little soever he expected it from him He desired him, therefore, to fly to the king's mercy, in which he promised he would faithfully serve him. Upon this, the duke did petition the king, and it was hoped, that he would reconcile those two great men, and that by this means the duke of Somerset should be preserved."

It seems there was some treaty about his pardon: for though he was condemned on the 1st of December, he was not executed till the 22d of January. What made it to be respited so long, and yet executed at last, does not appear. It is probable it was from a management of the duke of Northumberland's, who, by the delay, did seem to act in his favour, that so he might be covered from the popular odium which he saw his death was like to bring upon him; and, at the same time, by the means of some who had credit with the king, he possessed him with so bad an opinion of the duke of Somerset, that he, looking on him as an implacable man, capable of black designs, resolved to let the sentence be executed upon him.

In the same letter he gives an instance of Hooper's impartial zeal in the discharge of his function in his diocese: that while he was censuring some inferior people for their scandalous life, one said to him, "We poor people must do penance for these things, while great and rich men, as guilty as we, are overlooked. Upon that, he said, name any person, how great soever, that was guilty of adultery, so that it could be proved against him, and he would leave himself in their hands, to be used by them as they pleased, if he did not proceed equally against all. So, in a few days, sir Anthony Kingston, a great man in those parts, being accused of adultery, he cited him into his court. He, for some time, refused to appear. At last he came, and when the bishop was charging his sin severely upon him, he gave him very foul language, and at last fell to beat him. This was presently followed so severely, that he was fined in 500*l.* and forced to submit to do penance."

Hooper's impartial Zeal.

This raised the bishop's character, as it contributed not a little to establish his authority

in his diocese. He set himself to do his duty there with so much zeal, that his wife, who was a German, wrote to Bullinger, praying him to write to her husband, to take a little more care of himself: for he preached commonly thrice, sometimes four times in one day. The crowds of those who came constantly to hear him made him look on them as persons that were hungering for the word of life. So she apprehending that his zeal made him labour beyond his strength, studied to get others to put some stop to that, which, it seems, she could not prevail with him so far as to restrain.

About this time the bishops and divines were employed in the review of the Common-Prayer; but I have met with nothing new with relation to that matter, save that on the 6th of May, 1551, there was an order of council, for preserving peace, sent to all the cathedrals, at least to that of Exeter, for it is in that register. And on the 18th of January there was a commission issued out for the repressing of heresy, and for observing the Common-Prayer. And on the 27th of October, 1552, the council-book mentions also a letter, written to the lord chancellor, to add in the edition of the new Common-Prayer Book a declaration touching kneeling at the receiving the communion.

Reg. Exon.

It remains that I give the best account I can of the articles of religion. It seemed to be a great want that this was so long delayed, since the old doctrine had still the legal authority of its side. One reason of delaying the publishing them probably was, that the king, in whose name, and by whose authority, they were to be published, might be so far advanced in years, and out of the time of pupillage, that they might have the more credit, and be of the more weight: for though it was a point settled in law, that the king's authority was at all ages the same, yet the world would still make a difference in their regard to things passed while he was a child, and those things authorized by him when he was in the 16th year of his age.

The Articles of Religion prepared.

The first impression of these articles appeared with a title apt to make one think they had been agreed on in the convocation. It runs thus in English, "Articles which were agreed to in the synod of London, in the year 1552, by the bishops and other godly and learned men, to root out the discord of opinions, and establish the agreement of true religion." But there is reason to believe that no such articles were offered to the convocation. Weston objected afterwards to Cranmer that he had set forth a catechism in the name of the synod in London, and yet, said he, there be 50 which, witnessing that they were of the number of the convocation, never heard one word of this catechism. And in a long and much-laboured sermon of Brooks', preached at St. Paul's Cross in November 1553, there is an intimation that makes it indeed probable that the articles were brought into the upper house of convocation. For when he complains that they were set forth as allowed by the clergy, he adds, whereas the convocation, without all doubt (for the lower house at least), was never made privy thereto: that reserve seems to make it probable that they were brought into the upper house. In the first impression of the articles, the catechism is printed first before the articles: so this is to be understood of that whole book, which is indeed a very small one.

Not passed in Convocation.

When this was objected to Cranmer, he answered, "I was ignorant of the setting to of that title, and as soon as I had knowledge thereof I did not like it. Therefore, when I complained thereof to the council, it was answered by them, that the book was so entitled, because it was set forth in the time of the convocation." In the interrogatories that were afterwards exhibited to him, in order to his final censure, the 7th ends thus, "That he did compile and caused to be set abroad divers books." The last part of his answer to that was, "As for the Catechism, the Book of Articles, with the other book against Winchester, he grants the same to be his doings."

It is true, in the first convocation under queen Mary, when the prolocutor charged Philpot with this, that a catechism was put forth without their consent, he answered on the sudden, that the house had granted an authority to make ecclesiastical laws to certain persons to be appointed by the king's majesty; and what was set forth by them might be well said to be done in the synod of London, although the house had no notice thereof before the promulgation; but Weston also said, "That the catechism beareth the title of the last synod before this, although many of them who were then present were never made privy



thereof in setting it forth:" so that both Weston and Philpot agree that the book was never brought before the convocation. In this matter Philpot, as he could not deny the fact, so he made use of the best answer that then occurred to him, without considering that the convocation had not agreed to any such deputation of 32 persons,—for that was settled by an act of parliament; nor did the deputation relate to matters of doctrine, but only to the canons and proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts; for as it was a revival of the acts passed in king Henry's time, so it run in the same strain with them. These evidences make it plain that the articles of religion did not pass in convocation. We have Cranmer's own word for it, that he drew them, and that he, who was always plain and sincere, did not approve of that deceitful title that was prefixed to them, to impose upon the unwary vulgar. He also owns that they were his doings. One reason that may seem probable for his not offering them to the convocation might be, that he had observed that many made a difference between obeying orders already made, and the consenting before-hand to the making of them. A greater degree of authority and evidence seemed necessary for the one than for the other; besides that the offering things to debate, while it was free to argue on either side of the question, might carry some to engage themselves so far, that they could not after that submit with any decency. This, as far as I can judge, seems to be Cranmer's reason for not offering the articles to be debated and passed in convocation.

But now that they were to be published with authority, that was to be done in the king's name; so a very few days before the king's death, he sent a mandate to Cranmer to publish the articles, and to cause them to be subscribed. This was done pursuant to the archbishop's motion to the king and council; for he had desired, "That all bishops might have authority from him to cause all their preachers, archdeacons, deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, with all their clergy, to subscribe the said articles; and he trusted that such a concord and quietness in religion should shortly follow thereon, as else is not to be looked for in many years. God shall thereby be glorified; his truth shall be advanced, and your lordships (for he writes it to the privy council) shall be rewarded of him, as the setters-forward of his true word and gospel. Dated from Ford, the 24th of November." It seems they were prepared some time before that, for on the 20th of October, in the year 1552, the council had written to the six preachers, Harley, Bell, Horn, Grindall, Pern, and Knox, to consider of some articles then offered to be subscribed by all preachers, which can be no other than these articles; but as this matter was long delayed formerly, so when it was now ordered, it was sent about with all the diligence that so important a work required. The king also directed his orders to all the archbishop's officers, enjoining them to cause all rectors, vicars, or those in any ecclesiastical employments, to appear before the archbishop, to obey and do on the king's part as shall be signified to them.

But published by the King's Authority.

The mandate that upon this was sent out by the archbishop's officers, which is in the Collection, though it is in the king's name, yet was issued out by Cranmer himself, in execution of the mandate; it is mentioned in it that it was sent to him by the king. It was thus put in the king's name, pursuant to the act passed in the beginning of this reign, that all process in the ecclesiastical courts should be in the king's name; but its being tested by the archbishop shows it was the act of his court: for though there is an exception in that act for the archbishops, yet that only related to what they should act in their provinces as metropolitans, but not to their proceedings in their particular dioceses,—in which, it seems, they were put on the same foot with the other bishops. The king's mandate to himself is not in any record that I was able to find out. After the mandate, the execution of it by his officers was certified to him on the 22d of June, which is in his register, and is added in the Collection to the mandate. But probably the time given them run further than the king's life; for nothing farther appears to have been done upon it. The clergy of the city of London (probably only his peculiars) appeared before him, and he exhorted them to subscribe the articles. No mention is made of any one's refusing to do it; but he compelled none to subscribe, which he affirmed in his answer to an interrogatory put to him by Queen Mary's commissioners; for he said that he compelled none, but exhorted such to subscribe as were willing to do it, before they

And sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Col. Numb. 7.

did it. It came to Norwich, where Thirleby was bishop, who complied readily with everything that he was required to do, though by his sudden turn, and his employments in the next reign, it appears that he acted, at least, against his heart, if not against his conscience.

And the Bishop of Norwich. Coll. Numb. 8.

The mandate for Norwich, which will be found in the Collection, bears date the 9th of June, in the 7th year of this reign. And it is not to be doubted but that the like mandates were directed to all the bishops, though they do not appear upon record. It sets forth that "whereas, after a long time of darkness, the light was now revealed to the inestimable benefit of the nation; the king thought it his duty to have a uniform profession, doctrine, and preaching for the evading dangerous opinions and errors; and therefore he sent him certain articles gathered with great judgment, of the greatest part of the learned bishops of the kingdom, and sundry others of the clergy; which he required and exhorted him to sign, and in his preaching to observe, and to cause them to be subscribed by all others, who do, or shall preach, or read within his diocese; and if any shall not only refuse to subscribe, but shall preach contrary to them, he is required to give notice of it to the king and his council, that further order may be given in the matter. And for such persons as came to be admitted to any benefice or cure, he was to confer with them on these articles, and to cause them to subscribe them, otherwise not to admit them to any such benefice, to which they were presented. But if the person was ignorant, and did not understand them, pains was to be taken on him to instruct him, and six weeks' time might be given him to examine them by the Scriptures: but at the end of six weeks, if he did not subscribe them, he was to be rejected. Then follows an order for him to receive the catechism, and to give it to all masters of schools, that it may be taught in them all; and he is required to make report to the archbishop of the province, of the obedience given to these orders." This order was so readily executed, that about fifty of the clergy subscribed it. This instrument was examined and sent to me by Dr. Tanner, the learned chancellor of Norwich.

And to the University of Cambridge. Coll. Numb. 9.

But besides the evidence that appears from the registers of Canterbury and Norwich, I have a further proof that the articles of religion were only promulgated by the king's authority, in an injunction sent to the university of Cambridge, signed by the bishop of Ely, sir John Cheke, Mayo, and Wendy, who were the visitors of the university, bearing date the 1st of June, 1553; directed to all the regents and non-regents; setting forth that great and long pains had been taken by the king's authority, and the judgments of good and learned men, concerning some articles described according to the title with which they were printed; these being promulgated by the king's authority, and delivered to all the bishops, for the better government of their dioceses, they did commend them to them, and by their visitatorial authority, they do enjoin that all doctors and bachelors of divinity, and all doctors of arts, should publicly before their creation swear to them, and subscribe them; and such as refuse to do it are to be denied their degree. To this is added the form of the oath to be taken: the injunction will be found in the Collection.

Cranmer designed to set up the Provincial Synods.

Thus it appears, by a variety of evidences, that these articles were not passed in convocation, nor so much as offered to it. And, as far as can be judged from Cranmer's proceedings, he intended to put the government of the church in another method, different from the common way by convocation; and to set up provincial synods of bishops, to be called as the archbishop saw cause, he having first obtained the king's licence for it. This appears by the 18th chapter of the "Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws" prepared by him, in which it is plain that these provincial synods were to be composed only of the bishops of the province. The convocations now in use by a long prescription, in which deans, archdeacons, and cathedrals, have an interest, far superior in number to those elected to represent the clergy, can in no sort pretend to be more than a part of our civil constitution, and have no foundation either in any warrant from Scripture, or from the first ages of the church; but did arise out of that second model of the church, set out by Charles the Great, and formed according to the feudal law; by which a right of giving subsidies was vested in all who were possessed of such tenures as qualified them to contribute towards the supporting of the state.



As for the catechism, it was printed with a preface prefixed to it in the king's name, bearing date the 24th of May, about seven weeks before his death: in which he sets forth that it was drawn by a pious and learned man (supposed to be bishop Poynet), and was given to be revised by some bishops and other learned men; he therefore commands all schoolmasters to teach it.

King Edward's scheme of the Succession. Coll. Numb. 10.

I come now to set forth the dismal overturning of all that had been done now in a course of twenty years. King Edward was for some months under a visible decay: his thoughts were much possessed with the apprehensions of the danger religion must be in, if his sister Mary should succeed him. This set him on contriving a design to hinder that. He seemed to be against all females' succession to the crown. I have put in the Collection a paper that I copied out of a manuscript of the late Mr. Petyt's, all written in that king's own hand, with this title, "My Device for the Succession:" by it "the crown was to go to the issue male of his own body, or if he had only female issue, to the issue male coming of the issue female; next to the issue male of the lady Frances, then in succession to her three daughters, and to their issue male; and if they had only female issue, to the first issue male of any of her daughters. The heir male after 18 was to enter upon the government: but his mother was to govern until he was of that age, with the advice of six of that council of twenty persons, which he should name by his last will: but if the mother of the issue male should not be 18, then the realm was to be governed by the council, provided that after the issue male was of the age of 14, all matters of importance should be opened to him. If at his death there were no issue male, the lady Frances was to be governess-regent; and after her life, her three daughters were to be governesses in succession, till an heir-male was born; and then the mother of that heir-male was to be governess. If four of the council should die, the governess was ordered, within a month, to summon the whole council, to choose four in their stead, in which the governess was to have three voices. But after the death of the governess, the council was to choose the new councillors till the king was 14, and then he was to choose them, but by their advice."

It may seem by this, that the king designed this some time before his death; while he thought that he himself might have issue: but he was prevailed on to change a great deal of this scheme, especially those clauses that kept the crown as in an abeyance, till an issue-male should be born; which would have totally changed the government: so he departed from these clauses.

Much altered. Collection, Number 11.

This was afterwards put in another form by the judges; and that scheme which they prepared was, in six several places, superscribed by the king's hand. Probably it consisted of so many pages. I never saw that paper; but I have put in the Collection the paper that was subscribed by twenty-four councillors and judges: in which they set forth, "That they had often heard the king's earnest desire, touching the limitation of the succession of the crown, and had seen his device written in his own hand: and after that was copied out, and delivered to judges and other learned men, they did sign with their hands, seal with their seals, and promise by their oaths and honours, to observe every article in that writing, and all such other matter, as the king should by his last will declare, touching the limitation of the crown: and never to vary from it, but to defend and maintain it to the utmost of their power. And they also promised that they would prosecute any of their number, or any other, that should depart from it, and do their uttermost to see them severely punished."

Opposed long by Cranmer.

I gave an account in my History of the opposition that Cranmer made to this: but Mr. Strype has discovered more particulars concerning it. He tells us, "that he argued with the king himself once about it in the hearing of the marquis of Northampton and the lord Darcy. He desired leave to speak to the king alone about it, that so he might be more free with him; but that was not allowed him. He hoped, if he had obtained that liberty, he should have diverted the king from it. He argued against it in council, and pleaded that the lady Mary was legitimate: but some lawyers were prevailed on to say that the king, being in possession of the crown, might dispose of it as he pleased. He stood firm and said, that he could not subscribe it without perjury, having sworn to the observance of king Henry's will. Some councillors said they had sworn to

that will as well as he, and that they had consciences as well as he. He said every man was to answer to God for his own deeds, and not for other men's: he did not take upon him to judge any man's conscience but his own. He spake with the judges about the matter; and they agreed that the king might settle the succession, notwithstanding king Henry's will: yet he remained still unsatisfied; till the king himself required him to set his hand to his will, saying, he hoped he alone would not stand out, and be more repugnant to his will than all the rest of the council were. This made a great impression on him; it grieved him much: but such was the love that he bore to the king, that in conclusion he yielded, and signed it."

The Primate of Ireland poisoned.

A little before the king's death, a very extraordinary thing happened in Ireland. I had told in my former work, that Goodacre and Bale were sent over to promote the Reformation in Ireland. The former was made primate of Armagh: of whose death there is a report, that has been all along believed by his posterity. A reverend and worthy clergyman of Hampshire, not far from Salisbury (who is the fourth in descent from that primate, they having been all clergymen but one), told me he had it from his grandfather, who was the primate's grandson. "That he being invited to a popish lord's house, a monk there drank to him in a poisoned liquor, on design to poison him; of which they both died." This I set down from the venerable person's own mouth, as a thing known and believed in the family.

I have no particulars to add, neither concerning the death nor the character of that good prince, king Edward, whose untimely end was looked on by all people as a just judgment of God upon those who pretended to love and promote a Reformation, but whose impious and flagitious lives were a reproach to it. The open lewdness in which many lived, without shame or remorse, gave great occasion to their adversaries to say they were in the right to assert justification by faith without works; since they were, as to every good work, reprobate. Their gross and insatiable scrambling after the goods and wealth, that had been dedicated with good designs, though to superstitious uses, without applying any part of it to promoting the gospel, the instructing the youth, and relieving the poor, made all people conclude that it was for robbery, and not for reformation, that their zeal made them so active.

A character of the Court in King Edward's Time.

I will here give an eminent instance of fraudulent proceedings in the beginning of this reign; of which the present learned and zealous dean of Norwich was pleased to send me a copious account out of their registers. The prior, when inducted into that dignity, took an oath not to alienate any of their lands, which was confirmed by injunctions exhibited to the convent in the royal visitation. But the king, upon certain reasons suggested by the prior and convent, and approved by him, did dispense with that oath; so that notwithstanding the oath, they were left at liberty to alienate some lands set forth in the instrument, dated the 1st of April 1538, countersigned by Cromwell. A month after that, on the 2nd of May that year, the church was converted from a prior and convent to a dean and chapter; and the last prior was made the first dean of the church.

But on the 26th of May 1547, in the beginning of king Edward's reign, a letter was sent to that church, signed by the duke of Somerset, Rich, the lord chancellor, and six other privy-councillors, pretending that they designed the advancement of God's glory, and the truest intent of the late king's determination: by which sir Richard Southwell, sir Roger Townshend, and sir William Paston, were authorised to receive a full surrender of the whole chapter; assuring both the dean and every one of the prebendaries, that there should be no alteration made in their yearly profits, and that there should be a just contentation given to the residue of the ministers there. A commission was granted on the 27th to these persons to take the surrender, with articles and instructions annexed to it: which, because, probably many others were of the same sort, are put in the Collection. But, for all this appearance of fair dealing—it being pretended that this was only designed that the king should be the founder, and that the church should lose nothing by the surrender—yet when they had made the surrender, in the hope of new letters-patent, they could not obtain them. And lands, to the value of 200*l.* a year, were taken from them. Upon which that corporation tried, in queen Mary's time, to get

Collection, Number 12.



a bill to pass, to restore them to the state they were in before they were prevailed on to make the surrender. But the bill did not pass. Perhaps it might be suggested that it would alarm the nation too much if any alienation of church lands, how fraudulently soever obtained, were meddled with. I give this as a well-attested instance; by which it may appear how things of this kind were obtained and managed chiefly in the beginnings of this reign. For I am not so much set on justifying everything that was done in this reign, as another voluminous writer is on condemning almost everything done in it, with a particular virulence against the memory of that pious prince. This, from one of another communion, is that which might have been expected; but it is a little singular, when it comes from one who says he is of our church.

Coll. Eccl. Hist. p. 332, col. 2.

The irregular and immoral lives of many of the professors of the gospel, gave their enemies great advantages to say, they ran away from confession, penance, fasting, and prayers, only that they might be under no restraint, but indulge themselves in a licentious and dissolute course of life. By these things, that were but too visible in some of the more eminent among them, the people were much alienated from them: and as much as they were formerly prejudiced against popery, they grew to have kinder thoughts of it, and to look on all changes that had been made, as designs to enrich some vicious courtiers, and to let in an inundation of vice and wickedness upon the nation. Some of the clergy that promoted the Reformation, were not without very visible blemishes: some indiscretions, both in their marriages and in their behaviour, contributed not a little to raise a general aversion to them.

The bad lives of those who professed the Gospel.

It is true, there were great and shining lights among them, whose exemplary deportment, continual labours, fervent charity, and constant zeal, both during their lives and at their deaths, kept up the credit of that work, as much as it was disgraced by others: but they were few in comparison of the many bad, and those of the clergy, in whom the old leaven had still a deep root, though they complied in everything that was imposed on them. Seeing that they had lost those perquisites at masses and other practices, which brought them their chief gains, and saw nothing came in lieu of them for their subsistence, they, who in their hearts hated all that they were forced to profess outwardly, did secretly possess such as were influenced by them, with an abhorrence of all that was done: and they disposed the nation to be ready to throw it all off.

That which was above all, was, that God was highly dishonoured by men who pretended zeal for his glory, but with their works dishonoured him. They talked of the purity of the gospel, while they were wallowing in all sensuality and uncleanness: pretending to put all their confidence in the merits and sufferings of Christ, while they were crucifying him afresh, and putting him to open shame. In such lamentations as these, I find the good men of that time did often vent their sorrows in their letters to one another, and break out into severe reflections on them. Some did it afterwards abroad in their exile, and others at home in their sufferings. Their only human hope was in the king himself; in whom there appeared such a progress, both in knowledge and zeal, that they expected to see him complete the Reformation, and redress those crying abuses in which the men in power found their account too evidently to expect remedy from them. They were men, in whose hands things grew every day worse and worse; and whose arrogance and other disorders our chief reformers were forced in some measure to connive at, that they might not provoke them to retard a work that could in no wise be carried without their countenance and authority; though they saw the prejudice it brought upon them to be obliged to apply to, and to make use of such tools with which the righteous souls of our best reformers were much grieved. They were engaged with men that were ready to pull down, especially when anything was to be got by it; but were as backward in building up as they were forward in plucking down: so that they seemed to design to leave all in a great ruin. These were great hindrances to the progress of the Reformation, as they were both the burden and the shame of our reformers.

Much lamented by the Reformers.

I thought it not amiss to open this as fully as I found it lying before me: and I hope the reader will not only consider this as a part of the history of a former age, but as an admonition to us in the present: if we fall under the disorders and corruptions that then reigned,

why should not we expect such a calamity as overtook and overwhelmed them? We may justly look for worse, since we have the advantages of much more light, and many more blessings, as well as many alarming terrors, which have all gone over us without those dismal convulsions that we might have looked for: and they have as easily slipt out of our thoughts, as if we had never seen or felt them. To the viciousness of life, and the open immoralities and neglect of religion, that were the sins of the former age, many among us have added a studied impiety and a laboured opposition to all revealed religion: which some have owned in so barefaced a manner, that perhaps no age of the world can show anything like it. If others with secular views have declaimed against this, and put on some show of zeal, how much more of party than of true religion has appeared in it. The divided parties among us have showed little true regard to religion, and to a course of virtue and piety, which can only give both strength and honour to a church; and this does too plainly appear in many who talk the most of it, or for it.

Have we of the clergy made the steps that became us, and that were designed in the former age, for throwing out abuses, for regulating the courts, and restoring discipline? while we have for above 150 years expressed once a year a faint wish that the primitive discipline were again restored, and yet have not made one step toward it: what a venality of the advowsons to livings do we hear of, and at best the disposing of them goes generally by secular regards, by importunities, obligations, or friendship: and above all, how few of those that labour in the gospel do labour indeed, and give themselves wholly to it? how much of their time and zeal is employed in things that do not deserve it so well as the watching over, the instructing, and the building up their flock in their most holy faith? How few do fast and pray, and study to prepare themselves and their people for the evil day that seems much nearer us than the greatest part are willing to apprehend; that so we may by our intercessions deliver our church and nation from that which is ready to swallow us up; or at least be so fortified and assisted, that we ourselves, and others, by what they see in us, may glorify God in that day of visitation.

I shall conclude this book with one reflection that may make us hope that the reformation was under a particular and watchful care of providence: when the light seemed almost extinguished in one place it broke out in another, by which as it was still kept shining somewhere, so there was a sanctuary opened, to which those who were forced to fly from one place, might in their flight find a covert in another from the storm. In the beginning of this reign, by breaking of the Smalcaldick league, by the taking of the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse, and by the Interim, the reformation seemed to be near extinguished in Germany. In this church it was at that time advanced; and we kindly then received those who were forced to fly hither for shelter. And now in the year before the death of this good king, there was not only a revival, but a lasting settlement procured in Germany to the reformation there. So that those who fled from hence found a safe and kind harbour in all the places of the empire, to which they were driven by the storm and tempest that arose here. Of which I go next to gather up such gleanings as have come in my way.

The providence of God towards the Reformed.



# PART III.—BOOK V.

## OF WHAT HAPPENED DURING QUEEN MARY'S REIGN, FROM THE YEAR 1553 TO THE YEAR 1558.

As soon as the queen came to the Tower of London, she sent for the lord mayor and the aldermen of the city, and told them, "That though her own conscience was stayed in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compel or strain other people's consciences, otherwise than God shall, as she trusteth, put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth." These soft words were not long remembered: of the progress of the severities in her reign, I have a very authentical account before me, in the original council-book, that begins on the 17th of August, 1553, and goes to the end of the year 1557: but from that to her death I have not so sure a thread. The book begins with orders for letters to be written to Coverdale and Hooper for their undelayed repair to the court; and a complaint being made of a sermon preached by Fisher, parson of Amersham; he was ordered to appear the next day, and to bring the notes of his sermon with him. A parliament was summoned to meet in November: on the 14th of August the writ for the convocation was directed to Cranmer. A letter was soon after written by the queen and council to the bishop of Norwich, to suffer none to preach without a special licence; the same order was intimated to the lord mayor of London, and the same was no doubt universally both ordered and executed.

The Queen's words were soft;

On the 20th of August there was an order for guards to defend the preacher at St. Paul's cross, occasioned by what had happened to Bourn: it seems few came to hear the sermons, for the lord-mayor was ordered "to make the ancients of the companies resort to the sermons, lest the preacher should be discouraged by a small audience." Rymer MSS. On the 23d of August Gardiner was declared lord chancellor: here I shall set down the appointments of the lord chancellor as they were settled at that time. There was a privy seal given for wages and diets, and for the masters in chancery, for 542*l.* 15*s.* yearly: 50*l.* was ordered for attending on the star-chamber every term; and besides that a salary was given of 300*l.*, and 64*l.* for 12 ton of wine, and 16*l.* for wax. All these were granted the 21st of September, but were to commence from the 23d of August. On the 24th of August there was an order sent to the keeper of Newgate to receive and keep John Melvil, a Scot, and a very seditious preacher; so he was called in the warrant. On the same day a letter was written to the mayor of Canterbury, to set Panton, vicar of St. Dunstan's, and one Burden, on the pillory, for seditious words against the queen, and to take bonds at their discretion for their good bearing. On the 26th of August a letter was writ to the mayor of Coventry to apprehend Symonds, a vicar there, and to send him up with such matter as can be procured to charge him with: "And to punish at their discretion such slanderous talkers, as by his lewd preaching have had dissolute and seditious talk."

but her proceeding severe.

Here is a great deal of heat in ten days' time. Cranmer was called before the council in the beginning of August; probably on the account of his signing king Edward's will, and acting upon it: but since so many of those who had signed it, were then at the council board, they were perhaps ashamed to proceed further against him, who had opposed it so much. He had for that time only a severe reprimand, and was commanded to keep his house. He was brought again before some of the queen's commissioners, being cited to appear, and to bring the inventory of his goods with him; he brought it, but no further proceedings against him are mentioned at that time. On the 29th of August Hooper appeared before the council: on the 1st of September he was sent to the Fleet, no regard being had to the active zeal that he had expressed in asserting the queen's right, and against the lady Jane; so sincerely did he follow the dictates of his conscience, when he

Against Cranmer, Hooper, and others.

could not but see what consequences it was like to have. On the 2d, order was given that his servant might attend on him. On the 31st of August, Coverdale appeared before them, and in respect that he was a foreigner, he was ordered to attend till further order. On the 2d of September, Sanders, vicar in Coventry, appeared before the council, and a letter was written to the mayor of Leicester to bring up their vicar: on the 4th of September, Latimer was summoned to appear, and a letter was written to the mayor of Coventry to set Symonds at liberty, upon his repentance for a wish he had uttered, wishing they were hanged that said mass: if he refused to do that, the mayor was to give notice of it.

On the 5th of September a letter was written to sir John Sidenham to let the strangers depart, and to give them a passport. This related to the congregation of the foreigners that had settled, in order to set up a manufacture at Glastonbury. On the 10th of September a letter of thanks was ordered for the gentlemen of Cornwall, for their honest proceeding in electing knights for the parliament: it seems there was some debate about it with the sheriff, for a letter was written to him to accept of the election, and not to trouble the county for any alteration: on the 13th of September it is entered, that Latimer, for his seditious demeanor, should be close prisoned in the Tower, with a servant to attend him; on the same day Cranmer was ordered to appear the next day at the star-chamber. On the 14th, in the the star-chamber, Cranmer, as well for his treason against the queen as for spreading seditious bills, moving tumults, to the disquieting the present state, was sent to the Tower, and referred to justice. There are several orders made for restoring all chalices to churches, together with all other goods belonging to them, though they had been sent into the great wardrobe. On the 4th of October the archbishop of York was committed to the Tower for divers offences; and Horn, the dean of Durham, was summoned again and again, but he thought fit to go beyond sea. Nothing gave more offence than the promoting petitions for retaining the doctrine and service settled in king Edward's time. Those of Maidstone were charged with it; and this is on several occasions mentioned in the council-book: but as the government was thus set to overthrow all that had been done in king Edward's time; so the fierceness of the popish party made them on many occasions out-run the government: some of the clergy continued to perform the daily worship, and to celebrate the sacrament; more they durst not do in public, all preaching being forbidden. The people that favoured the reformation frequented the service with great devotion and zeal, for all saw what was coming on them, and so they studied to prepare themselves for it. Some of the ruder multitudes came into their churches and disturbed them while they were at their devotions; they insulted the ministers and laughed at their worship, and there were everywhere informers with false stories to charge the more zealous preachers: in many places the people broke in violently into churches and set up altars, and the mass in them, before the parliament met to change the laws.

The Duke of Northumberland begs his life, but in vain.

The duke of Northumberland shewed that abjectness of mind that might have been expected from so insolent a man, loaded with so much guilt; he begged his life with all possible meanness, "That he might do penance all the days of his life, if it where in a mouse-hole." He went to mass in the Tower, and received the sacrament in the popish manner. He sent for Gardiner, and asked him if there was no hope for him, to live, and do penance for his sins. The bishop said his offence was great, and he would do well to provide for the worst, especially to see that he stood well with God in matters of conscience and religion; for to speak plainly, he said, he thought he must die. The duke desired he might have a learned priest sent him, for his confession and spiritual comfort. "For religion, he said, he could be of no other but of his, he never was of any other indeed; he complied in king Edward's days only out of ambition, for which he prayed God to forgive him, and he promised that he would declare that at his death." The bishop shed many many tears, and seemed to be troubled for him; and as he reported himself, he pressed the queen so much that he had almost gained her consent for his life. But the emperor who was then designing the marriage, that took effect afterwards, saw what a struggle there might be against that, and what mischief such a man might afterwards do: so he wrote his advice for his death positively to the queen; and he was executed, and died as he had lived.



Others suffered with him.

Gates and Palmer, who suffered with him, had tried how far the going to mass and receiving the sacrament in the popish way, could save them: but when they were brought to suffer, Gates confessed "that he had lived as viciously as any in the world. He was a great reader of the Scriptures; but no man followed them less: he read them only to dispute. He exhorted people to consider how they read God's holy word, otherwise it would be but poison to them. Palmer thanked God for his affliction, and said, he had learned more in one dark corner of the Tower than he had ever learned formerly: he had there come to see God in his works, and in his mercies, and had seen himself a mass of sin, and of all vileness the vilest." He seemed not daunted with the fear of death, though he saw two die before him, and the bloody axe coming to finish the business on himself. I find nothing new, with relation to the session of parliament.

A Convocation summoned.

The writ upon which the convocation was summoned was directed to Cranmer, but executed by Bonner, bishop of London. Weston was chosen prolocutor; and the queen sent a message to them, to dispute about religion. I gave formerly an account of that disputation, and can add little to it. The minutes tell us that Philips, who was one of the five that refused to subscribe, did, on the 30th of April, recant and subscribe. It is indeed of little consequence to enquire into the proceedings of the convocation during this reign, in which all the old notions of popery were taken up, even before they were enacted. Though both this convocation and the next were summoned by the queen's writ, with the title of supreme head of the church.

There was at this time an infamous slander set about, of the queen's being with child by Gardiner. The queen's whole life being innocent as to all such things, that might have made them to despise such a report rather than to trace it up; besides, Gardiner's great age made that none could believe it. But the earl of Sussex, in his officious zeal, pursued it through eight or ten hands; and one at last was indicted for having reported it; though such an absurd lie had, perhaps, been better neglected than so minutely inquired into. In the same letter that mentions this, the earl of Sussex gives an account of examinations touching a design for an insurrection, upon the arrival of the prince of Spain.

MSS. Petyt.

A Treaty of marriage with the Prince of Spain.

The emperor had, on the 21st of December, signed a commission empowering the count of Egmond, and others, to treat a marriage between his son and the queen. Upon their coming to England, the queen gave a commission on the 1st of January to the lord chancellor, and others, to treat with them. And prince Philip of Spain did, on the 28th of April, send from Valladolid full powers to the same effect. That which quickened the treaty was, an account of a vast treasure that was come with the fleet, from the West Indies to Seville; reckoned to have brought over five millions, as Mason wrote from Brussels. He does not denominate the millions, whether pounds or crowns. He wishes the half were true. It was necessary to have a great treasure in view; for though I never found any hint of the corrupting of parliament men, before this time, yet there was now an extraordinary occasion for it; and they saw where only the treasure to furnish it could be had. A concurrence of many circumstances seemed to determine all things for this marriage. Everything was agreed to: the conditions seemed to be of great advantage to the nation. In this treaty of marriage, if Cæsar Campana (who wrote Philip's life very copiously) was well informed, Philip himself was extremely disgusted at it: for he desired to be married to a wife more suited to his own age. He adds another particular—"That the nation shewed such an aversion to it, that the count of Egmond, with the others sent over to treat about it, saw themselves in such danger, that they were forced to fly away, that they might avoid it: and a parliament was to be called, to approve of the conditions of the treaty."

Part 3. B. 6.

Wyat's Rising and Principles.

Sir Thomas Wyat was a man that had been oft employed in embassies, particularly in Spain; where he had made such observations upon the subtlety and cruelty of the Spaniards, and of the treatment that such kingdoms and provinces met with that came under their yoke, that he could not look on the misery that his country was like to fall under, without a just concern about it. He was the duke of Northumberland's kinsman, yet he would not join in lady Jane's business: and before he

knew that any others had done it, he proclaimed the queen at Maidstone; but he did not, upon that, run to her for thanks, as others did; yet the queen was so sensible of his loyalty and zeal for her, that she sent her thanks to him by the earl of Arundel; to whom he appealed, as to this particular, when he was under examination in the Tower. He had obtained a pass to go beyond the sea; but his lady being with child, he stayed to see the end of that. Nothing set him on to raise the country as he did but his love and zeal for the public. He never pretended that religion was his motive: many papists joined with him. When he passed by Charing-Cross, he might have turned to Whitehall, which was but ill defended; for many of the earl of Pembroke's men came over to him. This shewed that he meant no harm to the queen's person. His marching into London was, on design to engage the city to come and join with him in a petition to the queen against the Spanish match. The queen herself was so satisfied as to his good intentions, that she intended to have pardoned him, had not a message from the prince of Spain determined her to order his head to be cut off. I suppose there may be a mistake here; and that it was the emperor, then in Flanders, and not the prince of Spain, who was yet in Spain, that sent this advice. He never accused the lady Elizabeth: but being entangled by questions in one examination, he had said somewhat reflecting on the earl of Devonshire; for this he begged his pardon. And when he was on the scaffold, he not only cleared the lady Elizabeth, but referred himself with relation to her innocence, and that she was not privy to their matters, to the declaration he had made to the council. All this account concerning him I take from a relation that his son gave afterwards to the lord Burleigh, marked with that lord's hand on it. It seems the priests at this time understood the interests of their cause better than others did above an age after; for they moved the queen to shew a signal act of mercy, and to pardon all that had been engaged in this rising.

Ex MSS. Petyti.

Only it gave a colour to the severity against the lady Jane Gray and her husband. She was the wonder and delight of all that knew her. I have two of her letters in Latin, writ to Bullinger, copied from the originals all in her own hand, written in a pure and unaffected style. She was then entering on the study of the Hebrew, in the method that Bullinger advised her. She expresses in her letters a wonderful respect and submission to him, with a great strain of modesty, and a very singular zeal for religion. There being nothing in those letters that is in any sort historical, I thought it was not proper to put them in my Collection, though one cannot read them without a particular veneration for the memory of so young and so rare a creature.

Lady Jane Gray executed.

And now the government finding all things under their feet, did begin to show the whole nation what was to be expected. All that adhered to the Reformation were sure to be excluded from all favour: commissions were sent over the whole kingdom, to proceed, as upon other points, so particularly against the married clergy. These came to York, directed to the guardian of the spiritualties in that place: and the dean and chapter were authorized by the queen to act pursuant to their instructions. And they acted as in a vacancy, though the commission to proceed against the archbishop bears date the 16th of March; yet on the 9th of March they sent out a general citation of the clergy, to appear before them on the 12th of March. They did not, indeed, begin to deprive any before the 27th of April; and from that day to the 20th of December, they deprived one-and-fifty, of whom several were prebendaries.

Severities against the married Clergy.

Reg. Ebor. Sede Vac. f. 65, 66.

I will here insert a short account of the unjust and arbitrary deprivations of the married clergy, that was published by Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. "What examples have they in stories before-time, that deprivations have been thus handled before our days? I will not speak of particular cases, where some men have been deprived, never convict, no, nor never called: some called that were fast locked in prison; and yet they were nevertheless deprived immediately. Some were deprived without the case of marriage after their order: some induced to resign upon promise of pension, and the promise as yet never performed. Some so deprived, that they were spoiled of their wages, for the which they served the half year before, and not ten days before the receipt sequestered from it: some prevented from the half-year's receipt, after charges of tenths and subsidies paid, and yet not deprived six weeks after. Some deprived of their receipt somewhat before the day,



with the which their fruits to the queen's majesty should be contented; and some yet in the like case chargeable hereafter, if the queen's merciful grace be not informed thereof, by the mediation of some charitable solicitor. * * * And a little after they were deprived or driven away, twelve or sixteen thousand, as some writer maketh his account." But there are good reasons to think that numbers have been wrong taken of this. Among other suggestions, Dr. Tanner has sent me this; that the diocese of Norwich is reckoned almost an 8th part of all England; and he finds there were only 335 clergymen deprived on that account: by this, the whole number will fall short of 3000. This, it is true, is but a conjecture; yet it is a very probable one, and the other account is no way credible.

Aggravated by some.

I shall, to this, only add another short account of the proceedings at that time, published by Ailmer, afterwards bishop of London. "The bishops that were married were thrust out of the parliament-house; and all married deans and archdeacons, out of the convocation, Many put out of their livings, and others restored, without form of law. * * * Many churches were changed, many altars set up; many masses said, many dirges sung, before the law was repealed." From these accounts, we may easily believe, that when the laws were altered, there was a vigorous and a speedy execution of them.

After all matters relating to the queen's marriage was settled, the emperor sent a fleet for the prince of Spain: and upon that occasion the queen was prevailed on to break through all forms, and to write the first love-letter to him; of which, having met with the original, I have put it in the Collection, as a singularity in such matters. She tells him, "that she understanding that the emperor's ambassador was sending the bearer to him, though he had not written since their alliance had been a treating; yet she, thinking herself obliged by the sincere affection that he had for her, confirmed by good effects, and by the letters that he had written to the emperor's ambassador, could not restrain herself from letting him know the duty in which she intended to correspond always with him: and she thanked him for all his good offices. She acquainted him that her parliament had, without any opposition, agreed to the articles of their marriage, and thought them honourable, advantageous, and more than reasonable. This gave her an entire confidence, that his coming to England should be safe and agreeable to him. She ends recommending herself most affectionately and humbly to his highness, as being his entirely-assured and most obliged ally."

The Queen writes the first Letter to K. Philip.

Coll. Numb. 13.

But the matter of the marriage being settled, and afterwards executed, I will now look again into the proceedings of the council. On the 16th of January, one Wotton, called an esquire, was committed to be close prisoner in the Fleet, for his obstinate standing against matters of religion. On the 14th of February, letters were written to the lord Rich, and to sir John Wentworth, to punish some in Colchester, Coggeshal, and other places, who dissuaded people from frequenting such divine service as was then appointed by law to be observed. Upon this, many were committed, and others put under recognisances to appear. On the 8th of March an order was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, to deliver Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, to sir John Williams, who was to carry them to Oxford. On the 26th of March, an order was given to send up Taylor, parson of Hadley, and Askew, of West Hillesly. Barlow, bishop of Bath and Wells, was carried beyond sea, by one Williams, a mariner of Bristol; who returning to Pembrokeshire, some gentlemen there seized on him, and sent him to London: so he was sent to the Marshalsea, and a letter of thanks was written to those who had seized on him, so careful were they to encourage every officious show of zeal.

Proceedings against Heretics.

But now came on the second convocation in this reign, in which all that was done was, that the prolocutor, Weston, with some deputed to go along with him, were ordered to go to Oxford to dispute with the three bishops; of which I can add nothing to the account I formerly gave of it. On the 27th of April, Weston returned, and reported the conference, or examination, of Cranmer and the two other bishops, attested under the seal of the university; and soon after that they were dismissed, for the parliament met on the 2nd of April, and was dismissed on the 5th of May.

A Convocation.

On the 3rd of May, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, being judged obstinate heretics, the judges were asked what the queen might do, since Cranmer was attainted. He was a man dead in law, and not capable of any other censure; and this seems to be the true reason that moved the queen to pardon the treason upon which he was already condemned: for though he was very earnest to obtain a pardon for that, it does not appear that there was any regard had to him in granting it, but on the contrary, it seems, it was resolved that he should be burned as a heretic. And since that could not be done while he stood condemned of treason, this seems to be the only motive of that mercy, which, in this case, was certainly done out of cruelty. On the 20th of May, a servant of the lady Elizabeth's was brought before the council; but there is nothing in particular mentioned, only he was required to attend. There were suspicions of her being concerned in Wyat's rebellion, as appeared in the account given of Wyat himself. It is alleged that Gardiner studied to suborn false witnesses to charge her with that; and that this went so far, that a warrant was brought to Bridges, the lieutenant of the Tower, for her execution, but that he would not obey it till he knew the queen's pleasure. Some credit seems due to this, since it was published in her reign, and was not contradicted, nor denied as far as I can find. But it seems to be denied in a declaration set forth many years after by herself, when she was queen, which shall be mentioned in its proper place. On the 25th of May, some in Stepney were ordered to be set on the pillory for spreading false news; the ears of one were ordered to be nailed to the pillory, and then cut off. On the 26th of May, sir Henry Bedingfeld was sent with instructions, signed by the queen, for the ordering the lady Elizabeth.

Cranmer's Treason pardoned, that he might be burned.

Reply to Parsons, p. 84.

On the 1st of June, an order was sent to the bishop of London to send discreet and learned preachers into Essex, to reduce the people there. Bonner seemed to think of no way of reducing any but by severity and force, so that the council found it necessary to put him in mind of his pastoral care. Orders were then given for the reception of the prince of Spain. Some were ordered to be set on a pillory, and their ears were to be nailed to it, and cut off. The duchess of Northumberland desired that her sons might hear mass in the Tower: this was granted, but order was given that none might speak with them. On the 11th of June, orders were given to receive the duke of Savoy at Dover. And on the 5th of July, order was given to punish those who were concerned in the imposture called "the spirit in the wall." On the 6th of July, some of the lady Elizabeth's servants were committed for lewd words of the state of the kingdom. On the 24th of July, two treaties for the queen's marriage, made by the lord Fitzwater, who had been ambassador in Spain, were given to the lord Treasurer.

Now the marriage was made, and the jollities on such occasions put some stop to severities: but it was a short one; for on the 15th of August, letters were writ to the justices of peace, in Sussex, to punish those who railed at the mysteries of Christ's religion. I must observe here, once for all, that the letters themselves, writ by the council, are not entered in the book: these would have set out particulars much more clearly than those short entries do. But there were forms of those letters put in a chest, and the council-book refers us often to the letter in the chest. On the 19th of August, letters of thanks are ordered to Tirrell and others for their care, ordering them to imprison all such as came not to divine service, and to keep them in prison till they had the comfort of their amendment: several men and women were imprisoned in Huntingdonshire. The 20th of August, mention is made of some in prison for words. On the 21st of August, an order was sent to examine into a conspiracy, in Suffolk, by certain lewd persons. On the 16th of September, a letter was ordered to the lord mayor and aldermen of London to punish the spreaders of false rumours.

The Council orders severe Proceedings.

But now came on the great affair of the reconciling the nation to the see of Rome. The two former parliaments could not be brought up to that; so the court was willing to accept all that they could be brought to; but when they saw at what they stuck, they were sent home. And some were so weak as to think, that, by yielding in some things, they should give the court such content as to save the rest. They were willing to return back to that state of religion in which king Henry left it; and

The Reconciliation with Rome designed.



did not rightly apprehend that nothing could give the queen an entire content but a total reconciliation with the pope: whereas those who could not come up to this, ought to have stood firm at first, and not, by giving ground, have encouraged the court to compass their whole design. The queen was more than ordinary solicitous to get a parliament chosen to her mind. She wrote a letter to the earl of Sussex; and probably she wrote to all those in whom she confided, in the same strain: it will be found in the Collection. "She had now summoned a parliament to the 12th of November, in which she expected to be assisted by him; and that he would admonish her good subjects, who had a right to elect the members, to choose men of the wise, grave, and catholic sort,—such as indeed meant the true honour of God, and the prosperity of the commonwealth, which she and the king her husband did intend, without the alteration of any particular man's possession, which, among other false rumours, the hinderers of her good purposes, and the favourers of heretics, did most untruly report. She desired him to come up against the feast of All-Saints, at the furthest, that she might confer with him about those matters that were to be treated of in parliament." This is dated the 6th of October; and so careful was that lord to merit the continuance of the queen's confidence, that, on the 14th of October, he wrote to the gentlemen of the county to reserve their voices for the person whom he should name. He also wrote to the town of Yarmouth for a burgess. But now to open more particularly the great matter that was to be transacted in this parliament.

Col.Num.14.

When the news of the change of government in England, and of the queen's intentions, were brought to Rome, it was not possible to deliberate long who was the properest person to be sent legate. Pole had so many meritorious characters on him, that, besides the signification of the queen's desire, no other person could be thought on. A. Harmer has given the bull upon which he was sent from Rome: it is dated the 5th of August, 1553, though the queen came not to London till the 3rd of August, and Comendone, who carried her message to the pope, was in London on the 23rd; for he saw the duke of Northumberland's execution. It seems that at Rome, upon king Edward's death, they took it for granted, both that her right would take place, and that she would reconcile her kingdom again to that see; and therefore the bull was prepared. Pole had at that time retired three hundred mile from Rome, to an abbey upon the lake, now called Di Garda. In his absence he was declared legate; upon which he wrote a letter to the queen, on the 13th of August, which I have put in the Collection.

Pole sent Legate for that end.

Col.Num.15.

"He begins expressing his joy at her exaltation, more particularly at the manner of it, which he reckons a singular work of an immediate providence; in which, as indeed the subject seemed to allow it, he enlarges very copiously. And since she carried the name of the Blessed Virgin, he calls on her to say the Magnificat, applying it to the late providences of God towards herself. He desires her to consider what was the beginning of all the miseries that England had felt: it was the king her father's departing from the apostolic see and the catholic church. He was a witness to all the steps made in that matter; he had upon all occasions asserted both her mother's marriage and her own right; and had done and suffered much on that account. He was, therefore, now most particularly concerned to know what her mind was with relation to religion; and though he was then three hundred miles from Rome, he was named legate to be sent to her, to the emperor, and to the French king; therefore he sent one to her to know her mind. He did not doubt of it; for no person owed more to the apostolic see than she did, since it was upon her account that so much outrage had been done to it. So, before he would proceed in his legatine function, he desired to know her pleasure more particularly."

He wrote to the Queen.

Upon this she wrote an answer on the 10th of October, which is also in the Collection. "She thanked him for all the kind expressions in his letter, and in particular for the good advice he gave her. She was full of reverence and obedience to the holy see; but it was a great trouble to her that she could not yet declare her mind openly in that matter: as soon as it was safe for her to do it, she would let him know it. His messenger would tell him all particulars: she was then crowned. She hoped the parliament would repeal all the bad laws; and that she should obtain the pope's pardon for all her own faults. She sends by him her most humble thanks to the pope for his clemency

Col.Num.16. The Queen's Answer.

to her, and for his readiness to forget all that is past." With this she sent back Ormanet to him. The bull that the pope sent to Pole is all a rhetorical panegyric upon the queen's coming to the crown, and on her pious intentions: but bulls being often in a common form, it is not in it, but in the breves, that we are to seek the powers or instructions given to Pole. There was a part of cardinal Pole's register conveyed to me about a year after my second volume was printed: a short account of the most remarkable things in it was then printed, in a letter directed to me. The characters of the truth of the papers are visible: some of them are in Latin, and some in Italian; and because I look on this as a matter of great consequence, I will give a very particular account of them.

The first paper which will be found in the Collection is the breve, that was at first sent him of the pope's own motion, and bears date the 8th of March, 1554. By it "Pole is empowered to receive all heretics of both sexes and of all ranks, even bishops and archbishops, communities as well as single persons, of what heresies soever guilty, though relapsed in them, upon their true and unfeigned repentance; and to absolve them from all pains and censures, how long soever they had continued in their errors, and though their sins were reserved immediately to the holy see. And he was empowered to pardon all irregularities run into by them; and all the bigamies of ecclesiastical persons, they first relinquishing their wives; notwithstanding which they might be continued in their orders and functions, and might be capable of all ecclesiastical promotions: all infamy being pardoned, provided they, with a contrite heart, should sacramentally confess their sins to any catholic priest at their choice, and submit to such penance as he should enjoin: excusing them from all public confession, abjuration, or open penance: absolving all communities from any unlawful pactions in favour of others, though confirmed by oaths. Empowering him to receive all regulars, and to absolve them from the censures of apostacy, allowing them to possess benefices as seculars: dispensing with the strict observation of Lent, as to milk, meats, and eggs, and even flesh, upon the allowance of either the confessor or the physician. Giving him authority to suffer such of the clergy, under the degree of a bishop, who were married, upon their true conversion, to live in that state, so that no scandals were given by it; only they were not to minister at the altar, nor to do any ecclesiastical function; but they might lawfully continue in the married state, the issue being declared lawful." To this is added a power of uniting benefices.

Col.Num.17. His first Powers.

Next comes the clause concerning the possessors of ecclesiastical goods. "He is empowered to agree, transact, and discharge them, for all the profits they had wickedly received, and for the moveable goods that they had consumed; 'the immoveable goods that have been by them unduly detained being first restored, if that should seem to be convenient to him.' And whatever should arise out of any such agreement was to be applied to the church to which such goods had belonged, or for the advancement of studies, and to schools. There is likewise a power granted to delegate others under him for the care and performance of all these particulars. But because he was to go first to Flanders, and stay in those parts for some time, the pope gave him authority to execute these powers even while he was without the kingdom, to all persons belonging to it that should apply to him, particularly with relation to all orders unduly received; and to confirm bishops or archbishops who had been promoted by a secular nomination during the schism, and had assisted the former kings, though they had fallen into heresy, upon their return to the unity of the church; and to provide to metropolitical or cathedral churches such persons as should be recommended to him by the queen, according to the customs of the kingdom, upon any vacancy; and to absolve and reabilitate all clergymen of all ranks, notwithstanding their past errors. All these powers are confirmed, with a full *non obstante* to all constitutions whatsoever."

Here was a great fulness of favour, with relation to all personal things. When Pole came to Flanders, he was stopped by the emperor's orders, till his power was seen, and sent to England. When they were seen, they were considered as far short of what was expected, and of what seemed necessary for the carrying on the reconciliation quietly through the nation; so Pole sent Ormanet to Rome for fuller powers, and retired to Diligam Abbey, near Brussels. While he was there, he heard the news of Philip's arrival in England, and of the queen's being married to him: upon which

Cardinal Pole stopped in Flanders by the Emperor.



he wrote a letter of congratulation to the bishop of Arras, which is in the collection; and on the same day he wrote this acceptable piece of news to cardinal de Monte, which is also in the Collection. In the postscript to the bishop of Arras he tells him that Ormanet was returned with fuller powers. He brought with him two breves.

Col.Num.18. Col.Num.19.

The first is of no importance to this matter; but because it was thought to be suppressed on design by the writer of the letter directed to me, by him that wrote on this subject in king James's time, it is put in the Collection. It sets forth, "That he was sent first to the Queen of England; and after that he was constituted legate *à latere*, for mediating a peace between the emperor and the king of France. He had also very ample powers given him while he remained in Flanders with relation to English persons and affairs. But since, by reason of the schism and other errors, many cases might happen that wanted a provision from the apostolical see, which could not be comprehended within the faculties given him; and because it is doubtful whether he may yet use them in the queen's dominions, and which of them shall be made use of while he is either with the emperor or the king of France, the pope gives him full power to make use of all faculties sent to him by himself, or by any other deputed by him, and to do everything that he shall think will conduce to the glory of God, the honour of the holy see, and the bringing the queen's dominions to the communion of the church as fully as may be. And while he remained with the emperor, he gave him all the powers of a legate *à latere* for all his dominions; and he gave him the same powers while he should be with the king of France."

Col.Num.20. New and fuller powers sent to Pole.

The other breve, which is also in the Collection, sets forth, "That upon the hopes of reducing the kingdom of England, that had been torn from the body of the catholic church, to an union with it, out of which there is no salvation, the pope had sent him his legate *à latere*, with all the powers that seemed necessary or proper for effecting that work; in particular, to agree and transact with the possessors of church goods concerning them. And whereas, by the beginnings and progress already made, there is good hopes of bringing that work to a full perfection, which will go on the easier the more indulgent and bountiful the pope shows himself with relation to the possessions of those goods. The pope, therefore, not willing that the recovering that nation and the salvation of so many souls should be obstructed by any worldly regards, in imitation of the good father who received the returning prodigal, he empowered Pole, in whose prudence and dexterity he put an entire confidence, to treat with all the possessors or detainers of ecclesiastical goods for whom the queen should intercede; and to transact and compound with them, that they might, without any scruple, enjoy and retain the said goods; and to conclude everything that was proper or necessary with relation to them. 'Saving always such things in which, for the greatness and importance of them, it shall seem fit to you to consult this holy see, to obtain our approbation and confirmation.'" Upon which he is fully empowered to proceed, with a full *non obstante*, bearing date the 28th of June. With these breves, cardinal de Monte wrote him a letter, in the Roman way, of high compliment, which is in the Collection.

Col.Num.21. With relation to church lands.

Col.Num.22.

The next letter is from cardinal Marone, which is likewise in the collection. By this it appears that Pole had gone to France upon his legatine commission; and after the usual Roman civilities, "He tells him he had laid his letter before the pope, who was beginning to despair of the affairs of England; and though the pope had not the patience to read or hear his letter, which was his ordinary custom, yet he told him the sum of it, with which he was satisfied, and said he had given no cause, neither to the emperor nor to any other, to use such extravagant words to him. It seems Pole had desired to be recalled; but the pope said that could not be done. It would be a great disgrace both to the pope and to the apostolical see, to the emperor himself, and to cardinal Pole, and a great prejudice to England. But he would not write to the emperor upon it; nor was he resolved about the goods of the church, concerning which he spoke often very variously. He resolved to write both to the queen and to the prince of Spain, which letters, he adds, will be sent by Ormanet, who is despatched with everything necessary for the business, conform

Col.Num.23.

to her, and for his readiness to forget all that is past." With this she sent back Ormanet to him. The bull that the pope sent to Pole is all a rhetorical panegyric upon the queen's coming to the crown, and on her pious intentions: but bulls being often in a common form, it is not in it, but in the breves, that we are to seek the powers or instructions given to Pole. There was a part of cardinal Pole's register conveyed to me about a year after my second volume was printed: a short account of the most remarkable things in it was then printed, in a letter directed to me. The characters of the truth of the papers are visible: some of them are in Latin, and some in Italian; and because I look on this as a matter of great consequence, I will give a very particular account of them.

The first paper which will be found in the Collection is the breve, that was at first sent him of the pope's own motion, and bears date the 8th of March, 1554. By it "Pole is empowered to receive all heretics of both sexes and of all ranks, even bishops and archbishops, communities as well as single persons, of what heresies soever guilty, though relapsed in them, upon their true and unfeigned repentance; and to absolve them from all pains and censures, how long soever they had continued in their errors, and though their sins were reserved immediately to the holy see. And he was empowered to pardon all irregularities run into by them; and all the bigamies of ecclesiastical persons, they first relinquishing their wives; notwithstanding which they might be continued in their orders and functions, and might be capable of all ecclesiastical promotions: all infamy being pardoned, provided they, with a contrite heart, should sacramentally confess their sins to any catholic priest at their choice, and submit to such penance as he should enjoin: excusing them from all public confession, abjuration, or open penance: absolving all communities from any unlawful pactions in favour of others, though confirmed by oaths. Empowering him to receive all regulars, and to absolve them from the censures of apostacy, allowing them to possess benefices as seculars: dispensing with the strict observation of Lent, as to milk, meats, and eggs, and even flesh, upon the allowance of either the confessor or the physician. Giving him authority to suffer such of the clergy, under the degree of a bishop, who were married, upon their true conversion, to live in that state, so that no scandals were given by it; only they were not to minister at the altar, nor to do any ecclesiastical function; but they might lawfully continue in the married state, the issue being declared lawful." To this is added a power of uniting benefices.

Col.Num.17. His first Powers.

Next comes the clause concerning the possessors of ecclesiastical goods. "He is empowered to agree, transact, and discharge them, for all the profits they had wickedly received, and for the moveable goods that they had consumed; 'the immoveable goods that have been by them unduly detained being first restored, if that should seem to be convenient to him.' And whatever should arise out of any such agreement was to be applied to the church to which such goods had belonged, or for the advancement of studies, and to schools. There is likewise a power granted to delegate others under him for the care and performance of all these particulars. But because he was to go first to Flanders, and stay in those parts for some time, the pope gave him authority to execute these powers even while he was without the kingdom, to all persons belonging to it that should apply to him, particularly with relation to all orders unduly received; and to confirm bishops or archbishops who had been promoted by a secular nomination during the schism, and had assisted the former kings, though they had fallen into heresy, upon their return to the unity of the church; and to provide to metropolitical or cathedral churches such persons as should be recommended to him by the queen, according to the customs of the kingdom, upon any vacancy; and to absolve and reabilitate all clergymen of all ranks, notwithstanding their past errors. All these powers are confirmed, with a full *non obstante* to all constitutions whatsoever."

Cardinal Pole stopped in Flanders by the Emperor.

Here was a great fulness of favour, with relation to all personal things. When Pole came to Flanders, he was stopped by the emperor's orders, till his power was seen, and sent to England. When they were seen, they were considered as far short of what was expected, and of what seemed necessary for the carrying on the reconciliation quietly through the nation; so Pole sent Ormanet to Rome for fuller powers, and retired to Diligam Abbey, near Brussels. While he was there, he heard the news of Philip's arrival in England, and of the queen's being married to him: upon which



he wrote a letter of congratulation to the bishop of Arras, which is in the collection; and on the same day he wrote this acceptable piece of news to cardinal de Monte, which is also in the Collection. In the postscript to the bishop of Arras he tells him that Ormanet was returned with fuller powers. He brought with him two breves.

Col.Num.18. Col.Num.19.

The first is of no importance to this matter; but because it was thought to be suppressed on design by the writer of the letter directed to me, by him that wrote on this subject in king James's time, it is put in the Collection. It sets forth, "That he was sent first to the Queen of England; and after that he was constituted legate *à latere*, for mediating a peace between the emperor and the king of France. He had also very ample powers given him while he remained in Flanders with relation to English persons and affairs. But since, by reason of the schism and other errors, many cases might happen that wanted a provision from the apostolical see, which could not be comprehended within the faculties given him; and because it is doubtful whether he may yet use them in the queen's dominions, and which of them shall be made use of while he is either with the emperor or the king of France, the pope gives him full power to make use of all faculties sent to him by himself, or by any other deputed by him, and to do everything that he shall think will conduce to the glory of God, the honour of the holy see, and the bringing the queen's dominions to the communion of the church as fully as may be. And while he remained with the emperor, he gave him all the powers of a legate *à latere* for all his dominions; and he gave him the same powers while he should be with the king of France."

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The other breve, which is also in the Collection, sets forth, "That upon the hopes of reducing the kingdom of England, that had been torn from the body of the catholic church, to an union with it, out of which there is no salvation, the pope had sent him his legate *à latere*, with all the powers that seemed necessary or proper for effecting that work; in particular, to agree and transact with the possessors of church goods concerning them. And whereas, by the beginnings and progress already made, there is good hopes of bringing that work to a full perfection, which will go on the easier the more indulgent and bountiful the pope shows himself with relation to the possessions of those goods. The pope, therefore, not willing that the recovering that nation and the salvation of so many souls should be obstructed by any worldly regards, in imitation of the good father who received the returning prodigal, he empowered Pole, in whose prudence and dexterity he put an entire confidence, to treat with all the possessors or detainers of ecclesiastical goods for whom the queen should intercede; and to transact and compound with them, that they might, without any scruple, enjoy and retain the said goods; and to conclude everything that was proper or necessary with relation to them. 'Saving always such things in which, for the greatness and importance of them, it shall seem fit to you to consult this holy see, to obtain our approbation and confirmation.'" Upon which he is fully empowered to proceed, with a full *non obstante*, bearing date the 28th of June. With these breves, cardinal de Monte wrote him a letter, in the Roman way, of high compliment, which is in the Collection.

Col.Num.21. With relation to church lands.

Col.Num.22.

The next letter is from cardinal Marone, which is likewise in the collection. By this it appears that Pole had gone to France upon his legatine commission; and after the usual Roman civilities, "He tells him he had laid his letter before the pope, who was beginning to despair of the affairs of England; and though the pope had not the patience to read or hear his letter, which was his ordinary custom, yet he told him the sum of it, with which he was satisfied, and said he had given no cause, neither to the emperor nor to any other, to use such extravagant words to him. It seems Pole had desired to be recalled; but the pope said that could not be done. It would be a great disgrace both to the pope and to the apostolical see, to the emperor himself, and to cardinal Pole, and a great prejudice to England. But he would not write to the emperor upon it; nor was he resolved about the goods of the church, concerning which he spoke often very variously. He resolved to write both to the queen and to the prince of Spain, which letters, he adds, will be sent by Ormanet, who is despatched with everything necessary for the business, conform

Col.Num.23.

to his desire." The rest is all compliment, dated the 13th of July. Then follows a breve, merely in point of form, extending the former powers that were addressed only to the queen, to Philip her husband, dated the 10th of July.

All was laid before the emperor.

Upon this, the emperor being then at Valenciennes, the cardinal sent Ormanet thither, who gave an account of his audience to Priuli, the legate's great and generous friend, which will be found in the collection. The bishop of Arras told him how much the emperor had the matters of religion at heart, and that he would be always ready to promote them. But when Ormanet pressed him for a present despatch, he said they had no news from England since the marriage, and that before any other step was made it would be necessary to know what ply the affairs of that kingdom were like to take. It was fit to consider whether the powers of securing the goods of the church should come from the legate, or from the king and queen. Then he desired to see the copy of the cardinal's faculties. As to the point of time, Ormanet said it was not fit to lose a moment, since so many souls were endangered by the delay; and the first coming of the prince of Spain ought not to be let slip, by which the honour of the work would be chiefly due to him. As for his faculties, all things necessary were committed to the cardinal in the amplest manner; and more particular resolutions could not be taken but upon the place. Somewhat further passed between them, which Ormanet reserves till he saw the cardinal. The bishop of Arras promised to lay all before the emperor, and to do all good offices. The emperor was at that time so well, that he was often on horseback to view his army, which had then marched to St. Amand, and the two armies were very near one another. This is dated the last of July.

Col.Num.24.

Yet he was still put off by delays.

On the 3d of August, the bishop of Arras wrote to the cardinal, "That the emperor received his congratulations on the marriage very kindly, but did not think it was yet proper for him to go to England, till they had a perfect account of the present state of affairs there. To know that, he had that day sent an express thither; upon his return he should be able to give him a more positive answer. He knew the zeal of the king and queen was such, that they would lose no time; but yet they must proceed with such moderation, that the way to a true remedy might not be cut off by too much haste." This is in the Collection. The cardinal had a letter from Bartholomew de Miranda, a friar, who (I suppose) was king Philip's confessor, and afterwards archbishop of Toledo, from Winchester, July 28. It is only a letter of respect, desiring his commands. The cardinal wrote to the bishop of Arras, on the 5th of August. He sent him the copy of his faculties, and expressed a great earnestness in his design of going speedily into England, as soon as the courier, sent by the emperor, should return. He showed himself as impatient of the delays as in good manners he could well do. This is also in the Collection.

Col.Num.25.

Col.Num.26.

King Philip stayed at Winchester some days after the marriage; for on the 4th of August he sent the count of Horn over to the emperor from thence; and by him he wrote a letter, partly of respect, partly of credit, to the cardinal. To this the cardinal wrote an answer, which I have put in the Collection; though, besides such high compliments as are usually given to princes, there is nothing particular in it, only he still insists earnestly for leave to come over. On the 11th of August the bishop of Arras wrote to him, "That he had seen the copy of his faculties, and he joins with him in his wishes to see that kingdom restored to its ancient obedience; he assures him the emperor was pressing the despatch of the matter, and he did not doubt but that it would be speedily accomplished." Pole wrote on the 2d of September to Soto, the emperor's confessor, "thanking him for those pressing letters that he had written, both to the emperor and to duke Alonzo d'Aquilara, with which the legate was so delighted that he writes as one in a rapture upon it, and he animates him to persist in that zeal for promoting this great work."

Col.Num.27.

The reason of those delays.

He was still put off with new delays, of which the best account I can give is, that this being the decisive stroke, there was a close canvassing over England for the elections to this parliament. Since nothing can effectually ruin this nation but a bad choice; therefore, as it is the constant character of a good ministry, who design nothing but the welfare and happiness of the nation, to leave all men to a due freedom



in their elections, so it is the constant distinction of a bad ministry, that have wicked designs, to try all the methods of practice and corruption possible to carry such an election, that the nation being ill represented by a bad choice, it may be easy to impose anything on a body of vicious, ignorant, and ill-principled men, who may find their own mercenary account in selling and betraying their country. It appeared in the two former parliaments who they were that could not bear the returning to their old servitude to the papacy. It was, no doubt, spread over England, that they saw the legate was kept in Flanders, and not suffered yet to come over. This seems the true cause why his coming was so long put off. It might be likewise an artifice of Gardiner's, to make the difficulties appear the greater, and by that to enhance his own merit the more. It is plain that till the election was over, and till the pulses of the majority were first tried, it was resolved not to suffer the legate to come over. This seems to be that which he insinuates in his letter to the confessor, when he says, that "the wisdom of the wise has kept the gate so long shut against him."

On the 13th of October, Pole wrote the pope an account of what had passed between him and the bishop of Arras and the emperor himself. The bishop of Arras, as he writes, came to him and assured him that the emperor was in the best disposition possible; but it was necessary to come to particulars, to examine all the impediments, and the best methods to put them out of the way. The legate said he had full powers, and desired to know from England what impediments were suggested. He added, this was not a negotiation like that in making a peace, where both sides did conceal their own designs all they could, till they discovered those of the contrary side. Here all had but one design, and he was ready to enter into particulars when they pleased. He had an audience of the emperor, none but the nuncio and the bishop of Arras being present. In it, after usual compliments, the impediments proposed were two; the first related to the doctrine, in which there was no abatement to be made, nor indulgence to be showed. The other was concerning the lands; for the usurpers of them knowing the severity of the ecclesiastical laws, were afraid to return to the obedience of the church: to this the legate answered, that the pope was resolved to extend his indulgence in this case. First, as to all the mesne profits already received, and the censures incurred by that, which was a great point, the pope was willing freely to discharge that entirely: nor did he intend to apply any part of these to himself, or to the apostolical see, as many feared he would; though that might seem reasonable, as a compensation for damages sustained, but he would convert all to the service of God, and to the benefit of the kingdom: and he had such regard to the piety of those princes, that he had empowered him to grant such favours as they should intercede for, and to such persons as they should think worthy to be gratified, and were capable to assist him in the matter of religion. The emperor understanding all this, thanked the pope very heartily for his favour in that matter: he said he had granted enough; he excused himself, that being wholly taken up with the present war, he had no sooner applied himself to consider the matter; now he knew it well: he had already written to England, and he expected a speedy answer from thence, by which he would know the state of affairs there. He knew by his own experience in Germany, that this of the church lands was the point that was most stood on: as to matters of doctrine, he did not believe that they stood much upon that, they neither believing the one nor the other: yet those lands (or goods) being dedicated to God, he thought it was not fit to yield all up to those who possessed them: he added, that though the legate had told him the whole extent of his powers, yet he would do well not to open that to others. He then desired to see his faculties. The legate upon that, apprehending this would give a handle to a new delay, said he had already showed them to the bishop of Arras, and he told the emperor what a scandal it would give to the whole world if the reconciliation should not be settled by this parliament. The queen did not think fit to press it formerly, till she had received that mighty assistance which was now come to her by her marriage; yet if this, which ought to have been the beginning and the foundation of the rest, were delayed any longer, it must give great offence both to God and man. The emperor said, regard was to be had to the ill disposition of the people concerned, who had formed in themselves and others an aversion to the names of obedience, and to a red cap and religious habit. He said some friars whom his son had brought with

Col.Num.28.

him out of Spain, were advised to change their habits. They had not indeed done it, nor was it convenient that they should do it. He also touched on the ill offices that would be done them by their enemies abroad, in order to the raising of tumults: (meaning the French). The legate answered, if he must stay till all impediments were removed, that would be endless. The audience ended with this, that he must have a little patience till the secretary whom he had sent into England should return.

Cardinal Pole much esteemed by the English Ambassador.

Collection, Number 29.

Mason was then the queen's ambassador at the emperor's court. He in a letter on the 5th of October, writ towards the end of it (the rest being a long account of the war between the emperor and the French king), concerning the cardinal (which will be found in the Collection), that he was sent by the pope on two designs; the one to mediate a peace between those two powers; the other to mediate a spiritual peace, as he called it, in the kingdom of England: but seeing no hope of succeeding, either in the one or the other, he began to despair: and if he did not quickly see some appearance of success in the last, he would go back to Rome, a sorrowful man; and here Mason runs out, either to make his court to the queen or to the legate, or that he was really possessed with a very high opinion of him, which seems the more probable, as well as the more honest motive: he says "all the world adores him for his wisdom, learning, virtue, and godliness. God seems to dwell in him; his conversation, with his other godly qualities, was above the ordinary sort of men. It would be a strong heart that he would not soften in half-an-hour's talk."

He writes to King Philip.

Collection, Number 30.

At this time the cardinal wrote a long letter to king Philip in Latin: he tells him he had been now for a year knocking at the gates of the palace, and nobody opened to him: though he is the person that was driven from his country into an exile of above twenty years' continuance, because he was against shutting the queen out of that palace, in which he now lived with her: but he comes with a higher authority, in the name of the vicar of the great king and shepherd, St. Peter's successor, or rather St. Peter himself, who was so long driven out of England: upon this he runs out into a long allegory, taken from St. Peter's being delivered out of prison, from Herod's cruel purpose, and coming to the gate of Mary, where, though his voice was known, yet he was kept long knocking at the door, Mary not being sure that it was he himself. He dresses this out with much pomp, and in many words, as a man that had practised eloquence much, and had allowed himself in flights of forced rhetoric; liker indeed to the declamation of a student in rhetoric, than the solemn letter of so great a man on such an occasion. It is true that this way of writing had been early practised, and had been so long used, even by popes themselves, that these precedents might to warrant him to copy after such originals.

The Queen sent to bring him over to England.

Collection, Number 31.

At last the queen sent the lord Paget and lord Hastings to bring him over: their letter upon their coming to the emperor's court is dated from Brussels the 13th of November. In it they give an account of their waiting upon the emperor with the king and queen's compliments. The emperor had that day received the sacrament, yet they were admitted to audience in the afternoon: he expressed great joy when he heard them give an account how matters were in England and roused himself up in a cheerful manner and said, that among many great benefits, he was bound to thank God for this as a main one, that he now saw England, brought back to a good state. He had seen what the kingdom had once been, and into what calamities it fell afterwards: and now he thanked God for the miracles showed to the queen, to make her the minister to bring it again to its ancient dignity, wealth, and renown. He also rejoiced that God had given her so soon such a certain hope of succession: these tidings of the state of her person, with the report of the consent of the noblemen and others touching the cardinal, and their obedience and union with the catholic church, were so pleasant to him, that if he had been half dead they would have revived him: he promised them all assistance, as they should come to need it.

From the emperor they went to the cardinal, who welcomed them with great joy, and with expressions full of duty and thankfulness to the queen. Here they enlarge on his praises:—"They call him the man of God, full of godliness and virtue; and so eminently



humble, that he was contented to come into England in such sort as the queen had commanded; not as a legate, but as a cardinal and an ambassador sent to the queen: and they assured the queen, that touching the matter of possessions, all things should pass on the pope's behalf so that every man there shall have cause to be contented." Pole took leave of the emperor on the 12th; he was to set out in slow journeys, his body being then too weak for great ones; in six days he was to be at Calais, where they had ordered everything to be ready for his transportation.

The Queen believed herself to be with child.

It seems by this that the queen reckoned on it, as sure, that she was with child: though in that, after the hopes of it were published with too much precipitation, she found herself so much mistaken, that it was believed the grief and shame of it, both together, had an ill effect on her health and life.

About this time there was a very abusive libel, printed in the form of a letter as writ by Bradford to the queen; in which it was said, "that it was believed the queen intended to give the crown to the king, hoping that then he would keep company with her more, and live more chaste, contrary to his nature; for peradventure after he was crowned, he would be content with one whore; whereas he had then three or four in a night: and these not ladies, but common prostitutes." One John Capstoke the printer was discovered;

Rymer, T. 15.

he was condemned to be imprisoned, and to have his ears nailed to the pillory and cut off; yet he was pardoned. The consideration is not mentioned; it may be easily imagined it was no small one; probably enough it was upon the discovery of some of those whom they were seeking out for the slaughter.

I have nothing to add to what I wrote formerly with relation to this parliament and the reconciliation made in it: no doubt Pole, according to the powers in his breve, desired the queen would name such persons to whom the favour of confirming them in their possessions should be granted; but it seems they durst not venture on any discrimination, lest that should have made the excepted persons desperate. So it is evident, that the confirming of all without exception was, if not beyond his powers, yet at least a matter of such importance, that he ought to have consulted the pope upon it; and to have stayed till he had new and special orders to pass it in so full a manner as he did. But still it is plain by the message sent to Rome, that he made the council at least to apprehend that it was necessary to send thither for a confirmation of what he had done; without any limits, upon powers that were expressly limited, and reserved to a confirmation.

Cardinal Pole carries his Powers beyond the limits set him.

Some preach for restoring the Abbey Lands.

Collection, Number 32.

On the 12th of December, Mason wrote from Brussels; and after he had given in his letter an account of what passed in the diet, upon a letter written to it by the French king: he also writes, "that one of the emperor's council had told him that his master was displeased to hear that a preacher was beating the pulpit jollily" (I use his own words) "for the restitution of the abbey lands: upon this he writes, that if it be so meant by the prince, and the thing be thought convenient, he did his duty: but if it was not so, it was a strange thing that in a well-ordered commonwealth, a subject should be so hardy as to cry thus to the people, to raise storms next summer, against what they were then doing in winter; and if the thing were to be talked of, it ought to be to the prince and council, and not to the people: he reflects on the unbridled sermons in the former times, that they were much misliked: so he hoped that in a good government that should have been amended. He thought the person that preached this might be well put to silence; for he being a monk, and having vowed poverty, possessed a deanery and three or four benefices. He tells them he had heard by the report of other ambassadors, that England was now returned to the unity of the Christian church. He should have been glad that he might have been able to confirm this by some certain knowledge of it; but it was ordinary for the ambassadors of England to know the least of all others of the matters of their own kingdom." A custom of a long

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continuance, of which I have heard great complaints made of a later date. On the 25th of December he wrote, that according to his orders, he had let the emperor know the apprehensions the queen had of the progress of her big belly: and that all was quiet, and everything went on happily in England. Upon this the emperor fell into

a free discourse with him of the difference between governing with rigour and severity; and the governing in such sort, that both prince and people might "s'entre entendre et s'entre aimer," mutually understand and mutually love one another. This as it is at all times a noble measure of government, so it was more necessary to offer such an advice, at a time in which it was resolved to proceed with an unmerciful rigour against those whom they called heretics. The queen seemed to be so sure that she was quick with child, that the privy council wrote upon it a letter to Bonner, and ordered him to cause *Te Deum* to be sung upon it. With such a precipitation was this desired piece of news published.

Some small favour was, at king Philip's desire, showed to some. The archbishop of York was released, upon a bond of 20,000 marks for his good behaviour. How far he recanted or complied does not appear. One thing may be reasonably concluded, that since no more mention is made of the complaint put in against him for keeping another man's wife from him, there is no reason to think there was any truth in it; for there being so particular a zeal then on foot to disgrace the marriage of the clergy, so flagrant an instance as this in a man put in so eminent a post, would not have been passed over if there had been any colour of truth or proof for it. On the 27th of January, Hopkins, sheriff of the city of Coventry, was put in the Fleet for ill religion. On the 19th of February, some small regard was had to Miles Coverdale, as being a foreigner—for he was a Dane. He had a passport to go to Denmark, with two servants, without any unlawful let or search.

Jan. 18, 1555. The Archbishop of York set at liberty.

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a free discourse with him of the difference between governing with rigour and severity; and the governing in such sort, that both prince and people might "s'entre entendre et s'entre aimer," mutually understand and mutually love one another. This as it is at all times a noble measure of government, so it was more necessary to offer such an advice, at a time in which it was resolved to proceed with an unmerciful rigour against those whom they called heretics. The queen seemed to be so sure that she was quick with child, that the privy council wrote upon it a letter to Bonner, and ordered him to cause *Te Deum* to be sung upon it. With such a precipitation was this desired piece of news published.

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Col. Num. 37.

in England was then entirely healed; the pope was now declared the head of that church. The prisoners, who had been shut up for a year and a half, were daily troubled by the enemies of the gospel. They were kept asunder from one another, and treated with all manner of indignities; and they were daily threatened with the last extremities, which did not terrify them.

"They were so inwardly fortified, that they despised both fire and sword. They knew in whom they believed, and were sure they were to suffer for well-doing. He desires the continuance of their prayers; let God do with them what seemed good in his eyes. He sent over to him two books that he had written, the one of true religion, and the other of false religion, which he had dedicated to the parliament, as an apology for the reformation. He gives them liberty to correct them as they thought fit, and desired that they might be quickly printed, for they were well approved by the pious and learned about him. He desires they may not be frighted from doing it, by the apprehensions of any harm that might happen to himself upon that account. He committed himself to God, who was his defence and his guard through Jesus Christ, to whom he had entirely dedicated himself. If God would prolong his life, he prayed it might be to the glory of his name; but if he would put an end to this short and wicked life, which of these soever it pleased God to order, his will be done." This is dated from his prison, the 11th of December, 1554. It appears that Hooper's wife was a German, so his sending her in time out of England was a just expression of his care of her.

On the 18th of March, some sacrifices being to be made in Essex, "letters were written by the council to the earl of Oxford and the lord Rich to be present at the burning of those obstinate heretics that were sent to divers parts of that county." And on the 1st of April, informations being brought that there were preachers at work in several parts of the kingdom, a general order was sent to all sheriffs to seize on them. When that madman, William Thomas, called otherwise Flower, or Branch, was seized on for wounding a priest in the church, they found a cloth about his neck, with these words, "Deum time, idolum fuge;" fear God, and fly from idolatry. He was seized on by Sir Nicholas Hare and Sir Thomas Cornwall: they had letters of thanks from the council for their pains. They were ordered first to examine him, then to send him to the bishop of London, to proceed against him for heresy, and to the justices of peace to punish him for the shedding of blood in the church; and if he persists in his heresy, order is given that he be executed in the latter end of the week, but that his right hand should be cut off the day before.

Persons appointed to carry the news of the Queen's being delivered.

On the 16th of May, some persons were named, and their appointments ordered, who should be in readiness to carry the news of the queen's delivery to foreign princes. The lord admiral was appointed to go to the emperor, and was allowed four pounds a-day, and two hundred pounds for equipage. The lord Fitzwater was to go to the French court, and was to have two hundred marks for equipage. Sir Henry Sydney was to go to the king of the Romans, and to have five hundred marks; and Shelley was to carry the news to the king of Portugal, and to have four hundred marks. This was repeated on the 28th of May. The money was ordered to be ready for the immediate despatch of those envoys; and on the 29th of May order was given that the persons named should be ready to go when warned. On the 1st of June, a letter was ordered to the bishop of London, to proceed against some who were suspected to be of evil religion. And on the 3d of June, letters were written to the lord Rich to assist at the execution of some heretics at Colchester, Harwich, and Manintree; a letter was also written to the earl of Oxford, to send his servants to attend on the lord Rich at those executions. It is not easy to guess whether the many letters written upon those occasions were to prevent tumults, because they apprehended the people might rescue those victims out of the sheriff's hands if he had not been well guarded, or whether it was to celebrate those triumphs over heresy with much solemnity, which is commonly done in those countries where the inquisition is received. At the same time entries are made in the council books of the examinations of several persons for spreading false rumours.

Orders for Torture at Discretion.

On the 9th of June, letters were written to the lord North, and others, to put such obstinate persons as would not confess to the torture, and there to order them "at their discretion;" and a letter was written to the lieutenant of the Tower to the same effect. Whether this pretended obstinacy was a concealing of heretics, or



EDWARD, FIRST LORD NORTH.

OB. 1564

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF GUILFORD

of the reporters of false news, does not appear; but whatever the matter was, the putting people not yet convict, by that which the civil law called a half-proof (*semiplena probatio*), to the torture because they were thought obstinate, and would not confess, and the leaving the degree of the torture to the discretion of those appointed for their examination, was a great step towards the most rigorous part of the proceedings of inquisitors. On the 12th of June, orders were given for making out writs for the burning of three persons condemned for heresy in Sussex. On the 13th of June, letters of thanks were ordered to sir Henry Tirrel and Mr. Anthony Brown, for their assisting at the execution of heretics. And on the 15th of June, letters of thanks were ordered to the earl of Oxford and the lord Rich, on the same account. On the 17th of June, letters of thanks were written to those in Cambridge, who had committed some priests to prison; but they are ordered to release them if thoroughly penitent. And on the 18th of June, a letter was written to the bishop of London, informing him that four parishes in Essex did still use the English service. He is required to examine into this, and to punish it; and to send some of his chaplains to preach to them.

The Queen still looked to be delivered of a Child. P. Mar. Loci. Com. 1626. Fol. 769.

On that day, a letter was written from London to Peter Martyr, telling him that it was given out that the queen had said she could not be happily delivered till all the heretics then in prison were burned: for she continued still expecting to be delivered; and on the 24th of June, an order was given to have a passport ready for Shelley, that was to carry the news to Portugal. On the 27th of June, letters were written to the lord Rich to give the queen's thanks to some gentlemen of Rochford, in Essex, "for coming so honestly of themselves to Colchester, and other places, to assist the sheriff at executions." At this time a condition was put in all passports and licences to go beyond sea, that they shall avoid all heretics and all places infected with heresy.

Fox, p. 1450. A Practice that gives Suspicion of ill Designs.

I shall here add a passage, recorded by Fox, of a declaration that was made to himself before witnesses, in the year 1568. A woman told him that she lived near Aldersgate, and was delivered of a boy on the 11th of June, 1555; and after she had borne it, the lord North and another lord came to her and desired to have her child from her, with very fair offers, as that her child should be well provided for; so that she should take no care for it, if she would swear that she never knew or had such a child. And after this some women came to her, of whom one, they said, was to be the rocker; but she would in no case part with her child. This being at the time that the queen seemed to be every day looking for her delivery, may give some suspicions, and puts us in mind of the words of the Preacher, "That which is, is that which has been." On the 30th of June, letters were written to the gentlemen in Kent, to assist the sheriff at the execution of heretics in Rochester, Dartford, and Tunbridge.

On the 2nd of July, upon an information of a commotion designed in Sussex, the opinion of the judges was asked about it; and some judges were sent to proceed in it according to law. Great occasion was taken from foolish discourses to alarm the nation with the apprehension of plots, and the blame of all was to be cast on the concealed preachers that were now hid in corners instructing the people at the peril of their lives. Twelve persons were brought up out of Sussex as guilty of a conspiracy: but I find no more of that matter. Bird, that had been bishop of Chester, and was deprived for his marriage, did now think fit to repent, and engaged so far that Bonner made him his suffragan. He was blind of an eye; and being appointed to preach before the bishop, he chose those words for his text, "Thou art Peter;" but whether his conscience smote him, or his memory failed, he could go no further. So, instead of matter of triumph upon the apostacy of such a man, the shame of such a dumb action turned the triumph to the other side.

Plots pretended.

On the 9th of July, a letter was written to the bishop of London, directing him that the three condemned heretics should be burnt at Uxbridge, Stratford, and Walden; and he was ordered to proceed against the rest. At this time Pole thought it became him to write to Cranmer, to try how far a piece of highflown rhetoric could work on him, though some think this letter was written a very little while before Cranmer's execution: the original is yet extant. It does very little honour to his memory, being only a declamation against heresy and schism, against a married clergy, and separation from the

Card. Pole's Letter to Cranmer.

see of Rome, and the rejecting of transubstantiation. In it all he proves nothing, and argues nothing, but supposes all his own principles to be true and sure. He inveighs against the poor prisoner with some seeming tenderness, but with a great acrimony of style, and in an insulting manner, like one that knew he might say what he pleased; and that there was no room for making remarks and answers to so poor an epistle, which M. Le Grand has thought fit to translate into French; but I do not think it worth the while to put it in the Collection.

On the 14th of July, the archbishop of York was ordered to appear; but no more is said concerning him. There was intimation given of commotions designed at fairs, and orders were sent to sheriffs and gentlemen to watch them. Informations were also brought of a conspiracy in Essex and Suffolk, and of another in Dorsetshire. On the 6th of August, thanks were written to the earl of Oxford and the lord Rich, with the other justices of peace in Essex, for their diligence; desiring them to proceed in their examination of the late intended conspiracy, and to bring the offenders before them. If their offence was found to be treason, they were to suffer as traitors; or if their guilt did not rise up to that, they were to order them to be punished according to the statutes.

Ambassadors sent to the Pope came back with a Bull, erecting Ireland into a Kingdom.

On the 28th of August, notice was given to the sheriffs and justices of peace that the king was going to Flanders. The ambassadors sent to Rome did return about the middle of September; and in council, on the 16th of September, the bishop of Ely produced the pope's bull, erecting Ireland into a kingdom, and bestowing on the crown of England the title of King of Ireland. This was given to the bishop of Dublin, with an order to publish it in Ireland; for that insolent pope would not give them audience upon their powers from the king and queen of England and Ireland, pretending that none had a right to assume the title King but as it was derived from him. So, as a special grace, he conferred that regal title on the queen, and then admitted them to audience, after he had made them stay a month waiting for it at Rome. It seems they knew the bigotry of the English court too well to dispute this point; so they yielded it up very tamely, fearing that they should be disowned if they had made any opposition to it. But the main errand they came upon was, to obtain a confirmation of the settlement of the church lands, made in parliament by cardinal Pole, that was not only flatly refused, but a bull was published that in effect repealed it all.

See the Coll. of the former Books, Number 1.

"It begins setting forth what pope Symmachus decreed against the alienating of any lands belonging to the church upon any pretence whatsoever, or farming out the rights of the church. He laid an anathema on all who should be any way concerned in such bargains, and gave an authority to any ecclesiastical person to recover all with the mesne profits; and this was to take place in all churches.

The Pope's Bull for restoring all Church-lands.

Pope Paul II. had likewise condemned all alienations of church goods, and all farms of leases beyond the term of three years; and had annulled all such agreements, farms, or leases. Both the parties, as well the granter as the receiver of such leases, were put under excommunication; and the goods so alienated were to revert to the church. But these prohibitions notwithstanding, of late years, several persons, both of the laity and of the clergy, had possessed themselves of castles and lands belonging both to the church of Rome and to other cathedrals, and even to metropolitan churches; and to monasteries, regular houses, and hospitals, under the pretence of alienations, to the evident damage of those churches and monasteries, without observing the solemnities required by law in such cases; and they continue their possession, by which the incumbents in those churches are great sufferers; and the popes themselves, who were wont to supply the poor who came to Rome out of these lands, are no more able to do that, and can scarce maintain themselves and their families, which turns to the offence of God, the reproach of the clergy, and is matter of scandal to the faithful. Therefore the pope, of his own motion, upon certain knowledge, and by virtue of the plenitude of the apostolic power, does annul all the alienations or impropriations, either perpetual, or leases to the third or to a single life, or beyond the term of three years; or exchanges and farms of cities, or lands, or goods, or rights, belonging to the Roman church; or to any cathedral, monastery, regular house, or to any ecclesiastical benefice, with or without cure; to seculars or regulars, hospitals, and other pious foundations, by whomsoever made, though by popes or by their authority, or by the prelates of cathedrals, monasteries, or hospitals; or the rectors of churches, though cardinals that had been made without the solemnities required by law, in what form of words soever they have been made, though confirmed by oath, and established by a long prescription. All these are by the apostolic authority rescinded, annulled, and made void, and the possessors of such lands are to be compelled by all censures and pecuniary pains to make satisfaction for all the mesne profits received or to be received; and all judges are required to give judgment conform to this bull." Dated the 12th of July.



Reflections made on it.

Thus the pope, instead of confirming what the legate had done, did, in the most formal terms possible, reverse and annul it all. Even papal alienations, or made by the papal authority, are made void. The pretended consent of the convocation is declared null, and all ratifications of what was at first illegally made are annulled. By this also, not only the possessors of church lands, but all the tenants to any estate belonging to the church, who hold for lives or years, beyond the term of three years, may see in this bull how that all that they now hold by those tenures is made void. No doubt the ambassadors of England did all that in them lay to have this bull softened, or to have an exception made for England. But that pope was not to be moved; and perhaps he thought he showed no small favour to England, on the queen's account, in not naming it in this bull, and in not fulminating on the account of the late settlement. Thus the matter of securing the abbey lands by that fraudulent transaction is now pretty apparent.

Pope Paul was in the right in one thing, to press the setting up courts of inquisition everywhere as the only sure method to extirpate heresy. And it is highly probable that the king, or his Spanish ministers, made the court of England apprehend that torture and inquisition were the only sure courses to root out heresy. It has appeared already what orders were given about torture, even to use it at discretion; but another step was made that carried this matter much further.

Instructions had been given in March 1555 to the justices of peace to have one or more honest men in every parish secretly instructed to give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants amongst or about them. One of these was directed to the earl of Sussex, who acted with a superlative measure of zeal. He wrote on the 18th of April this year to the bishop of Norwich, complaining that at a town near him there had been no sepulchre, nor creeping to the cross before Easter. The day after he wrote that letter, it appears by another of his letters that Ket, who led the insurrection in Norfolk, in king Edward's reign, and whose body was hanged in chains, had fallen down from the gallows, and that prophecies were spread about the country of what should follow when that should happen. He ordered the body to be hanged up again, if it was not wasted; and he imprisoned those that gave out these prophecies. He went on to greater matters, and drew up an account of the obedience that the justices had paid to all the instructions and orders that had been sent them. I had a volume of his letters in my hands some years ago; but I wrote out of it only the answers he returned to the sixth article, in these words:—"It is agreed that the justices of the peace in every of their limits shall call secretly before them one or two honest and secret persons, or more, by their discretions, and such as they shall think good, and command them, by oath or otherwise, as the same justice shall think good; that they shall secretly learn and search out such person and persons as shall evil-behave themselves in the church, or idly, or despise openly by words the king's and queen's proceedings, or go about to make or move any stir, commotion, or unlawful gathering together of the people, or that tell any lewd or seditious tales, rumours, or news, to move or stir any person or persons, to rise, stir, or make any commotion or insurrection, or to consent to any such intent or purpose. And also, that the same persons so to be appointed shall declare to the same justices of the peace the ill-behaviour of lewd, disordered persons, whether it shall be for using unlawful games, idleness, and such other light behaviour of such suspected persons, as shall be in the same town or near thereabouts; and that the same informations shall be given secretly to the justices, and the same justices shall call such accused persons before them and examine them, without declaring by whom they be accused; and that the same justices shall, upon their examination, punish the offenders according as their offences shall appear to

them, upon the accusement and examination by their discretion, either by open punishment or by good abearing."

Here was a great step made towards an inquisition, this being the settled method of that court to have sworn spies and informers everywhere, upon whose secret advertisements persons are taken up; and the first step in their examination is, to know of them for what reason they are brought before them; upon which they are tortured till they tell as much as the inquisitors desire to know, either against themselves or others. But they are not suffered to know neither what is informed against them, nor who are the informers. Arbitrary torture, and now secret informers, seem to be two great steps made to prepare the nation for an inquisition.

In September, the duchess of Suffolk, who had married Mr. Bertie, went out of the kingdom without a licence; upon which a commission was sent into Lincolnshire, to take an account of her estate. On the 19th of September, there was a paper cast into a house near Fulham, with some intimations of ill-designs in Essex. The master of the house brought it to the council, upon which they sent orders to that country to see what foundation there was for such suspicions. Tracy (probably the son of him concerning whose will there was much ado made in king Henry's time) had been brought before the bishop of Gloucester; and he, as was informed, behaved himself stubbornly towards him; upon which he was brought before the council, and was required to declare his conformity in matters of religion. He promised to do it; and upon that he was sent back to his country. On the 23d of September, there was some hopes given of the king's coming back; upon which Sir Richard Southwell was sent to attend on him. On the 9th of October, the governor of Jersey having examined one Gardiner, for speaking some indecent words of the king, desired orders how to proceed against him; upon which he was ordered to proceed according to the statutes, if these took place in that island; but if not, according to the custom of the place.

On the 12th of September, Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, who was constituted sub-delegate to cardinal Puteo, the pope's delegate, to try Cranmer (it being it seems thought indecent that Pole, who was to succeed him, should be his judge), came to Oxford with Martin and Story, who were the king and queen's commissioners, to demand justice against Cranmer, exhibiting articles against him. Cranmer made a long apology for himself. Among other things, he said, "The loss of his promotion grieved him not: he thanked God as heartily for that poor and afflicted state in which he was then as ever he did for the times of his prosperity. But that which stuck closest to him and created him the greatest sorrow was, to think that all that pains and trouble that had been taken by king Henry and himself for so many years to retrieve the ancient authority of the kings of England, and to vindicate the nation from a foreign yoke, and from the baseness and infinite inconveniences of crouching to the bishops of Rome, should now thus easily be quite undone, and that the king and queen should in their own realm become his accusers before a foreign power. If he had transgressed the law, they had sufficient authority to punish him; and to that he would at all times submit himself." They exhibited interrogatories to him, and he gave his answer to them. In conclusion, they required him to go to Rome within fourscore days, to make his answer in person. He said he was most willing to go if the king and queen would send him.

Cranmer proceeded against.

On the 16th of October, Ridley and Latimer suffered martyrdom; but Gardiner, who was with impatience waiting for the news, was, soon after he heard it, struck with an illness, in which he languished for some time. Pilkington, bishop of Durham, in a sermon that he preached, said, "He rotted above ground, so that it was scarce possible to get any to come near him." He died on the 12th of November. On the 5th of November, orders were given for to dispose of many prisoners.

Cranmer was now to be offered up. Some have thought that upon his attainder the see of Canterbury was vacant, and indeed the chapter of Canterbury acted accordingly; but the papal authority being restored, he was still, according to the papal law, archbishop, till by a commission from Rome he was judged an obstinate heretic, and was thereupon deprived. When the eighty days were out, a mock process was made at Rome; in which it was falsely said, that he did not care to appear; upon which he was declared contumacious;



and then a formal sentence was given in the pope's name, "as sitting on the throne of justice, having before his eyes God alone, who is the righteous Lord, and judgeth the world in righteousness." With such specious words was that grossly unrighteous judgment introduced. And upon that a letter came from Rome on the 14th of December, mentioning his being condemned and deprived, and delivering him over to the secular arm. The deprivation must have passed some days before; for on the 11th of December Pole's bulls were granted, in which mention is made of the see's being vacant, by the deprivation of Cranmer. The writ for burning him mentions his being judged an obstinate heretic by the pope, and deprived by him; and that he had been degraded by the bishops of London and Ely, by commission from the pope: so on the 24th of February the writ was sealed. I have nothing to add to the sad narration I gave both of his fall and of his repentance, and his firm constancy to the last in that amazing instance of holding his hand in the fire till it was almost burnt away, of which Thuanus gives a very particular account, so that the truth of the fact cannot be disputed.

On the 13th of March, the privy council were concerned when they heard his paper of recantation was printed. Rydall and Copeland, two printers, were required to deliver to Cawood, the queen's printer, the books of his recantation to be burned by him. One part of his character may be added out of Pole's letter to him. In one place he says, he hears "it was pretended that he forced no man in points of religion, but behaved himself mildly towards all persons." And in another place he writes, "that it was said his life was unblameable." But though Pole throws that off as of no importance, yet upon his mentioning these good characters, it may be depended on that they were true. Ridley, in that noble letter that he wrote to Grindall, when they were every day looking for their crown, says of him, "that he then showed how well he deserved the great character of the chief pastor and archbishop of this church;" to which he adds, of Latimer, "that he was the ancient and true apostle of Christ to the English nation." In a word, if it had not been for Cranmer's too feeble compliance in king Henry's time, and this last inexcusable slip, he might well be proposed as one of the greatest patterns in history. And if the excesses to which some opinions had formerly carried men did in some particulars incline him to the opposite extremes, this must be reckoned a very pardonable instance of managing the counterpoise without due caution. He was a pattern of humility, meekness, and charity. He had a true and generous contempt of wealth, and of those shows of greatness that belong to a high station. His labours in searching into all ecclesiastical authors, both ancient and modern, are amazing to those who have seen the vast collections that he writ out on all matters of divinity with his own hand. But now, after a long course of vexation and contradiction, and, in conclusion, after a long and severe imprisonment, he was put to a cruel death by persons whom he had served faithfully and effectually. For he had both served the queen and reconciled her to her father; and he had showed a most particular favour to Thirleby and others who concurred to finish this tragedy. I have put all this matter together, and now I must look back to public affairs.

There was a convocation sat with the parliament in October, and to the middle of November, 1555. Christopherson was chosen prolocutor; and after Bonner had confirmed him, he desired that the lower house would name eight or ten persons to hear some secret propositions that were to be made to them by the king and queen and by the cardinal, concerning the public good of the kingdom and of the church. They upon that did choose the prolocutor, and ten more; and to these the bishop of Ely proposed to offer the queen a subsidy, in return for the great favour she had showed the clergy, in forgiving the first fruits and tenths, and in restoring to the church all the impropriations of benefices, that were then, by the suppression of the monasteries, vested in the crown; for all which the bishop of Ely proposed a subsidy of eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years. The last session of the convocation was on the 15th of November; and a memorandum was inserted in these words: "After this convocation was begun there was a national synod, the clergy of York being joined with them;" for which the cardinal thought it safe and fit to take out a licence under the great seal. The first session was on the 4th of November; and in this the cardinal set himself so zealously

Proceedings in Convocation.

to remove many abuses, that Mason wrote that many of the clergy wished he were in Rome again.

The earl of Devonshire went out of England this summer. As he passed through Flanders, he waited on the emperor; and, as Mason wrote, he owned that he owed his liberty to him. The queen sent, and offered her mediation between the emperor and the French king: the emperor accepted it, but with very sharp reflections on the French king.

There was in April a treaty of peace between the emperor and the king of France set on foot, in which the queen was mediator, and sent over both Pole and Gardiner to Calais in order to it. The constable and the cardinal of Lorrain were ordered to come from the court, but the pope's death made it be thought more necessary to send that cardinal to Rome: what further progress was made in this does not appear to me, for I take it from a letter of Mason's to Vannes, then the queen's ambassador at Venice. It will be found in the Collection, the original being in Dr. Tanner's hands, who sent me this copy. By this letter it appears that Bolls of Cambridge, and S. Peter Mewtas, were there in prison upon suspicion, but nothing appeared against them. That letter tells us that the princes of Germany were alarmed upon the cardinal Morone's coming to Augsburgh, apprehending probably that he came to disturb the settlement then made in the matters of religion in the empire; but the emperor had sent such powers to his brother Ferdinand, that his coming was like to have no effect. He also tells in that letter that the dean and prebendaries of Westminster were using all endeavours to hinder the converting that foundation into an abbey; and that Dr. Cole was active in it, affirming that monks had not their institution from Christ as priests had; but he saw the court was resolved to have no regard to the opposition they made. He adds, that the duke of Alva was still in England, though he had sent his baggage and servants to Calais.

Col.Num.38.

Mason writes news from the diet, that matters of religion had not been quite settled, but all were to continue in the state in which they were then till the next meeting; and it was provided that all parties should live according to the religion then accepted of them. The emperor seemed resolved not to consent to this. He writes that the allowance of the marriage of the clergy, and in particular of bishops, had been earnestly demanded, but was utterly refused. On the 28th of October, he writes that two monks of the Charter-house had desired the king's letter that they might return to their house, and at least receive their pension. The king answered, that as touching their house, since the parliament was then sitting, it was not a proper time to move it, but when he should come to England he would help them the best he could; and as to their pensions, he ordered Mason to write concerning that to secretary Petre. On the 7th of January, 1555-6, a letter was written to the mayor and alderman of Coventry, to choose some catholic grave man for their mayor for that year. A list of three persons was sent to them, and they were required to give their voices for one of them. These were, John Fitz-Herbert, Richard Wheeler, and one Coleman.

Motions in the Diet of the Empire.

On the 14th of January, a letter of a very singular nature was written to the lord mayor and the sheriffs of London, "requiring them to give such substantial order, that when any obstinate man, condemned by the order of the laws, shall be delivered to be punished for heresy, that there be a great number of officers and other men appointed to be at the execution, who may be charged to see such as shall misuse themselves, either by comforting, aiding, or praising the offenders, or otherwise use themselves to the ill-example of others, to be apprehended and committed to ward; and besides, to give commandment that no householder suffer any of his apprentices or other servants to be abroad, other than such as their master will answer for; and that this order be always observed in like cases hereafter." Philpot's martyrdom had been about a month before this, and he being a man highly esteemed, who went through all his sufferings with heroic courage and christian constancy, it is probable there was more than ordinary concern expressed by the people at his sufferings, which drew this inhuman letter from the council, for they had no sacrifices at that time ready to be offered.

Compassion expressed to those who suffered, punished.

While these things passed in England, the scene abroad was considerably altered by the resignation of Charles the Fifth, who delivered over his hereditary dominions to his son



Philip. He began that with the dominions derived from the house of Burgundy; after that, he resigned up to him the crown of Spain, and all that belonged to it. Upon that, letters were written to the several states and cities of Spain, on the 17th of January. These were all in one form; so that which was addressed to the city of Toledo was sent over to the queen, translated out of Spanish into English, which, for the curiosity of the thing, I have put in the Collection.

In it, "he tells them that which he always denied to the Germans, that for religion's sake he had enterprised the war of Germany, upon the desire he had to reduce those countries to the unity of the church, that so he might procure an universal peace to all Christendom, and to assemble and assist at a general council for the reformation of many things, that so with the less difficulty he might bring home those who had separated themselves and departed from the faith. This he had brought to a very good point, when the French king allured the Germans to a league with him against their oaths and fidelity to the emperor, and so they made war on him both by sea and land; and then the French king procured the coming of the Turk's army into Hungary, to the great damage of Christendom; upon which he was forced to bring down an army, to the great prejudice of his own person, by his being obliged to keep the field so long that it had brought on him painful infirmities. He was upon that become so destitute of health, that he was not able in his own person to endure the travel, and to use that diligence that was requisite, which proved a great hindrance to many things of which he had a deep sense. He wished he had taken the resolution he was now taking sooner; yet he could not well do it, by reason of his son's absence, for it was necessary to communicate many things to him. So he took order for his marriage, and to bring him over to him, and soon after that he resigned to him all his states, kingdoms, and the seigneuries of the crown of Castile and Leon, with all their appurtenances, which are more amply contained in instruments which he had signed of the same date with this letter. Trusting that he with his great wisdom and experience, of which he had great proof in all that he had hitherto handled in his father's name, would now order and defend the same with peace and justice. He therefore having had large experience of their loyalty, fidelity, and obedience, did not doubt but that they would continue to serve and obey him in the same manner and sort as if God had taken him into his mercy. Dated at Brussels the 17th of January, 1556."

Charles the Fifth, the Resignation of Spain.

Col.Num.39.

Soon after that he retired to the place he had designed to spend the rest of his days in; and, according to the account given by my worthy friend Dr. Geddes, there is great reason to believe that he applied himself to serious reflections on religion. No prince knew better than he did both the corruptions and the practices of the court of Rome; and the artifices and methods by which two sessions of the council of Trent had been conducted. He must likewise have understood the grounds upon which both the Lutherans and the reformed in Germany built their persuasions: he had heard them often set out: but the hurry of business, the prepossession of education, and the views of interest, had prejudiced him so far against them, that he continued in a most violent enmity to them: but now that he was at full leisure to bring all his observations together, and that passion and interest had no more power over him, there are great presumptions to believe that he died persuaded of the doctrines of the reformed religion. Augustin Casal, a canon of the church of Salamanca, was his preacher, and was esteemed the most eloquent preacher that Spain ever produced: he was taken up in the year 1558, and with thirteen more was publicly burned at Valladolid in the year 1559; the unfortunate prince Charles and his aunt, donna Juana, then governess, looking on that barbarous execution. Constantine Pontius, a canon of Seville, who was his confessor, esteemed a man of great piety and learning, was likewise taken up by the inquisition for being a protestant: he died in prison, probably enough by the torture the inquisitors put him to: but his bones with his effigies were burnt at Seville; so were the bones of the learned Egidius, whom the emperor had named to the bishopric of Tortosa, one of the richest in Spain: and at the same time eighteen were burnt alive for being protestants; of which the history of the inquisition gives this account, that had not the holy tribunal put a stop to those reformers, the pro-

Reasons to think he died a Protestant.

testant religion had run through Spain like wildfire. People of all degrees, and of both sexes, being wonderfully disposed at that time to have embraced it: and the writer of the pontifical history, who was present at some of those executions, says, that had those learned men been let alone but three months longer, all Spain would have been put into a flame by them.

The most eminent of them all was Bartholomew de Caranza, a dominican, who had been confessor to king Philip and to queen Mary, and had been by her recommended to the archbishopric of Toledo. He had assisted Charles in the last minutes of his life. He was within a few months after his death, upon suspicion of his being a protestant, first confined by the inquisition to his own palace at Tordelaguna: and after he had been for seven years kept within that confinement, he was carried to Rome, and kept ten years a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo; and was at last condemned as one suspected of heresy. That great man had been sent by Charles as one of his divines to the council of Trent, where he preached, and wrote a treatise of the personal residence of bishops. These things put together, make it highly probable that Charles himself was possessed with that doctrine that was so much spread among those who were then most about him. Mezeray tells us, "that at Philip's arrival in Spain, he caused a great many to be burned for heretics in his own presence, both at Seville and at Valladolid, both seculars and ecclesiastics, men and women, and in particular the effigies of his father's confessor: and if reports may be believed, he intended to have made his father's process, and to have had his bones burnt for heresy; being only hindered from doing it by this consideration, that if his father was an heretic, he had forfeited all his dominions, and by consequence he had no right to resign them to his son." This digression will be forgiven me, I hope, both because it belongs to the main design upon which I write, and since our queen was queen of Spain when this persecution was first begun.

The Method in which the Queen put her Affairs.

There are in my hands two papers concerning the method in which the queen ordered her council to proceed; there is no date put to them: but they were written, either soon after the king went beyond sea, or perhaps about this time; for now king Philip having the Spanish monarchy put in his hands, and being engaged in a war with France, the queen had reason to expect that her dominions might feel the war very sensibly, as afterwards they did: and so it might seem necessary to put the administration of her affairs into a good method. One of these papers is writ in cardinal Pole's own hand, and is a memorial prepared for the queen, of the things that she was to recommend to her council, for she had ordered them to attend on her. It is in the Collection. "First she was to put them in mind of the charge that the king gave them at his departure, which was to be rehearsed to them; and that is, perhaps, the following paper: they were still to attend at court, the matters they were to treat about being of great weight; and they were to lay such matters as were proposed in council before the king, that they might have his pleasure before they were to be executed. They were in particular to know the resolution of the council, touching those things that were to be proposed in this parliament, and these were to be sent to the king that very day: and since the king delayed his coming over, they were to consider whether it were not better to delay the parliament till Candlemas, if there should be no prejudice to her affairs, that money was so long wanted; for there was great need of it at present for the setting out of ships, both for the emperor's passage to Spain, and for the king's return, for the payments due at Calais, for the debt owing to the merchants, the day of payment approaching, and for the debt of Ireland: and she was to ask of her council an account concerning all these things: she was likewise to charge them to call in her own debts, as the best way to clear what she owed to others: and she was to offer them all authority for doing it effectually; and to require them that at the end of every week she might know what came in that week, and what order was taken for the rest. And that all those who have any commission to execute any matter, shall at the end of every week inform the council what progress they have made that week: and that the council should never begin to treat of any matter in the second week, till they were informed of what was done in the former week." Thus she was to be taught what she was to say to them: upon which they, who did not know how weak a woman

Collection, Number 40.



she was, might imagine that she understood her own affairs well, and thought much of them: whereas the poor bigoted woman was only, as a machine, made to speak and to act as she was prompted by those who had the management of her: for, of herself, she seemed capable to think of nothing, but how to destroy the heretics, and to extirpate heresy.

The other paper is in Latin, and seems to be that which the king had left behind him. It is also in the Collection. "He named in it a select committee, to whom the special care of matters of state, of the revenue, and the weighty affairs of the kingdom, were to be referred. These (in a modern term) were the cabinet-council; and the persons were, the cardinal (in all great matters, when he could conveniently come), then the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Pembroke, the bishop of Ely, the lord Paget, Rochester the comptroller, and Petre, the secretary. Every one of these was constantly to attend, to determine in all matters of state and revenue, and to make honourable payment of all debts, and to do everything in which the honour and dignity of the crown was concerned. They were also earnestly prayed to lay all differences or quarrels among themselves aside; that so they might amicably, and in the fear of God, deliver such things in council as might tend to the glory of God, and the honour and good of the crown and kingdom. And when there is occasion for it, they were either to come to the queen, or to send some of their body to inform her of everything that came before them: and at least thrice a week, they were to give her an account of all their consultations and actings. In particular, they were to consider when the parliament was to meet, and what things were to be proposed and done in it, and to digest all that in writing. On Sundays they were to communicate such things to the whole council as should be thought convenient to be laid before them. They were to take special care for the payment of debts, for the retrenching of expense, and for the good management of the queen's estate, revenues, and customs, and for the administration of justice." Such were the orders laid down: how they were executed, does not appear.

Collection, Number 41.

The queen herself never came to council, and the cardinal very seldom. Sometimes they were very few that attended at that board: often not above three or four. And now I return to give an account of what I find in the council-book. On the 19th of January, a letter of thanks was ordered to the lord Willoughby and others in Lincolnshire. At first, upon the condemnation of heretics, notice was given to the council, before the execution, to see if a pardon should be offered them: but they found so few, if any, inclined to accept of it, that they did not think fit to expose the queen's pardon to any further contempt: so those persons are required to proceed thereafter against all such as should be condemned before them, according to the laws, and not to stay for any order. On the 20th of January, letters were written to the sheriffs of Warwickshire, Bedfordshire, and Cambridgeshire, ordering them, that though the prisoners should be acquitted by order of law, yet to detain them in safe custody till they should hear from the earl of Sussex. On the 14th of February, the council was alarmed with this, that a stage play was to be acted in Shrovetide, and that many were to run to it: so the lord Rich was ordered to hinder the acting of it, and to examine and report what he could learn concerning it. On the 16th of February, there was an order sent to sir Henry Bedingfeld, lieutenant of the Tower, to put two to the torture, and to pain them at his discretion. On the 19th of February, a letter of thanks was ordered the lord Rich for stopping the stage play. He had put the actors in prison, but he gave a good character of them: so he was ordered to set them at liberty; but to have an eye on all such meetings. Several inquiries were made at this time after seditious books: many examinations and commitments were made on that account.

Proceedings against Heretics.

On the 20th of April, one Harris, a carpenter and gunner at Deptford, was brought before the council for having said on Maundy-Thursday, "The queen hath this day given a great alms, and has given that away that should have paid us our wages. She hath undone the realm too; for she loveth another realm better than this." He confessed the words, but asked pardon, and was dismissed. It seems, about that time, they expected the king's coming over: for, on the 1st of June, the lord-admiral was ordered to attend on him. On the 21st of June, an order was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, and to a master of

requests, to put one to the torture if he thought it convenient. Information was given to the queen by Wotton, her ambassador in France, that several heretics had fled over to France, and were well received there: in particular, that Henry Dudley (perhaps a son of the duke of Northumberland's) and Christopher Ashton, were plotting there against the queen. Upon that a letter was written to Wotton, to demand that they might be seized on, and sent at her charge to the frontier, to be delivered to her officers. When the draft of this was brought to her to be signed by her, she, with her own hand, interlined these words; "Considering that when the king my husband and he were enemies, I neither did, nor would have done the like."

Paper-Office.

Wotton wrote over, that the heretics took great advantage from the new war, that the pope engaged the French king to make on the king, after a truce for five years had been agreed to, and sworn by both kings. But the pope sent a legate to France to persuade that king to begin the war. And though the consciences of princes are not apt to be very scrupulous in the observing or breaking their treaties; yet a treaty made and confirmed by an oath so very lately, it seems, made such an impression on that king, that so great an authority was to be interposed to give a colour for the breaking it. Those called heretics took great advantages from this to infuse a horror in people at the papacy, since one who pretended to be the vicar of the prince of peace, became thus an open and a perfidious incendiary.

The Pope sets on a new War after a Truce was sworn to, and dispensed with the French King's Oath.

This, of the pope's dispensing with a prince's oath, gave so great a distaste everywhere, that I do not remember an instance in which it was openly put in practice since that time. But the protestant princes of Germany do believe, as one of the greatest of them told me, that the confessors of the princes of that communion have secret faculties to dispense with their breach of faith, which is so much the more dangerous the more secretly it may be managed. On that ground it was that the prince who told me this said, that, in all their dealings with princes of that communion, they took their word, but would never put anything to their oaths: for they knew that the popish princes reckoned they were bound by their word, as they were men and members of human society, but, for their oaths, they reckoned, these being acts of religion, their confessors had it in their breast to tell them how far they were bound to keep them, and when they were absolved from any obligation by them. But we have seen in our days, to the no small reproach of the Reformation, that princes professing it have, in an avowed manner, shaken off their leagues and alliances with this short declaration, "That they reckoned themselves freed from them;" as if they had been things of so little force they might be departed from at pleasure.

Pole was now, in his synod, labouring to bring the clergy to their duty. On the 13th of December, The Institution of a Christian Man was divided in parcels, to be examined by them; and some were appointed to prepare a Book of Homilies. On the 16th of December, a translation of the New Testament was ordered, and parcelled out: the Seven Sacraments were also treated of. On the 20th of December, the cardinal sent an order to the prolocutor to intimate to all the clergy, more particularly to all deans, that they should confirm no leases that had been made of their benefices. This seems to be done in obedience to the pope's bull, formerly mentioned, that condemned all leases for a longer term than three years. There was offered to them a schedule of some terms that were to be carefully considered in the translation of the New Testament. On the 8th of January that was again considered: propositions were also made for having schools in all cathedral churches. Thus Pole found it necessary to give some instruction in the matters of religion to the nation; for an earnest desire of knowledge in these points being once raised and encouraged, it was neither safe nor easy quite to extinguish that which is so natural to man. And, therefore, instead of discouraging all knowledge, and bringing men to the state of implicit faith without any sort of inquiry, he chose to give them such a measure of knowledge as might be governed and kept within its own bounds. There was in this synod a question moved, What should be done with such of the clergy as should refuse to say or come to mass? but I do not see what was determined upon it. Nor do I see what reason was given them for another petition to the queen, lords, and commons, for maintaining their liberties and immunities, nor what effect it had.

Pole's National Synod.



Pole prorogued the synod to the 10th of November, and from thence to the 10th of May. The reason given is, because the bishops were in their visitations, which could not be soon ended, since a large space of time seemed necessary for their taking an exact account of the quantity and quality of all ecclesiastical goods. I suppose this was the procuring terriers of the lands, and inventories of the goods belonging to the churches; for many orders were given out for restoring such plate and furniture as could be found that had belonged to any church.

"Pro certiore bonorum Ecclesiasticorum quantitatis et qualitatis ratione habenda, majus temporis spatium requiri videbatur."

From the 10th of May, Pole prorogued the synod to the 10th of November. The reason given is for the great want and penury of victuals; for I find the dearth at this time was very great. Wheat was at four marks the quarter; malt, at two pound four shillings; peas, at two pound five shillings. But the next harvest proving plentiful, it fell as low as it had been high: wheat was at five shillings, malt at a noble, and rye at three shillings and fourpence a quarter.

A great scarcity of all things.

On the 28th of July, the council hearing that some naughty books were sent over, and concealed in the duchess of Suffolk's house, ordered the bishop of Lincoln to search for them, and to send them up. On the 19th of July, the council was alarmed with reports of conspiracies in Suffolk and Essex: so they sent orders to inquire about them, and about a zealous man that went about carrying letters and books over the country; from whence he was called Trudge-over: so he was ordered to be sought for. On the 15th of August, a letter was written to the mayor, jurats, and commons at Rye, to choose one of the queen's servants to be mayor for the ensuing year.

On the 21st of August, a letter of thanks was ordered for the earl of Sussex, for his diligence in apprehending those who spread about lewd and seditious reports, with whom he is desired to proceed according to the laws. And as for those lewd priests that had been married, and were found still to repair to their women, they tell him they had written to the bishop of Norwich to cause them to be apprehended and punished: and a letter was at the same time ordered for the bishop of Norwich to that purpose. On the 23rd of August, a letter of thanks was ordered to the lord Darcy, for his apprehending some ill-disposed persons who used conventicles and readings about Harwich. He was to get them to be fined according to their quality, and as he thought fit; and to bind them to appear before the bishop of London. And a letter was ordered to the bishop, either to reduce them to the church, or to order them according to the laws.

Prosecution of Heretics.

On the 4th of September, the earl of Sussex had moved that offenders should be proceeded against by martial law. His zeal is commended; and it was written back to him, "that these deserved to be so used, but that is not thought best; they are to be punished as the laws order. But when they have had their punishment, he shall cause them to be kept in prison and in irons till they know themselves and their duty." On the 15th of September, a letter of thanks was written to the earl of Sussex, and the justices of Norfolk, for their diligence in punishing one Thomas Long.

At this time they were called on to consider of the danger Calais might be in. So a state of the fortifications, and of what was necessary to maintain the place, was laid before the council; but the giving orders in that matter was delayed till the king should come over, of which they were in daily expectation. For on the 17th of September, they understood that the emperor, with his two sisters, had embarked on the Tuesday before, and that the king was to come to Calais, and from thence to England. Privy seals were at this time sent about everywhere for a loan of money, but it came in very slowly: some took the privy seal, but did not pay in the money. There was about one thousand privy seals given out, at one hundred pounds a-piece. On the 6th of October, a letter was sent to Calais to search for some who had fled from England thither. It is directed to the earl of Sussex, which makes it probable they were heretics; for in that matter his heart was entirely as the queen's heart was. On the 7th of October, the lady Throgmorton was before the council, asking leave to send some supply to her husband, sir Nicholas, who was then in France. The cardinal had told her, in the presence of the lord chancellor and others, that for this one time the queen allowed of it, so it did not exceed forty crowns. It seems the way of exchange was much beset when so small a supply from

Calais in danger of falling into the hands of the French.

so near a relation could not be conveyed without such an application. On the 17th of November, a letter was ordered for the bishop of London to receive a companion of him who was called Trudge-over, to be ordered by him according to law; and they complain to him that a man and a woman of Colchester, that had been sent to him charged with heresy, were returned back discharged by him, but were now worse than they were before. In another book, that seems to be the minutes of the council, it is entered that twenty-four persons were discharged by him, who were still rank heretics.

I find at this time the council was much employed in the matter of the privy seals. Our fleet was then so inconsiderable, that 14,000*l.* being ordered to be applied to the fleet by the lord treasurer and the lord admiral, both for repairing, furnishing, and victualling it, they reckoned that when that was done, 10,000*l.* a year afterwards would answer what was necessary. On the 19th of February, one Christopher Howe was ordered to be proceeded against for some detestable words, not fit to be heard; so it was ordered that only such parts of them should be opened as might serve for evidence to the jury. On the 21st, complaints were brought of a jailor who suffered heretics to go freely about. On the 24th, the queen expected hourly to hear of the king's arrival; so the lord admiral and others were ordered to attend on him. An ambassador came at this time from Russia; he landed in the north of Scotland, and was well received, and nobly treated by the lord Wharton; for which thanks were written to him. Here several orders are entered concerning the lord Sturton and his servants: three of them were ordered to be hanged in chains at Mere.

An Account of Lord Sturton's Execution.

I had in my former work given a due commendation to that which seemed to me a just firmness in the queen, not to pardon the lord Sturton for so heinous a crime as the murdering father and son in so barbarous a manner. But since I have lived long in Wiltshire, I find there is a different account of this matter in that neighbourhood. The story, as it has been handed down by very old people, is this: The day before the execution was appointed, there was a report set about that a pardon or a reprieve was coming down; upon which the sheriff came to the earl of Pembroke, who was then at Wilton, for advice. That lord heard the report, and was much troubled at it; so, apprehending some message might come to him from the court, he ordered his gates to be shut somewhat early, and not to be opened till next morning. My lord Sturton's son came down with the order; but since the gates were not to be opened, he rode over to his father, who received the news with great joy. In the night the sheriff left Wilton, and came so secretly to Salisbury that Sturton knew nothing of it, and believed he was still at Wilton, where he knew he was the night before. But when he was so far gone that the sheriff knew he could not come back in time to hinder the execution, he brought his men together, whom he had ordered to attend on him that day: and so the lord was executed before his son could come back with the order to stop it. I set down this story upon a popular report, of which I have had the pedigree vouched to me by those whose authors, upon the authority of their grandfathers, did give an entire credit to it. So meritorious a man as the lord Sturton was, who had protested against everything done in king Edward's parliament, had no doubt many intercessors to plead for him in this his extremity. I leave this with my reader as I found it.

On the 20th of March, the king came to England; orders being sent into Kent that the gentlemen should attend upon him in their best apparel. Thanks were afterwards written to them for their readiness in furnishing him with post-horses. On the 17th of April, proceedings are ordered to be made upon a book that is called lewd and seditious. And the countess of Sussex coming over at this time, and bringing letters which gave some suspicion, she was sent to the Fleet. She had been for some years separated from her husband. She was ordered to be examined strictly; but upon this and many other occasions, particulars are not set forth, and only a general mention is made of the minutes put in the chest.

There is, besides the great council-book, another council-book, which I suppose might be the minute-book, which was perused by my learned friend doctor Kennet, and who communicated to me all the extracts that he had made out of it, and some other manuscripts, which I never saw. It seems it was apprehended that the French designed a descent in Dorsetshire: so orders were sent to make musters in that county, and to have them in readiness in case of an invasion or a rebellion. And three hundred men were sent over to Calais, with orders concerning the fortifications.



On the 14th of June, complaint was made of some naughty plays and lewd books. The council was often alarmed with these plays; but it does not appear whether there was anything in the plays with relation to religion or the government, or whether it was that they apprehended some mischief from the concourse of the people that those representations brought together. One sir Thomas Cawarden was committed to the Fleet for his misbehaviour to the state. He was ordered to be kept a close prisoner, with only one servant, since he had made no manner of submission, and had not acknowledged his offence; but what this offence was does not appear to me. On the 29th of June, orders were given for sending two thousand men to Calais, with directions to distribute them to the places about that wanted a reinforcement the most. Eight hundred and sixty of them were ordered for Guisnes, and a letter was written to the mayor and jurats of Calais to continue their mayor for another year. On the 3d of July, the cardinal made an offer of one hundred men to serve the queen: he was ordered to levy them immediately, and to send them to Dover. Two hundred foot and six hundred horse more were ordered in all haste for Calais; and assurance was given that more should quickly follow. There were then great apprehensions of disorders on the borders of Scotland, which were wholly in the hands of the French.

The Alarms oft given of Plots.

Bonner at this time gave the city of London a most dismal spectacle, a little removed from the city, perhaps for fear of a tumult, at Stratford, where thirteen persons, eleven men, and two women, were burnt in one fire. He had condemned sixteen to be thus sacrificed; but cardinal Pole heard there was some hope of working on three of them, so there came an order to put them in his hands: and he by the 26th of July prevailed so far on two of them, that a pardon was granted to those two who had been condemned by the bishop of London, but were prevailed on by the cardinal to abjure (a very extraordinary thing, as is mentioned in the pardon), and had received them into the communion of the church, "and he had upon that interceded with the king and queen for their pardon, which they, as true sons of the church, did willingly imitate, and embraced this occasion of showing their zeal." I cannot tell what became of the third person, whom he had taken out of Bonner's hands.

A severe Prosecution.

Cardinal Pole saved two Persons.

Rymer MSS.

Exemplo licet rarissimo.

But here I must lessen the character of the cardinal's mildness towards heretics: for on the 28th of March this year he sent orders to proceed against the heretics in his diocese; and on the 7th of July he sent a significavit of some heretics to be delivered to the secular arm.

I find likewise by other evidences, suggested to me by the laborious Mr. Strype, that Pole was not so mild as I had represented him. Parker in his British Antiquities, which Strype believes assuredly he can prove that it was written by him, he calls him Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Carnifex et Flagellum,—the whip and the executioner of the church of England; and Calfhil, a canon of Christ Church in Oxford, in a letter he wrote to Grindall, bishop of London, mentions the proceedings of the visitors sent to Oxford by Pole; who were Brooks, bishop of Gloucester; Cole, dean of St. Paul's; and Ormanet. He sent them thither, not only to restore the pope's authority, but diligently to inquire if there were any who neglected the pope's ceremonies, and if there were any found that were under the least suspicion (*levissima suspicio*), they were without any delay to eject them. He writes there was nothing eminent in Ormanet, but intolerable insolence; nothing could be imagined more arrogant than he was. They raged, as he adds, against a great many in the University, and burned in the open market-place an infinite number of Bibles and other books. The like severity was practised at Cambridge, of which Mr. Strype promises an account in the Life of Whitgift, now ready for the press.

The nation began to grow everywhere weary of the cruel executions of so many heretics: the great promoter of these barbarous proceedings was the earl of Sussex. He died in March this year; for his son Thomas, who succeeded to him in his honour, was then deputy of Ireland; and on the 1st of April order was given for a new patent to him, by the title of the earl of Sussex.

At one time complaints were brought of the sheriffs of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Staffordshire, and of the mayor of Rochester and the bailiff of Colchester, that when some persons being condemned for heresy were delivered to them by their ordinaries, they, instead of proceeding to a present execution, had delayed it; so letters were ordered to them, requiring them to signify what it was that had moved them to stop the usual proceedings. Information was also given of some lewd and seditious words spoken by some of the queen's household; upon which they were sent to prison: and orders were given to prosecute them. On the 3d of August, thanks were ordered to be given to serjeant Brown for his proceedings with Trudge-over; and orders were given for the disposing of his head and quarters. On the 7th of August, sir John Butler, sheriff of Essex, was fined 10*l.* because his deputy had respited the execution of a woman, condemned for heresy, that should have been executed at Colchester; and he was to answer for his deputy's fault. This perhaps is the same with that which was mentioned on the 28th of July. Many were ordered to be proceeded against for writing and spreading lewd and seditious books. It seems the lord Rich continued to give the council notice before they proceeded to any executions in Essex, and so laid the odium of the severity on the council for showing no pity; so on the 6th of August they wrote to him to proceed according to law, and not to give them any more trouble on those occasions. Complaint was made on the 10th of August of a bad choice that the town of Calais had made of a mayor for the ensuing year, especially in so critical a time. They were told that by such an election they might have their charter to be brought in question. On the 12th of August, orders were sent to Canterbury to proceed without delay against those who acted there a lewd play that was sent up.

The nation abhorred this Cruelty.

On the 15th of August, the news came of the great defeat given the French at St. Quintins; so an order was sent to the bishop of London to publish that at St. Paul's Cross. On the 24th of August, letters were ordered to be written to the mayor and aldermen of Bristol, requiring them to conform themselves in frequenting sermons, processions, and other ceremonies, at the cathedral; and not to absent themselves as they had done of late, nor to expect that the dean and chapter should come with their cross and in procession to fetch them out of the city, which was a thing unseemly and out of order. On the 2d of September, news came of the taking of St. Quintins; upon which an order was sent to the lord mayor of London to have bonfires at night, and to come the next day to high mass. On the 6th of September, an order was sent to the lord mayor of London, to apprehend those who had acted a play called "A Sackfull of News;" but there was an order sent soon after to set them at liberty. On the 6th of October, news came that peace was made between the pope and the king; upon which the council ordered high mass to be at St. Paul's; and the lord mayor was required to be there, and to have bonfires over the city. The council was for some time wholly taken up with the matter of the loan and the privy seals; and though the government had certain notice of the design of the French upon Calais, yet no parliament was called by which money, and everything else that was necessary to the preserving it, could have been furnished. But the spirit of the nation was now much turned; and compassion began to rise towards these poor people that were thus sacrificed to the cruelty of the priests and the bigotry of a weak peevish woman, so that they would not venture on calling one, but tried other ineffectual methods of raising money, which increased the jealousy of the nation more than it added to the queen's treasure.

A great Coldness in those Matters at Bristol.

Bonner was again quickened by another letter to proceed against heretics; upon which he sent down Dr. Chedsey to Colchester, who, in a letter that he wrote to Bonner on the 21st of April, 1558, tells him, that while he was sitting at Colchester examining heretics, he received a summons to appear before the council; but he desires that Bonner would make his excuse, since he was on the great work of finding out heretics, anabaptists, and other unruly persons, such as the like was never heard.

Bonner called on by the Council to be more severe.

There is also in the Minute-book an entry of the letter of the 1st of August, 1558, written on Benbridge's account, who, when he was ready to be burnt, offered to recant; upon which



the sheriff of Hampshire stayed the execution, for that he was chid; but a letter was written to the bishop of Winchester, to examine whether his conversion was entire and sincere.

And now I have no more light from the Council-book, for that authentic volume goes only to the end of the year 1557, the last passage I find in it relating to religion being on the 15th of December: then they wrote a letter to the bishop of London, and sent with it the examination of John Rough, a Scottish minister, whom they had sent to Newgate, and required him to proceed against him according to the laws. It may be, perhaps, thought that I have taken out of it nothing but what related to proceedings against heretics: but that is, because there is scarce anything else in it; for I have taken out of it everything that related to the government, or that was in any sort historical. But the council knew what it was that the queen's heart was set on, and what would please her most; and so they applied their care and diligence chiefly to that.

There was a strange spirit of cruelty that run through the body of the clergy: it was animated by the government, and showed itself in so many dismal instances in all the parts of the nation, that it struck people with horror. This, joined with the intolerable haughtiness of the king, and the shameful loss of Calais, brought the government under a universal hatred and contempt. In a book corrected, if not written by the lord Burleigh, in queen Elizabeth's time, entitled "The Executions for Treason," the sum of those who suffered in this wretched reign is thus reckoned:—"Four hundred persons suffered publicly in queen Mary's days, besides those who were secretly murdered in prison: of these, twenty were bishops and dignified clergymen; sixty were women; children, more than forty; some women big with child; one bore a child in the fire, and the child was burned."

It does not appear that the bishops or clergy showed any great inclination to entertain Pole's project for the reformation of abuses, or that they were at much pains, in the way of instruction, to reduce the people. All that I find in this way is, that Bonner set out an instruction for his diocese in the year 1555. The people had heard so much of the second commandment, that he did not think fit to leave it quite out, as is done in most catechisms of the church of Rome; but yet he durst not venture on giving it honestly; therefore, instead of the words "Nor worship them," he gave it thus: "Nor adore them with God's honour." Watson, bishop of Lincoln, did, in June 1558, put another out for his diocese. It seems he was in a high degree of favour with the cardinal, since, notwithstanding the zeal he expressed against plurality of benefices in one person, he was allowed to hold the deanery of Durham *in commendam*, when he was promoted to Lincoln. The license is in January 1557, in which it is said that the cardinal consented to it.

Paper-Office.

The first public occasion that the ill-natured pope found to express his displeasure at Pole, was upon the death of Day, bishop of Chichester. The pope would not suffer Christopherson, the new bishop, to be preconised in Pole's name, but did it himself, as Karn wrote over on the 10th of April. Karn, after that, on the 15th of June, wrote to the queen, that the pope had ordered cardinal Morone to be imprisoned on the account of religion. Four cardinals were sent to examine him. Karn adds, that he was in high reputation at Rome for his sanctity; and he believed him a good Catholic, and a holy man.

The style in which all the bishops' bulls during this reign did run was, that the pope, by his apostolical authority, did provide the person to the see, and set him over it. Upon which, the bishop so named did renounce every clause in his bull that was in any sort prejudicial to the crown; and the renunciation being so made, the custody of the temporalties was given to the bishop elect. In the bulls, no mention is made either of the queen's recommending, nor of the chapter's electing. Rymer has gathered the bulls for Exeter, Bangor, St. Asaph, Carlisle, Chester, Peterborough, and Lincoln, besides those for Canterbury and York; and they all run in the style of papal provisions. Nor does he mention a *congé d'élire*, except for Chester, Winchester, Carlisle, Lincoln, Chichester, and Peterborough. There is something particular in the restitution of the temporalties of Carlisle to Oglethorpe; it is added, that he was to pay four hundred marks. I do not comprehend what could be the reason of this singularity.

Rymer.

The Papal Provisions in this Reign.

There was another convocation in January 1558. Harpsfield was chosen prolocutor. *On*

the 28th of January, Bonner, as the cardinal's commissary, proposed some heads of Reformation; and the lower house desired leave to offer their propositions. On the 4th of February, a subsidy was agreed to of eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years; and on the 9th, he told the bishops that the lower house had agreed to it. Complaint was made of a want of priests to serve the cures: in order to remedy this, and to provide a supply for the smaller benefices, it was proposed that no priest should be taken up to serve in the wars. 2. That the bishops might have authority to unite small benefices, which the priest should serve by turns. 3. That the parishioners of chapels of ease might be obliged to come to the parish church till curates could be provided. 4. That bishops might be authorised by the pope to ordain *extra tempora*. There was also some consideration had about the furnishing of arms; and a decree passed for the provision of them, after the same rate that the laity had agreed to. But then the convocation was prorogued, first to the 11th of November, and then to the 17th; on which day the queen died.

Proceedings in Convocation.

But now to open the state of the nation: Calais, and the places about, were lost; and the nation was so exhausted, that the supporting the government was no easy thing. The persons most in favour with the two kings of France and Spain, were two clergymen, the cardinal of Lorrain and the bishop of Arras, soon after promoted to be a cardinal. They saw that the continuance of the war made it reasonable on both sides, not to put a stop to the progress of heresy, though it had not that effect in England: they, therefore, at an interview projected a peace; that so both kings might be at full leisure to extirpate heresy out of their dominions.

A General Treaty of Peace was opened.

In order to this, France was willing to make great restitutions: only, from the first opening of the treaty, they declared very positively that they resolved never to part with Calais. A treaty was opened, and the earl of Arundel, the bishop of Ely, and dean Wotton were sent to treat in the queen's name. I shall here only give the abstract of two papers which I found relating to this matter.

The first is the council's letter to the ambassadors, written on the 8th of November, which is in the Collection. The ambassadors saw no hope of the restoring of Calais, so they had moved the council to lay the matter before the parliament. "It was not thought convenient to break it to the whole house: it was thought best to begin with the nobility, and some of the best and gravest sort. But before they made that step, they thought it necessary to ask the queen's mind: she thought it was best to lay it first before the king. Upon which they sent the ambassadors with a letter to the king, and resolved to stay till his answer came. They write that the queen was still sick and weak: they hoped for her amendment; but they were driven to fear and mistrust the worst. In a postscript they tell them, they had received the ambassadors' letters of the 4th, by which they saw the French were resolved not to restore Calais: and that the king told them that his commissioners had almost agreed with the French in all other matters; but he would agree to nothing unless the queen was satisfied. The council ordered the ambassadors to lay before the king the importance of leaving Calais in the hands of the French; and how much it would touch the honour of the king and queen, that so many restitutions being to be made on both sides, this alone should not be restored. The subjects of this realm would certainly be very uneasy at this. The war was begun at the king's request, and for his sake. If to other of the king's allies, places are to be restored that were taken from them some years ago, what then can be judged, if a peace is concluded without this restitution? Yet, on the other hand, if there is an agreement in all other matters" (which is like a giving up of the point), "much were to be endured for the wealth of Christendom. In these matters the ambassadors were ordered to deal plainly with the king, and to study to know his mind; since the French keeping these places might be as great prejudice to his Low Countries as to England. They desire a plain and speedy answer, that they might know what to offer to the nobility and parliament with relation to this matter."

Paper-Office. Small Hope of having Calais restored. Collection, Number 42.

The answer to this belongs to this reign, though it was written on the day after the queen died, signed by the three ambassadors. It is in the Collection. "They had written formerly, that the French king had said he would hazard his crown rather than

Collection, Number 43.



restore Calais: yet, for all those high words, they did not quite despair. The commissioners of both kings had broke up their conferences, and returned to their masters to give an account of what they had done, and to receive their final orders. The ambassadors believed that if the king insisted positively on the restitution of Calais, that this might induce the French to agree to it: whereas, if the king and his ministers spoke but faintly of that matter, they were sure the French would still refuse to do it. Therefore they did not think fit to use any words to the king, to make him imagine that the queen or the kingdom would consent to a peace without the restoring of Calais: because their instructions were express in that point. The king continued to say that he would make no peace unless the queen should be satisfied: so that if she and her council continued to insist on that point, they did believe the French would restore it, rather than lose the view they had of peace. And whereas the council wrote to them, that if all other things were near agreed, much were to be endured for the peace of Christendom; yet that all others should have restitution, and that poor England should only bear the loss, was hard; especially so great a loss: and they were so far from thinking that the leaving Calais to the French would purchase a sure peace, that they thought, on the contrary, that nothing showed more evidently, that the French did not intend to continue the peace with England especially, than their keeping of Calais. The French could easily annoy England on the side of Scotland, the dauphin being then married to the queen of Scots: and what the French pretend to by that marriage was not unknown to them. (This probably was to claim the crown of England upon the queen's death.) Now if the French kept Calais, the English could neither hurt their enemies nor assist their friends, or be assisted by them so easily as when that place was in their hands. England would be shut out from the rest of Europe: the very knowledge of the transactions abroad would come late to them, and that place would be a scourge for England, as it was before Edward the Third took it; which made him come with his son, and but with a small army, from Normandy into France, and to march through Picardy to besiege it, the enemy pursuing him with a greater army; but he fought through them, till at last he fought them at Cressy, where, though the French were three to one, yet he totally defeated them, and continued the siege till he took it. So the French having Scotland on the one hand, and Calais on the other, it was easy to apprehend what might follow on this. The French would sign any terms with them to keep that place. These would be only parchment and wax. They knew how many parchments king Francis sealed to king Henry; and the present king to king Edward. They saw the effects they had, and if a war should follow between England and France, they were not sure that Spain would join with England: whereas now the king could not honourably make any peace without us; and he himself said he would not: so they did not think Christendom should have a good peace if Calais were left to the French: and it was certainly more the interest of England to continue the war in conjunction with the king, than to make a peace, letting it go, and then be forced to begin a new war, and to have all the burden of it lie upon England. All this they thought themselves bound to lay before the council. The bishop of Ely adds, that he was with the commissioners by the king's order; they had not yet agreed concerning the matters of Corsica and Sienna; the French have likewise demanded the restitution of Navarre: so that some thought the treaty would be broken off without concluding in a peace." The earl of Arundel adds, that "after they had gone so far in their letter, he received a letter from the bishop of Arras, dated the 17th, in which he writes thus:—'The bishop of Ely has told you on what terms we were in this purgatory at his leaving us. The French told us yesterday that they would condescend to everything rather than yield in the matter of Calais, or let that place go out of their hands. And we on our part told them, that without full satisfaction to the kingdom of England, we would not treat with them in any sort. And we parted so, that there is more appearance of a rupture than of a conclusion of the treaty.'" But after all, our ambassadors doubted much whether it would break off only on the account of Calais. If they were in doubt about it, while the queen was yet alive, it may be easily supposed that her death put them out of all doubt concerning it.

And now I am come to the conclusion of this inglorious reign. Campana gives a different account of the immediate occasion of the queen's death, from what is to be found in other authors. He tells us that king Philip seeing no hope of issue by her, and that she was in an ill state of health, designed a marriage between the duke of Savoy and the lady Elizabeth: the queen had a very bad opinion of her sister, suspecting she had ill principles in religion. King Philip thought the duke of Savoy would be a firm friend to him, and a constant enemy to France. But he could never bring the queen to hearken to this: yet now that she was declining very fast, he sent over the duke of Feria to propose the match to the privy council, without any regard to the queen, or to the opposition she might make to it. And he ordered him to use all possible means to bring it to a conclusion. The queen resented this highly; and when she saw it was designed to force her to it, she fell into an extreme melancholy. The privy council did not entertain the motion; and the queen dying in a few days, an end was put to it: for though I find the duke of Feria was in England upon queen Elizabeth's coming to the crown, it does not appear that he made any proposition of that matter to her. What truth soever may be in this, the nation was now delivered from a severe and unhappy, though short reign: in which superstition and cruelty had the ascendant to such a degree, that it does not appear that there was any one great or good design ever set on foot, either for the wealth or glory of the nation. The poor queen delivered herself up to her peevish and fretful humours, and to her confessor, and seemed to have no other thoughts but about the extirpation of heresy and the endowing of monasteries. Even the war, that commonly slackens vigorous proceedings, had not that effect here. Her inexorable hatred of all she accounted heretics was such, that I find but one single instance of a pardon of any condemned of heresy; and that was upon the cardinal's intercession. God shortened the time of her reign for his elect's sake: and He seemed to have suffered popery to show itself in its true and natural colours, all over both false and bloody; even in a female reign, from whence all mildness and gentleness might have been expected; to give this nation such an evident and demonstrative proof of the barbarous cruelty of that religion as might raise a lasting abhorrence and detestation of it.

A particular Relation of the Occasion of the Queen's Death.

It was visible that the providence of God made a very remarkable difference, in all respects, between this poor, short, and despised reign, and the glory, the length, and the prosperity of the succeeding reign: so that as far as we can reason from the outward characters of things, the one was all over mean and black, while the other shined with a superior brightness, to the admiration of all the world. It wanted no foil to set it off, being all over lustre and glory: but if that was wanting, the base and contemptible reign that went before it could not but add to its brightness.

A Parallel of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth's Reign.

One amazing character of Providence in her death, and in the great successor that came after her, was, that at the time that the two ministers, being both ecclesiastics, of the kings of France and Spain, were designing a peace, with the view of destroying heresy, upon the conclusion of it, their project was entirely blasted in so critical a minute: first, by the death of queen Mary, and the succession of queen Elizabeth; and next, by the unlooked-for death of the king of France in July after. So that not only the design totally miscarried, but France fell under the confusions of a minority; under which that they called heresy gathered great strength. And the cruelty of the Spanish government occasioned the revolt of the Netherlands; while the glorious queen of England protected and assisted both so effectually, that king Henry IV. owned his being supported by her in his lowest state, was the chief means that brought him to the possession of the crown of France; and the United Provinces had their main dependence on the protection and assistance that they had from her. So mercifully did God deal with this nation, by removing that queen, that he had set over it in his wrath; and so graciously did he watch over the Reformation, that, in the very time in which the enemies of that work reckoned it was to be rooted out, he raised up a glorious instrument that not only revived it among us, but by a kind and tender influence watched over it, and protected it everywhere. So I now turn to view the auspicious beginnings of that blessed reign.



# PART III.—BOOK VI.

## OF THE BEGINNINGS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

1558. No prince ever came to the throne in a more clouded state of affairs than this queen did: the nation was engaged in a war both with France and Scotland. The queen had no ally but king Philip; and though she was sensible of her particular obligations to him, yet, being resolved to make alterations in religion, she knew she could depend no longer on him when once these should be begun. The duke of Feria, then his ambassador in England, took all occasions to let her understand that his master was the catholic king, and that, therefore, he must protect that religion. The papists whom she found in the ministry possessed her with fears of rebellions at home, and of wars from abroad, if she set herself to alter religion. Those she brought into her councils, in conjunction with the papists, chiefly Bacon and Cecil, had been so accustomed to comply with what they condemned in matters of religion, that they brought themselves to bear what they did not approve; and they apprehended great danger if they should proceed too quick in those matters.

The queen's inclinations to the Reformation were universally relied on. Her education and knowledge; her bad usage during the former reign; and her title to the crown, that was grounded on a marriage made in defiance to the pope, led all people to conclude that, what slow steps soever she might make in it, she would certainly declare for it as soon as she saw she could be safe in doing it. Upon this some, whether out of a forwardness of zeal, or on design to encourage her, began early to pull down images and to make changes. But, on the other hand, the priests apprehending what was like to follow, began at the same time to alarm the people. Some broke out into seditious words, to animate the people against all changes; and the pulpits being all in their hands, they had free scope there to give the alarm. Some went further, and called her title to the crown in question, and set up the pretensions of the queen of Scotland. Of these, the industrious Mr. Strype has gathered many instances that showed, on the one hand, their seditious tempers, and, on the other hand, the great mildness of the government,—different from the cruelty of the former reign. To put a stop to these, she did by one proclamation prohibit all preaching; and by another, all alterations by private hands.

Her Inclinations in Religion cautiously managed.

As her ministers advised this caution in matters of religion, so they persuaded her to digest the loss of Calais, and to come into a peace with France and Scotland.

They likewise thought of new alliances. In order to this, Mount was brought into England again; and had secret instructions given him by Cecil to go to all the princes of Germany to know how far the queen might depend on their assistance, and to receive the advices that the princes offered with relation to the affairs of England; and in particular, concerning a proper marriage for the queen. He found them ready to receive the queen into the Smalcaldic League; chiefly, if the Reformation that was intended might be made upon their model. The match they all proposed was with Charles of Austria, the emperor Ferdinand's second son, brother to Maximilian, the king of Bohemia and Hungary, who was known to be a protestant: for though he complied in the outward acts of the popish worship, yet he had a minister in his court whom he heard frequently preach. Both the elector palatine and the duke of Wirtemberg assured Mount that Charles designed, as soon as he durst, for fear of his father's displeasure, to declare himself of their religion. He said to one of these princes, "I love the religion that my brother holds, and approve of it; and will, by the grace of God, profess it openly." He told him, "that his father suspected this, and had pressed him to take an oath that he would never change his religion. He refused that; but said to his father, that he believed, as he did, all that was in the New Testament, and in the orthodox

Mount sent to Germany.

A Match with Charles of Austria advised.

fathers." Upon which the emperor said, "I see this son is likewise corrupted." They thought this match would be a great strengthening of the queen: it would engage the whole house of Austria in the protestant religion, and unite the whole empire in an alliance with the queen. This was writ to the queen in the year 1559; but in the copy I saw, the particular date is not added.

Cotton Libr. Galba, 11.

The news of the queen's coming to the crown no sooner reached Zurich, than all those who had retired thither resolved to return to England. They had been entertained there both by the magistrates and the ministers, Bullinger, Gualter, Weidner, Simler, Lavater, Gesner, and all the rest of that body, with a tenderness and affection that engaged them to the end of their lives to make the greatest acknowledgments possible for it. The first of these was, in all respects, the chief person of that society, with whom they held the closest correspondence. Peter Martyr was likewise there, and was treated by them all with a singular respect, even to a submission. Jewel was first formed by him at Oxford; and so continued to his death in a constant commerce of letters with him, writing always to him by the title of Father. I saw a great volume of those letters, as I passed through Zurich, in the year 1685; so I was desirous to have the volume sent me, but I found that by their rules that could not be done. I also understood that there were several letters relating to our affairs scattered through several other volumes; so professor Otto did kindly, and with much zeal, undertake to get them to be copied for me. The person who managed and procured this for me was that pious and learned professor at Geneva, Alphonsus Turretin, born to be a blessing to the state he lives in. He has given the world already, on many occasions, great instances of his exquisite learning, and of a most penetrating judgment, having made a vast progress in a few years; in which a feeble and tender body, though it is a great clog that gives his friends many sad apprehensions, yet cannot keep down an exalted mind from many performances that seem to be above both his years and his strength. But how valuable soever these qualities are, yet his zeal for the great things of religion, and his moderation in lesser matters, together with a sublime and exalted piety, is that which I observed in him, even when he was scarce out of childhood; and have, with a continual joy and delight, seen the advances of it ever since. This grateful account of him I owe not so much to his friendship (though I owe a great deal to that), but to his rare and singular worth. By his means I procured copies of the letters that our reformers continued to write, chiefly to Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and Gualter. And with them I have a solemn attestation, under the seal of that noble canton, of their being true copies, carefully collated with the originals, which I have put at the end of the Collection. If there had not been many interruptions in the series of those letters, they are so particular, that from them we should have had a clear thread of the history of that time; but many of them are lost, and they are wanting on some of the most critical occasions. I shall make the best use of them I can, as far as they lead me.

The Reformers return to England.

Horn and Sands went first to England; so Jewel, who was following them, writes from Strasburg, on the 26th of January, 1559, to Peter Martyr; and adds, "that they were well received by the queen; that many bishoprics were void; Christopherson was certainly dead. That White, whom Martyr knew well, had preached the funeral-sermon when queen Mary was buried,—the text was, 'I praised the dead more than the living:' in which he charged the audience, by all means, not to suffer any change to be made in religion. Inveighing against the fugitives that might perhaps return into England, he said, whosoever should kill them would do a deed acceptable to God." Upon this he writes, "that both the marquis of Winchester, and Heath, archbishop of York, seemed highly displeased at it." He adds, "that Bonner was obliged to restore to Ridley's executors all his goods that he had violently seized on, and was confined to his house." I have seen a copy of White's sermon: in it he commends queen Mary for this, that she would never be called Head of the Church. Though the falsehood of that is on record, in the writs that were sealed for above a year after she came to the crown. He runs out with great fury against heresy: Geneva is, in particular, named the seat of it. He says queen Mary's death was like the death of an angel, if they were mortal. He insinuates his fears of "flying in the winter on the Sabbath," or "being with child;" all

1559. They were well received by the Queen. Col. Num. 44.



which he represents as allegorical. Yet he has some decent words of the queen; and says, they were to comfort themselves for the death of one sister in the other that survived.

Gualter wrote to one Masters, who was the queen's physician, and was well known to him, on the 16th of January. He congratulates the happy change of their affairs. "He wishes" (I translate his words strictly) "that they would not hearken to the counsels of those men, who, when they saw that popery could not be honestly defended nor entirely retained, would use all artifices to have the outward face of religion to remain mixed, incertain, and doubtful; so that while an evangelical reformation is pretended, those things should be obtruded on the church, which will make the returning back to popery, to superstition, and to idolatry, very easy. I write not these things to you," he adds, "as knowing that there are any such among you; but I write from a fear that there may be some such. For we have had the experience of this for some years in Germany, and know what influence such persons may have. Their councils seem, to a carnal judgment, to be full of modesty, and well fitted for carrying on an universal agreement; and we may well believe that the common enemy of our salvation will find out proper instruments, by whose means the seeds of popery may still remain among you." A little after he writes, that "he apprehends that in the first beginnings, while men may study to avoid the giving some small offence, many things may be suffered under this colour that they will be continued but for a little while; and yet afterwards it will scarce be possible, by all the endeavours that can be used, to get them to be removed, at least not without great strugglings." Dr. Masters, in answer to this, tells him he had laid his letter before the queen, and that she had read it all. He promises to use his best endeavours for carrying on a sound reformation. This plainly insinuated their fears of somewhat like what was designed by the Interim in Germany.

Those of Zurich advise a thorough Reformation. Col. Num. 45.

Francis, earl of Bedford, had gone out of England in queen Mary's time, and had stayed some time at Zurich. He had expressed a true zeal for the Reformation, and a particular regard for the divines there, of which a letter in the Collection gives a clear account; and upon that they wrote often to him, and pressed him vehemently to take care in the first beginnings to have all things settled upon sure and sound foundations.

The Earl of Bedford had stayed some time at Zurich, and wrote to them. Col. Num. 46.

On the 24th of January the convocation was opened; but the bishops, in obedience to the queen's proclamation against preaching, did not think fit to open it with a sermon. Those who I find are marked as present, are the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Worcester, Coventry, and Litchfield, and the abbot of Westminster: these appeared personally; and the bishops of Ely, Peterborough, and St. Asaph, sent their proxies. But no mention is made of the bishops of Bath and Wells, St. David's, Llandaff, and Exeter. All the other sees were then vacant: Canterbury, Salisbury, Norwich, Chichester, Hereford, Gloucester, Oxford, Bangor, Bristol, and Rochester; ten in all. Harpsfield was chosen prolocutor. He asked what they had to do, and what was to be done to preserve religion? The bishops answered, they must pray the queen that no new burden might be laid on the clergy in this parliament. This was to prevent the demand of a new subsidy, the former not being yet paid. In the 7th session, the prolocutor offered to the bishops the five articles mentioned in my history. These they had drawn up for the discharge of their consciences, and they desired the bishops to be their leaders in this matter. The bishops received their paper, and promised to offer it next day to the House of Lords. In the next session, the prolocutor and clergy came up and asked the bishops if they had delivered their paper to the House of Lords? Bonner answered that they had delivered it to the lord-keeper, the mouth of that house, who to all appearance received it kindly or thankfully (*gratanter*), but gave them no answer. The clergy desired the bishops to get an answer from him, or at least to know his pleasure before their next meeting. In the 9th session, the bishops told the clergy that they had not yet found a fit opportunity to obtain an answer from the House of Lords. On the 10th session, Bonner told the clergy that all their articles except the last, which was, "That the authority of treating and defining in matters of the faith, of the sacraments, and of ecclesiastical discipline, belonged to the pastors of the church, and not to the laity," were approved by the two Universities.

Proceedings in Convocation.

After this came only perpetual prorogations from day to day, without any business done, till the 9th of May, in which the convocation was dissolved: so this was the last and feeble struggle that the popish clergy made in convocation.

The bishops stood firm in the House of Lords, where there were none of the other side to answer them, few of the temporal lords being very learned. They seemed to triumph there, and hung so upon the wheels, that there was a slow progress made. On the 20th of March, Jewel writes to Peter Martyr, "That after a journey of fifty-one days from the time he left Zurich, he got to London, where he was amazed to find the pope's authority was not yet thrown off. Masses were still said, and the bishops continued still insolent. Things were beginning to mend a little. A public disputation was then resolved on; and he adds, that the queen spoke with great esteem of Peter Martyr. The inferior sort of the populace was both ignorant and perverse. He tells him Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, whom he calls an Impure Beast, was newly dead; and cried out as he was dying that he was damned.

The Bishops oppose the Reformation in the House of Lords. Col.Num.47.

Jewel, in a letter to Bullinger from London on the 22d of May, 1559, which is in the Collection, after great acknowledgments of his obligations to him, and to all Zurich, "thanks him for quickening them to act with zeal and courage. There was need of it; for, besides those who had been always their enemies, the deserters who had left them in the former reign were now their most bitter enemies. Besides this, the Spaniards had corrupted the morals of the nation to a great degree. They were doing what they could, and all things were coming into a better state. The queen did very solemnly refuse to be called Head of the Church. She thought that title was only due to Christ. The Universities were strangely corrupted by Soto, and another Spanish monk. It was scarce credible how much mischief they had done in so little time. He tells him that the lord Bedford had asked him what would be the most acceptable present that he could send to him and his brethren. He answered, nothing could be so acceptable to them as his expressing a zeal for promoting the gospel, and against popery. That lord assured him he would do that faithfully; which, as he writes, he was doing very sincerely. He writes also how that several princes were making addresses to the queen for her marriage; but many suspected her inclinations lay to one Pickering, a worthy and pious man, and one of a most noble figure as to his person." He refers him for other things to his letters to Peter Martyr. On the 6th of April, Jewel wrote a particular account of the disputation, which, though it is upon the matter the same that is in my History, yet since it is both a confirmation of it, and has some circumstances that are new, I have put it in my Collection. "He tells him that Cole treated the reformers with many reproaches and much scorn; and called them seditious incendiaries. He delivered his speech with great emotion, stamping with his feet, and putting himself as in convulsions. He said the apostles divided their work into two provinces, the Western and the Eastern: the first, St. Peter and St. Paul had given to them, where the worship was to be all in Latin; the Eastern division fell to the other apostles, where all was to be performed in Greek. This he introduced with pomp as a thing certain. He affirmed that it was not fit the people should understand the public worship, for ignorance was the mother of devotion. The paper prepared by the reformers was read gravely and modestly by Horn; so that all who were present, he names the earl of Shrewsbury in particular, acknowledged the victory was clearly on their side. By this, and by what happened the second day, the popish cause sunk much in the opinion of the people."

Col.Num.48.

Col.Num.49.

On the 28th of April, in another letter, which is in the Collection, he tells Peter Martyr how earnestly the bishops contended in the House of Lords. "Feckenham defended monastic orders from the sons of the prophets, and the Nazarites among the Jews; and said Christ and his apostles were monks. None struggled more vehemently than Thirleby. He saw a design at court of seizing on the bishops' manors, and assigning parsonages to them instead of them; but he laments most of all that no care was taken of schools, or of promoting learning. The universities were in a most miserable condition. The earl of Bedford pressed the queen to send for Peter Martyr: she said she would do it. But as much as Jewel desired to see him, he writes, that he would not advise his coming over if he was not sent for with such an earnest and honourable invitation as he deserved to have. He saw many

Col.Num.50.



of the queen's ministers were in hope to enter into the Smalcaldic league. And one, who had been a bishop, possessed them with an opinion, that if Martyr were brought over, that would obstruct the other design." He expresses an ill opinion of that person, but does not name him. It must have been either Barlow, Scory, or Coverdale; for these were all the bishops of the Reformation that were then alive. Coverdale, as being a Dane, is the likest to have been engaged in the Lutheran opinion. He concludes his letter, that those who had returned from their exile were yet in great misery, no care being taken of them.

His next is on the 10th of April. "He laments the want of zeal and industry in promoting the Reformation, far short of what the papists showed in queen Mary's time. Then everything was carried on violently, without staying either for law or precedent; but now everything is managed in so slow, so cautious, and prudent a manner, as if the word of God was not to be received upon his own authority: so that as Christ was thrown out by his enemies, he is now kept out by his friends. This caution made, that the spirits of those that favoured them were sunk, while their enemies were much exalted upon it; yet he acknowledges, that though no law was made abrogating the mass, it was in many places laid down. The nobility seemed zealous in their hatred of popery. The queen had, indeed, softened her mass much; but there were many things amiss that were left in it. If she could be prevailed on to put the crucifix out of her chapel, it would give a general encouragement. She was truly pious, but thought it necessary to proceed by law, and that it was dangerous to give way to a furious multitude."

He complains of want of Zeal, and an excess of Caution.

Cox, on the 20th of May, wrote to Weidner, another divine of Zurich, whom he calls a venerable old man. He tells him "that they found the short reign of queen Mary had such effects in hardening the minds of the people in their superstition, that it would not be easy to change the nation. Great opposition was made to every good motion by the scribes and pharisees in the House of Lords; for there was none there that could maintain arguments against the bishops. But the divines, who were returned from their exile, were called to preach at court before the queen, where they plainly affirmed that the pope was Antichrist, and that their traditions were blasphemies. Some of the nobility came every day over to them, and many of the people, but not one of the clergy: they stuck all together as a body that was not to be moved." He tells him the event that the public disputation had, and that now king Edward's laws were to be revived. "Thus," says he, "God has regarded the low estate we were in; and with his fatherly compassion has pitied us, and taken off the cross we lay under. God grant these his great and inestimable benefits may never be forgotten by us!" But he laments, that while there was so great a harvest, there were so few labourers.

All business was brought to a good conclusion in parliament. The king of France's unlooked-for death had given such a change to the face of affairs abroad, that the queen and her ministers seemed to be animated with more courage than had appeared hitherto. Of this there is a letter of Jewel's in the Collection. In the beginning of August, it appears, from another letter in the Collection, that preachers were sent to many different parts. "Many northern counties were assigned to Sands. Jewel had a large province: he was to make a circuit of about seven hundred miles, through Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, Dorsetshire, and Wiltshire. The popish bishops made a very poor address to the queen, persuading her not to change the state of religion; to which she answered very resolutely. And they, rather than abjure the pope once more, which they had often done before, were resolved now to relinquish their bishoprics. It was plain they had no religion among them, yet now they pretended conscience. They were full of rage; and one of the artifices they used at that time to keep the people from receiving the Reformation was, the giving out of prophecies that this change would be short-lived. Howsoever the queen had courage. So he thanks God for the state to which their affairs were then brought. Matters went well in Scotland: Knox was preaching in many places of the country, well guarded; the monasteries were everywhere pulled down, and all the superstitious stuff that was in them was destroyed. The young king of France took, among his titles, both England and Scotland. He understood

Col.Num.51.
Col.Num.52.

it was designed to make himself bishop of Salisbury, but he was positively resolved to decline it." In the letters sent me from Zurich, I find none of Grindall's on this occasion: but Mr. Strype, in his Life, has informed the world that Grindall, when he knew he was designed to be a bishop, wrote to Peter Martyr for his opinion in several matters. I shall give the substance of his letter: "He did not approve of the queen's taking away the estates of the bishopries, and giving them parsonages instead of them. He thought this was the patrimony of the inferior clergy; so he did not see how they could be supplied, if these were given to the bishops. He had also a doubt concerning the popish vestments. At another time he asked his advice, whether the popish priests, upon their changing again, should be received and continued in their functions; or whether such of them as had been concerned in the late cruelty ought not to be prosecuted for that."

Peter Martyr's Advices to Grindall.

To all this Peter Martyr answered, "that, for the taking away the bishops' estates, and giving them parsonages for them, they could neither hinder nor help it; but they ought, out of them, to support the clergy that laboured in those parishes. For the habits, he confessed he did not love them; for while he was a canon in Oxford he never would use the surplice. He thought they ought to do what they could to get them to be laid aside; but that if that could not be done, he thought he might do more good, even in that particular, by submitting to it, and accepting a bishopric, which might give him an interest to procure a change afterwards. As for the popish priests, he advised the forgiving all that was past, and the receiving them according to the practice of the primitive church in the return of the Arians to the orthodox body. But they were to watch over them, and to instruct and examine them with more care." This answer came too late, for Grindall was consecrated before he got it; but it was, no doubt, a great satisfaction to him to find that a person, whom he esteemed so highly, approved of the resolution that he had taken: in which it was probable Jewel's opinion, of whom they had all a high esteem, might contribute to settle him. For though he disliked the use of those vestments, and treats the insisting so much on it with great contempt; yet, on the other hand, he blames those who laid too much weight upon that matter, and so looked on it as a thing of more importance than truly it was.

They all rejoiced in the happy turn of affairs then in Scotland, the much greater part of that nation declaring themselves openly and zealously against popery.

Here I shall insert an account concerning Scotland, of what happened in the reign of king Henry; but that came not to my knowledge till the impression of this volume was advanced to the reign of queen Mary. The Scottish nation was so well disposed towards the Reformation, that immediately upon king James V.'s death, which was in December 1541, there appeared a wonderful inclination among them to be better informed in matters of religion. Cardinal Beaton, to prevent this, had got a will to be forged in the name of the deceased king, constituting him regent; but as that was discovered to be a forgery, so the nobility had no regard to it, but owned the earl of Arran to be the second person in the kingdom; and that he was next to the young queen, and the heirs of her body, the heir of the crown. So they took the oaths of allegiance to the queen as their sovereign, and to the earl of Arran as their governor, till the queen was of perfect age: and upon that the cardinal was secured.

The Beginnings of the Reformation in the Parliament of Scotland.

A parliament was summoned to meet in May 1542, in which the regency of the earl of Arran was of new confirmed on the 13th of May; and all the subjects were required to obey him in all things pertaining to that office, conform to the acts formerly made, which were again ratified by that parliament. They also ratified the oaths that had been taken to him by some lords spiritual and temporal; and all who were present were required to confirm these oaths by solemn oaths in full parliament; which they all did by the holding up of their right hands, swearing that they would be true and obedient to the lord governor, and serve him with their persons, kindred, friends, and goods, and no other, during the queen's nonage.

On the 15th of May, they ordered an authentic publication to be made of all they had done under the great seal; and they all affixed their seals to the instrument made to confirm this settlement. On the same day a council was named: six of these was the number that



was at the least necessary to concur with the governor. The cardinal was not one of them; the archbishop of Glasgow, who was lord chancellor, with the bishops of Aberdeen, Murray, Orkney, Ross, and Brechin, and the abbots of Dunfermline and Cowper, were for the ecclesiastical state. The earls of Angus, Huntley, Murray, Argyle, Bothwell, Marshall, Cassilis, and Glencairn, and the lords Erskine, Ruthven, Maxwell, Seton, and Methuen, for the nobility; with some other commoners of the boroughs. After whom, the treasurer, the secretary, the clerk of register, the justice clerk, and the queen's advocate, are named. It seems they intended that no peers should be created but with the concurrence of the parliament; for the governor, with the advice and consent of the estates of parliament, made the lord Stewart of Ochiltry a peer, to have vote and place in parliament. In the same record, mention is made of the draught of an act offered by the lord Maxwell to the lords of the articles in these words:

"It is statute and ordained, that it shal be lawful to all our soveraign lady's lieges to have the holy writ of the New Testament and the Old in the vulgar tongue, in Inglis or Scotts, of a good and tru translation; and that they shall incurre no crime for the having or reding of the same: provided always, that no man dispute, or hold opinions, under the pains contained in the acts of parliament."

The lords of articles found this reasonable, and thought that the Bible might be used among all the lieges of the realm in our vulgar tongue, of a good, true, and just translation, because there was no law showed to the contrary; and therefore they agreed that none should incur any crime for having or reading it, nor be accused for it, but added the proviso that was added to the draught offered to them.

The Use of the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue much opposed:

But the archbishop of Glasgow did, in his own name, and in the name of all the prelates of the realm that were present in parliament, when the act came to be read in full parliament, "dissent (simpliciter) to it, as being one of the three estates of the parliament: and they opponed them thereto unto the time that a provincial council might be had of all the clergy of this realm, to advise and conclude thereupon, if the same be necessary to be had in the vulgar tongue, to be used among the queen's lieges or not, and thereafter to show the utter determination that shall be done in that behalf." Upon this he demanded an instrument to be made according to the forms in that kingdom: but notwithstanding this opposition, the act passed; for in the same record there is an order entered, as signed by the governor, requiring the clerk of register to cause the acts passed in parliament to be proclaimed; "and in special the act made for having the New Testament in vulgar tongue, with certain additions." In the copy sent me, this bears date the 19th of March; but I believe it should be May, since the matter was not before the parliament till May. I have set down all this matter almost in the words of the record of parliament that was sent me.

But granted.

In the same record, the instructions are set down that were given to the ambassadors that were sent to treat concerning the queen's marriage with Edward, then prince of Wales. In which it appears that they thought it necessary, if their sovereign went out of the kingdom, even after she was of perfect age, yet that the governor of the realm should continue to exercise his authority all the days of his life; and that, after his death, the nearest lawful person of the blood should succeed to the said office by a large and ample commission, of which they order a form to be devised.

The free use of the Scriptures was a great step to let the nation look into the nature of the Christian religion: and the clergy foresaw well the consequences that would naturally follow upon it; so it was no wonder that this was opposed so zealously by them. It was a great piece of foresight to secure the nation by having a governor with full powers still residing amongst them. In the subsequent treaty with France, there was not that care nor precaution used: but at the conclusion of the marriage, the French proceeded in so perfidious a manner, as to give a warning to all who in future times should treat with that court. For on the 4th of April 1558 (a fortnight before the articles of the marriage were settled, which was on the 19th of April), the young queen being then but little more than fifteen, a secret act was passed; in which, after she had set forth the ancient alliance between the two crowns, and the honourable entertainment that she had received from the present king of France;

"She, to confirm and establish the affection between the two kingdoms, and in order to unite the kingdom of Scotland to the crown of France, in case she should die without heirs of her body, had made some dispositions in favour of the crown of France, which she intended should have their full effect: yet she, by a communication with the deputies sent from Scotland, saw into the secret designs of some, who were practising to the effect, that in default of heirs of her body, the crown should descend to some lords of the country; depriving her by that means, to her great regret, of the power of disposing of it. Yet since she could not at that time openly oppose them for certain just causes of fear; and considering that she was out of her kingdom, and had no strong places in it at her own disposal; and that great troubles might arise, if what she was then doing should be publicly known, especially considering the present war with the kingdom of England: she therefore did protest, that what consent or agreement soever she should make to the articles and instructions sent over by the states of her kingdom with relation to the succession, in case she should die without heirs of her body; she intended still, that the disposition then made in favour of the crown of France should have its full and entire effect, notwithstanding any agreement she had made, or should yet make, conform to these instructions, as a thing contrary to her will and intention." Upon which she demanded an act from the keeper of the great seal, Bertrandi, who was made a cardinal that year *.

A perfidious Proceeding of the Court of France.

This instrument was signed by her and by the dauphin, and is printed in the great collection of the treaties of France that was published twenty years ago. It opens a scene of treachery; that how much soever the design was suspected (as will appear by the paper, of which an account will be given in the following relation), yet it was never certainly known till they themselves had made their own shame thus known to the world. But at that time this was so carefully concealed, that Francis the Second sent a formal obligation under his great seal, by which he bound himself to the duke of Chatelherault, to maintain his right of succeeding to the crown of Scotland, in case the queen should die without heirs of her own body. The original obligation is still preserved in Hawdton. The queen's secret act was as ill grounded in law as it was perfidious in itself: for certainly, what power soever our princes, with the concurrence of their parliaments, have to limit the succession to the crown, our princes themselves cannot, by any private act of their own, alter the succession, or dispose of it at pleasure. But to return to that which has led me into this digression.

Recueil des Traités, t. 2. p. 508.

The knowledge of religion, that the free use of the Scriptures brought the nation to, had such an effect, that the Reformation was everywhere desired; and the vices and ignorance of the popish clergy gave all people an aversion to them. This was long connived at even by the queen mother during her government: but now that she thought all was sure, she threw off the mask, and declared herself an open enemy to those whom she had courted hitherto, and seemed to favour. Upon this there was a great and a sudden turn. Popery was the object of all men's hatred: the churches were purged from idolatry and superstition: the monasteries were broke into; and many acts of hot and irregular zeal were complained of in all the corners of the kingdom.

One thing is not a little to the honour of Knox and his followers in that tumultuary Reformation, that the multitude was so governed, even amidst all that popular heat, that no blood was shed, and no man was killed in it: which being positively delivered by Lesley †, bishop of Rosse, that must be looked on as a testimony beyond exception.

But since the affairs of Scotland have not hitherto been so clearly represented as I find them stated in some original papers that I fell on in the Cotton Library, I will give a full account of them as far as those papers do guide me.

There is a long representation drawn up of the breach of faith, and of the violation of their laws during the government of the queen-regent of Scotland: at the end of which

* See page 824, where mention is made of two other instruments relating to this secret treaty, which had not come to the bishop's hands when this page in the original edition had been printed off.—ED.

† Nobilium qui hæreseas obstringebantur crimine, humanitas non est reticenda, quod eo tempore paucos catholicos de religionis re mulctarint exilio, pauciores carcere, morte nullos.—Leslæus de Rebus Scot. l. 10.



JOHN KNOX

OB. 1572

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH

there is a petition to the queen, signed by the great lords of that kingdom, in which both papists and protestants concurred. And in order to obtain that concurrence, the matters of religion are not insisted on: but the continued course of a perfidious and illegal administration is charged on the queen-dowager. So that from this it appears that the war was not begun nor carried on upon the account of religion, but upon the pretence of public and national rights. I have put it in the Collection.

Collection, Number 53.

"They begin it to show that the arms that they were forced to fly to was no rebellion. They run the matter back to the first proposition for carrying their queen into France: which, they say, was obtained, partly by corruption with money, partly by authority, and partly by fair promises: yet before that was agreed to, a treaty was made by the parliament, and sworn to, as well as ratified by the great seals of the king and dauphin of France, that Scotland should be governed by their own laws, and by the nobility and people of Scotland: that all offices should be given to them; and that no garrisons of the French should be admitted to settle in the kingdom. Great practice was made after that to bring the parliament to consent that their queen should marry the dauphin: and to obtain that, the succession to the crown was declared to belong to the duke of Chatelherault and his heirs, after heirs of the queen's body. New oaths were then taken, and charters given under the great seal of France, and under their queen and the dauphin's seal, that Scotland should be governed by a council of natives: the castles were also to be put in sure hands. Duplicates of these were lodged in the castle of Edinburgh, and with the duke of Chatelherault. Upon this an embassy was sent to France of two bishops, two earls, and four lords, and the marriage was concluded. They were upon that dealt with to endeavour that the crown of Scotland might be given to the dauphin. They refused to undertake that; and believed that it could not be brought about. The word upon that was changed. And it was desired only that the matrimonial crown might be sent him" (which was afterwards explained in the act of parliament that granted it, that he should be king of Scotland during life). "The lords were suffered to return: but when they came to Dieppe, one bishop, two earls, and two lords died in one night. The three that were left came home much amazed, believing that the others had been poisoned."

Here I must add another particular relating to that deputation. In the council-book, that goes from April 1554 to January 1558, that was cast by and neglected, many leaves being cut out of it, and was first discovered by a nephew of mine, whom I desired to search their register for me; it appears that on the 13th of December 1557, there was a tax laid on the kingdom, to be paid in before Easter, for the expense of that embassy, of 15,000*l.* Scots money, that is, 1250*l.* sterling, which was to be levied by the same proportion that all the taxes were then levied; of which there are several instances in that book: the one-half was levied on the spirituality; and two-thirds of the other half was on estates in land, and the other third was levied on the boroughs. This shows that the estates of the spirituality were then reckoned by a settled proportion, the full half of the kingdom. The persons deputed were the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Orkney, and the prior of St. Andrew's (afterwards earl of Murray), the earls of Cassilis and Rothes, and the lord Fleming, with the provost of Edinburgh and of Montrose. When I wondered how so small a sum could answer the expense of so great an embassy on such an occasion, he showed me that either the value of money, or, which is the same thing, the value of things to be purchased by money, is almost incredibly changed now in the course of one hundred and sixty years; of which he gave me this instance: the tun of wine was then by act of parliament to be sold at twenty livres, or in sterling money at 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; and in retailing it, their pint, which is four English pints, was to be sold at four farthings, their penny having six farthings; so that reducing this to English measures, three quarts of wine were to be sold at a penny. This I thought was a small digression, which the reader would not be ill pleased to find laid in his way. To return to the Scotch memorial.

"The queen-dowager took two methods to gain her point: the one was to show favour to all those who had received no favour of the duke during his government, because they were in the interest of England; whereas he was at that time in the interest of France: the other was, she offered them a permission to live according to their conscience in religion: in

conclusion, the queen-dowager brought the parliament to give the matrimonial crown to the dauphin; but with this condition, that the duke's right should not be impaired by it.

"When all this was obtained, the queen forgot all her promises: she began with the greatest of the Scottish lords then in office, the earl of Huntley, who was then lord chancellor, and the duke's particular friend: she took the great seal from him, and gave it to one Rubay, a French advocate: she also put the earl of Huntley in prison, and set a great fine on him, and left him only the name of chancellor. She made another Frenchman comptroller, who had the charge of the revenue of the crown: and she put all Scotchmen out of the secrets of the council, committing these only to Frenchmen. She kept in several places garrisons of Frenchmen, who lived on discretion. She gave them no pay. She sent the revenue of the crown to France; and brought over some base money that was decried in France, and made it current in Scotland. She also set up a mint for coining base money, with which she paid the soldiers. She tried to get the castle of Edinburgh into her hands, but that failed her. She gave such abbeys as fell void to Frenchmen, as to her brother the cardinal of Guise, and others: and for the space of three years she kept all that fell void in her own hands, except such as were of any value; and these she bestowed on Frenchmen. Nor did she ever follow the advice of those lords who upon her first entering upon the government were named to be of the council. Many intercessions were made to her upon these proceedings by the nobility: sometimes companies of them joined together; and sometimes they applied to her more privately, for they foresaw that they could not be borne long.

"The queen dowager set herself next to a practice, which of all others was both the most dangerous and the most dishonourable, to set aside the duke and his house: pains was taken to engage the lord James and other lords in it, who had no friendship for the duke; to whom the queen-dowager promised that she would bear with their devotion in religion, if they would join with her against the duke in favour of the French. This encouraged them to do those things by which they incurred the censures of the church, and were, by reason of a law not much known, brought in danger of the guilt of treason: so process was ordered against them; and upon that the queen-dowager tempted them to engage in the French interest: but that not prevailing, they were declared traitors. The rest of the nobility being alarmed at this, the queen-dowager brought out her French garrisons, and disposed of their estates, and entered into St. John's Town in a warlike manner: she changed the magistrates, and left a garrison in the town. The whole nation was alarmed at this, and were coming together in great numbers. But she not having force enough to conquer the nation, sent for the duke and the earl of Huntley, and employed them to quiet the country, promising that everything should be redressed in a parliament that should be held next spring, with many other more particular promises: upon this assurance, these lords quieted the country: while this was a doing, the duke's eldest son being then in France, was sent for to court, but he had secret advertisements sent him, that it was resolved to proceed against him to the utmost extremity for heresy; upon which he kept out of the way till an order was sent to bring him in dead or alive: upon that he made his escape; but they seized on a younger brother of his, of the age of fifteen, and put him in prison.

"In Scotland the nobility had separated themselves, trusting to the faith that the duke had given them, that all things should be kept quiet till the parliament. But some companies coming out of France to Leith, the queen-dowager ordered that town to be fortified, and put twenty-two ensigns of foot with one troop of horse in it. The nobility upon that charged the duke with breach of faith, who could do no more but press the queen to forbear to give such cause of jealousy; but all was to no purpose. The town was fortified; all the ammunition she had was carried into it, and the French continued still to be sending over more forces. The duke, with the nobility, represented to the queen-dowager, that it was now plain she designed a conquest: but she despised all their requests, for by this time the French thought they were so strong, that they reckoned it would be a short work to subdue Scotland. There were but two or three mean lords, Bothwell and Seaton, that kept company with the queen-dowager; yet even these signified to their friends, that their hearts were with their countrymen: upon all this, the duke, with the rest of the nobility, and with the barons and burgesses of the realm, seeing an imminent danger to the whole nation, and no hope of remedy at her hands, began deeply to consider the state of the kingdom: their sovereign lady was married to a strange prince out of the realm, and wholly in the hands of Frenchmen, without any council of her own natural people; and they considered the mortality of her husband, or of herself without issue. The queen-dowager, sister to the house that ruled all in France, persisted in ruining the liberties of her daughter the queen's subjects, on design to knit that kingdom for ever to France; and so to execute the old malice of the French on the crown of England, of which they had already assumed the title.



"They upon all these grounds were constrained to constitute a council for the government of the kingdom, and for the use of their sovereign, to whom they had signified the suspension of the queen-dowager's authority; maintaining that being sore oppressed with French power, they had, as natural subjects, sufficient strength for that; though they are not able to stand against the power of France, but partly for the right of their sovereign; and partly for the ancient rights of the crown, they have been forced to spend their whole substance; yet they cannot longer preserve themselves from being conquered by the power sent over from France; a greater force being promised to be sent next spring. They therefore lay the whole matter before the queen of England's ministers then upon their borders; and commit their cause to her protection; desiring nothing but that their country may be preserved from France, together with the rights of their sovereign and of the whole nation."

To this they add a petition, "That the numbers of French soldiers then within the kingdom might be removed speedily; that so they might live quietly, and be suffered to offer to the king and queen such articles as were necessary for the peace and good government of the kingdom, without alteration of their ancient liberties:" this was signed by the earl of Arran, as he was then called, but that was his father's title; for he had no higher title in Scotland: the son therefore signed James Hamilton. It was also signed by the earls of Argyle and Glencairn; by lord James, afterwards created earl of Murray; and by the lords Boyd, Ochiltre, Maxwell, and Ruthven; and by a son of the earl of Huntley's; and a son of the earl of Athol's; both these families being at that time papists. And thus by the tenor of this whole paper, it appears that religion was not pretended to be the cause of the war.

Upon the suspending the authority of the queen-regent, I will here add a particular reflection, which will show what archbishop Spottiswood's sense was when he first wrote his history of that transaction. He gives an account of the opinion that Willock and Knox delivered when they were called and required to give it, which they did in favour of that suspension: for which he censures the opinion itself in these words:—"Howbeit the power of the magistrate be limited, and their office prescribed by God, and that they may likewise fall into great offences; yet it is nowhere permitted to subjects to call their princes in question, or to make insurrection against them. God having reserved the punishment of princes to himself." Yet in a fair manuscript of that history, written with great care, as for the press, this whole period was first penned quite in another strain; "allowing the states of the kingdom a right to restrain their prince when he breaks through rules; only censuring clergymen's meddling in those matters." This is scored through, but so that it is still legible, and Spottiswood interlined with his own hand the alteration; according to which his book was printed. This manuscript belonged to me, and forty-two years ago, I presented it to the duke of Lauderdale, and showed him that passage, on which he made great reflection. I cannot find out in whose hands that manuscript is fallen; but whosoever has it, will, I hope, justify me in this particular; for though I am not sure as to the words, yet I am very sure they are to this purpose *.

* The bishop at the end of his third volume appended the following notice respecting this manuscript:—"I have laid out by all the methods I could think on, for that MS. of archbishop Spottiswood's History, that I mention p. 285 [orig. ed.]. I once thought I had found it; for I fell on one copy that had belonged to the late duke of Lauderdale: but it was not that which had belonged to me: yet by that I see, that the archbishop came gradually, and not all at once, out of his first opinion. For in this MS. there is a material difference in the correction that is in the archbishop's own hand, from the first draught. The draught is 'that princes may commit offences deserving deprivation,' but the correction is, 'that they may fall into great offences,' without any more. A

When this representation and petition was brought to the queen, Cecil drew up a state of the matter, which will be found in the Collection; putting this as the question, "Whether it was meet that England should help Scotland to expel the French or not?" for the negative "he says, it was against God's law, to aid any subjects against their natural prince or their ministers: it was also dangerous to do it: for an aid secretly given would be to no purpose; and an aid publicly given would draw on a war: and in that case the French would come to any composition with the Scots to join with them against England: since they will consent to anything, rather than suffer Scotland to be united to the crown of England: he adds, it may also be apprehended that the emperor, the king of Spain, the pope, and the duke of Savoy, with the potentates of Italy, will join with the French king, rather than suffer these two kingdoms to be joined in one manner of religion; and many within both kingdoms will not approve of this. But in opposition to all this, he concludes for assisting the Scots.

Collection, Number 54.

"He lays it down for a principle, that it is agreeable to the laws of God and of Nature, that every prince and state should defend itself, not only from perils that are seen, but from those that may probably come after: to which he adds, that nature and reason teach every person politic, or other, to use the same manner of defence, that the adversary useth of offence. Upon these grounds he concludes that England might, and ought to assist the Scots to keep out the French: and so earnest was that great statesman in this matter, that he prosecutes it very copiously.

"His first reason is that which the Scots would never admit, but he might think it proper to offer it to an English council; 'that the crown of England had a superiority over Scotland, such as the emperor had over Bohemia or Milan. He next shows that England must be in great danger from the French, if they became the absolute masters of Scotland. Upon this he runs out to show that the French had been long enemies to England; that they had been false and double in all their treaties with them these seven hundred years: and that the last peace was forced from them by their poverty. That France could not be poor above two years; nor could it be long without a war; beside the hatred that the house of Guise, who then governed the French councils, bore to England. They call in question the queen's title, and set up their own against it; and at the treaty of Cambray they set that pretension on foot; but it was then stopped by the wisdom of the constable; yet they used means at Rome to get the queen to be declared illegitimate: upon which the bull was brought into France: and at the solemnities, in which the king was killed, the arms of England and Ireland were joined with the queen of Scots' arms. The present embroilment in Scotland is the stop that now restrains them from carrying these pretensions further: but as soon as they can, they will certainly set them on foot: and the assaulting England by the way of Scotland is so easy, that it is not possible to avoid it but by stopping the progress of that conquest. A war by the way of Scotland puts France in no danger, though it should miscarry; but England is in the utmost danger if it should succeed. He concludes that as the matter was of the last importance, so no time was to be lost; since the prejudice, if too long delayed, would be irrecoverable.'"

What further steps were made in the secret debating of this point, does not appear to me but by the conclusion of the matter; for the queen sent forces, under the command of the duke of Norfolk, to the borders of Scotland. What followed upon that is set out fully in the common historians, and from them in my former work.

But a copy of the bond of association, into which the lords and others in Scotland entered (the original of which still remains in the possession of the duchess of Hamilton), will set out more particularly the grounds that they went on. It is in the Collection; and it sets forth, "that they promised faithfully, and in the presence of God, that

Col.Num.55.

little after he had written, 'whatsoever may be thought of this opinion'; which imports some doubt concerning it: these words are struck out, but so that they are still legible. A little after that the MS. has it, 'that by an act of council, all the errors committed by the queen-regent were reckoned up.' This is softened by these words inserted after 'errors;'—'alleged to have been committed.' Thus it appears that the archbishop's first notions had carried him to write in a style that wanted great correction, as his thoughts grew into a better digestion, or as his interests carried him to see things in a different light from that in which they had at first appeared to him."



they would, to the utmost of their power, set forward the reformation of religion, according to God's word, that the true preaching of it might have a free passage through the whole kingdom, together with the administration of the sacraments. And that they, considering the misbehaviour of the French among them, and the intolerable oppression of the poor by their soldiers, maintained by the queen dowager under colour of authority, together with the tyranny of their captains, and the manifest danger of becoming their conquest, to which they were then reduced by fortifications on the sea-coast, and other attempts, do promise to join with the queen of England's army, then come in to their assistance, for driving out those their oppressors, and for recovering their ancient liberty; that so they may be ruled by the laws and customs of their country, and by the natives of the kingdom under the obedience of the king and queen their sovereign. And they promise, that they shall hold no private intelligence with their enemies but by the advice of the rest, or at the least of five of their number. And that they shall prosecute this cause as if it were the cause of every one of them in particular, and hold all who withstand it as their enemies; and that they will prosecute them as such, according to the orders of the council, to whom they refer the direction of the whole matter, promising in all things to submit to their arbitration."

This was first subscribed at Edinburgh on the 27th of April, in the year 1560; and is signed by the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Arran, Huntley, Argyle, Morton, and some others, whose hands are not legible; and by the lords Salton, Ruthven, Boyd, Ogilby, Ochiltre; the abbot of Kinloss; and the commendator of Kilwinning. About one hundred and forty more subscribed it. This was the bond that was signed by those who were at that time at Edinburgh: and it is probable that many other bonds of the same nature were signed about the same time in other parts of the kingdom; but they have not been so carefully preserved as this has been. The earl of Huntley, though he continued still a papist, signing it, shows that either the ill usage he had met with from the queen dowager had shaken him in his religion, or that provocation and interests were then stronger in him than his principles. But I leave my conjectures, to go on with the history.

On the 2nd of November, Jewel, being returned from the circuit which he was ordered to make, wrote (in a letter to Peter Martyr, to be found in the Collection), "that the people were much better disposed to the gospel than it was apprehended they could be." But he adds, "that superstition had made a most extraordinary progress in queen Mary's short reign. The people were made believe they had, in many places, pieces of the true cross, and of the nails, with which Christ was crucified; so that the cathedral churches were dens of robbers; and none were more violent and obstinate than those who had been before of their body; as if by that they would justify their falling off from them. They had turned them all out. Harding went away, and would not change again: Smith, who had been a violent opposer of Peter Martyr in Oxford, fled towards Scotland, but was taken on the borders and brought back, and had abjured a fifth time, and was then become a violent enemy to the papists." In another letter he tells him, "Smith was married; and that being hated and despised by all sides, he was forced to keep a public house." Jewel wrote, "that if they had more hands, matters would go well; but it was hard to make a cart go without horses. He was glad to hear Peter Martyr was sent for; but he owns he had his fears still, that, though things were begun well, they would not end so well. He adds, 'we are islanders in all respects.' Oxford wanted him extremely. The queen was then courted both by the king of Sweden and by Charles of Austria." It was then given out that Sweden was full of mines of gold, and only wanted skill and industry to work them. But he writes, "perhaps the queen meant to marry one nearer at hand:" (he gives no other hint in that letter, to let it be understood of whom he meant; probably it was Pickering, as appears in another letter). He concludes, "that though religion did make a quick progress in Scotland, yet that the French did not despair of bringing that kingdom back to their obedience, and of restoring their religion in it."

The great Progress of Superstition in Q. Mary's Reign. Col.Num.56.

On the same day he wrote to Simler, who had congratulated him upon the news they had of his being to be promoted to a bishopric. He wrote, "that there was yet

nothing but a nomination of him." He adds, "we hope our bishops shall be pastors, labourers, and watchmen; and that they may be better fitted for this, the great riches of bishopries are to be diminished, and to be reduced to a certain mediocrity: that so being delivered from that king-like pomp, and the noisiness of a courtly family, they may live in greater tranquillity, and may have more leisure to take care of Christ's flock with due attention."

The Revenues of Bishops lessened, that they may be more diligent in their Duty.

On the 5th of November, he wrote, "that he found debates raised concerning the vestments, which he calls the habit of the stage, and wishes they could be freed from it. He says, they were not wanting to so good a cause; but others seemed to love those things, and to follow the ignorance of some priests, who were stupid as logs of wood, having neither spirit, learning, nor good life to commend them; but studied to recommend themselves by that comical habit, while no care was taken of learning, or of breeding up of youth. They hoped to strike the eyes of the people with those ridiculous trifles: these are the relics of the Amorites; that cannot be denied. He wishes that, at some time or other, all these may be taken away, and extirpated to the very deepest roots. He complains of a feebleness in the councils: they still talked of bringing Martyr over; but he feared that we looked too much toward Saxony to expect that. Some among them, he says, were so much set on the matter of the habits, as if the Christian religion consisted in garments. But we (says he) are not called to the consultations concerning that scenical apparel: he could set no value on those fopperies. Some were crying up a golden mediocrity; he was afraid it would prove a leaden one."

Col.Num.57. Jewel's Opinion of the Disputes concerning the Vestments.

On the 16th of November, he wrote, in a letter to be found in the Collection, "that the doctrine was everywhere purely preached. There was in many places too much folly, concerning ceremonies and masks. The crucifix continued still in the queen's chapel: they all spake freely against it, but, till then, without effect. There was a secret piece of worldly policy in this which he did not like. He complains of the uncertain and island-like state of their affairs: all was loose at present. He did not see in what they would settle; and did not know but he should be obliged to return back to Zurich again."

Col.Num.58. The Queen kept a Crucifix in her Chapel.

In December and January the consecration of the bishops came on. But here a stop lies in my way: for some months the thread of the letters to Zurich, by which I have been hitherto guided, is discontinued. At this time an ambassador came over from Ferdinand the emperor, with letters dated the 11th of February, 1560, proposing a match between his son, archduke Charles, and the queen. He had writ of it to her before, but thought fit to follow these letters with a formal embassy: the originals are yet extant. The queen wrote an answer in form, and signed it; but it seems that was, on some considerations, not thought fit to be sent, for the original is in the Paper-Office. It will be found in the Collection.

Bishops consecrated. The Emperor proposes to the Queen a Match with his Son Charles. Cotton Libr. Galba, 11. Col.Num.59.

The queen wrote, "that, examining her own sentiments in that matter very carefully, she did not perceive any inclination to change her solitary life, but found herself more fixed to continue still in it. She hoped the emperor would favourably receive and rightly understand what she wrote to him. It might, indeed, seem strange, considering her age and her circumstances; but this was no new resolution, nor taken up on the sudden, but was the adhering to an old settled purpose. There had been a time in which her accepting some honourable propositions might have delivered her out of very great dangers and troubles; on which she would make no other reflections, but that neither the fear of danger, nor the desire of liberty, could then move her to bring her mind to hearken to them. She will not, by a plain refusal, seem to offend him; yet she cannot give occasion, by any of her words, to make him think that she accepts of that to which she cannot bring her mind and will." Dated the 5th of January, 1559. Signed, "Your majesty's good sister and cousin, Elizabeth." Countersigned, "Rog. Ascham."

She excuses herself.

The first letter of Jewel's, after his consecration, is on the 4th of February, 1560: it is in



the Collection. He tells Peter Martyr "they were then engaged in the question about the lawfulness of having images in churches," (which he calls *lis crucularia*). "It could scarce be believed to what a degree of folly some men, who were thought to have a right judgment of things, were carried in that matter. There was not one of all those whom he knew that was drawn to be of that mind besides Cox. There was to be a conference concerning it the day following. Parker and Cox, on the one hand, and Grindal and he, on the other hand, were to debate it in the hearing of some of the council. He could not but laugh within himself when he thought what grave and solid reasonings would be brought out on this occasion. He was told, that it was resolved on to have crucifixes of silver or tin set up in all churches, and that such as would not obey this would be turned out of their bishopries. If that was true, he would be no longer a bishop." White, bishop of Winchester, Oglethorp, of Carlisle, Bain, of Coventry and Litchfield, and Tonstal, of Durham, were lately dead. In another, he writes, "that Bonner was sent to the Tower; and that he went to see some criminals that were kept there, and called them his friends and neighbours: but one of them answered, 'Go, you beast, into hell, and find your friends there, for we are none of them! I killed but one man upon a provocation, and do truly repent of it; but you have killed many holy persons, of all sorts, without any provocation from them, and are hardened in your impenitence.'"

Col.Num.60. A Conference concerning the Queen's Crucifix.

On the 5th of March, he writes, "that a change appeared now more visibly among the people. Nothing promoted it more than the inviting the people to sing psalms. That was begun in one church in London, and did quickly spread itself not only through that city, but in the neighbouring places: sometimes at Paul's Cross there will be six thousand people singing together. This was very grievous to the papists. The children began to laugh at the priests as they passed in the streets, and the bishops were called hangmen to their faces. It was said White died of rage. He commends Cecil much."

The zeal in singing Psalms.

Sands, bishop of Worcester, wrote, in a letter on the 1st of April, 1560, which will be found in the Collection, "that after he returned from executing the injunctions and preaching in the North, he was pressed to accept of the bishopric of Worcester. He saw, if he absolutely refused it, the queen would have been highly offended. He found it more truly a burden than an honour. The doctrine of the sacrament was pure, to which he and his brethren were resolved to adhere firmly as long as they lived. There was yet a question concerning images: the queen thought that was not contrary to the word of God; and it seemed convenient to have a crucifix, with the Blessed Virgin, and Saint John, still in her chapel. Some of them could not bear this. 'We had,' says he, 'according to our injunctions, taken away all the images that we found in churches, and burned them. We see superstitious people plainly worship this idol.' Upon this he had spoken freely to the queen: with that she was so displeased as to threaten to deprive him. She was since that time more softened, and the images were removed. But the popish vestments were still used; yet he hoped that should not last long. He laments much that Peter Martyr was not sent for. It was easy to guess what it was that hindered it; it was the pretence of unity that gave occasion to the greatest divisions."

Col.Num.61. Sands, Bishop of Worcester, much offended at the Image in the Queen's Chapel.

Parkhurst came into England in the end of the year 1559. He went to his church of Cleve, in Gloucestershire, and kept out of the way of the court. He writes, that many bishops would be glad to change conditions with him. He heard he had been named to a bishopric, but he had dealt earnestly with some great men to spare him in that. When he came through London, both Parker and a privy-councillor had pressed him to accept of one, but he could not resolve on being miserable.

Sampson had been with the other divines at Zurich, and was reckoned by them both a learned and a pious man. While he was coming to England with the rest, he was informed that a bishopric was designed for him; so he wrote, while he was on his journey, to Peter Martyr for his advice, as will be found in the Collection, "in this, whether it was lawful to swear to the queen as supreme head of the church under Christ. He thought Christ was the sole head of the church, and

Sampson's exceptions at his being made a Bishop. Col.Num.62.

no such expression of an inferior head was found in the Scripture. He thought, likewise, that the want of discipline made that a bishop could not do his duty. Many temporal pressures lay upon bishops, such as first-fruits and tenths, beside the expense of their equipage and attendance at court; so that little was left for the breeding up of youth, for the relief of the poor, and other more necessary occasions to make their ministry acceptable. The whole method of electing bishops was totally different from the primitive institution: the consent either of the clergy or people was not so much as asked: their superstitious dress seemed likewise unbecoming. He wrote all this only to him,—not that he expected that a bishopric should be offered him,—he prayed God that it might never happen. He was resolved to apply himself to preach, but to avoid having any share in the government till he saw a full reformation made in all ecclesiastical functions, both as to doctrine and discipline, and with relation to the goods of the church. He desires his answer as soon as was possible."

Peter Martyr answered his letter on the 1st of November; but what it was can only be gathered from Sampson's reply to it. He received it on the 3rd of January, and answered it on the 6th, 1560. It is in the Collection. "They were then under sad apprehensions, for which he desires their prayers in a very solemn manner. They were afraid lest the truth of religion should either be overturned or very much darkened in England. The bishops of Canterbury, London, Ely, and Worcester, were consecrated; Pilkington was designed for Winchester; Bentham, for Coventry and Litchfield; and Peter Martyr's Jewel, for Salisbury.

Col. Num. 63.

"Things still stuck with him; he could neither have ingress nor egress. God knew how glad he would be to find an egress; let others be bishops, he desired only to be a preacher, but no bishop. There was yet a general prohibition of all preaching; and there was a crucifix on the altar still at court, with lights burning before it; and though, by the queen's order, images were removed out of churches all the kingdom over, yet the people rejoiced to see this was still kept in the queen's chapel. Three bishops officiated at this altar; one as priest, another as deacon, and a third as sub-deacon, all before this idol, in rich copes; and there was a sacrament without any sermon. He adds, that injunctions were sent to preachers not to use freedom in the reproving of vice; so he asks what both Martyr, Bullinger, and Bernardin thought of this: whether they looked on it as a thing indifferent, and what they would advise him to do, if injunctions should be sent out requiring the like to be done in all churches; whether they ought to be obeyed, or, if the clergy ought not to suffer deprivation rather than obey? Some among themselves thought that all this was indifferent, and so might be obeyed. He understood that the queen had a great regard to Bernardin Ochino; so he desires that he would write to her, to carry on the work of God diligently. He solemnly assures them, that she was truly a child of God; but princes had not so many friends to their souls as they had to their other concerns. He wishes they would all write to her, for she understood both Italian, Latin, and Greek well; so they might write in any language to her; but if they wrote, they must write as of their own motion, and not as if any complaints had been writ over to them."

On the 13th of May he wrote again, that "a bishopric had been offered to him, but that he had refused it; and he desires Peter Martyr, to whom he wrote, not to censure this till he knew the whole state of the matter. But he rejoices that Parkhurst was made bishop of Norwich;" and, by his letter, it seems Norwich was the bishopric that was offered to him. Parkhurst wrote, soon after his promotion, to Martyr, and assured him there was no danger of setting up Lutheranism in England; only he writes, "we are fighting about ceremonies, vestments, and matters of no moment."

He refused a Bishopric.

Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr on the 22nd of May, "That the church of Salisbury was so struck with thunder, that there was a clift all down for sixty foot: he was not got thither, so he could not tell whether foolish people made judgments upon this, with relation to him, or not. He writes that Bonner, Feckenham, Pole, Scory, and Watson, were all put in prison for railing at the changes that were made. The queen expressed great firmness and courage in maintaining the establishment she had made in matters of religion. He tells him that not only Cecil and Knolls desired to be remembered to him, but Petre likewise, which, perhaps, he did not look for."



On the 17th of July he writes to him, "That there was a peace made in Scotland, and that the French were sent away. Scotland was to be governed by a council of twelve persons; only all greater matters were to be referred to a parliament. He writes that the duke of Holstein was come over to see the queen, and was nobly treated by her, and made a knight of the garter: the king of Sweden's coming over was still talked of." After Jewel had been some time in his diocese, he wrote to Gualter, on the 2nd of November 1560, "That he now felt what a load government was to him who had led his life in the shade and at study: and had never turned his thoughts to government; but he would make up in his diligence what might be otherwise wanting: the opposition he met with from the rage of the papists was incredible."

A Peace made in Scotland.

On the 6th of November he wrote that May, dean of Saint Paul's, who was designed to be archbishop of York, was dead: it does not appear on what views that see was so long kept void after the rest were filled. Parker was much troubled at this, and wrote very earnestly about it to Cecil. The letter will be found in the Collection. There were great complaints in the north: the people there were offended to see no more care had of them; and for want of instruction they were become rude: this was like to have an ill influence on the quiet and order of the country. It was perhaps so long delayed for the advantage the queen's exchequer made by the vacancy: but if, for want of good instruction, the people should grow savage like the Irish, it might run to a far greater charge to reduce them. Why should any person hinder the queen's zeal to have her people taught to know and to fear God. If those hitherto named for the north were not liked, or not willing to go thither, he proposed that some of those already placed might be removed thither. And he named Young, bishop of St. David's, for York, and the bishop of Rochester, Guest, for Durham: and if any suspicions were had of any of their practising to the prejudice of their successors, there were precedents used in former times to take bishops bound to leave their churches in no worse case than they found them: he had pressed them formerly with relation to those vacant sees: he saw the matter was still delayed: he would never give over his importunity till the thing was done, which he hoped he would instantly promote, out of the zeal he bore to souls so dear to Christ."

Collection, Number 64.

Parker's care in the Northern Sees.

This he wrote on the 16th of October, so it does not appear if the design for May was then so well fixed as Jewel apprehended. The hint in this letter of the practices of bishops was occasioned by the ruinous leases that the popish bishops had made; for seeing the change that was designed, they had by the law at that time so absolute a power over their estates, having no restraints laid on them but those of their canons, that their leases, how mischievous soever to their successors, were good in law. The new bishops in many places had scarce necessary subsistence or houses left them, and were to be supported by dignities given them *in commendam:* and it was perhaps suggested, that they, to procure a little better subsistence to themselves, might be prevailed on to prolong or confirm such leases.

The Popish Bishops made great Alienations.

The archbishop's importunity had its effect: for in February thereafter, Young was removed to York, and Pilkington, a learned and zealous man, was made bishop of Durham. And thus the sees of England were filled. Jewel, in a letter soon after to Peter Martyr, in February 1560, which will be found in the Collection, "Wishes that all the remnants of former errors, with all the rubbish, and even the dust that might yet remain, might be taken away: he wishes they could have obtained it." It seems by this, that their wishes had not prevailed. "The council of Trent was then to be opened again, but the queen was resolved to take no notice of it." He gives an account of his Apology that was then set out. This has been so often printed, and is so well known, that it is not necessary to enlarge more upon it: as it was one of the first books published in this reign, so it was written with that strength and clearness, that it, together with the defence of it, is still to this day reckoned one of our best books. In that letter he writes of the countess of Lenox, the mother to the lord Darnley, "that she was a more violent papist than even queen Mary herself. Her son was gone to Scotland, and it was believed he might marry the queen of

See more of this in the Annals of the Reformation, chap. 12.

Collection, Number 65.

Jewel's Apology published.

Scotland: the earl of Hartford had a son by the lady Catharine Gray; some called him a bastard, but others affirmed that they were married. If that was true, then according to king Henry's will, he must be the heir of the crown. But he adds, 'Ah! unhappy we, that cannot know under what prince we are to live.' He complains that schools are forsaken, and that they were under a great want of preachers. The few they had were every. where well received." He writes in another letter, that "in queen Mary's time, for want of good instruction, the Anabaptists and Arians did much increase; but now they disappeared everywhere."

The popish clergy, when they saw no appearance of any new change, did generally comply with the laws then made, but in so untoward a manner, that they made it very visible that what they did was against both their heart and their conscience. This put the bishops on receiving many into orders, that were not thoroughly well qualified, which exposed them to much censure. They thought that in that necessity, men of good hearts, that loved the gospel, though not so learned as might be wished for, were to be brought into the service of the church: but pains were taken, and methods were laid down, to breed up a more knowing race of men as soon as was possible.

I turn now to show how the affairs of religion went on, particularly with relation to Scotland, of which mention was made in some of Jewel's letters.

But before I open this, I will give an account of two instruments sent me from Scotland, that came not to my hands, but since the pages 280 and 281 * were printed off; yet they are so important, that as I have put them in the Collection, so I will give a short account of them here. On the 19th of April, fifteen days after the queen of Scotland had passed that secret fraudulent protestation, formerly mentioned, when the articles of the marriage were mutually signed, it was not only provided that the crown of Scotland, in case she should die without children, should descend to the duke of Chatelherault and his heirs; the instrument itself being published in the French Collection; but the dauphin did, on the same day, set his seal to a charter still preserved at Hamilton, setting forth the faith and engagements that the king his father had formerly made, to secure to the earl of Arran the succession to the crown of Scotland, in case the queen should die without children; to which he promises he will pay all obedience. He confirms and ratifies that promise for himself and his successors; promising in good faith (*bonâ fide*), that in that case, he will not only suffer that lord to enjoy that crown, but that he will assist and maintain him in it.

Collection, Number 66.

The promise made by his father, king Henry, to which this refers, bears date the 17th day of June, anno 1549, and was sent over to Scotland, in order to the getting of queen Mary to be sent to France. By it the king promised, on the word of a king, that in case the queen should die without children, he would assist the earl of Arran in the succession to the crown against all that should oppose him. These instruments I have put in the Collection, as lasting memorials of the fidelity and sincerity of that court, to give a just precaution to posterity in future ages; by which it will appear, how little contracts, promises, and public stipulations are to be depended on: where a secret protestation, lodged in a clandestine manner, is set up to make all this void; which, I hope, will not be soon forgotten or neglected.

But to return from this digression, which, though a little out of its place, seemed too important to be omitted.

The distraction that France was in, made it not easy to them to carry on the war of Scotland, by reason of the charge, that the sending forces to so great a distance put them to: whereas it was but a short march to the English, to go to the assistance of the lords of Scotland; so they were willing to make up matters the best they could by treaty. Commissioners were appointed to treat on both sides. In the mean while the queen-regent of Scotland died: so Cecil and Wotton, who were employed by the queen in that treaty, apprehending the French might, upon this emergent, study to gain more time, wrote to the queen for positive orders.

The French grew weary of carrying on the War in Scotland.

A letter was written to them on the 15th of June, signed by five privy-councillors;

* Page 814 of the present edition.—ED.



which is in the Collection, taken from the original. By it it appears, that this treaty was then a secret, which they saw must soon break out; so the persons employed in Scotland, advised the acquainting king Philip with it, because they looked on it as brought very near a total agreement. To this the queen's council agreed. Those in Scotland apprehended, that perhaps the French would, upon the regent's death, go away and leave the kingdom, without coming to any agreement. If they should do so, they did order them to advise with the duke of Norfolk and the lords of Scotland in league with them, how the French may be forthwith expelled the kingdom without any loss of time. For by all the advertisements they had, they understood that the French intended to gain time as much as was possible. If the French desired to have some of their colleagues in the town, to assist them in managing the treaty, that was by no means to be granted: but if they desired the assistance of such Scottish men as were of their faction, and if their friends in Scotland consented to it, that seemed reasonable. The rest of the letter relates to one Parrys an Irishman.

Collection, Number 68.

The treaty, by reason of the weakness of the French force, was soon brought to a conclusion. The French were to be sent away in three weeks. An assembly of the states was to meet, and to settle the affairs of the kingdom: it was to be governed by a council of twelve persons, of whom the king and queen were to name seven, and the states to choose five: and by these, all affairs were to be governed, they being made accountable to the parliament. The last article was, "that the king and queen should not use the title or arms of England and Ireland any more."

It was brought to a good end.

When matters were brought to a settlement in Scotland, the Scots sent up the earls of Morton and Glencairn to the queen. Their message will best appear from the instructions which will be found in the Collection, copied from the original, that is still preserved, and in the possession of the duchess of Hamilton: by which "the estates of parliament, considering how the two kingdoms lay joined together; and reflecting on the inconveniences that they and their ancestors had suffered by continual wars, and on the advantages of a perpetual friendship between them; therefore they did order a proposition of marriage to be made to the queen of England with the earl of Arran, who, after his father, in default of succession of the queen's body, was the next heir of the crown of Scotland. And they resolved that an embassy should be appointed to make the proposition in the honourablest manner that could be devised. They also order thanks to be given to the queen for the good-will she has on all occasions expressed for their kingdom; which she had particularly declared of late by the support she had given them for their relief; by the means of which they enjoyed their present quiet. And they were also ordered to move the queen to send strict commands to her wardens and other officers on the borders, to suppress all broken men, and to restrain all thefts." These instructions were appointed to be sealed and subscribed by six of every estate; and that was to be held as valid as if all the estates had sealed and subscribed them.

Collection, Number 69.

This order of parliament is signed by the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the bishops of Dunkeld, Galloway, Dumblane, Argyle, and the elect bishop of the Isles: and by as many abbots and priors; the prior of St. Andrew's, afterwards earl of Murray; the abbot of Arbroath, afterwards marquis of Hamilton; the abbots of Newbottle and Culross; the commendator of Kilwinning, and the prior of Lochleven. So many of the ecclesiastical state of both ranks concurring, shows, that they rejoiced in the deliverance that they had from the servitude under which the French had almost brought them.

Signed by the three Estates.

These instructions are also signed by the duke of Chatelherault, who subscribed only James; and by the earls of Argyle, Athol, Morton, Crawford, and Sutherland; and by the lords Erskine, Gordon, Salton, Hay, Ochiltre, Innesmeth, Boyd, Lindsay, Gray, and some others, whose names cannot be read; and by eight provosts of boroughs. But no seals are in this noble instrument; so probably it was an authentic duplicate that was deposited in that family, to remain as an undoubted proof of the right of succeeding to the crown of Scotland, if the queen had left no issue of her own body.

To this an answer was given, which I have put in the Collection, from the draught of it in

Cecil's hand. "The queen received the hearty thanks that the three estates sent her very kindly; and was glad the assistance she had given them was so well accepted by them. She was so well satisfied with the effects it had, that if the like cause should happen, in which they might need aid from her, she assures them it shall not be wanting. The queen did perceive the difference between the benefits bestowed by her father on many of the nobility of that nation, which were supposed to be to the prejudice of the kingdom, and so had not the success expected, and those they had received from her, which were directed to the safety of the realm: so the diversity in the bestowing them, had made this diversity in the acceptation of them.

Collection, Number 69.

The Queen of England's Answer to it.

"She received that proposition of marriage as a mark of the good intention of the estates for knitting the kingdoms in amity; in offering to her the best and choicest person that they had, though not without danger of the displeasure of the French king. But the queen was not disposed presently to marry; though the necessity of the kingdom might, perhaps, constrain her afterwards to it. Yet she desired that the earl of Arran might not forbear to marry on her account: but that the amity between the two kingdoms might remain firm; since it was so necessary to their preservation, though no marriage were made upon it. The queen had heard a very good report of the earl of Arran, and thought him a noble gentleman of great worth, and did not doubt but he would prove to be such. In the last place, the queen desired the states would reflect on former practices among them, and would continue in a good agreement among themselves, and not fall into factions. And she concluded with a promise, that on her part, no reasonable thing should be neglected that might tend to the common defence of both the realms, against the common enemy."

Things went on pursuant to this treaty, to which it was not thought the French would have any regard when their affairs should be in a better condition. The apprehensions of that were soon at an end. In December 1560, the union which that kingdom had with France was totally broke by the death of Francis the Second; so that Mary, queen of Scotland, had nothing left but her own strength to depend upon. The treaty of Leith being in all other points executed, the queen ordered both Throckmorton, her ordinary, ambassador in France, and the earl of Bedford, whom she had sent over extraordinary, to demand queen Mary's ratification of that treaty; which I shall open more particularly, because upon this occasion that jealousy was raised between the two queens, that ended so fatally to the one. The queen of Scots used many shifts to excuse her not doing it.

The death of Francis the Second.

In a letter of Throckmorton's of the 16th of April, which is in the Collection, he tells the queen, "That having pressed the queen of Scots to it, she said she had not her council about her, particularly the cardinal of Lorrain, her uncle, by whom she was advised in all her affairs: nor had she heard from her council in Scotland. She promised, that when she heard from them, and had advised with her council about her, she would give an answer that should satisfy the queen. But her natural brother, the lord James, being come over to her, the queen had commanded Throckmorton to demand again the confirmation of the treaty. Upon which the ambassador sent a gentleman to know her pleasure, when he should wait on her, to receive it from her hand. This, as he wrote to her, was desired by the queen, as a mean to make them live hereafter in all love, peace, and amity together. And nothing could so demonstrate that queen's intention to entertain this, as the establishing that knot of friendship between them, for both their quiet and comfort, which was at that time the only refuge of them both." Of this he sent the queen, his mistress, a copy.

Collection, Number 70.

On the 1st of May, Mr. Somer, whom the ambassador had sent to Nancy, where the queen of Scotland was at that time, came back with her answer, which is in the Collection; it being the only original paper that ever I saw in her hand. Dated from Nancy, the 22nd of April 1561.

Collection, Number 71.

She writes, "she was then leaving that place, so she could give no answer till she came to Rheims, where she intended to be at the king's coronation: and she says that lord James was only come to do his duty about her as his sovereign lady, without any charge or commission whatsoever." This Throckmorton sent to the queen, together with a letter from the cardinal of Lorrain to the same purpose, which he

The Queen of Scotland did not ratify the Peace.



also sent her in a letter, which will be found in the Collection; in which he writes, "that though Somer had used the best means he could to put the Scottish queen in mind of the promise she had made to the earl of Bedford and to Throckmorton himself, yet he could get no other answer from her." The ambassador was ordered by the queen not to be present at the coronation, so he did not know when or where he should see her; for it was said she did not intend for some time to come into the neighbourhood of Paris: he therefore proposed to the queen to send a letter of credit by Mr. Somer to that queen; and with it to order him to go and demand her answer. By that queen's discourse with lord James, it seemed she did not intend to give a plain answer, but still to shift it off; but he thought the queen insisting on it by a person sent express to stay for an answer, she would be able to judge from thence what measures she ought to take. The queen of Scotland had said to the ambassador, that she intended to give lord James a commission, with a charge to look to the affairs of Scotland during her absence, and he, when he took leave of her, left one to bring that after him; but that person was come with letters from that queen, but with no commission; and he understood by him that she had changed her mind, and would give no such commission till she should come to Scotland herself; nor would she dispose of anything till then. This was easily seen to be on design to let all people understand on what terms they might expect benefices, grants, or other favours from her.

Col. Num. 72.

The true reason why she would not employ lord James was, because she found she could not draw him from his devotion to the queen; nor from his resolution to observe the late treaty and league between England and Scotland: and it is added, that the cardinal of Lorrain saw he could not draw him from his religion, though he used great persuasions to prevail on him. Upon these accounts the ambassador wrote over, "That he saw he might be much depended on: so he advises the queen to consider him as one that may serve her good purpose, and to use him liberally and honourably. He had made great acknowledgments of the good reception he met with as he came through London; so he on many accounts deserved to be both well used and much trusted. The queen of Scotland had many great expectations from the popish party, and from the earl of Huntley in particular. He gives in that letter an account of a great tumult that had then happened at Paris, upon occasion of an assembly of protestants for worship in a private house in the suburbs. The rabble met about the house, threatening violence, upon which those within, seeing persuasions had no effect, fired and killed seven or eight of them. The court of parliament sent an order to suppress the tumult, and disperse the multitude. This was plainly contrary to the edict lately made: but the ambassador apprehended that greater disorders would follow." And that I may end all this matter at once, I find in a letter of Jewel's, that is in the Collection, that the duke of Guise sent to the princes of Germany to divert them from assisting the prince of Condé, assuring them that he himself was very moderate in the points of religion, and had very favourable thoughts of the Augsburg Confession: he studied also to persuade the queen that the war which was then breaking out in France was not for religion, but was a conspiracy against the government; which he hoped she as queen would not assist. At the same time the queen of Scotland sent the queen a present of a diamond of value, with some very fine verses made by Buchanan, then in her court. She also in her letters vowed a perpetual friendship with her, and wrote that she would pass through England. Yet the queen saw through all this, and was not diverted by it from assisting the prince of Condé. Upon this the duke of Guise did openly charge all the disorders in France on her as the principal author of them: by this the mask was thrown away, and these jealousies broke out into an open war. Jewel wishes the queen had begun it sooner, and that the princes of Germany would follow her example, now that she was engaged, and had sent one to engage them likewise.

The Duke of Guise studied to divert the Queen from assisting the Prince of Condé;

Collection, Number 73.

but in vain.

By that time the queen of Scotland had got by sea into her kingdom: she alone had her mass, which was put down all the kingdom over.

There was this year an extraordinary bad season through every quarter of the year, and perpetual rains. There was also much talk of many monstrous births both by women and beasts, hogs, mares, cows, and hens: some births were without heads, or heads of a strange

form; and some without arms or legs: very probably things of that sort were magnified by those who reported them; and, no doubt, they were made the presages of some dismal events to be looked for; it being ordinary in all great changes to enlarge, and even to forge stories of that sort, on design to alarm people with the apprehensions of some signal judgments to follow after such unusual warnings. This last letter being written some time after the great convocation that settled our Reformation, is mentioned here out of its place, to finish a matter to which I have nothing here to add.

Proceedings in Convocation.

But now to return to give an account of that famous meeting of the clergy. I must first lament that here there is another total stop in the correspondence with Zurich, that has hitherto furnished me with so many particulars. I cannot think but that there were copious accounts of the progress of matters in it given to them, if not during the convocation, in which the bishops were no doubt much employed, yet at least soon after the prorogation, which was in the beginning of April: but in all the volume of letters that is sent me, I find not one either during their sitting or after it was ended, till that I mentioned last, which is of the 14th of August. Being then destitute of those authentic vouchers, I must gather up what remains I could find to give a clear account of the great transactions then on foot.

The imperfect abstract which I have often vouched, gives us but a very defective account of their proceedings. The first session was on the 13th of January; Day, provost of Eaton, preached. Parker told them they had now in their hands an opportunity of reforming all things in the church: the queen did earnestly desire it, and so did many of the nobility. He sent them to choose a prolocutor, and recommended Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, to them. They choose him upon that; and on the 16th of January, Parker exhorted them to consider against the next session what things wanted a reformation. On the 19th he sent for the prolocutor, who came up with six of the clergy. He said they had before them some sheets of matters to be offered for a reformation, which were then referred to be considered by a committee. He also said that the articles set forth in a synod at London in king Edward's time, were likewise before a committee to be considered, and if need was, to be corrected by them. On the 20th, the archbishop and bishops were for the space of three hours consulting secretly about those articles. On the 22nd, they were again for three hours considering the same matter. On the 25th, they were two hours. And on the 27th, they were for three hours more upon the same matter. And on the 29th of January, all in the upper house agreed unanimously in settling the articles of religion, and they subscribed them.

Some Alterations made in the Articles of Religion.

The differences between these articles and those set forth by king Edward are very particularly marked in the Collections added to my second volume. The most material is, the leaving out that express declaration that was made against the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, which I then thought was done in compliance with the opinion prevalent among the people of the popish persuasion, who were strangely possessed with the belief of such a presence; but I am convinced, by the letters sent me from Zurich, that, in this, great regard was likewise had to the Lutheran churches, with whom a conjunction was much endeavoured by some. So that, perhaps, this was one consideration that made it be thought convenient to suppress the definition then made in this matter by the convocation. But it does no way appear to me, whether these words were suppressed by the consent of the convocation, or whether the queen ordered it to be done, either by a direct command, or by denying to give her assent to that part of the article.

I must also add, that the homily "against wilful rebellion," for that is its true title, was not drawn up till some years after this convocation had settled those articles, in which the titles of the homilies are set forth, though it is added in the manuscript to the rest, with the title "against rebellion." It is plain, both by the body of the homily, and by the prayer at the end of it, that it was penned after the rebellion that was raised by the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland many years after this, and while there were wars abroad on the account of religion. This I do not write as disagreeing in any part from the doctrine delivered in that homily, but only as a historian, in order to the setting matters of fact in a true light.



But now I go on as the minutes, or rather the abstracts, lead me. When the great matter of the articles was settled, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, and Hereford, were appointed to draw articles of discipline. On the 3rd of February, the archbishop and bishops were in a secret conference for the space of three hours. On the 5th of February, a committee was appointed to examine the catechism. Then the prolocutor, with six of the clergy, brought up the articles of religion that had been sent by the archbishop to the lower house. Many had already subscribed them; but he proposed that such as had not yet done it might be required either to subscribe them in the lower house, or to do it in the presence of the bishops. Upon this the upper house ordered that the names of those who had not subscribed them might be laid before them next session. On the 10th, the prolocutor, with eight of the clergy, came up and told the bishops that many had subscribed since their last meeting. Upon that the bishops renewed their former order.

On the 13th, there was some treaty concerning the subsidy; but on that day, and it seems on some days following, there were very warm debates in the lower house, of which I shall give a particular account from a copy taken from the minutes of the proceedings of the lower house, which will be found in the Collection. On the 13th day, six articles were offered to the house, which follow: first, "That all holidays, except Sundays, and the feasts that related to Christ, should be abrogated. Second, That in the common prayer, the minister should always turn his face towards the people, so as to be heard by the people, that they might be edified. Third. That the ceremony of the cross in baptism may be omitted, as tending to superstition. Fourth, That forasmuch as divers communicants were not able to kneel during the time of communion, for age, sickness, and other infirmities, and some also do superstitiously both kneel and knock*, that the order of kneeling may be left to the discretion of the ordinary within his jurisdiction. Fifth, That it be sufficient for the minister, in time of saying divine service and ministering the sacraments, to use a surplice; and that no minister say service, or minister the sacraments, but in a comely garment or habit. The sixth and last is, That the use of organs be removed." The words are strictly as I took them from the copy of the Journal; but the sense of the fifth is not clear, except we suppose the word *once* to have come after the minister; so that it was proposed that it should be sufficient once to use the surplice †.

Col. Num. 74.

Great debates concerning some Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer.

There arose great disputes concerning these propositions, some approving and others rejecting them; and it was proposed by some to refer the matter to the archbishop and bishops. Many protested that they could in no manner consent to any one of them, since they were contrary to the book of Common Prayer that was ratified by an act of parliament; nor would they admit of any alteration of the orders, rules, rites, or regulations already settled by that book. There were public disputations between learned men, some approving and others condemning the propositions. Thirteen persons were named as the disputants. In conclusion, the house was divided and counted; forty-three voted for the propositions, and thirty-five voted against them; and that no change should be made in the book of Common Prayer then established. But when the proxies were counted, those who were for the propositions were in all fifty-eight; and those who were against them were fifty-nine: so that they were agreed to by a majority of eight of those who were present, and who had heard the disputations; yet those were out-voted by a majority of one vote by the proxy of an absent person. All their names are set down in the paper. One thing observable is, that in this minute it is added, that those who rejected the articles seemed to go chiefly on this ground,—that they were contrary to the authorised book of Common Prayer; as if this had been the assuming an authority to alter what was settled by the legislature. It is not to be imagined, but if the affirmative vote had prevailed, that it could not be intended to have any other effect but to make an address to the parliament to alter the book in those particulars. I have represented

But by one Proxy it was carried that none should be made.

* A practice common among papists, of knocking on their breasts, saying "Culpa mea," at the elevation.

† Query, does not this article rather refer to the use of copes and embroidered vestments, in addition to the surplices, as customary in the church of Rome? It would appear a strange regulation for the minister to perform one part of the service in official costume and discard it in another. See further as to disputes concerning ecclesiastical vestments, pages 830, 831.—Ed.

this matter as I found it, and will not make any judgment upon it, either on the one side or the other, but will leave that to the reader, and go on with what remains in the abstract.

This debate in the lower house put a stop to the business of the convocation for six days, in which they only treated of the subsidy. On the 19th of February, some articles were communicated to the lower house; and they were ordered to bring them back, with their observations on them. These seem to relate to benefices and dilapidations; and they were ordered to inquire how many benefices were then vacant. On the 22nd, the subsidy was agreed to; on the 24th, the prolocutor being absent, his surrogate, with the clergy, were called up; and the engrossed bill of subsidy was read to them, and they all unanimously agreed to it.

A Book of Discipline offered by the Lower House.

On the 26th, a Book of Discipline was brought to the upper house by the prolocutor, with ten of the clergy; to which, as it was then said, the whole clergy did unanimously consent. This was referred to the archbishop, with the bishops of London, Winchester, Chichester, Hereford, and Ely. On the 1st of March, the prolocutor brought up some additional articles, which they desired might be added to the Book of Discipline that they had formerly brought up. The archbishop gave them the book back again, and ordered them to bring it back, together with the additions they had made to it.

On the 3rd of March, the prolocutor brought up the Catechism, to which he said the house did unanimously agree. The considering of it was committed to the bishops of Winchester, Hereford, Lincoln, and Coventry. (This seems to be the catechism drawn by Nowel, dean of St. Paul's.) After that, there was a conference among the bishops for the space of two hours. On the 5th of March, the prolocutor brought up the Book of Discipline, with some additional chapters: one only is named, Of Adultery, with an &c. On the 10th, there was a conference among the bishops for two hours; and on the 12th, for two hours more; and on the 16th, for other two hours; and on the 19th, for two hours more. After that nothing is marked, but several prorogations, till the 10th of April, that the royal writ came for the prorogation. And this is all that remains of this great convocation.

It does not appear what that Book of Discipline was. In one of the Zurich letters, as shall be told afterwards, it is said, that some things agreed to in this synod were afterwards suppressed. This, I suppose, relates to that Book of Discipline: but whether this was the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws, prepared by Cranmer and others, or whether it was modelled in any other manner, cannot now be certainly known.

But to this account that I have given, I will add some other particulars, that the diligent Mr. Strype has laid together, referring my reader for a more copious account of them to his Annals.

Other things prepared for the Convocation.

"It was designed to have Jewel's Apology joined to the Articles, which archbishop Parker intended should be in all cathedral and collegiate churches, and also in private houses.

"Degrees of punishment were proposed for all those who should preach, write, or speak in derogation or contempt of this book, for the first, second, and third offence.

"It was proposed, that all vestments, copes, and surplices should be taken away; that none but ministers should baptize; that the table for the sacrament should not stand altarwise; that organs and curious singing should be removed.

"That godfathers and godmothers should not answer in the child's name; but should recite the Creed, and desire that the child may be baptized in that faith. Here, on the margin, Parker writes, 'Let this be considered.'

"That none should be married but after the banns have been asked for three Sundays or holidays. On the margin Parker writes, 'Priests solemnising matrimony without testimonial of banns, to suffer grievous punishment.'

"That the queen and parliament be prayed to renew the act for empowering thirty-two persons to gather ecclesiastical laws, and to review those appointed in king Edward's time.

"That all peculiar jurisdictions should be extinguished, so that the whole diocese be put under the jurisdiction of the bishop, that no appeal shall lie in cases of correction. On the margin Parker writes, 'Let this be thought on.'



"That in every cathedral a divinity-lecture should be read thrice a week.

"That the apparel of the clergy should be uniform. That no person, not in priest's orders, shall hold any ecclesiastical dignity above a year, if he does not take priest's orders. Parker writes, 'Too much; and let it be thought on.'

"That none be capable of a dispensation for a plurality of benefices with cure of souls, if he is not at least a master of arts, and they not beyond twelve miles' distance. Parker writes, 'Let it be considered, whether this ought to be restrained to degrees.'

"That if any has two cures, he shall reside constantly on one, unless at some times to go and preach in the other, under the pain of losing the greater benefice. Parker adds, 'Let this be thought on.'

"That no patron sell or assign the next advowson; and that no grant be made of any benefice till it is void.

"That all incumbents or curates shall, on Sundays, in the afternoon, offer to teach the children of the parish the catechism."

The next paper is, of Remedies for the Poverty of Ministers' Livings: but the remedies, how good soever, were not found practicable, so all this matter was let fall.

A further Continuation of the History beyond my former Work.

With this convocation, my design of continuing the History of the Reformation is now concluded. And here I once intended to have ended my work; but the letters sent me from Zurich give me such a full and particular account of the first unhappy breach that was made in our church, with so many curious incidents, that I am by these invited to set that matter out in a clear light, since I have it before me in the letters of the most eminent of our bishops.

A Controversy about the use of things indifferent.

There was a great variety of sentiments among our reformers on this point: "Whether it was fit to retain an external face of things, near to what had been practised in the times of popery, or not?" The doing that made the people come easily in to the more real changes that were made in the doctrines, when they saw the outward appearances so little altered. So this method seemed the safer and the readier way to wean the people from the fondness they had for a splendid face of things, by that which was still kept up. But, on the other hand, it was said, that this kept up still the inclination in the people to the former practices: they were by these made to think that the reformed state of the church did not differ much from them, and that they imitated them. And they apprehended that this outward resemblance made the old root of popery to live still in their thoughts; so that if it made them conform at present more easily to the change that was now made, it would make it still much the easier for them to fall back to popery. So, for this very reason, they stood upon it; and thought it better to put matters in as great an opposition to the practices of popery as was possible or convenient.

The queen had, in her first injunctions, ordered the clergy to wear seemly garments and square caps; adding, that this was only for decency, and not to ascribe any worthiness to the garments. But when the Act of Uniformity was settled,—whereas in the liturgy, passed in the second year of king Edward, copes and other garments were ordered to be used, but in the second book, passed in the sixth year of that king, all was laid aside except the surplice, yet the queen, who loved magnificence in everything, returned back to the rules in king Edward's first book, till other order should be taken therein by the queen. There was likewise a clause put in the Act of Uniformity, empowering the queen to "ordain and publish such further ceremonies and rites as might be for the advancement of God's glory, the edifying of his church, and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments."

Great diversity in Practice.

The matter being thus settled, there followed a great diversity in practice; many conforming themselves in all points to the law, while others did not use either the surplice or the square caps and hoods, according to their degree. This visible difference began to give great offence, and to state two parties in the church. The people observed it, and run into parties upon it. Many forsook their churches of both sides: some because those habits were used, and some because they were not used. It is likewise suggested, that the papists insulted upon this division among the protestants; and said it was impossible it should be otherwise, till all returned to come under one absolute obedience.

Upon this the queen, in January 156$\frac{4}{5}$, wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, "reflecting (not without some acrimony of style) on these diversities, as if they were the effect of some remissness in him and in the other bishops; requiring him, that, with the assistance of other bishops, commissioned by her for causes ecclesiastical, he should give strict orders that all diversities and varieties, both among the clergy and people, might be reformed and repressed; and that all should be brought to one manner of uniformity through the whole kingdom, that so the people might quietly honour and serve God."

The Queen wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to bring all to an uniformity.

Upon that some of the bishops met; six in all. Of these, four were upon the ecclesiastical commission,—the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Ely, and Rochester; and with these joined the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln. They agreed on some rules and orders meet to be observed, not as equivalent to the word of God, nor as laws that did bind the conscience from the nature of the things considered in themselves, or as that they did add any efficacy or more holiness to the public prayers and sacraments, but as temporary orders, merely ecclesiastic, and as rules concerning decency, distinction, and order for the time.

They begun with articles of doctrine and preaching. "That all preachers should study to preach to edification, and handle matters of controversy with sobriety and discretion; exhorting people to receive the sacrament frequently, and to continue in all obedience to the laws, and to the queen's injunctions. All former licences are declared void, but are to be renewed to such as the bishop thought meet for the office, they paying only a groat for the writing. If any should preach unsound doctrine, they were to be denounced to the bishop, but not to be contradicted in the church. All were to be required to preach once in three months, either in person or by one in their stead. Such as were not licensed to preach were to read the homilies, or such other necessary doctrine as should be prescribed. In the sacrament the principal minister was to wear a cope, but at all other prayers only surplices. That deans and prebendaries should wear a hood in the choir, and preach with their hood. All communicants were to receive the sacrament kneeling. Then follow rules about tolling the bell when people die; about the altar; the font; and who may be godfathers in baptism. That no shops be opened on Sundays. That bishops shall give notice against the day of giving orders, that all men may except against such as are unworthy: that none be ordained but within their own diocese, except those who have degrees in the university. Rules follow for licences; for archdeacons to appoint curates to get some texts of the New Testament by heart, and at the next synod to hear them rehearse them. Ordinaries were to guard against simoniacal practices; and none were to marry within the Levitical degrees. Then follow rules of their wearing apparel, gowns, and caps: they were to wear no hats but in travelling; but those who were deprived might not wear them. To this they added a form of subscription, to be required of all that were to be admitted to any office or cure in the church, to this effect: that they should not preach but by the bishop's special licence; that they should read the service distinctly and audibly; that they should keep a register-book, and use such apparel, specially at prayers, as was appointed; that they should endeavour to keep peace and quiet in their parishes; that they should every day read a chapter in the Old and New Testament, considering it well, to the increase of their knowledge; and in conclusion, that they should exercise their office to the honour of God and the quiet of the queen's subjects; and observe an uniformity in all laws and orders already established; and that they should use no sort of trade, if their living amounted to twenty nobles, or upwards."

Orders set out by the Bishops.

The proceedings here in England are fully collected by Mr. Strype; so, as to these, I refer my reader to the account given by him, which is both full and impartial. I shall only give the abstracts of the letters that passed in this matter between our bishops and Bullinger, Gualter, and the other divines in Zurich. These foreign divines did not officiously, nor of their own motion, intermeddle in this matter. It began in January 1565, for then the queen wrote to the archbishop; and in March the order was settled by the archbishop and bishops. But when the bishops saw the opposition that many were making to this, Sampson and Humphreys being the most eminent of those who opposed it, who were in

1565.



great reputation, particularly in the university of Oxford, where the one was dean of Christ's church, and the other was president of Magdalen's, and divinity professor; and they were much distinguished for their learning, piety, and zeal in religion: upon this Horn, bishop of Winchester, wrote, on the 16th of July, to Gualter, and stated the matter clearly to him. I have put his letter in the Collection, though it is already printed; but I thought it convenient to insert it, since the letters that are to follow depend upon it.

Horn, Bishop of Winchester, writes to Zurich upon these diversities in Practice. Col. Num. 75.

After he had mentioned some of Gualter's works, he commends those of Zurich for not being imposed on by the artifices of the French; in which he hopes those of Berne would follow the example that they had set them. He comes to the affairs of England, "where they were still in fear of the snares of the papists, who took great advantage from a question lately raised about vestments, to say protestants could never agree together. The act of parliament was made before they were in office, so that they had no hand in making it. By it the vestments were enacted, but without any superstitious conceit about them, the contrary being expressly declared. What was once enacted in parliament could not be altered but by the same authority. The bishops had obeyed the law, thinking the matter to be of its nature indifferent; and they had reason to apprehend that if they had deserted their stations upon that account, their enemies might have come into their places. Yet upon this there was a division formed among them: some thought they ought to suffer themselves to be put from their ministry rather than obey the law; others were of a different mind. He desires that he would write his opinion of this matter as soon as was possible. They were in hope to procure an alteration of the act in the next parliament; but he apprehended there would be a great difficulty in obtaining it, by reason of the opposition the papists would give them; for they hoped that if many should leave their stations, they might find occasions to insinuate themselves again into the queen's favour."

It seems he wrote a letter in the same strain to Bullinger, as will appear by his answer of the 3rd of November, which will be found in the Collection. "He writes, that he had heard of the division among them from others; but not knowing the whole state of the question, he was not forward to give his opinion till he had his letter. He laments this unhappy breach among them: he approves their zeal who wished to have the church purged from all the dregs of popery. On the other hand, he commends their prudence who would not have the church to be forsaken because of the vestments. The great end of the ministry was edification; and that was not to be abandoned but upon very good grounds, especially when the deserting their stations was like to make way for much worse things; and that they saw either papists or Lutherans would be put in their places, and then ceremonies would be out of measure increased. No doubt, they had brought many persons of all sorts to love the purity of doctrine; but what a prejudice would it be to these to open such a door, by which swarms of abuses might creep in among them! this they ought carefully to prevent. As for those who first made those laws, or were zealous maintainers of them, he confesses he is not pleased with them; they acted unwisely, if they were truly of the reformed side; but if they were only disguised enemies, they were laying snares with ill designs. Yet he thinks everything of that sort ought to be submitted to rather than that they should forsake their ministry: and since it was declared that those vestments were to be used without any superstitious conceit, he thinks that ought to satisfy men's consciences. But in the mean while he proposes to them to press the queen and the nobility to go on and complete a reformation that was so gloriously begun. He knew that in many places questions were at that time moved concerning the extent of the magistrates' authority: he wishes these might be everywhere let alone. Certainly matters of that nature ought not to be meddled with in sermons. There may be an occasion to debate about them in parliament; and it may be proper to speak to the queen and to her counsellors in private about them. Upon the whole matter, he concludes, that as, on the one hand, he would be tender in dealing with men of weak consciences, so, on the other hand, he proposes St. Paul's rule in such cases, of 'becoming all things to all men.' He circumcised Timothy that he might not give offence to the Jews, though at the same time he condemns

Col. Num. 76. Answers from thence justifying those who obeyed the Laws.

those who were imposing the yoke of the Judaical law as necessary in the beginnings of Christianity."

When Sampson and Humphreys understood in what a strain Bullinger and Gualter had written concerning the vestments, they wrote on the 16th of February, a copious account of the grounds on which they founded their refusal to obey these orders. Their letters came to Bullinger on the 26th of April; and he answered them on the 1st of May. This will be found in the Collection. "He puts them in mind of Peter Martyr's opinion in a like matter when he was at Oxford, to which he could add nothing. He could not approve of any persons officiating at an altar on which there was a crucifix; and in a cope, on the back of which there was a crucifix. He tells them how both he and Gualter had answered Horn's letter on the subject; and he sent them copies of these letters. He would be extreme sorry if these did not give them satisfaction. He prayed earnestly to God for them. He had a great dislike to all controversies of that sort, and did not willingly meddle in them: he did think that laws might be made prescribing decent habits to the clergy, which may be reduced to that branch of St. Paul's character of a bishop, that he ought to be κοσμίος, which may be rendered decent, as well as we have it of 'good behaviour.' Nor was this the reviving the Levitical law. Everything is not to be called Levitical, because it was practised by the Jews. The apostles commanded the converts to Christianity, to abstain from things strangled, and from blood. The maintaining the clergy by the tithes, came from laws given to Jews; and from them we have the singing of psalms among us: so things are not to be rejected because of some conformity to the Mosaical institution. Nor can this be called a conformity to popery: nor is everything practised among them to be rejected on that account; otherwise we must not use their churches, nor pronounce the Creed; nor use the Lord's Prayer; since all these are used by them. It was in this case expressed in the orders set out lately by them that the habits were not enjoined on the superstitious conceits of the papists; they were only to be used in obedience to the law. It savours too much of a Jewish or of a monastic temper, to put religion in such matters: if it is pretended that the obeying laws in matters indifferent was the giving up our Christian liberty, that would go a great way to the denying all obedience, and might provoke the magistrate to lay yet heavier loads on them. Habits peculiar to the clergy was an ancienter practice than popery itself. St. John is said to have carried on his head somewhat like a mitre: and mention is made of St. Cyprian's having a peculiar garment called a dalmatica. St. Chrysostom speaks of their white garments. Tertullian tells us that the heathens converted to Christianity quitted their toga, the Roman upper garment, and used the pallium, or cloak. He wishes there were no impositions on the clergy in such matters: yet since this was an ancient habit, and was now enjoined, without making it a matter of religion, he wishes they would not set too great a value upon it, but yield somewhat to the present time; and that they would consider it as a thing indifferent, and not affect to dispute too subtly about it; but to behave themselves modestly. They had put a question to him, whether anything may be prescribed that is not expressed in Scripture? He did not approve of laying on a load of such things on people's necks; but some things might be appointed for order and discipline. Christ kept the feast of the dedication, though appointed by no law of God. If it is said the things commanded are not necessary, and are of no use, yet they are not for that to be condemned, nor are schisms to be raised on that account." Many things are again repeated in this letter that were in his letter to Horn.

Bullinger writes to those who would not obey them.

Collection, Number 77.

A copy of this was sent to Horn, and both Grindal and he apprehending the good effect that the printing it might have in settling the minds of many that were much shaken by the opposition that was made to the orders that had been set out, printed it here. So that it was not necessary for me to put it in the Collection, if I did not intend to lay the chief papers relating to this matter so together, as to set it all in a clear light.

That Letter was printed in England.

Upon this Sampson and Humphreys wrote over to Zurich, complaining of the printing of their letter, and carrying their complaints against the constitution of the church much further than to the matter of the vestments: they complain of the music and organs; of



making sponsors in baptism answer in the child's name; of the cross in baptism; of the court of faculties; and the paying for dispensations; all which will appear fully in a letter of theirs in the Collection, which they wrote to them in July: "They acknowledge their letter had not fully satisfied them: they do not think the prescribing habits to the clergy merely a civil thing; they think St. Paul's κοσμίος belongs to the ornaments of the mind. And add, how can that habit be thought decent that was brought in to dress up the theatrical pomp of popery? The papists gloried in this our imitation of them. They do approve of setting rules concerning order, but that ought not to be applied to this, that overturns the peace and quiet of the church in things that are not either necessary or useful; that do not tend to any edification, but serve to recommend those forms which all do now abhor. The papists themselves glory in this, that these habits were brought in by them; for which they vouch Otho's constitution and the Roman pontifical. They were not against the retaining anything that was good, because it had been abused in popery.

Collection, Number 78.

"They affirm that in king Edward's time the surplice was not universally used nor pressed; and the copes then taken away are now to be restored. This is not to extirpate popery, but to plant it again; and instead of going forward, is to go back. It was known how much virtue and religion the papists put in the surplice; and at this day it is held in as great esteem as the monks' habits were wont to be. The use of it may, by degrees, bring back the same superstition. They did not put religion in habits, they only opposed those that did; and they thought that it gave some authority to servitude to depart from their liberty. They hated contention, and were ready to enter into friendly conferences about this matter. They do not desert their churches, and leave them exposed to wolves; but to their great grief they are driven from them. They leave their brethren to stand and fall to their own masters; and desire the same favourable forbearance from them, though in vain hitherto. It was by other men's persuasion that the queen was irritated against them: and now, to support these orders, all that is pretended is, that they are not unlawful: it is not pretended that there is anything good or expedient in the habits. The habits of the clergy are visible marks of their profession; and these ought not to be taken from their enemies. The ancient fathers had their habits; but not peculiar to bishops, nor distinct from the laity. The instances of St. John and Cyprian are singular. In Tertullian's time the pallium was the common habit of all Christians. Chrysostom speaks of 'white garments,' but with no approbation: he rather finds fault with them. They had cited Bucer; but he thought that the orders concerning habits, by reason of the abuse of them in the church of England, ought to be taken away, for a fuller declaration of their abhorrence of Antichrist, for asserting the Christian liberty, and for removing all occasions of contention. They were far from any design of making a schism, or of quarrelling. They will not condemn things indifferent as unlawful: they wish the occasion of the contention were removed, that the remembrance of it might be for ever buried. They who condemned the papal pride, could not like a tyranny in a free church. They wish there might be a free synod to settle this matter; in which things should not be carried according to the mind of one or two persons. The matter now in debate had never been settled by any general decree of a council, or of any reformed church. They acknowledge the doctrine of this church was now pure; and why should there be any defect in any part of our worship? Why should we borrow anything from popery? Why should they not agree in rites as well as in doctrine with the other reformed churches? They had a good opinion of their bishops, and bore with their state and pomp: they once bore the same cross with them, and preached the same Christ with them: why are they now turned out of their benefices, and some put in prison, only for habits? Why are they publicly defamed? The bishops had printed the private letter that they had written to them without their knowledge or consent. The bishops do now stand upon it, as if the cause were their own. But to let them see that the dispute was not only about a cap, they sent them an abstract of some other things, to which they wish some remedy could be found (which is in the Collection); and conclude with some prayers to God to quiet those dissensions, and to send forth labourers into his vineyard."

Collection, Number 79.

To this I have joined the answer that Bullinger and Gualter wrote to them. In it they tell them, "that they did not expect that their letters should fully satisfy them: they only wrote their opinion to them because they desired it. They were heartily sorry to find that they could not acquiesce in it. They would engage no further in that matter: they could answer their arguments, but they would give no occasion to endless disputations. They thought it would be more expedient to submit to those habits, and to continue in the church, than by refusing to use them to be forced to leave their churches. They went no further, and did not approve of any popish defilements or superstitions. Nor did they in any sort enter into those other matters, of which they do now complain, and of which they knew nothing before. These were matters of much greater consequence than either the surplices or the copes; so that it was to be hoped that the letter they had written about the habits, could not be stretched to these matters. There was nothing left to them but to commend them to God, and to pray that he would quiet this unhappy dissension among them, and give his church the blessings of peace. They only desire them to remember that the ministers of the gospel ought not only to hold fast the truth, but likewise to be prudent stewards, having a due regard to the times, bearing many things with patience and charity, and so maintain the peace of the church: and not to prejudice it by an over-eager or morose temper; nor think it enough that they had a good design; but they must pursue it by prudent methods."

Collection, Number 80.

Bullinger's Answer to Sampson.

Bullinger and Gualter, seeing the division like to be carried much further than the matter of the vestments, thought the best office that they could do their friends was, to write to the earl of Bedford, being well assured of his zeal in the matters of religion. They wrote to him on the 11th of September that year. The letter will be found in the Collection. They tell him "that when they first heard of the contention raised about the vestments, they were afraid it might have a further progress. They being desired, did give their opinion freely in the matter; and thought, that for things of so little importance, it was not fit for the clergy to desert their stations, and to leave them to be filled, perhaps, by wolves and deceivers. They were sorry to find that their fears of the mischief that might follow on this contention, were but too well grounded. They hear that not only the vestments are complained of, but that many other things are excepted to, that plainly savour of popery. They are also sorry that the private letter which they wrote should have been printed; and that their judgment of the vestments was extended to other things, of which they could in no sort approve: so that their opinion in one particular is made use of, to cast a load on persons for whom they should rather have compassion in their sufferings, than study to aggravate them. It gave them a very sensible grief to see the church of England, scarce got out of the hands of their bloody enemies, now like to be pulled down by their intestine broils. So, having an entire confidence in his good affection to the gospel, they pray him to intercede with the queen and the nobility, in the parliament that was soon to meet, for their brethren that were then suffering; who deserved that great regard should be had to them, and that their faults should be forgiven them. It had appeared what true zeal they had for religion; since the only thing about which they were so solicitous was, that religion should be purged from all the dregs of popery. This cause in general was such, that those who promoted it proved themselves to be worthy of the highest dignity. Princes were to be nursing fathers to the church: then they perform that office truly, when they not only rescue her out of the hands of her enemies, but take care that the spouse of Christ be not any way stained with the false paint of superstition, or render herself suspected by having any rites unbecoming the Christian simplicity. They do therefore earnestly pray him, that as he has hitherto showed his zeal in the cause of the gospel, so he will at this time exert himself, and employ all the interest he has in the queen, and in the nobility, that the church of England, so happily reformed, to the admiration of the whole world, may not be stained with any of the defilements or remnants of popery. This will look like a giddiness in them: it will offend the weak among them, and give great scandal to their neighbours, both in France and in Scotland, who are yet under the cross. The very papists will justify their tyrannical impositions by what is done now among them. They lay all this before him with the more confidence,

They wrote to the Earl of Bedford.

Collection, Number 81.



knowing his zeal as they do." They also wrote in the same strain to Grindal and Horn, as will be found in the Collection. Col. Num. 82.

When Grindal and Horn understood that those of Zurich were not pleased with the printing of their letter; of which they wrote to them, and sent with it the paper in which were put the heads of those other things in the constitution of this church, to which they excepted; they both, jointly, wrote answer to them, in one letter to Bullinger and Gualter, on the 6th of February; which will be found in the Collection.

1566.

Collection, Number 83.

"They tell them they had printed their letter, but had suppressed the names of those to whom it was directed. It had the good effect that they expected from it: for it had satisfied and settled the minds of many who were upon the point of leaving their churches: and even the most troublesome were so far wrought on by it that they were silent, and less violent in their opposition than they had formerly been. Some few were turned out, but they were not of the more learned sort, except Sampson, who, they acknowledge, was both pious and learned. Humphreys, and other learned men, were still continued in their stations. The letter that they had printed, related only to that particular upon which it was written, and could not be applied to anything else; nor was there any other question then on foot: so that it was a calumny to say, that their opinion was asked about any other matter. The noise and the complaints that some had made, had very much provoked the queen and many of the nobility against them. The papists triumphed upon it, and hoped to come in again, and to fill the places which were made void upon their deserting their stations. They do solemnly attest the great God, that this dissension was not raised by any fault of theirs; and that it did not lie at their door that those vestments were not quite taken away. They may take their oaths upon it, that they had used all possible means in that matter; and had, with the utmost earnestness, and the most sincere diligence, laboured to obtain that which their brethren desired, and which they themselves wished for. But since they could not do what willingly they would do, they must be content with doing what they could do."

Grindall and Horn's Letter showing their Uneasiness in many things.

As to the other particulars complained of, they plainly write, "they did not approve of that figured music, together with the use of organs, that was continued in cathedrals. They enlarge on many other particulars, and set forth the method of convocations. They did in no sort approve of women's baptising. They gave way till God should send better times, to the form of making the sponsors in baptism answer in the child's name; for which St. Austin's authority was pretended; but they did openly declare, that they thought it was not convenient. Nor did they approve of using the cross in baptism; though the words spoken when it was made did plainly show there was no superstitious conceit kept up by the use of it. They also suffered the posture of kneeling in the sacrament, with the due caution with which it was enjoined, that was set down in king Edward's book, declaring the reason for which that posture was still continued. For the abuses of their courts, though they cannot correct them entirely, yet they did openly inveigh against them; which they would continue still to do, till they should be sent back to hell from whence they came. Every man had full freedom to declare his mind as to all these abuses: they had laboured in the last parliament all they could to purge out all errors and abuses; which, though it had not then the desired effect, yet they would not give over their endeavours to bring it to a happy conclusion: and this they would do, as they desired the continuance of their friendship and brotherly love."

The others still insisted, and Sampson in a letter from Oxford, the 9th of February, $156\frac{5}{6}$, to Bullinger, reduces the questions concerning the habits to seven heads. 1st, If a habit different in form and colour from the laity, ought to be enjoined to the clergy? 2ndly, If the Mosaical ceremonies may be brought into the Christian church? 3dly, If it is lawful to conform to papists in habits and outward rites, and if it is fitting to borrow ceremonies from that corrupt church? 4thly, If the using a peculiar priestly habit is merely a civil matter, and if it does not savour of monkery, popery, and Judaism? 5thly, If those who have hitherto used their liberty may with a good conscience, upon the account of the queen's mandate, involve themselves and the church again in a yoke of bondage? 6thly, If the

popish clerical habit can be called a thing that is indifferent? And the 7th is, If they ought to use these habits rather than desert their stations? To these he begs him to send as soon as may be a full and copious answer.

Collection, Number 84. Jewel's Sense of those matters.

A few days after this, Jewel wrote to Bullinger (in the letter that is in the Collection), "that he was so attacked by many different hands, that it took him wholly up to prepare answers to them. He was not in the house of lords during the last parliament, in which there was great heat for a whole month concerning the succession to the crown. But the queen would suffer no declaration to be made in that matter, though it was most vehemently pressed, there appearing on both sides a great deal of earnestness. The queen thought any such declaration would turn the eyes of the nation too much towards the rising sun. He says the controversy about the vestments had raised great heats. The queen was fixed, and could not be wrought on to let any change be made. Some of their brethren were so eager in disputing about that matter, as if the whole business of religion was concerned in it. They leave their stations and churches, rather than yield a little. Nor were they at all moved from their stiffness by the most learned letters that he and Gualter had written to them on that subject; nor by all the advices of their friends. He thanks God that they had no other nor more important debates then among them. Cheyney, bishop of Gloucester, did indeed in parliament profess himself openly to be a Lutheran; but he was not like to have many followers."

Collection, Number 85.

In a letter of his, that is also in the Collection, written to Bullinger on the 1st of March, 1565, he writes "that he was overwhelmed with the books that the papists had written against him, and was by that means engaged in a profound course of study. He tells him how cardinal Granville had intended to cut off the intercourse between England and the Netherlands; hoping by that means to provoke the English to break out into tumults; but the design turned upon himself; for the English resolving to settle their trade and staple at Embden, the people of Flanders could not bear that. The pope had sent one to Ireland to raise a flame in that island. But the pope's agent, who was an Irishman, was taken and sent over a prisoner to England. In Scotland the queen only had her mass, all the nation being averse to it."

Reflections on this matter.

By Grindal and Horn's letters, it appears that they had no other zeal in this matter but to preserve the church in the queen's favour, and in obedience to the laws; yet in letters that were upon this occasion written to Zurich (a part of

Collection, Number 86.

one is in the Collection) by some others that adhered to Sampson, they let them know, that both Parker the archbishop and Grindal and Horn were too much sharpened in this matter: therefore they pray them to use their endeavours to soften them more towards their brethren. But they acknowledge that Pilkington of Durham, Sands of Worcester, and Parkhurst of Norwich, had by their moderation made good all their promises; so they deserved that thanks should be given them. They desire further, that they would write to them all to proceed more mildly, and to endeavour to get those dregs of popery to be removed; and that they would tolerate, at least connive at, those who did not approve them.

Other Letters written to Zurich by some Bishops.

I find Pilkington complains in a letter to Gualter, "that the disputes which began about the vestments were carried much farther, even to the whole constitution. Pious persons lamented this; atheists laughed at it; and the papists blew the coals, and were full of hopes upon it. The blame of all was cast on the bishops. He adds, I confess we suffer many things against our hearts, groaning under them. We cannot take them away, though we were ever so much set on it. We are under authority, and can innovate nothing without the queen; nor can we alter the laws. The only thing that is left to our choice is, whether we will bear these things, or break the peace of the church."

Parkhurst in one letter writes, "Many good people are pleased with all that is done; but there are some things that do not please me." And in another he writes, "Matters of religion go on well: there are but a very few things that I dare find fault with. That which grieved him most was, that the lives of those who professed the gospel were so very contrary to it. The gospel was never preached among them more faithfully, and with more zeal. He prays, God grant us his Spirit that we may walk in the Spirit, and mortify



the works of the flesh." The last letter that those of Zurich wrote on this subject was on

Col. Num. 87.

the 26th of August, 1567, directed to the bishops of London, Winchester, and Norwich. "They express their grief that some learned men were deprived: they hear daily that some of those that had given good proofs of themselves in the Marian persecution were now not only turned out, but imprisoned. They hear that in Ireland many that have the same scruples are yet kept out of all trouble by the queen's order, upon the intercession of their bishops; which makes it probable that the like favour might be obtained in England, if the bishops would intercede with her majesty for it; which may the rather be expected, since the bishops themselves acknowledge that it were better for the church that these ceremonies were all laid aside; and affirm that they had often moved in parliament that they might be taken away, that so the church might be more pure and less burdened. Therefore they do not doubt but that they, out of their piety, will endeavour to procure favour to their brethren, to which they do very earnestly, but yet decently and modestly, press them." Cox, bishop of Ely, who I do not find meddled much in these controversies, has in a letter to Gualter some very sad expressions, for which there is too much occasion at all times. "When I consider the sins that do everywhere abound, and the neglect and contempt of the word of God, I am struck with horror, and tremble to think what God will do with us. We have some discipline among us with relation to men's lives, such as it is; but if any man would go about to persuade our nobility to submit their necks to that yoke, he may as well venture to pull the hairs out of a lion's beard."

Contenditur aliquantulum de vestibus papisticis utendis vel non utendis dabit Deus hic quoque finem.

Sands was of the same mind: he lamented the occasion of this dispute, and hoped to see an end put to it. In a letter to Bullinger from Worcester, dated the 3d of January, 1566, he writes thus: "The true religion of Christ is now settled among us, which is the most valuable of all things. The gospel is no more shut up, but is freely preached; and for other things, we need not be much concerned about them. There is some small dispute concerning the popish vestments, whether they ought to be used or not. But God will put an end to these things."

Of the Affairs of Scotland. Collection, Number 88.

A few days after that, Jewel, in a letter dated the 8th of February, 1566, to Bullinger, (a part of it is in the Collection, the rest of it relates to the books he was then writing in defence of his Apology,) tells him, "that the queen seemed fixed in her resolution not to marry: he expresses his great concern that the heat raised on the account of the surplice was not extinguished; he writes that the affairs of Scotland were not in a quiet state; some of the chief of the nobility had retired into England; others fortified themselves in their castles, and were as in a state of war with the papists. The queen, though an obstinate papist, yet does not seem resolved what course she had best take; for in matters of religion the greatest part both of the nobility and people were against her; and their number did daily increase. The king of Spain sent lately an Italian abbot thither with Spanish gold. He was a subtle and crafty man, and did so far gain not only on the queen but on the king, that though he had hitherto gone to sermons, and had no mass, yet upon the assurance of a rich ship that was expected within a day, he presently ordered mass to be said in his church; while Knox in the very next church was preaching against idolatry, and the whole papal tyranny, with greater zeal than ordinary. But the Spanish ship was furiously shattered by a storm and was cast on the coast of England, so that weak king would find what he had gained by his going to mass." Sampson and Humphreys wrote a long and particular answer to the letter that Grindal and Horn wrote to Bullinger; but that runs into a tedious controversy, with which the divines of Zurich wrote that they would meddle no more in those matters, so I do not think fit to insert it.

"They complain that the archbishop had contributed to buy an organ for Canterbury, which was no sign of his disliking it. They complain that many were put in prison because they would not provide godfathers and godmothers for baptising their children. They say the convocation signified little: for many things were agreed to in the convocation in the year 1562, that would have tended to the great good of the church, but were suppressed, for nothing was of force but as the queen and the archbishop consented. And in the last convocation, a very learned man that belonged to the bishop of Norwich proposed somewhat

relating to the vestments; to whom a bishop said, What have you to do in those matters? we began them and we will end them. He answered the bishop, This matter has been hitherto laid wholly on the queen, but now you take it on yourselves." They also in another paper set forth, "that in queen Mary's days, when the church of England was broken and dispersed, a body of protestants formed themselves into a church at London, and had their ministers and deacons, and continued through all her reign, though many of them were burned: but that after queen Mary's death, the exiles were recalled, and the prisoners were set at liberty; only this church that had continued all the while in the midst of the flame was now extinguished." In another letter he assures Simler, "there was no danger of Lutheranism, only we are now fighting among ourselves about ceremonies, vestments, and matters of no importance. That matter has somewhat shaken men of weak minds: I wish that all, even the smallest, remnants of popery could be wholly put not only out of our churches, but chiefly out of the minds of all people; but the queen at this time cannot bear any alteration in religion."

I shall carry this matter no farther, having gone beyond what I had at first proposed by the importance of these papers, that give so clear and so true an account of the beginnings of those unhappy disputes of which we have seen and do still feel the unhappy consequences. In these we clearly see what was the sense of the most eminent and the most learned of our reformers in those matters. They continued their correspondence with Zurich as long as those great men lived with whom they had lodged in their great distress, and to whom they had been so singularly obliged that they were ready always to acknowledge it, and were often sending presents to them.

The Queen of Scots marries the Lord Darnley.

In Scotland, things were running into great disorder. The queen, as she liked the person of the Lord Darnley, and perhaps the better because he seemed to be of a soft and gentle temper, and easy to be governed, so her faithfullest counsellors concurred in advising the marriage. He was the next heir to the crown of England after the queen. For though the queen dowager of Scotland, that was Henry the Eighth's sister, having married the earl of Angus, after king James the Fourth was killed, but falling to be in ill terms with him, either found or suborned witnesses (as it was given out) to prove upon him a pre-contract in words of the present time, by which she obtained a sentence dissolving that marriage; yet the daughter she had borne to him was declared legitimate, in the bull that confirmed the sentence declaring that marriage dissolved, the original of which I saw. The reason given is, because she was born of the mother's part *bonâ fide*. Lord Darnley being thus descended, and born within the kingdom of England, might have been a dangerous competitor for that crown, especially if he should fortify himself by a prudent marriage, and a good conduct in England: so it was certainly good advice given the queen, since she liked his person, to secure her right to that succession by this marriage. When she married him, she declared him king, and put his name on the coin after her own. The qualities of his mind did not answer the gracefulness of his person; for sometimes he was in all things compliant to the queen, but that lasted not long. She had such an affable and obliging air, which her education in the court of France had much improved, that it was not easy to resist it. At first she seemed so indifferent as to the matters of religion, that the minds of the nation were much quieted, when they concluded that she continued to be a papist more from principles of honour and interest than from her own persuasion.

She shows more zeal in her Religion.

But they came to have other thoughts of her when she began to express more zeal in those matters. Her kindred by her mother pushed her on; and she was animated both from the court of France and from Rome to restore the popish religion. On these hopes she set her gates open to all that desired to come to her mass, and had many masses every day in her chapel. The body of the Scottish nation did not easily bear with the mass which the queen had at first privately in her court for herself, and for a very small number of servants who were of her own religion. In the parliament, in the year 1563, a petition was offered by the noblemen, and the superintendents, and ministers of the reformed religion, which will be found in the Collection, setting forth, that "whereas in the last convention of the kirk that was held at Edinburgh in June last, some

Col. Num. 89.



Engraved by J. Thomson

# HENRY STUART, LORD DARNLEY,

## KING OF SCOTLAND.

OB. 1567.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE LATE EARL OF SEAFORTH.

were sent to the queen with certain articles to which they desired answer; and though the queen had answered them in part, yet she referred the farther answer to the present parliament: so a full answer was now prayed. And whereas in the parliament held in July 1560, it was enacted, that the mass and all papistry should be put out of the realm, and Christ's religion should be universally received; and that the queen, by divers proclamations, has approved Christ's religion, which she found publicly received at her arrival, in particular at Dundee, on the 15th of September last, in which the king and queen did, both by act of council and by proclamation, promise, that in this present parliament she would establish the religion of Christ, and abolish all laws and constitutions contrary to the same: upon which they desired that the premises might be considered; and so they laid before the parliament the articles which they had laid before the queen and her council, together with her answer and the reply made to it by the kirk."

The Demands of the Reformed.

In the articles they demand, first, that "the papistical mass, with all idolatry, and the pope's jurisdiction, might be abolished not only in the subject's, but in the queen's own person; and that the true religion might be ratified through the whole kingdom as well in the queen's person as in the subject's; and that the people might be required to resort on Sundays to prayers and preaching, as they were before to the idolatrous mass. Secondly, that provision may be made for the ministers' maintenance; and that such as are admitted into the ministry may have their livings assigned them where they labour, or in parts adjacent, and that they may not be put to crave them of others. And that the benefices then vacant, or that have been vacant since March, anno 1558, or that shall become vacant, be given to learned persons, able to preach God's word, upon their trial and admission by the superintendents. And that no bishopric, abbey, or other ecclesiastical benefice, having many churches annexed to it, be given to any one man; but that the churches may be severally disposed of, so that every man may serve at his own church; and that glebes and manses be assigned to them, that they may reside at their churches, and discharge their consciences in them; and that the churches may be kept in due repair. Thirdly, that none may have charge of souls, or be put in colleges or universities, or publicly instruct the youth, but such as are tried by the superintendents and the visitors of the churches, and are admitted by them. Fourthly, that lands founded for hospitals may be restored to the use of the poor; and that all rents and profits belonging to any order of friars be applied to the poor, and for schools in towns. Fifthly, that horrid crimes, blasphemy, sorcery, adultery, incest, and murder, with many other crimes that are reckoned up, may be severely punished; and that some order may be taken for the ease of the labourers of the ground, concerning the reasonable payment of their tithes, and in the letting of them."

The Queen's Answer to them.

To this the queen answered, "that as she did not think that there was any impiety in the mass, so she hoped her subjects would not press her to receive any religion against her own conscience, which would throw her into a perpetual unquietness by the remorse of her conscience. She would never leave the religion in which she had been brought up; and it would be further a great prejudice to her, in that, by her so doing, she should lose the friendship of the king of France, the ancient ally of this kingdom, and of other princes, from whom she may find great supports; so she will not in an instant put herself in hazard of losing all her friends. And since she has not yet pressed, nor means she hereafter to press, the conscience of any man, but leaves them to worship God according to their persuasion, she hopes they will not press her to offend her own conscience. But when the parliament meets, her majesty will consent to everything that the three estates shall agree upon; and she renews the assurance she had given, that men's lives or estates shall be in no hazard for any cause of religion."

As to the second article, "the queen thought it not reasonable that she should deprive herself of so great a part of the patrimony of the crown, by putting the patronage of benefices out of her hands; for her own necessity required the keeping them in her own hands; yet she was contented to assign what might serve for the reasonable sustentation of the ministers. She referred the other articles to the parliament."

To this answer the kirk replied, "that the firmness she expressed to the mass gave no small grief to her good subjects. Their religion was no other than that which Christ

revealed, and his apostles preached; which differed from the impiety of the Turks, the blasphemy of the Jews, and the vain superstition of the papists." And upon that, as they run out into a high commendation of their religion, so "they require the queen, in the name of God, to embrace the means by which she may be persuaded to the truth, which they offered presently to her by the preaching of God's word, and by public disputation against the adversaries of it whensoever she thought it expedient. And as for the mass, they undertook to prove it to be a mass of impiety from the beginning to the end. As for the prejudice that the queen thinks would follow on her changing her religion, by dissolving the alliance she is in with the king of France and other foreign princes, they answer, that the true religion is the undoubted means to keep up a perfect confederacy with him who is the King of kings, and who has the hearts of all princes in his hands, which ought to be more valued than all other confederacies whatsoever."

As to the second article, "they did not intend to defraud her of the patronages, but only that persons presented to benefices should be tried and examined by the learned men of the kirk, or the superintendents appointed for that end. But as the presentations belong to her, so collation upon them belongs to the church, and the patrons may not present without trial and examination; which, if they might do, must bring great ignorance and disorder into the church; and it was far against all good conscience for the queen to retain a good part of the benefices in her own hands. This was so contrary both to all divine and human laws, that they were unwilling to open up that whole matter to her; and therefore they beg she would consider, that though the patronage of benefices belonged to her, yet the retention of them in her own hands, and the not giving them to qualified persons, is ungodly, and contrary to all order, and ruinous to the souls of the people. They were desirous to have her necessities relieved; but they add, that the tithes are the patrimony of the church, out of which, in the first place, those who serve in the ministry ought to be relieved, the churches ought to be repaired, and the youth instructed. They concluded with thanks for her willingness to have the ministers provided for; and they pray that a special condescending on particulars may be thought on."

But all these petitions were still put off; and the queen, by her practice among the nobility, began to divide them into factions; and plainly said, when these petitions were read to her, that "she would do nothing in prejudice of the religion that she professed;" and in wrath told them, "she hoped, before a year was expired, to have the mass, and the catholic religion professed through the whole kingdom." And she managed the parliament so dexterously, that neither was the treaty of Leith, nor the settlement of religion made in the parliament 1560, so much as named, much less confirmed. In this parliament some small provision was made for the ministers; and acts were made against sorcery and adultery, that they should be punished by death. There was, indeed, an act of oblivion passed for all that was done from the 6th of March, 1558, to the 1st of September, 1561; but the parliament of the year 1560 came to be looked on as an illegal assembly. So that upon this a great alarm was given to the whole body of the reformed in that kingdom; and the jealousy was increased by the queen's marrying the lord Darnley. He had been bred up a strict papist, but now pretended to be a protestant; yet as he was all the while suspected of favouring the religion he was bred up in, so he quickly returned to the open profession of it. This gave occasion to another petition in a bolder strain, in which the body of the reformed set forth, "that the true religion was established in that nation; that the mass, and all the idolatry and tyrannical usurpations of the pope, were suppressed; and that they were going on to a perfect reformation; but that all had been stopped now for the space of four years. That upon her arrival, that idol the mass was again set up, and men were put in offices to which they had no right. From such beginnings they saw what they might look for; yet, in hope that God would mollify the queen's heart, and out of their desire to maintain the public peace, they had long expected to see what answer would be made to their petitions; but they saw things grew daily worse and worse. The queen's gates were then set open in contempt of proclamations set out by herself to the contrary. The patrimony of the church was bestowed on unworthy persons; their ministers were reduced to great poverty, and put to much trouble; vices of all sorts abounded universally;

Spotswood.



MARY. QUEEN OF SCOTS.

OB. 1587.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF MORTON

they therefore prayed the queen to think of redressing these matters, and to answer their other petitions, assuring her of all due obedience to her laws and authority. They also pray that she would give them no occasion to think that she intended the subversion of the true religion, and the destruction of those who professed it; for they assure her they would never be subject to that Roman Antichrist, nor suffer (as far as it lay in their power to hinder it) any branches of his usurped authority to have place within the realm." This, which is in the Collection, prevailed no more than their other petitions had done.

Col.Num.90.

I will add to this a few particulars relating to the affairs of Scotland, as they are set forth in some of these letters that were sent me from Zurich. Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, in a letter to Bullinger (which is in the Collection), writes, in the year 1566, "that, in March last, an Italian, called Signior David (whom he charges as skilled in necromancy), who was in great favour with the queen, was dragged out of her room, and stabbed by many hands; and adds, that an abbot was then so wounded, that though he escaped, yet he died of his wounds soon after; and that one Black, a Dominican, in great esteem among the papists, was also killed in the court. And upon all that disorder, while the privy-council was sitting, the lords escaped with their lives. Since that time the queen had brought forth a prince. She was reconciled to her husband, and had called home her brother and the lords that were of the reformed side. But though the queen had borne her son ten weeks before he wrote, yet all that while he was not baptised; for she intended to do it with pomp, and many masses in the great church, though the inhabitants of Edinburgh were resolved to hinder that. They apprehended she would bring over a force from France." He concludes with a prayer, not very evangelical, "that God would either convert or confound her." There are circumstances in this letter of some others killed with seignior David that I have found nowhere else.

Col.Num.91.

About the same time, Grindal wrote likewise a letter to Bullinger, which is also in the Collection; in which he thanks him for the letters he had written over concerning the controversy about the habits: he writes, "that it was not credible that a question about things of no moment should have raised so great a disturbance as this had done: many, both of the ministers and the people, were designing to withdraw from them, and to set up separate meetings; but most of them were now come to a better mind. He acknowledges their wise and good letters had contributed much towards that: yet some continued still in their former resolutions. It were an easy thing to reconcile them to the queen, if they could be brought to change their mind: but till that was done, it was not in their power to effect it. The bishops, upon their return, and before they were consecrated, had endeavoured all they could to get those things removed that gave occasion to the present dispute: but in that they could not prevail, neither with the queen nor with the parliament. So they upon consulting among themselves came to a resolution not to desert their churches for the sake of a few rites that were not unlawful, since the doctrine was entire and pure, in which they agreed in all things with them of Zurich. They saw the good effects of these their resolutions: and those unseasonable contentions about things indifferent did not edify, but tear the churches."

Collection, Number 92.

From their own affairs he turns to those of Scotland; where he writes, "things were in no good state. They still retained the profession of the truth; but the queen endeavoured by all means to extirpate it: she had lately ordered six or seven masses to be said every day in her chapel, and admitted all that pleased to come to them: whereas at first she was contented with one private mass, to which no Scotchman was admitted: and whereas it was provided that the ministers should be maintained out of the revenues of the church, she had now for three years stopped all payments: there were no public changes yet made; both the nobility and the people continued very firm: of whom he reckons the earl of Murray the chief: he understood that the queen was in very ill terms with her husband on this account: there was one David, an Italian, recommended to her by the cardinal of Lorraine, who governed all the councils there, and was secretary of state. The king, finding he had no regard to him, grew uneasy at it; and being young and rash, he entered into a conspiracy with some of the nobility and some of his court; so the Italian was dragged out of the queen's presence, notwithstanding her earnest intreaties to save him; and he was no

sooner out than many ran their daggers into him; so he was murdered without any cause declared. This horrid crime stuck deep in the queen's heart; so that, though she had borne a son to him, she could never forgive him."

The dismal fate of that unfortunate queen is so tender a point, that I will say nothing of it but in the words of others. There is a letter of Grindal's to Bullinger, dated the 21st of June, 1567. All in that letter which relates to this matter, is in the Collection; in which these words will be found:—"Scotland is fallen into new troubles: for their late king Henry, on the 10th of February, was found dead in a garden near his lodgings. It is not yet agreed how he died. Some say that a few barrels of gunpowder, being on design laid under the chamber in which he lay; these being kindled, the house was blown up, and so he was thrown out into that garden. Others say, that in the night he was dragged out of his chamber and strangled, and that then the house was blown up. The earl of Bothwell was generally thought the author of this murder: he also procured, by the authority of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, a divorce from his lawful wife: and on the 15th of May last, the queen had married him, and created him duke of Orkney. Almost all the nobility had left the court before this marriage, when they saw that no inquiry was made into the king's murder: they had a meeting at Stirling, where it appeared by clear evidences, that the murder was committed by Bothwell: so an army was brought together on design to seize on him, but he made his escape; and it was not then known whither he was gone. Some say the queen was besieged in a certain castle; and others say she was made a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, as having been conscious to the murder of her husband. But whatsoever may be in this, that infamous marriage must end tragically." With this he concludes that matter, promising him a more particular account, when the certainty of it was better understood.

Collection, Number 93.

To this I will add another relation that may be more certainly depended on. Cardinal Laurea, whom the pope had sent to be his nuncio in Scotland, may be supposed to have had the best information that he could procure from those of her party, and of her religion, and he would certainly have put the best face possible on that matter; especially after her tragical fate, which raised a universal disposition in all people to think as well of her as was possible; but chiefly among those of that religion, so that I know no relation of that affair that can be so certainly depended on (making still some allowances for the softenings of a partial writer), as that which we find in that cardinal's life, which was written by the abbot of Pignerol, and was printed at Bologna in the year 1599, in which he gives this account of this whole matter.

Pope Pius the Fifth sent Laurea to be his nuncio in Scotland, to assist and encourage the queen in her zeal: he sent by him 20,000 crowns to her as an earnest of further supplies; and wrote to her with his own hand, recommending his nuncio to her. The nuncio came to Paris in the dog-days, and brought him who writes his life along with him to be his secretary. He received letters from the queen of Scots by the hands of the archbishop of Glasgow, who was then her ambassador in France: by these she expressed her desires that he might come to Scotland as soon as might be; but wished him to delay coming till he should hear from her once more, that she might have all things prepared for his reception. He upon that wrote to her in a very vehement style, pressing her to zeal and fortitude of mind, in carrying on the restoring the catholic religion in her kingdom: with that he sent her over 4000 crowns, and sent one Edmund Hay, a jesuit, and a man of a cunning and penetrating temper, to be a secret assistant to her: in particular, he pressed her either to punish, or at least to disgrace, Lethington, who he believed set on all the tumults, and was a determined heretic, and a favourer of the earl of Murray.

Life of Queen Mary, printed at Rome, An. 1624.

Creighton has printed these letters. Pius the Fifth's letter bears date the 16th of June, 1566. In it "he recommends his nuncio to her confidence, who was then bishop of Mondovi (*Montis Regalis*), and promises all possible assistance to her in her design of bringing back her kingdom to the obedience of the holy see." Queen Mary's answer bears date the 9th of October that year, from Edinburgh: "She in it acknowledges the pope's favour and bounty to her: she adds some high expressions of her sense of the pope's zeal and piety, and promises to treat his nuncio with all respect and



JAMES STUART, EARL OF MURRAY.

REGENT OF SCOTLAND.

OB.1570.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION AT

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.

confidence. She tells him that she had borne a son; and that she had brought her nobility, though not without much difficulty, to consent that he should be publicly baptised after the manner of the catholic church. She promises to bring him up in that religion: and she hoped this should prove a good beginning of restoring the right use of the sacraments in her dominions." The pope seemed much pleased with this beginning of his pontificate; and in his answer on the 22nd of January following, "he congratulates the birth and baptism of her son, and prays that it may have a good effect."

Three months passed before Laurea had any intimation from the queen concerning his coming over: upon which he sent the bishop of Dumblane, who was then at Paris, with copious advices to that queen, and continued to press her very earnestly by his letters, to admit of his coming over: the substance of all which is set forth in his life: he tells us further, "That the queen held a convention of the estates, and had obtained two things of them, not without difficulty: the one was, that her child should be baptised according to the rites of the Roman church; and the other was, that the pope's nuncio should be admitted with due respect." Upon this the nuncio designed to go to Antwerp, thinking that the navigation would be safer from thence than from Calais. But then he adds, "that such a barbarous and impious crime was committed in Scotland, that it gave a horror to think of it, much more to write of it." Of what follows in that life I will add a verbal translation.

"The king, as was said, had the small-pox, upon which, that the contagion might not endanger the queen, he retired to a house at some distance from the palace: as he began to recover, he was often visited by her: one day they supped together, and after much discourse, and that they had diverted themselves till it was late, the queen pretended she could not stay with him all night, for one of her maids of honour being married that day, she must, according to the custom of former queens, see the bride put to bed. She was scarce gone, when some gunpowder that was secretly laid under the house, was fired, so that the whole house was blown up, and the king killed: though some said that he was not blown up, but that hearing some noise of armed men, he had got out by a back door into a neighbouring garden; and that he and one of his servants were strangled before the house was blown up. It is certain that the king's dead body was found in that garden, with no other hurt but that about his neck a blackness appeared all round it. When this base murder was known, all people were struck with horror: some spoke severely of the queen herself; libels were published upon it; and some having discovered that Bothwell was the author of this horrid murder, they charged him, as being not only an assassinate, but a cruel hangman: it being on such occasions ordinary for people to search into and to discover such things.

"Bothwell, though a heretic, had been always zealous for the queen, and faithful to her; and he had lately with great courage rescued her out of a danger she was in, from a very great sedition: besides, that the queen loved him desperately; therefore, he in hope to be married to the queen, first divorced his wife, as if upon adultery that might be so done, that he might marry another wife, and then he cruelly contrived the murdering the king. The queen, after she had borne down some very wicked reports concerning herself, and Bothwell being afraid of some tumult that might have been fatal to them, thought fit to leave Edinburgh. So she carried her son with her to Stirling, a place of defence: having laid (as is probable) a design with Bothwell how matters were to be managed. A few days after she pretended to go out a hunting; then Bothwell with two hundred horse seemed to surprise her, and to seize her by force. But the queen coming back with him to the castle, presently made him duke of Orkney, and declared him her husband. That marriage did neither prove happy nor lasting: it being a conjunction that had nothing of the matrimonial dignity in it, but had sprung from a partnership in an unworthy crime. Murray was then out of Scotland, but he had left Lethington among others behind him, who were to raise new quarrels and tumults upon every occasion. It was easy to Lethington to work up the minds of the people, who were universally enraged against the queen and Bothwell to a great flame: therefore a tumultuary army being in haste brought together at Edinburgh, they marched towards Stirling. But when the queen heard that, she, with a few women,

and some of her court, went to them. They received her with due respect: and being asked why they came thither armed, they answered, they came only to punish Bothwell for the crimes committed by him, both in the base and cruel murder of the king, and in the force he had put on her person. The queen justified Bothwell, and said, he had done nothing but by her consent: this did provoke them to such a degree of indignation, that they cried all out with one voice, 'Then, madam, you shall be our prisoner:' and without more delay, they imprisoned her in a castle within an island in Lochlevin; appointing only one footman and two ordinary women to attend upon her."

Thus the pope's nuncio understood this matter. There are some inconsiderable circumstances in this relation wrong told; yet the main of the story, agreeing with other relations, shows how falsely this matter has been since that time represented, not only by writers in the church of Rome, but by many among ourselves, to put better colours on this odious business. To this (that I may end all this unhappy matter at once, without adding any reflections on it, or telling what were the censures that passed on this occasion,—of which I have a great variety on both sides by me, in books printed very near that time,) I shall only add another very important passage that is in the Life of that cardinal, relating to the testament which that queen wrote with her own hand in French the day before she was beheaded. In it "she expressed her constant zeal for the catholic religion; and provided, that if the prince, her son, did not renounce the false and heretical persuasion which he had drunk in, the inheritance of the crown of England should never descend to him, but should devolve from him to Philip, king of Spain. When this original will was brought to the cardinal, he examined it with great care, that so it might appear that it was truly her last will, and that it ought to be acknowledged as such. He compared it with the letters he had formerly received from that queen; and not only he himself, but one Lewis Owen, an Englishman (bishop of Casana), then at Rome, whom the writer calls a pious and a most honest man, signed and attested it. The will being thus confirmed, and as it were fortified by a public authority, he delivered it to the count of Olivares, the king of Spain's ambassador, that it might be faithfully transmitted to that king himself." I have put the words of the author of that Life in the language in which he wrote it in the Collection, so that the reader may compare the translation I have given with the original. I leave this dismal relation as I found it in these vouchers, without any further canvassing of that black affair, which was followed by a train of very extraordinary transactions.

P. 72.

Col. Num. 94.

The Scottish nation, both papists and protestants, concurred in the new settlement, of which I shall give a particular account from an authentic proof lately found in Scotland, and now kept in the library of the college of Glasgow. It is the first bond of association that was entered into, upon the resignation of the crown, which the queen was prevailed on to make (by force, as she afterwards declared, when she made her escape out of the prison with which she was threatened). She sent it by the lord Lindsay (ancestor to the earl of Crawford) and the lord Ruthven, afterwards made earl of Gowrie. This bears date, at Edinburgh, the 24th of July, 1567. By it she resigned the crown to her son; and, during his infancy, she named the earl of Murray to be regent, who was then in France, and did not come to Scotland,—at least he did not sign this bond before the 22nd of August. But in the council-book, on the 25th of July, the bond itself is entered on record. And the council removing to Stirling on the 29th of July, the queen's resignation was presented, and received by the earls of Morton, Athol, Glencairn, Mar, Monteith, the master of Graham, the lord Home, and the bishop of Orkney, in the name of the three estates. And the earl of Morton taking the coronation-oath in the name of the prince, he was anointed and crowned by the bishop of Orkney, who did indeed little honour to this ceremony; for he, a few days before, had performed the nuptial ceremonies between the queen and the earl of Bothwell. Upon all this, the bond (which is in the Collection) was made to this purpose: "That whereas the queen being weary of the pains and travail of government, and desiring that in her lifetime her son might be placed in the kingdom, and be obeyed by all her subjects, had resigned the crown in favour of her son; they therefore promised, and bound themselves, to assist their king in setting him on the throne, and putting the crown on his head; and

Col. Num. 95.



# JAMES DOUGLAS, EARL OF MORTON.

OB. 1581

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF MORTON.

that they should give their oaths of homage, with all dutiful obedience to him, as became true subjects; and should concur in establishing him in his kingdom, and resist all such as should oppose it."

This was made up in some sheets of vellum; and there are above two hundred hands of the most eminent families of that kingdom set to that bond. Twenty-five of these were then earls and lords; and there are fifteen others, whose families are since that time advanced to be of the nobility. The noblemen are, the earl of Murray (who signs James, regent), the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Errol, Buchan; the lords Graham, Home, Ruthven, Sanquhar, Glamis, Lindsay, Carlisle, Borthwick, Innermaith, Ochiltry, Sempil, Methven, Cathcart, Grey, Ross, Lovat, and the master of Montrose; for earls' sons were then so designed. The noble families whose ancestors signed this bond are, Buccleugh, Queensberry, Athol, Roxburgh, Annandale, Galloway, Findlater, Panmure, Dalhousie, Leven, Stair, Kenmore, Jedburgh, Cranston, Kircudbright.

Besides those who subscribed the first bond, there was a second bond (that is likewise in the Collection) entered into in April 1569, "by which they did not only acknowledge the king's authority, but likewise (during the king's minority) the authority of the earl of Murray as regent, renouncing all other authority. And they swear to observe this bond; in which if they failed, they are contented to be counted false, perjured, and defamed for ever." This, besides many of those who signed the former bond, was signed by the earls of Crawford and Cassilis, and the lords Salton, Ogilby, Oliphant, and the ancestors of the earls of Seaforth and Southesk, and of the lord Duffus. And in a subsequent bond, signed by the earl of Morton when he was regent, there are five other lords who signed it: the earl of Angus, ancestor to the duke of Douglas; the lords Levingston, Drummond, Boyd, and Hoy of Yester, the ancestors of the earls of Linlithgow, Perth, and Kilmarnock, and of the marquis of Tweedale.

Col. Num. 96.

These were for the greatest part protestants; but there were many papists that joined with them. The earl of Huntley, ancestor to the present duke of Gordon, was the head of the popish party. The earl of Athol, whose name was Stuart, and whose family is since extinct in the male line, protested against the Reformation in parliament, and had assisted at the baptism of the young king in the popish manner. And besides these, the lords Oliphant, Gray, Sempil, Maxwell, and Borthwick, were still papists. Thus, as the war against the queen-regent (eight years before) was engaged in on national grounds, this great revolution of that kingdom seems to have proceeded, as to the civil part, upon the same principles. So that whatsoever was done in this matter, was done, not upon the grounds of the Reformation, but upon national grounds, and pretended precedents, and laws: in all which the queen of England had secretly a great hand, how much soever it was disguised or denied.

Papists joined with Protestants.

The interest of state was clearly of her side; for the house of Guise, that began to form great projects in France, laid a main part of their scheme in the design of advancing the unfortunate queen of Scotland to the crown of England; and in the view of that succession, many plots were formed to destroy that glorious queen. They also practised upon the king, her son, as soon as he was capable of being wrought on, by the duke of Lennox and others, whom they employed about him to keep him in a dependence on them. They assured him he should still be king of Scotland; their design being, that if their practices against queen Elizabeth had succeeded, his mother should have left Scotland to him when she was advanced to the crown of England. They did likewise engage him to continue unmarried; though he, being the only person of his family, it was otherwise very reasonable to marry him soon: yet they durst not venture on a popish match till their great design on the crown of France had succeeded; and they would by no means suffer him to marry into a protestant family.

The Reasons that moved Queen Elizabeth to be jealous of the King of Scotland.

They kept him so much in their management, that the queen of England, and her wise council, understanding all this practice, raised those jealousies of his religion, and made such discoveries of that secret correspondence he was in with the house of Guise, that to this all the troubles that the kirk gave him were chiefly owing. The leaders among them knew, from the intelligence sent them by the court of England, more than

The effects that this had.

they thought fit to own, or than could be well proved. This was the true cause of all that peevish opposition that he met with from the ministers there, which is copiously set forth by archbishop Spotswood; but either he knew not, or did not think fit to set that out as the effect of the jealousy raised by the court of England, on the account of the confidence in which he was engaged with the house of Guise.

But as these practices had a fatal conclusion with relation to the unfortunate queen Mary after her long imprisonment, so when upon the murder of the duke of Guise, and the successes in the beginning of Henry the Fourth of France's reign, all those projects of that ambitious and persecuting house were at an end, the king of Scotland married to a daughter of Denmark, and continued still after that in a confidence with the queen of England, which secured to him the succession to that crown.

In giving this short view, which I thought important, and in which I was instructed by many papers that I have seen, I have run a great way beyond my design, which was only to open the first settlement of the Reformation in the isle of Great Britain, now happily by her late majesty united into one kingdom: so that nothing remains to be written in pursuance of that. Only, since upon some public occasions, I have referred to a declaration of queen Elizabeth's (by which she owned and justified the assistance that she gave to the subjects, both of Scotland and in the Netherlands, in the necessary defence to which the illegal cruelty of their governors forced them), and since I have been challenged to publish it, not without insinuations that it was a forgery, I have thought it proper to conclude my collection of records with that declaration, that so a paper of such importance may be preserved, and may be more generally read. Col.Num.97.

I now conclude this work, in which, as I have faithfully set out everything according to the materials and vouchers with which I was furnished, so I have used all proper means to procure the best information that I could. It remains, that I leave this to posterity, as the authentic history of a series of great transactions, honestly (though often feebly) conducted, with good intentions and happy beginnings, though not carried on to the perfection that was designed and wished for. The Conclusion.

The proviso that had passed in king Henry the Eighth's time, that continued all the canon law then received in England, till a code of ecclesiastical laws was prepared, which though attempted and well composed, was never settled, has fixed among us many gross abuses, besides the dilatory forms of those courts, which make all proceedings in them both slow and chargeable. This has in a great measure enervated all church discipline. A faint wish, that is read on Ash-Wednesday, intimates a desire of reviving the ancient discipline; yet no progress has been made to render that more effectual.

The exemptions settled by the papal authority do put many parts of this church in a very disjointed state; while in some places the laity, and in many others presbyters, exercise episcopal jurisdiction independent on their bishops, in contradiction to their principles, while they assert a divine right for settling the government of the church in bishops, and yet practise episcopal authority in the virtue of an act of parliament, that provisionally confirmed those papal invasions of the episcopal power, which is plainly that which by a modern name is called Erastianism, and is so severely censured by some who yet practise it; since whatsoever is done under the pretence of law against the divine appointment, can go under no better name than the highest and worst degree of Erastianism.

The abbots, with the devouring monasteries, had swallowed up a great part of that which was the true patrimony of the church: these houses being suppressed, unlimited grants were made of their lands, without reserved provisions for the subsistence of those who were to serve at the altar; this has put a great part of our clergy under crying necessities; and though the noble bounty of the late queen has settled funds for their relief, the good effect of that comes on but slowly: yet it is some comfort to think that within an age there will be an ample provision for all that serve in the church; and upon that prospect we may hope that many abuses will be then quite abolished.

But with all these defects, we must rejoice in this, that our doctrine is pure and uncorrupted; that our worship is truly a reasonable service, freed from idolatry and superstition; and that the main lines of our church government agree to the first constitution of the



churches by the apostles: so that upon the grounds laid down by St. John, all may hold fellowship with us, since we hold fellowship with the Father, and with the Son, Jesus Christ.

May we all adhere firmly to the doctrine of the apostles, and continue in their fellowship, in sacraments and prayers, suitably to the rules laid down by them: contending earnestly for the faith delivered by them to the saints, the first Christians: and may all "who believe in God, be careful to maintain good works for necessary uses, which are both good and profitable unto men; avoiding foolish questions and contentions, for they are unprofitable and vain."

May we all continue to recommend our doctrine and church by a holy and exemplary deportment, "shining as lights, and walking worthy of God, who has called us to his kingdom and glory;" improving all the advantages that we have, and bearing with all the defects that we labour under, using our best endeavours to have them redressed; yet still keeping the "unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace;" waiting for such a glorious conjuncture as may restore everything among us to a primitive purity and splendour: which God may perhaps grant to the prayers of those who call on him night and day for it.

But if we never see so happy a time upon earth, we know if we continue watchful and "faithful to the death," we shall arrive at last at a blessed society, of "innumerable companies of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect; of whom is composed the general assembly and church of the first born, who are written in heaven, who see and enjoy God for ever." In the view of directing myself and others thither, I have written, and now I do conclude this work.

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OF THE

# MATTERS COMPRISED IN THE FOREGOING HISTORY.

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# A COLLECTION OF RECORDS

AND

# ORIGINAL PAPERS;

WITH

OTHER INSTRUMENTS REFERRED TO IN THE FIRST PART OF THE FORMER HISTORY.

# A COLLECTION OF RECORDS.

## AD LIBRUM PRIMUM.

I.—*The Record of Cardinal Adrian's Oath of Fidelity to Henry VII. for the Bishopric of Bath and Wells.*

[Tre. Rolls.]

Henricus Rex, &c. Reverend. in Christo Patri Domino Sylvestro Episcop. Wigorn. venerabili viro Domino Roberto Sherbourn Ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli London. decano, nostris in Romana curia oratoribus, ac Magistro Hugoni Yowng Sacræ Theologiæ Professori, salutem. Cum omnes et singuli Archiepiscopi et Episcopi hujus nostri Inclyti Regni, quorum omnium nominationes, et promotiones, ad ipsas supremas dignitates, nobis attinent ex regali et peculiari quadam Prærogativa, jureq; municipali, ac inveterata consuetudine, hactenus in hoc nostro Regno inconcusse et inviolabiliter observata, teneantur et astringantur, statim et immediate post impetratas Bullas Apostolicas, super eorundem promotione ad ipsam nostram nominationem, coram nobis et in præsentia nostra, si in hoc Regno nostro fuerunt, vel coram Commissariis nostris, ad hoc sufficienter et legittime deputatis, si alibi moram traxerunt, non solum palam, publice, et expresse, totaliter cedere, et in manus nostras renunciare omnibus, et quibuscunq; verbis, clausulis, et sententiis in ipsis Bullis Apostolicis contentis, et descriptis, quæ sunt, vel quovis modo in futurum esse poterunt, præjudicialia, sive damnosa, nobis, hæredibusq; de corpore nostro legittime procreatis Angliæ regibus, Coronæ aut Regno nostro, juribus vel consuetudinibus aut Prærogativis ejusdem Regni nostri, et quoad hoc totaliter seipsos submittere et ponere in nostra bona venia et gratia; sed etiam juramentum fidelitatis et homagii ad Sancta Dei Evangelia, per eosdem respective corporaliter tacta, nobis facere et præstare: Cumq; nos ob præclara merita eximiasq; virtutes quibus Reverendissimum in Christo Patrem, Dominum Adrianum tituli Sancti Chrisogoni Presbyterum Cardinalem, abunde refertum conspicimus, obq; diuturnum et fidele obsequium per ipsum Cardinalem nobis factum et impensum, eundem ad Ecclesias Bathon. et Wellen. invicem unitas nominavimus et promovimus, qui idcirco et ob id quod in curia Romana continue moram trahit, non potest commode hujusmodi renunciationem et juramentum coram nobis personaliter facere et præstare: Hinc est quod nos de fidelitatibus vestris et provida circumspectione, ad plenum confidentes, dedimus, et concessimus, ac per præsentes damus et concedimus, vobis, tribus aut duobus vestrum, quorum præfatum Episcopum Wigorn. unicum esse volumus, plenam potestatem et autoritatem, vice et nomine nostris, hujusmodi renunciationem in manus vestras, et juramentum ad Sancta Dei Evangelia corporaliter tacta, juxta formam et verum tenorem, de verbo in verbum inferius descriptum, ab eodem Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali recipiendi, exigendi, et cum effectu præstari videndi; ipsumq; Cardinalem, ut hujusmodi renunciationem et juramentum per ipsum sic ut permittatis fiendum, et præstandum, manu et subscriptione suis signet, et muniat, requirendi, et ut ita fiat cum effectu videndi, literas quoq; et instrumenta publica super hujusmodi renunciatione, et juramento fieri petendi, et notarium sive notarios publicos, unum vel plures, ut ipsa instrumenta conficiant; Necnon testes qui tunc præsentes erunt, ut veritati testimonium perhibeant rogandi et requirendi, ipsaq; juramentum vel instrumenta taliter fienda, verum ordinem rei gerendæ, et renunciationis ac juramenti tenores in se continens vel continentia, nobis destinandi et transmittendi; Et generaliter omnia et singula faciendi, gerendi, et exercendi, quæ in prædictis et quolibet prædictorum necessaria fuerint, seu quomodolibet opportuna, ac quæ rei qualitas exigit et requirit, et quæ nosipsi facere et exercere possemus si præsens et personaliter interessemus, etiàm si talia forent quæ de se mandatum exigant magis speciale. Tenor Renunciationis sequitur et est talis: Ego Adrianus miseratione divina tituli Sancti Chrisogoni Presbyt. Cardinalis Episcopus Bathon. et Wellen. coram vobis Reverendo Patre Episcopo Wigorn. Domino Roberto Sherborno decano Sancti Pauli London. et Hugone Yowng in Theologia Professore, Commissariis ad hoc a serenissimo atq; excellentissimo Principe Domino Henrico Dei Gratia Rege Angliæ, et Franciæ, et Domino Hiberniæ, ejus nominis septimo, Domino meo supremo, sufficienter et legittime deputatis, expresse renuncio, et in his scriptis manu et sigillo meis in præsentia notariorum et testium subscriptorum munitis, totaliter cedo omnibus et quibuscunq; verbis, clausulis et sententiis, in bullis Apostolicis mihi factis de prædict. Episcopat. Bathon. et Wellen. contentis et descriptis, quæ sunt vel quovismodo in futurū esse poterint præjudicialia sive damnosa præfato serenissimo Regi, Domino meo supremo, et hæredibus suis de corpore suo legittime procreatis Angl. Regibus, Coronæ aut Regno, sive Majestatis Juribus vel consuetudinibus, aut Prærogativis ejusdem Regni: et quoad hoc me integraliter submitto et pono in gratia suæ Celsitudinis, humillime supplicans suam Majestatem, dignetur mihi concedere temporalia dicti Episcopatus Bathon. et Wellen. quæ recognosco tenere a sua Majestate tanquam a Domino meo Supremo. Tenor Juramenti sequitur et est talis: Et ego idem Adrianus Cardinalis prædictus Juro ad hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia per me corporaliter tacta, quod ab hac

die et in antea, vita mea naturali durante, ero fidelis et verus ligens, ac fidelitatem in ligencia mea pure et sincere servabo, fideleq; et verum obsequium secundum optimum posse meum faciam et impendam serenissimo Principi Henrico ejus nominis septimo, Dei Gratia Angl. et Fran. Regi ac Domino Hiber. Domino meo supremo, et hæredibus suis de corpore suo legittime procreatis Angl. Regibus, contra quascunq; personas, cujuscunq; status, gradus, præeminentiæ aut conditionis extiterint: nec quicquam faciam aut attemptabo fieri, ne aut attemptari consentiam, quod in damnum, incommodum, aut præjudicium, ipsius serenissimi Regis aut hæredum suorum prædictorum, jurium, libertatum, Prærogativarum, privilegiorum et consuetudinum sui incliti Regni, quovis modo cedere poterit; sed omne id quod jam scio, vel imposterum cognoscam inhonorabile, damnosum aut præjudiciale, suæ Serenitati, aut Regno suo, seu contrarium honori aut Serenitati suæ Majestatis, aut hæredum suorum prædictorum, non solum impediam ad extremum potentiæ meæ, sed etiam cum omni possibili diligentia id ostendam et significabo, ostendive aut significari faciam eidem serenissimo Regi, omni favore, metu, promisso aut Jurejurando cuicunq; personæ aut quibuscunq; personis cujuscunq; status, gradus, ordinis præeminentiæ conditionisve extiterunt, quod antehac per me factū aut interpositū seu imposterum fiendū aut interponendū, penitus sublato et non obstantibus. Honorem insuper suæ Majestati ad extremum potentiæ meæ servabo, Parliamentis quoq; et aliis Consiliis suæ Celsitudinis cum in ejus Regno fuero diligenter attendam; Consilium quod sua Serenitas per se ceu literas aut nuncium suum mihi manifestabit, nemini pandam, nisi iis quibus ipse jusserit: et si consilium meum super aliquo facto Majestas sua postulaverit, fideliter sibi consulam, et quod magis suæ Serenitati videbitur expedire, et conducere juxta opinionem et scire meum, dicam et aperiam, atque id si sua Serenitas mandaverit pro posse meo diligenter faciam. Causas insuper et negotia omnia suæ Serenitatis mihi commissa, seu imposterum committenda, in Curia Romana prosequenda, pertractanda et solicitanda, fideliter, accurate et diligenter, cum omnimoda dexteritate prosequar, pertractabo et solicitabo: Bullasq; et alias Literas Apostolicas validas et efficaces, in debita Juris forma, super eisdem causis et negotiis impetrare et obtinere absq; fraude, dolo aut sinistra quavis machinatione quantum in me erit, cum omni effectu enitar, operam dabo et conabor: ac easdem taliter expeditas, cum ea quam res expostulat diligentia, suæ Serenitati, transmittam aut per alios transmitti, tradi et liberari curabo, et faciam. Servitia quoq; et homagia pro temporalibus dicti Episcopatus, quæ recognosco tenere a sua Celsitudine tanquam a Domino meo supremo, fideliter faciam et implebo. Ita me Deus adjuvet et hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia. In cujus, &c. T. R. apud Westm. 13 die Octob.

Per ipsum Regem.

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II.—*Pope Julius's Letter to Archbishop Warham for giving K. Henry VIII. the Golden Rose.*

[Registrum Warhami Fol. 26.]

Julius Secundus Papa venerabili Fratri Guilielmo Archiepiscop. Cantuarien.

Venerabilis Frater, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Charissimum in Christo Filium nostrum Henricum Angliæ Regem Illustrissimum, quem peculiari charitate complectimur, aliquo insigni Apostolico munere in hoc Regni sui primordio, decorandum putantes, mittimus nunc ad eum Rosam Auream, Sancto Chrismate delibutam, et odorifero Musco aspersam, nostrisq; manibus de more Romanorum Pontificum benedictam, quam ei a tua Fraternitate inter Missarum solemnia per te celebranda, cum cæremoniis in notula al igata contentis, dari volumus nostra et Apostolica benedictione. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris 5 April, 1510. Pontificatus nostri Anno septimo.

Sigismundus.

*The Note of the Ceremonies of delivering the Rose, referred to in the Letter, was not thought worthy to be put in the Register.*

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III.—*A Writ for Summoning Convocations.*

[Tonst. Regist. Fol. 33.]

Rex, &c. Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Cantuarien. Archiepis. totius Angliæ Primati et Apostolicæ sedis Legato, salutem. Quibusdam arduis et urgentibus negotiis, Nos, defensionem et securitatem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem, tranquillitatem, et bonum publicum, et defensionem Regni nostri et subditorum nostrorum ejusdem concernentibus, vobis in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini rogando mandamus, quatenus præmissis debito intuitu attentis et ponderatis, universos et singulos Episcopos vestræ Provinciæ, ac Decanos et Priores Ecclesiarum Cathedralium, Abbates, Priores et alios Electivos, exemptos et non exemptos, necnon Archidiaconos, Conventus, Capitula, et Collegia, totumq; Clerum, cujuslibet Dioceseos ejusdem Provinciæ, ad conveniendum coram vobis in Ecclesia Sancti Pauli London. vel alibi prout melius expedire videritis, cum omni celeritate accommoda, modo debito convocari faciatis ad tractandum, consentiendum, et concludendum super præmissis, et aliis quæ sibi clarius proponentur, tunc et ibidem ex parte nostra. Et hoc, sicut Nos et statum Regni nostri, et honorem et utilitatem Ecclesiæ prædictæ diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teste meipso, &c. apud Westminst., 6 Feb., Anno Regni 14.

*Warham in his Writ of executing this Summons, prefixes the 20th of April for the day of their meeting.*

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IV.—*A Writ for a Convocation summoned by Warham on an Ecclesiastical account.*

[Regist. Fitz-Williams.]

Willielmus permissione divina Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, venerabili confratri nostro Domino Ricardo Dei Gratia London. Episcopo, salutem et fraternam in Domino caritatem. Cum nuper Ecclesia Anglicana, quæ majorum nostrorum temporibus, multis ac magnis libertatibus et immunitatibus gaudere solebat, quorundam iniquorum hominum malitiis, et nequitiis fortiter fuerit inquietata et perturbata, qui omnia quæ a majoribus nostris sancte et pie, ob tranquillitatem dictæ Ecclesiæ, fuerunt ordinata ac sancita, vel prava et sinistra interpretatione prope subvertentes, vel personas Ecclesiasticas male tractantes, ac eas contemptui habentes, dictam Ecclesiam pene prostraverunt ac pedibus conculcarunt: Ne igitur dicta Ecclesia Anglicana ad calamitatem insignem seu ruinam ac jacturam, et quod absit, desolationem perveniat, quas diu eadem Ecclesia Anglicana per diversas personas, ut præfertur præ oculis suis Deum non habentes, nec censuras Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ timentes, sustinuit et sustinebat, prout de verisimili Reformatione non habita in futurum sustinere debeat; Nos prout tenemur, congruum remedium in hac parte providere cupientes, et ob id ipsum Prælatos et Clerum nostræ Cantuar. Provinciæ convocare volentes; Fraternitati vestræ igitur committimus et mandamus, quatenus omnes et singulos



dictæ nostræ Cant. Ecclesiæ Suffraganeos infra nostram Provinciam constitutos, et absentium Episcoporum si qui fuerunt Vicarios in Spiritualibus generales, ac Diocesium vacantium Custodes Spiritualitatis, et Officiales citetis seu citari faciatis, peremptorie, et per eos Decanos et Priores Ecclesiarum Cath. ac singula Capitula eorundum, Archidiaconos, Abbates et Priores, Conventus sub se habentes, et alios Ecclesiarum Prælatos exemptos, et non exemptos, Clerumq; cujuslibet Dioceseos Provinciæ nostræ antedictæ, citari peremptorie et præmoneri volumus et mandamus, Quod iidem Episcopi Suffraganei, nostri Vicarii Generales, Decani et Custodes sive Officiales, Abbates, Priores, Archidiaconi ac cæteri Ecclesiarum Prælati, exempti et non exempti, personaliter, et quodlibet Capitulum Ecclesiarum Cath. per unum de Capitulo graduatum, vel magis idoneum, dictiq; singuli Abbates, sive Priores, Conventus sub se habentes, nullo obstante impedimento legittimo, per unam Religiosam personam de Conventu graduatam si quæ sit, ceu alias per unam magis idoneam de eodem Conventu, Clerusq; cujuslibet Dioc. Provinciæ antedictæ per duos procuratores graduatos ejusdem Dioc. seu alias si non fuerunt, per duos sufficientiores et habiliores Dioc. in eorum Beneficiis realiter residentes, compareant coram nobis aut nostris in hac parte locumtenentibus, vel Commissariis si nos tunc (quod absit) impediri contigerit in Ecclesia Cathed. Sancti Pauli London. die Sabbat. viz. 26 mensis Januarii, &c. Dat. in Manerio nostro de Lambeth. primo die mensis Novembris Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo nono, et nostræ Translat. Anno sexto.

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V.—*The Preamble of the Act of Subsidy granted by the Clergy.*

[Anno Dom. 1523. Regist. Cuthberti Tonstall. Fol. 40.]

Quum Illustrissimus et Potentissimus Dominus noster Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Defensor Fidei et Dominus Hibern. semper extitit constantissimus Ecclesiæ Protector et Patronus optime meritus, atq; superioribus annis, in diebus fœlicis recordationis Julii ejus nominis Papæ secundi, grave schisma in Ecclesia Romana exortum pacavit et extinxit; et postea ipsam Ecclesiam Romanam contra vim et potentiam Gallorum, qui tunc Italiam et Urbem Romanam in servitutem redigere moliebantur, validissimo excercitu et bello longe omnium sumptuosissimo fæliciter defendit, et securam reddidit: Ac præterea postremis his diebus Lutheranas, Hæreses, in Ecclesiæ Sacramenta Ecclesiæq; statum furiose debaccantes doctissimo et nunquam satis laudato libello contudit et superavit; vicissim tam gladio quam calamo hostes Ecclesiæ strenuissime profligans, quibus meritis suam clarissimam famam immortali gloriæ pariter consecravit, tales laudes et gratias sua incomparabili bonitate ab Ecclesia promeruit, quales nunquam satis dignas quisquam mortaliū referre poterit sed Deus affatim persolvet præmia digna. Quumq; idem Rex noster et Protector illustrissimus a Rege Gallorum per Mare et per Terras, incolas hujus Regni contra percussum fœdus, promissam fidem, et suum ipsius salvum conductum assidue infestante, et Scotos contra Regnum hoc instigante ac suis stipendiis conducente, atq; ducem Albaniæ in perniciem principis Scotorum nostri Regis ex sorore Nepotis impellente, aliasq; injurias multas et graves contra Regiam Majestatem suosq; amicos et subditos quotidie multiplicante, provocatur, irritatur atq; urgetur ut bellum suscipiat, suumq; Regnum tam contra Gallos quam contra Scotos ut decet invictissimum Principem potenter defendat; non enim ultra pacem colere vel pacem longius expectare convenit postquam Rex Gallorum summum Pontificem bene moventem, et quæ pacis sunt suadentem, audire recusat, exercitum instruens et bellum apparans, fortassis in multos annos duraturum: dignissimum est ob præfata tam præclara facinora, ut sicut Rex noster illustrissimus plus cæteris Regibus antecessoribus suis pro Ecclesiæ defensione, utilitate et honore insudavit, et plus expensarum sustinuit; ita ad sustinenda bellorum onera imminentia, pro Ecclesiæ et totius Regni hujus defensione, per Ecclesiam tali subsidio adjuvetur quale anterioribus Regibus nunquam antehac concessum est, nec fortassis posterioribus Regibus unquam simile, nisi ob talia benefacta vel extremam bellorum necessitatem postea concedetur. Quocirca ut Regia Majestas ad fovendam et protegendam Ecclesiam, et Clerum Angliæ, magis indies animetur, et ut jura, libertates et privilegia Ecclesiæ concessa benigne Ecclesiæ servet, et ab aliis servari faciat, et ne præfata benefacta in ingratos contulisse videatur:

Nos Prælati et Clerus Cant. Provinciæ in hac Sacra Synodo Provinciali sive Prælatorum et Cleri ejusdem Convocatione, in Ecclesia Cathed. Divi Pauli London. vicesimo die mensis Aprilis Anno Dom. millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo tertio inchoata, ac usq; ad et in decimum quartum diem mensis Augusti proxime ex tunc sequentis de diebus in dies continuata, congregati, Illustrissimo Domino Regi perpetuo et potentissimo Fidei et Ecclesiæ defensori, subsidium dare et concedere Decrevimus, quam nostram Benevolentiam ut gratam et acceptam habeat humillime deprecamur, protestantes expresse, quod per præsentem concessionem, quam tanquam novam et ante insolitam pro nostra singulari et personali in Regiam Majestatem observantia sine exemplo donamus, omnino nolumus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ aut successoribus nostris in aliquo præjudicium generari, nec casum hunc singularem ad sequen. trahi: Quod si præsentem Concessionem pro exemplo et (ut vocant) pro Præsidente ad similes unquam Concessiones exigendas accipiendam fore præsentiremus, certe in eam omnino consentire recusassemus; quandoquidem subsidium sub modis, formis, conditionibus, exceptionibus ac provisionibus, et protestatione super et infrascriptis, et non alifer, neq; alio modo, Damus et Concedimus, viz. Subsidium se extendens ad Medietatem sive mediam partem valoris omnium fructuum reddituum, et proventuum, possessionum, unius anni, omnium et singulorum Episcopatuum, Ecclesiarum Cathed. et Collegiatarum, Dignitatum, Hospitalium, Monast. Abbaciarum, Prioratuum aliarumq; domorum Religiosarum, necnon quorumcunq; beneficiorum et Possessionum Ecclesiasticarum, &c.

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VI.—*Bishop Tonstall's Licence to Sir Thomas More for reading Heretical Books.*

[Regist. Tonst. Fol. 138.]

Cuthbertus permissione Divina London. Episcopus Clarissimo et Egregio viro Domino Thomæ More fratri et amico Charissimo Salutem in Domino et benedict. Quia nuper, postquam Ecclesia Dei per Germaniam ab hæreticis infestata est, juncti sunt nonnulli iniquitatis Filii, qui veterem et damnatam hæresim Wyckliffianam et Lutherianam, etiam hæresis Wyckliffianæ alumni transferendis in nostratem vernaculam linguam corruptissimis quibuscunq; eorum opusculis, atque illis ipsis magna copia impressis, in hanc nostram Regionem inducere conantur; quam sane pestilentissimis dogmatibus Catholicæ fidei veritati repugnantibus maculare atq; inficere magnis conatibus moliuntur. Magnopere igitur verendum est ne Catholica veritas in totum periclitetur nisi boni et eruditi viri malignitati tam prædictorum hominum strenue occurrant, id quod

nulla ratione melius et aptius fieri poterit, quam si in lingua Catholica veritas in totum expugnans hæc insana dogmata simul etiam ipsissima prodeat in lucem. Quo fiet ut Sacrarum Literarum imperiti homines in manus sumentes novos istos Hæreticos Libros, atq; una etiam Catholicos ipsos refellentes, vel ipsi per se verum discernere, vel ab aliis quorum perspicacius est judicium recte admoneri et doceri possint. Et quia tu, Frater Clarissime, in lingua nostra vernacula, sicut etiam in Latina, Demosthenem quendam præstare potes, et Catholicæ veritatis assertor acerrimus in omni congressu esse soles, melius subcisivas horas, si quas tuis occupationibus suffurari potes, collocare nunquam poteris, quam in nostrate lingua aliqua edas quæ simplicibus et ideotis hominibus subdolam hæreticorum malignitatem aperiant, ac contra tam impios Ecclesiæ supplantatores reddant eos instructiores: habes ad id exemplum quod imiteris præclarissimum, illustrissimi Domini nostri Regis Henrici octavi, qui Sacramenta Ecclesiæ contra Lutherum totis viribus ea subvertentē asserere aggressus, immortale nomen Defensoris Ecclesiæ in omne ævum promeruit. Et ne Andabatarum more cum ejusmodi larvis lucteris, ignorans ipse quod oppugnes, mitto ad te insanas in nostrate lingua istorū nænias, atque una etiam nonnullos Lutheri Libros ex quibus hæc opinionū monstra prodierunt. Quibus abs te diligenter perlectis, facilius intelligas quibus latibulis tortuosi serpentes sese condant, quibusq; anfractibus elabi deprehensi studeant. Magni enim ad victoriam momenti est hostium Consilia explorata habere, et quid sentiant quove tendant penitus nosse: nam si convellere pares quæ isti se non sensisse dicent, in totum perdas operam. Macte igitur virtute, tam sanctum opus aggredere, quo et Dei Ecclesiæ prosis, et tibi immortale nomen atq; æternam in Cœlis gloriam pares: quod ut facias atque Dei Ecclesiam tuo patrocinio munias, magnopere in Domino obsecramus, atq; ad illum finem ejusmodi libros et retinendi et legendi facultatem atq; licentiam impertimur et concedimus. Dat. 7 die Martii, Anno 1527 et nostræ Cons. sexto.

## AD LIBRUM SECUNDUM.

### I.—*The Bull for the King's Marriage with Queen Katherine.*

[Cott. Libr. Vitel. B. 12.]

Julius Episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilecto Filio Henrico carissimi in Christo Filii Henrici Angliæ Regis illustriss. Nato, et dilectæ in Christo Filiæ Catharinæ, Carissimi in Christo Filii nostri Ferdinandi Regis, ac Carissimæ in Christo Filiæ nostræ Elizabeth. Reginæ Hispaniarum et Siciliæ Catholicorum natæ, illustribus, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens Autoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout personarum, negotiorum et temporum qualitate pensata, id in Domino conspicit salubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, Quod cum alias tu Filia Catharina, et tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus, Carissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustrissimi primogenitus, pro conservandis pacis et amicitiæ nexibus et fœderibus inter carissimum in Christo Filium nostrum Ferdinandum, et Carissimam in Christo Filiam nostram Elizabeth. Hispaniarum et Siciliæ Catholicos, ac præfatum Angliæ Reges et Reginam, matrimonium per verba legitime de præsenti contraxissetis, illudq; Carnali Copula forsan consummavissetis, Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujusmodi Matrimonio non suscepta decessit; Cum autem, sicut eadem petitio subjungebat, ad hoc ut hujusmodi vinclum Pacis et Amicitiæ inter præfatos Reges et Reginam diutius permaneat, cupiatis Matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præsenti contrahere, supplicari nobis fecistis, ut vobis in præmissis de opportunæ Dispensationis gratia providere de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur: Nos igitur, qui inter singulos Christi fideles, præsertim Catholicos Reges et Principes, Pacis et Concordiæ amænitatem vigere intensis desideriis affectamus, vosque et quemlibet vestrum a quibuscunque Excommunicationis, Suspensionis et Interdict. aliisque Ecclesiasticis Sententiis, Censuris, Pœnis, a jure vel ab homine, quavis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodati existitis, ad effectum præsentium duntaxat consequendum, harum serie absolventes, et absolutos fore censentes hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente, ac Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis cæterisq; contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, Matrimonium per verba legitime de præsenti inter vos contrahere, et in eo, postquam Contractum fuerit, etiamsi jam forsan hactenus de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis, ac illud Carnali Copula consummaveritis, licite remanere valeatis, Auctoritate Apostolica tenore præsentium de specialis dono Gratiæ Dispensamus; ac vos et quemlibet vestrorum si contraxeritis (ut præfertur) ab excessu hujusmodi, ac Excommunicationis Sententia quam propterea incurristis, eadem Auctoritate Absolvimus, Prolem ex hujusmodi Matrimonio, sive contracto, sive contrahendo, susceptam forsan vel suscipiendam legitimam decernendo. Proviso quod tu (Filia Catharina) propter hoc rapta non fueris; volumus autem quod si hujusmodi Matrimonium de facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos et quemlibet vestrum eligendus, pœnitentiam salutarem propterea vobis injungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ Absolutionis, Dispensationis et voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contrarie; si quis autem hoc attemptare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo tertio, septimo Cal. Januarii, Pontificatus nostri Anno primo.

### II.—*The King's Protestation against the Marriage.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 12.]

In Dei Nomine, Amen. Coram vobis Reverendo in Christo Patre et Domino, Domino Richardo Dei et Apostolicæ sedis gratia Episcopo Wintoniensi, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps, Dux Cornubiæ et Comes Cestriæ, dico, allego et in his Scriptis propono, Quod licet ego minorem ætatem agens, et intra annos pubertatis notorie existens, cum Serenissima Domina Katharina Hispaniarum Regis Filia, Matrimonium de facto contraxerim, qui quidem Contractus, quamvis obstante ipsa minore ætate mea de se jam invalidus, imperfectus, nullus efficaciæ aut vigoris extiterit; quia tamen annis pubertatis et matura ætate jam superveniente, Contractus ipse per tacitum Consensum, mutuam cohabitationem, munerum aut intersignium dationem seu receptionem, vel alium quemcunq; modum jure declaratum, forsan existimari seu videri poterit apparenter validatus aut confirmatus; Eapropter, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps prædictus, jam proximus pubertati existens, et annos pubertatis attingens, Protestor, quod non intendo eundem prætensum contractum per quæcunq; per me dicta seu dicenda, facta aut facienda, in aliquo approbare, validare, seu ratum habere, sed nunc in præsenti, non vi, dolo, nec prece inductus, sed sponte et libere, nullo modo coactus, contra hujusmodi Contractum reclamo, et eidem dissentio, voloq; et omnino intendo ab eodem contractu Matrimoniali prætenso, melioribus modo et forma, quibus de jure melius, validius, aut efficacius potero vel possim, penitus resilire, et eidem expresse dissentire, prout in præsenti contra eundem reclamo, et eidem dissentio. Protestorq; quod per nullum dictum, factum, actum, aut gestum per me, aut nomine meo per alium quemcunque, quandocunq; aut qualemcunque, imposterum faciendum, agendum, gerendum, aut explicandum, volo aut intendo in præfatum contractum Matrimonialem, aut in dictam Dominam Catharinam tanquam Sponsam aut Uxorem meam consentire. Super quibus vos omnes testimonium perhibere volo, requiro, rogo, atque obtestor.

Per me Henricum Walliæ Principem.



Lecta fuit et facta suprascripta Protestatio, per præfatum Serenissimum Principem Dominum Henricum, coram Reverendo in Christo Patre et Domino, Domino Richardo permissione Divina Winton. Episcopo, Judicialiter pro tribunali sedent. et me Notarium infra scriptum ad tunc præsentem in ejus Actorum Scribam in hac parte assumente, et Testium infrascriptorum præsentiis. Anno Dom. 1505. Indictione octava, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri Julii, Divina Providentia eo nomine Papæ secundi Anno secundo, Mensis vero Junii die 27; quo die Dominus Serenissimus Princeps proximus pubertati, et annos pubertatis attingens erat, ut tunc ibidem asserebat, in quadam bassa Camera infra Palatium Regium Richemondiæ, in parte occidentali ejusdem Palatii situat. Super quibus omnibus et singulis, præfatus Serenissimus Princeps me Notarium præmemoratum Instrumentum conficere, et testes infra nominatos testimonium perhibere requisivit instanter, et rogavit. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium, præfatus Serenissimus Princeps supra, et testes, ut præmittitur, rogati et requisiti, sua nomina propriis manibus infra scripserunt. Ita est ut supra, quod ego Joannes Raed manu et signo meo manuali Attestor.

Giles Daubney, C. Somerset.
Thomas Rowthale.
Nicholas West.
Henry Marny.

### III.—*Cardinal Wolsey's first Letter to Sir Gregory Cassali, about the Divorce. — Taken from the Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 9.]

Domine Gregori, Post meam cordatissimam Commendationem, post ultimum vestrum a me discessum ex compendio ad vos scripsi, ut ob nonnullas maximi momenti causas procurare differretis quod de Regiæ Majestatis negotio in quibusdam nobis traditis Commissionibus continebatur, quoad rursus vobis significarem quid ea in re fieri vellemus. Ubi vero ad Regiam Majestatem rediissem, variis crebrisq; cum ea habitis sermonibus, adeo abunde ac distincte illi aperui quam ex animo ac diligenter, et quam sincere et ex fide, diu noctuque exoptetis eidem Regiæ Majestati inservire; neque ullum unquam laborem, periculum aut molestiam vos velle recusare, ut omni studio ac viribus id fideliter præstare possitis quod illi gratum aut acceptum quoquo modo esse posse cognoveritis, omnemq; industriam vos esse adhibituros quo vestræ fidei curæque commissa optatum finem consequantur; quem vestrum animum propensissima voluntate sic sub mea fide Regiæ Majestati insinuavi, ut meam hanc relationem atque sponsionem pectori suo constantissime adfixerit, certissimaque fiducia concepit, omnino futurum ut nostræ tunc expectationi quacunque in re et occasione respondeatis: Ex quo fit ut vestræ operæ, curæ atque prudentiæ ea nunc tractanda et procuranda committat, quibus nihil magis cordi habeat, nihil ardentius exoptet, aut majoris sit momenti vel gravioris successus, nec ullum habet Consiliarium, utcunque intimum, cui graviora possit committere. Quum itaque, me intercedente et procurante, nunc vos Regia Majestas præ cæteris ad hoc fidei adsciverit et elegerit, ut in re tam gravi fidelissima vestra opera ac ministerio utatur, fidemque illi meam de vobis jam ei adstrinxerim, nihil ambigens quin postquam ejus animum ac voluntatem cognoveritis, fueritisque abunde instructi quam maximi hæc quæ nunc expono sunt momenti, utpote quæ potissimum concernunt Regiæ conscientiæ exonerationem animæque suæ salutem, vitæ conservationem et incolumitatem, Regii Stemmatis continuationem, publicumque commodum et quietem subditorum omnium, eorum pariter qui sub ejus imperio nunc vivunt vel qui postea unquam in hoc suo Regno vivent; quumque perspiciam sedulum vestrum Ministerium hoc in negotio impendendom omnino redundaturum esse in præcipuam vestram exaltationem et utilitatem, postquam infelices istos jam passos successus occasionem se obtulisse videtis, qua vestra familia hujusmodi operam huic Serenissimo Principi navare possit, quod statum omnem vestrum in longe meliorem quam antea sit haud dubie restituturus et adaucturus, certissimum compertissimumque habeo, quod ob has tam urgentes causas et tam graves successuros effectus, adeo toto pectore vires omnes vestras industria ac studio tantæ conficiendæ rei addicetis, ut omnia queatis ad optatum exitum perducere; atque ita promissum fidemque meam præstabitis, tam optimum Regiæ Majestatis institutum juvabitis, ejus desiderio et expectationi omni ex parte satisfacietis, et præter bene peractæ rei honorem et laudem comparandam, mercedem quoque reportabitis tanti Principis liberalitate dignam, quæ certissime cedet in perpetuum vestrum totiusque vestræ familiæ commodum et incrementum: Et quum jam mihi persuadeam futurum omnino ut officiis actionibusque vestris sitis promissis sponsionibusque meis omnino satisfacturi, ad id pluribus verbis neutiquam adhortabor, proinde ad rem nunc ipsam venio. Ante hoc tempus vobis aperui, quemadmodum Regia Majestas, partim assiduo suo studio et eruditione, partim relatu ac judicio multorum Theologorum, et in omni Doctrinæ genere doctorum virorum asseveratione, existimans conscientiam suam non esse sufficienter exoneratam, quod in conjugio existeret cum Regina, Deumque primo et ante omnia ac animæ suæ quietem et salutem respiciens, mox vero suæ Successionis securitatem, perpendensque accurate quam gravia hinc mala provenirent, aperte sentit quam maxime futurum sit Deo molestum, inhonorificum sibi, et ingratum apud homines, suisque subditis periculosum, ex hoc non sufficienti conjugio, si deprehendatur dicta Majestas sciens ac volens in eo perstare, et vivere præter modum debitum, juxtaque ritum et legitima Ecclesiæ Statuta: quibus igitur ex causis longo jam tempore, intimo suæ conscientiæ remorsu, summique Dei rationem habens, existimat animam suam læsam et offensam, adeo quod, quum in suis conatibus actionibusque quibuscunque Deum potissimum sibi semper proponat, ingenti cum molestia cordisque perturbatione in hoc Matrimonio degit; super qua re maturum sanumque judicium consuluit clarissimorum celeberrimorumq; Doctorum aliorumq; complurium in omni eruditionis genere excellentiorum virorum ac Prælatorum, partim Theologorum, partim Jurisperitorum, tum in suo Regno, tum alibi existentium, ut

aperte vereq; cognosceret, an Dispensatio antea concessa pro se et Regina, ex eo quod Regina Fratris sui uterini Uxor antea extiterit, valida et sufficiens foret, necne: demumq; a variis multisq; ex his Doctoribus asseritur, quod Papa non potest dispensare in primo gradu affinitatis, tanquam ex jure Divino, moraliter, naturaliterq; prohibito, ac si potest, omnes affirmant et consentiunt quod hoc non potest, nisi ex urgentissimis et ardius causis, quales non subfuerunt. Bulla præterea Dispensationis fundatur et concessa est sub quibusdam rationibus falso suggestis et enarratis, in ea namq; asseritur, quod hæc Regia Majestas Matrimonium hoc cum Regina percupiebat, pro bono pacis inter Henricum septimum Ferdinandū et Elizabetham, quum revera nulla tunc dissensio aut belli suspicio esset inter dictos Principes, vel Regiam Majestatem prædictam, quæ in teneris adhuc annis, nec in discretione aut judicio constitutis agebat; nunquam deinde assensit, aut quicquam cognovit de hujusmodi bullæ Impetratione, nec unquam hoc Matrimonium optavit, aut aliquid de eo accepit ante bullæ Impetrationem. Quocirca ab his omnibus Doctoribus atq; Prælatis judicatur hujusmodi Dispensationem non adeo validam et idoneam esse ac efficacem, ut prædictum Matrimonium manifeste justam legitimumq; sit: sed potius quod multa possunt objici, magnis probabilibusq; fundata et corroborata rationibus, in non leve periculum Regiæ prolis, totiusq; Regni ac subditorum gravem perturbationem. Adhæc, postquam Regia Majestas, qui Walliæ Princeps tunc erat, decimum quartum annum attigisset, contractus Revocatio subsequuta est, Rege Patre expresse nolente quod hujusmodi Matrimonium ullo pacto sortiretur effectum. His causis Rex hic Serenissimus, tanquam bonus et Catholicus Princeps, timens ne ob tam diuturnam cum Regina continuationem, indignatus et iratus Deus citius ex humanis evocaverit Masculam e Regina susceptam prolem, graviusq; a Deo supplicium expavescit si in Matrimonio hoc non-legitimo perseveraverit; ex hac ideo occasione, intimis præcordiis hunc Conscientiæ scrupulum concepit, in animo nihilominus habens, pro animi conscientiæq; suæ quiete et salute, prolisq; securitate, ad Sanctam Domini nostri sedemq; Apostolicam confugere, tantæ rei remedium impetraturus confidens, quod ob complura sua erga eam merita et officia tum calamo ingeniiq; viribus, tum armis præstita, subsidia in Ecclesiæ calamitatibus prompte subministrata, sanctissimus Dominus noster non gravabitur sua benignitate, Authoritate ac facultate, intimum hunc Regiæ Majestatis cordi inhærentem dolorem amovere, eumq; modum ac rationem inire qua Regia Majestas prædicta Uxorem aliam ducere, et, Deo volente, masculam prolem in suæ successionis securitatem queat ex ea suscipere, et tam certam quietem in suo Regno constituere: Quumq; ejus Sanctitas ab his nunc captiva detineatur, qui pro virili sua forsan conabuntur impedire, turbareq; hoc Regiæ Majestatis desiderium et Statutum, ipsa præterea cogitur vias omnes excogitare, quibus dicta Sanctitas de hac re dexterius et commodius instrui, et facilius adduci queat ad ea concedenda, quorū medio et vigore Regiæ Majestatis animus et desideriam queat optatum sortiri effectum: Proinde ipsa Regia Majestas de fide, industria, dexteritate prudentiaq; vestra plenissime confidens, vult ut statim his literis acceptis, rebus aliis omnibus quibuscunq; ab eo vel a quovis alio vobis commissis omnino posthabitis, vias modosq; omnes possibiles excogitetis quibus potestis secretissime, mutato habitu et tanquam alicujus Minister, vel tanquam Commissionem habens a Duce Ferrariæ pro nonnullis inter Pontificem et eum componendis controversiis, vel alia qua licuerit securiori via, ad Pontificis præsentiam et colloquium accedendi, omnibus arbitris semotis, si fieri possit, pro vestris obeundis mandatis; quorum obtinendorum gratia, si ita expedire judicaveritis, eam mercedem ac pecuniarum summam promittetis ac tradetis, his qui revera volent atq; poterunt hoc negotium ad effectum pertrahere, quam summam, et ejus limitationem, judicio, prudentiæque vestræ integram Regia Majestas remittit; etiam si his danda foret qui Pontificem asservant, vel cuicunq; alio qui vos tuto ad secretum cum sua Sanctitate Sermonem adducere, in locumq; tutum reducere posset: Cujus rei gratia, aliisq; ad hunc finem consequendum sustinendis oneribus necessariis, pecuniæ ad summam decem mille ducatorum, per Mensarios Venetias transmittentur, qui illic in promptu aderunt, persolvendæ et consignandæ Prothonotario Fratri vestro, Regio illic existenti Oratori; per eumq; de tempore in tempus ad vos transmitti ea summa poterit quam huic obtinendo negotio conducere posse existimaveritis, nihilq; ambigo quin dictam pecuniam fideliter collocetis, ex Regiæ Majestatis utilitate, expectatione atq; sententia. Atq; ubi ad Sanctum Dominum nostrum accesseritis, post filiales et cordatissimas Regiæ Majestatis measq; devotas et humillimas commendationes, et post exhibitas a Rege Credentiæ literas, in quibus in negotii adjumentum clausula vehemens est propria ejus manu conscripta, ut ex earum exemplo cognoscetis, ejus Sanctitati exponetis quam grave, molestumq; Regiæ Majestati et mihi sit, audire infælicissimos eventus, calamitatemq; miserandam, in qua nunc ejus Sanctitas cum Reverendiss. Cardinalib. versatur, cum gravissimo detrimento irreparabiliq; sedis Apostolicæ illiusq; Patrimonii jactura, ad quæ mala sublevanda et corrigenda nullum in Regia Majestate officium desiderabitur, quod ab ullo erga Sanctam Domini nostri vel sedem Apostolicam observantissimo Principe queat excogitari; in eoq; omne meum ministerium ac studium non minus promptum aderit, quam si ex ea re solum possem mihi cœlum comparare: quemadmodum experientia, aliqua in parte, jam docuit, et Deo duce posthac uberius comprobabit: quam rem copiosius optimisq; verbis agetis, præsertim, quum sciatis quanto et quam sincero affectu Regia Majestas ejus Sanctitatem prosequatur, et quanta mea sit in ipsam devotio, in hisque sermonibus insistetis prout loci, temporis, negociique ratio videbitur judicio vestro postulare.

Secundo, Sanctissimo Domino nostro solita vestra dexteritate aperietis id quod in his ipsis literis ad vos scripsi concernens hujus Matrimonii insufficientiam, ab hisq; rationibus et causis fundamentum capietis, quæ superius enarrantur integrumq; discursum ejus Sanctitati declarabitis, non omittentes intrinsecum dolorem, conscientiæ scrupulum, Dei rationem, Masculæ prolis respectum, hujus Regni bonum, et alia omnia ut superius scripta sunt: addentes insuper, nihil vehementius optari a tota Regni Nobilitate, subditisq; omnibus nullo discrimine, quam è Regiæ Majestatis corpore Masculum hæredem a Deo sibi dari, in perpetuam consolationem, gaudium, quietem, ac totius Regni securitatem, posteritatisq; firmissimum columen: prudentiorumq; opinionem esse, quod Deus omnipotens a tanto bono concedendo divinam suam manum substrahit, ob errorem, culpamq; in dicto Matrimonio hactenus admissam, quæ nisi mature corrigatur, graviora ex hac occasione in hoc Regno mala succedent, quam antea unquam fuerunt audita; etenim si hoc negotium in suspenso et indiscussum relinqueretur, hujusmodi possent quæstiones, controversiæ et contentiones ac factiones post defunctum Regem exoriri, ob Regni hæreditatem, quæ non possent in multorum ævo restingui, ut antea olim ex causa longe leviori accidit, neq; ex re tam ambigua, tam sævæ olim depopulationes, bella, intestinæq; controversiæ exortæ, et ad multum tempus continuatæ sunt, in ex-



tremum et ferme ultimum Regni excidium; quæ quum tam gravia sunt, Sanctissimus Dominus noster veluti pater et gubernator Christianitatis prospicere ex officio debet, et quibuscunq; modis potest, pro viribus adniti et conari, ut hæc Regna ac dominia quæ nunc supersunt in fide et obedientia Ecclesiæ assidue contineat, inter quæ, Deo sit laus, hoc Regnum haud recensendum est inter minima sed tanquam illud quod hactenus juvavit, et posthac pro tuto præsidio semper haberi poterit, adversus ea quæ cedere possent in Ecclesiæ Catholicæ vel sanctæ fidei detrimentum.

Tertio, Sanctissimo Domino nostro proponetis præsentem Ecclesiæ statum, rogabitisq; ut in mentem velit redigere, quo nunc in statu suæ Sanctitatis res cum Christianis Principibus versentur, cumq; privatæ contentiones, quæ illi sunt cum magna eorum principum parte, addita et ambitione immoderatoq; regum appetitu et ex arbitrio suo, Temporale jus omne atq; Spirituale tractandi, Ecclesiasticamq; Jurisdictionem et Authoritatem invertendi, eo certe animo ut sedis Apostolicæ dignitatem extinguant; his omnibus in unum connexis ac bene consideratis, ejus Sanctitas manifeste cognoscet, Principem nullum, neq; portum, aut refugium tam tutum, cui in omnem eventum queat inhærere, sibi relictum esse, quam hæc Regia Majestas est quæ nihil sibi vendicat, nil ambit, quod præjudicio esse possit dictæ Sanctitati, sed ejus, Apostolicæque sedis, semper fuit, est, esseq; decrevit firmissimum scutum, tutissimumq; propugnaculum, ita suas actiones cum cæteris Principibus firmans et connectens, ut semper ex ea occasione in suam hanc optimam sententiam reliquos possit attrahere, adeo quod Regi tam optime in Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum affecto nihil denegari debeat, utcumq; maximum quod possit ab ejus Sanctitate præstari ordinaria vel absoluta sua Authoritate; nam procul dubio, post vias modosq; omnes tentatos, omnino perspicietur omnia alia amicitiæ officia, si huic quod petitur comparentur, esse perquam exigua, et hoc amicum officium hujusmodi futurum, ex quo reliqua queant incrementum capere, sine eo futura alioquin parvi ac nullius fere momenti.

Tertio, probe notandum est, quod res nunc aperta et petita, a Regiaq; Majestate tantopere optata, ex tam magno conscientiæ scrupulo, cordisq; remorsu oritur, ut unicuiq; debita sit, quantumcunq; minori quam Regia Majestas sit de Sanctissimo Domino nostro merito. Quocirca judicat, et pro re comperta sibi persuadet, quod si ulla meritorum vel officiorum ratio habeatur, nunc ipsius Sanctitas huic suo desiderio et petitioni benignissime liberrimeque adjuvet, nullo prorsus dubio, difficultate, contradictione aut mora injecta. Negotiumque hujusmodi est, ut cognita Dispensationis insufficientia, quamvis id non requisivisset Rex, ultro proponi offerrique debuisset ab eadem Sanctitate tanquam a Patre Spirituali, in ejus salutis et conscientiæ beneficium.

In gratiam igitur et contemplationem præmissorum omnium instantissime vehementissimeq; a Sanctissimo Domino nostro requiretis et contendetis, ut dubio, metuq; omni seposito, respicere velit ad causæ statum, et ad ea quæ subsequutura videantur, rationemq; habere infinitorum commodorum, quæ ex hac re suæ Sanctitati Apostolicæq; sedi inde provenient, rem hanc statim, absq; temporis tractu, et causæ circumstantia, nemini eam aperiens, libere concedere et indulgere nulliq; communicata specialem Commissionem ad hunc effectum et finem confectam in forma Brevis concedere, et ad me dirigere, Facultatem addens, ut mihi liceat quoscunq; voluero ad me vocare, mihiq; asciscere ad procedendum in hac causa, et inquirendum de dictæ Bullæ ac Dispensationis sufficientia, juxta formam ac tenorem expressum in quodam libello hujus rei gratia confecto; quem cum his ad vos mitto, sic in debita forma conscriptum et digestum ut non sit futurum opus quo denuo ab ullo alio exscribatur, si forsan periculosum putaretur eam rem cuiq; patefacere vel in dubium aut dilationem protractum iri negotium, si ulli ex Sanctissimi Domini nostri officiariis committeretur rursus conscribendum; sed quod in hujusmodi periculi eventum possit ejus Sanctitas sine ullo discrimine vel alicujus cognitione eam dicto libello signaturam, sigillumq; apponere, ut aperte inde constet, Pontificis meram voluntatem sic esse, illiusq; Signaturæ ac Sigilli vigore, legitime et sufficienter possim ego procedere ad inquisitionem de dictæ Dispensationis insufficientia, cognitionem et aliarum causarum et rationum, quæ adduci possunt pro dicti Matrimonii invaliditate.

Item cum his ad vos mitto Dispensationem in debita forma confectam et scriptam in modum Brevis, secreto impetrandam et expediendam eidem Signaturam vel Sigillum apponendo, vel alio quovis modo valido: Et quamvis ex hac re multa pendeant, ob quæ ista requiruntur, et quæ, Deo favente, neutiquam timenda sunt; Attamen Regia Majestas exemplo innitens, et recordationi complurium rerum, quæ olim præteritis temporibus fuerunt injuste asserta, vel adducta, in animo habens causas suas omnes absq; ulla controversia aut difficultate ad perfectum finem perducere, et ne ullo quovis prætextu, argumento aut colore, postmodum emergente perturbarentur, hoc a Sanctissimo Domino nostro requirit, veluti rem necessariam, qua nullo pacto carere queat; firmiter confidens, quod Sanctitas sua, benigne atq; amanter isti ejus desiderio assentiet, et concedet sine ullo obstaculo dictam Commissionem, juxta formam quam Regia Majestas petit et eodem tempore, atq; hæc omnia ita benigne ac liberaliter expedire, secretiori et validiori quo fieri possit modo, quo optatus finis subsequi possit in eum effectum, laudabileque propositum, de quo superius dictum est; Qua ex occasione Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum in perpetuum sibi adstringet, indissolubiliq; amicitiæ vinculo hanc Regiam Majestatem sibi alligabit, quæ nulli labori, periculo, opibus, Regno, subditis, nec ipsi sanguini parcens, ab ejus Sanctitate nunquam divelletur aut eam deseret, sed totis suis viribus constantissime semper illi adhærebit, tum in suæ Sanctitatis et Cardinalium liberationem, tum in hostibus persequendis; ad quem finem, magnam jam pecuniarum summam ad Regem Christianissimum misit, pro illo Italiæ exercitu continuando, et præter id in animo statutum habet, quod nisi Cæsar de dicta Sanctitate liberanda consentire, et ad pacem devenire voluerit, bellum gerere adversus has inferiores Cæsaris Regiones et Dominia, quo vehementius urgeat Sanctissimi Domini nostri liberationem, Ecclesiæq; in pristinam suam dignitatem et authoritatem restitutionem, eaq; de se indicia exhibebit ut universo orbi manifestum sit futurum, dictam suam Majestatem esse solidum perfectum amicum, filium obsequentissimum et ejus devotissimum; a qua pectoris sui sententia, nullo thesauro, nullis opibus, nullis Regnis, seu Ditionibus, vel occasione quacunq; unquam adducetur, sed ex filiali sua observantia et in Christianam Religionem zelo, innatoq; erga sedem Apostolicam studio, et præcipuo quodam affectu, quem Sanctissimo Domino nostro gerit: in compensationem quoq; gratitudinis, quam tam avide in hoc suo negotio ab ejus Sanctitate expectat, decretum prorsus habet in constantissimo hoc et indissolubili amicitiæ et conjunctionis vinculo sincerissimo perstare, id quod dicta Regia Majestas Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum vehementissime rogat, ut probe velit in omnem partem librare, vicissimq; efficere, ut ex Regiæ petitionis indulgentia palam constet parem benevolentiam et humanitatem a Sanctissimo Domino nostro ex mutuo præstari.

Hac autem causa ipsius Sanctitati a vobis, ut dictum

est, exposita et declarata, neutiquam dubitandum est, quin benevole atq; libenter statim adnuat Regiæ Majestatis expectationi et quod huic assentiet, dictam Commissionem secreto modo ipsa concedens, neminem de ea re ut dictum est, participem faciens; qui modus servandus est, si videritis hæc effici non posse, nisi cum periculo quin hæc res eis communicetur, qui eam sint interturbaturi, vel si id præstare fuerit in Sanctissimi Domini nostri arbitrio, tunc ejus Sanctitas non gravetur, per Brevia, vel per Bullas, prout validius et magis sufficiens fore judicaverit, præmissa omnia concedere, ad quod vestram omnem industriam, prudentiam, studium, diligentiamq; adhibebitis: Sic omnia prudenter ac circumspecte agentes, ne in discrimen deveniatur negotium hoc his detegendi, qui illud vel impedire vel retardare forsan voluerint aut poterint, sed potius quam ad id periculi res deducatur contenti eritis sola dictorum libellorum Signatura, in eam formam confecta, quum ex ea palam constet, Pontificis assensum in id actualiter concurrisse, qui postea recentioribus scriptis, si ita opus fuerit, firmius confirmari corroborariq; poterit.

Et quoniam incertum est, utrum ante vestrum ad Pontificem accessum, ejus Sanctitas fuerit in suam libertatem restituta, necne, quæ forsan libera non tanti faciet Regiæ Majestatis amicitiam et conjunctionem, vel allegabit, se nec audere nec posse, ex suis cum Cæsare conventionibus ista concedere, nec secreto ullo modo, vel ullo colore, quod ea in re fecisset apud Cæsarem justificare, et potuisset antea in Regiæ Majestatis auxilio pro sua liberatione sperans, dum adhuc detineretur captivus; eo casu Sanctissimo Domino nostro in mentem redigetis, quam parum fidere possit ullis sibi factis a Cæsare promissis, quum nulla in parte redundare possit in commodum aut securitatem, sed solum in extremum excidium ac detrimentum sedis Apostolicæ: et licet ad breve tempus multa videretur Cæsar in ejus Sanctitatis gratiam facturus; compertissimum tamen semper Pontifici esse debet Cæsarianos ea facere, semperq; facturos, quæ Cæsarem possint exaltare, et tendant ad usurpationem potius et depressionem status Ecclesiastici, quam ad ejus continuationem, vel conservationem; et quotiens adversus Ecclesiam ista tentarentur, Regia Majestas in hac sua petitione passa repulsam, quæ alioquin ejus Sanctitati in omnem eventum firmissime adhæsisset, et alios suos confœderatos in eandem sententiam pertraxisset, quam, ea deficiente, in contrarium facile possent allici, quo animo futura sit, et quam bene suum affectum et observantiam collocasse existimatura: summæ est prudentiæ omnia considerare.

Haud incognitum præterea est Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum ad Cæsaris instantiam, quum non multam ab ejus Sanctitate gratiam promeritus esset, ei concessisse Dispensationem et Absolutionem a jurejurando ab illo præstito, de ducenda in Conjugem Domina Principissa, nullo ut par fuisset a Regia Majestate habito, seu petito consensu, non obstante quod Cæsar in validissima forma, non solum præstito jurejurando, sed cautione et Ecclesiasticarum censurarum et pœnarum abhibita, quod perstringeretur de dicto Matrimonio perimplendo, ac si Pontifex contentus esse potuit, tantam ei ostendere gratitudinem, quum veluti hostis indies certior tunc poterat haberi, et qui majora parabat quam juste posset optare, suis petitionibus, Regia Majestate inconsulta, neutiquam parcens, quanto propensius ejus Sanctitas adnuere debet ejus Principis voto, cujus fidem et observantiam vere filialem sæpe experta est. Verum tamen si Sanctissimus Dominus noster difficulter visus fuerit posse adduci, ut in meam Personam dictæ Commissioni assentiat, allegans quod non sum indifferens, cui ex suæ Sanctitatis honore hoc negotium committi possit, cum Regiæ Majestati sum subditus et intimus Consiliarius, tunc tamdiu persistetis ea in re, quoad vobis visum fuerit conveniens, negotii expeditionem non ideo protrahentes, aut differentes, sed instantes ut hujusmodi Commissio concedatur; affirmabitisq; me pro re nulla quantumlibet grandi, nullo favore, aut commodo, quicquam effecturum esse, quod aversetur officio meo, et erga Christum præstitæ professioni, neq; unquam a recto, vero, justoq; tramite digressurum; Et quin Cardinalis sim et Apostolicæ sedis de latere Legatus, ejus Sanctitatis honor, integraque conscientia, a me omnino conservaretur, ex hujusmodique concessa Commissione, omni ex parte exoneraretur. Tandem si ad hoc, nullis rationibus Pontifex potuerit adduci, ab ejus Sanctitate requiretis, ut dictam velit Commissionem concedere in personam Domini Staphylei Decani Rotæ, qui et vir indifferens est, et hujusmodi rei ob eruditionem accommodatus, nullo pacto omittentes Dispensationis expeditionem, ut dictum est; et hujus rei gratia Commissionem nunc ad vos mitto, in debita forma confectam et paratam, quæ signetur ad dictum Dominum Staphyleum directa, quam Sanctissimo Domino nostro reddetis, casu quo alia nequeat obtineri, rogabitisq; ut cum dicta Dispensatione eam velit concedere. Et quoniam fieri possit quod dum fieret mentio de me excipiendo, forsitan ejus Sanctitas aliquem alium quam Dominum Staphyleum nominaret, ad quem Commissio hujusmodi dirigeretur, hoc vero in loco tenacissime insistetis, firmiterq; inhærebitis ei rei, nec in alium aliquem virum exterum ullo pacto consentientes, sed solum pro eodem Domino Staphyleio instantes, ejus Sanctitatem summis precibus vehementissime rogantes, et rationibus omnibus suadentes, ne alium ullum nominare velit, asserentes quod quum in Instructionibus vestris non contineatur, nec de alio ullo fiat mentio, nisi illo, me recusato, iterum atq; iterum ab eadem Sanctitate petetis, ut nomine hujus Auditoris Rotæ hæc fiat et expediatur commissio, vos nec audere nec posse vobis præscriptos fines transgredi.

De Regii vero desiderii ac petitionis frustratione super dicta Commissione obtinenda, dicetis unum et idem esse, hanc illi denegare, vel alii concedere quam in vestris Instructionibus contineatur, non quod Regia Majestas de aliorum rectitudine aut indifferentia quicquam suspicetur, vel quod judicet eorum aliquem affectibus obnoxium; sed quod pro re certissima credidit quod Sanctissimus Dominus noster in neminem tam facile condescenderet, quam in dictæ Rotæ Decanum, ob idque de eo in Instructionibus vestris mentionem fecit: sed Commissiones in debita forma cum his nominibus fieri et conscribi jussit, quod si hic credidissemus, Dom. Staphileum habitum istic iri pro suspecto, affirmare potestis me fuisse omnino missurum consimilem Commissionis formulam, spatio relicto pro aliquo alio inscribendo nomine, aliquamq; aliam super ea re Instructionem me daturum fuisse, et haud dubie; si de nominibus duntaxat fuerit controversia, hæ rationes facile poterunt Pontificem attrahere, ut in me consentiat, vel in Staphyleum. De aliis vero neminem admittetis, nec tamen Pontifici aperietis vos, ne id faciatis habere in mandatis, sed superius enarratas Causas in vestram excusationem allegantes, omnino ut vobis injungitur ea in re insistetis.

Quod si nullis modis dictam Commissionem, et Dispensationem impetrare poteritis, ad idq; nequiverit Pontifex adduci, nisi rem prius alicui ex Cardinalibus vel Officiariis communicaverit, in eo tunc casu, ejus Sanctitati in memoriam reducite, quot et quam gravia mala ex hujus negotii propalatione possent provenire, si ex ea occasione aliquæ contrarietates vel impedimentum suboriretur, unde Regiæ Majestatis expectatio postmodum frustaretur: Quo igitur, si ullæ injiciantur in hac re tractandæ difficultates, ut Pontifex etiam facilior ad Regium votum concedendum promptiorq; reddatur, alias etiam præter has literas seorsim ad vos scripsi, quas una cum his accipietis, in quibus copiose aggessi, quam multas magni momenti rationes, ob quas sententia judiciumq; meum est, ne ullo pacto Pontifex hanc petitionem Regiæ Majestatis deneget; quas literas, quum in eis argumentum vehemens est, nec ob prolixitatem tædiosum aut molestum quod legatur, modum aliquem ipsius Sanctitati legendi invenietis; spemq; certam habeo, si earum summa, tenor, atq; sententia profunde perpendatur, quam satis id esse poterit ad omnem tollendam difficultatem, quæ possit obversari in dicta Commissione Dispensationeque obtinenda, in eis contenta sigillatim exponetis adeo, quod hoc negotium confici queat, Arbitris aut Consiliaribus ad id neutiquam accitis, si fieri possit: si tamen Pontifex speraverit se posse hæc omnia eos celare qui huic rei forsan voluerint refragari, et omnino decreverit aliquos Cardinales vel Officiarios istius causæ participes facere, omnem tunc industriam statim adhibebitis, ut his cognitis eorum gratiam et favorem ea in re vobis comparetis, partim eis respectus, et causas omnes in meis literis contentas, etiam in causæ commodum facientes, uberius exponentes, partim vero eam remunerationem illis dantes, quæ judicio vestro conveniens habebitur, dummodo optatum res sortiatur effectum. Et ut omnia queatis præstare commodius cum his, meas literas accipietis quas ad Cardinalem Sanctorum Quatuor et Collegium Cardinalium scribo, easque reddetis ut expedire censueritis, plane confidens nihil a vobis omissum iri, ut hac in re eorum gratiam atq; favorem queatis obtinere, in quem eventum ea munera offeretis, quæ conveniantia visa fuerint, Regiaq; Majestas quicquid ejus nomine promiseritis, id fidelissime, uberrimeq; præstabit, pro quarum rerum expeditione, illis pecuniis uti poteritis per literas Cambii Venetias transmissis, quousq; suffecerint, necessariumq; vos existimaveritis rei impetrandæ. Et quum ambiguum sit an vobis licuerit hoc tempore ad Pontificis præsentiam accedere, hujusmodi accessus defectus, si aliæ rem ad bonum exitum perducendi rationes non excogitarentur, causa esse posset longioris moræ, et totius rei impedimento; proinde Regia Majestas, ut modos omnes experiatur, nec uni soli inhæreat, hæc eadem in mandatis dedit Domino Secretario, quem non procul ab Urbe esse intelleximus, quemadmodum in his aliisq; meis brevioribus literis continentur, ita quoad alter vestrum, vel uterque, si fieri possit, ad Pontificis præsentiam accessum habeat; nihil tamen, sub spe Domini Secretarii, vestræ vos diligentiæ aut industriæ omittetis, nec ille sub spe vestra, in re hac modis omnibus, promovenda, remissior erit, sed nihil conjunctim aut divisim intentatum relinquetis. Quod si uterq; vestrum ad Pontificem admittatur, alter de altero nescius, id non oberit, sed multum proficiet, etiam si ante alterius adventum negotium hoc alter impetrasset; sed si aliquis vestrum cognoverit causam hanc expeditam esse, omniaq; pro certo impetrata esse, tunc labori et sumptibus Pontificem pro eadem re accedendi parcere poteritis, neq; in eam amplius ingerere, neq; necessarium aut opportunum erit, ut pro ulla alia re in præsentia quam pro hac apud Sanctissimū Dominū nostrū agatis, sed solum nunc procurabitis de Commissione et Dispensatione juxta formam ad vos missam obtinenda, necnon de profestinatione illa, quam compendio ad vos dedi, in quibus omnibus et singulis apte tractandis Regia Majestas magnam fiduciam in vestra prudentia collocavit, in quibus, cum tam magni sint momenti, ex Regiæ Majestatis sententia nunc vobis maxime elaborandum est.

Deniq; quum intelligam Dominum Lautrek nonnihil mirari, quod Regiæ Majestatis istic agentes, nullam suorum mandatorum partem cum eo conferunt, ad eum nunc scribo, et nonnulla Domino Roberto Jernyngham ei exponenda committo concernentia actiones cum Ferrariæ Duce, et alia quædam eodem Domino Lautrek; significans, vos missos esse ad dictas causas juvandas, et Pontificis liberationem promovendam, quemadmodum ex literarum ad Dominum Jernyngham exemplo cognoscetis: expediens itaq; fuerit, ut præ se feratis, vos dictæ rei gratia missos esse, ne forsan Dominus Lautrek in falsam aliquam conjecturam aut suspicionem incideret, quæ communibus rebus nocere posset, et in vestrarum quoq; actionum impedimentum redundare.

Illud deinde reticere nolui, quod si ullo pacto vobis liceat ad Sanctissimi Domini nostri præsentiam accedere, nihil omittatis in favorem et gratiam Reverendi Domini Datarii, de cujus animo nihil dubitamus, comparandam, eiq; asseretis, quod quum in nostris omnibus occurrentiis illius opera ac Patrocinio semper usi fuerimus, ipse vero tanta semper fide ac sedulitate omnia effecerit quæ nobis grata et optata esse cognovit, ut nostram omnem operam suis rebus reddiderit, promptissimam, et suæ utilitatis et exaltationis cupidissimam. Quocirca hæc Regia Majestas hac in re, qua nullam magis cordi habet, nec gravioris momenti quicquam sibi accidere posse judicat, ex animi sui sententia conficienda, post Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, in Domino Datario spem omnem collocavit, qui ex hac occasione, si operam suam ad optatum usq; exitum interponere non gravetur, Regiæ Majestatis animum et pectus, sic omni ex parte promerebitur, ut dicta Majestas non solum omnia curatura sit, quæ ex Domini Veronensis commodo et ornamento fuerint, sed eam etiam munificentiam et gratitudinem addet, quæ majorem vel integram partem, a captivitate Redemtionis persolvendæ compensabit; In me vero non aliam fidem et amicitiam experietur, quam ab ullo fratre posset expectare. Et bene valete. Londini ex meis Ædibus. Die quinto Decemb. M.D.XXVII.

Vester tanquam frater Amantiss.

T. Cardinalis Eborac.

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## IV.—Rome, Jan. 1, 1528.

*Two Letters of Secretary Knight's to the Cardinal and the King, giving an account of his Conference with the Pope about his Divorce. Taken from the Originals.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

Please it your grace to understand, that immediately upon the receipt of your grace's letters, severally directed unto Mr. Gregory and me; he and I resorted unto the pope his holiness, making congratulation of his restitution unto liberty on yours and his behalf, to his singular comfort and consolation; and so much the more, because that I was the first that made like salutation in any great prince's name; he being well assured that I spake the same on the behalf of his two chief, sincere, and unfeigned friends: wherefore with great high thanks, and long discourse, with rehearsal of the king's and your merits and acts, in most virtuous and catholic manner, employed for his restitution, and your continual and effectual study how the see apostolic might recover the pristine reputation and dignity; he confirmed as much as I had spoken. After this, Mr. Gregory and I entered into our charge, showing at length the high deserts of the princes and realm of England, the devotion of the same towards the church; how expedient it was, as well for the see apostolic as for the said realm, to foresee and provide that all occasions of dissension and war were extinct and put away; which, for lack of heir male of our sovereign's line and stem, should

undoubtedly follow, with other considerations at length contained in our instructions. We desired his holiness to commit the knowledge of the dispensation that was obtained in time of Julius, of famous memory, for matrimony to be had between the king and the widow, relict late of prince Arthur; and that we might have it in form, as that was that your grace sent hither. His holiness answered, that our sayings had great likelihood of truth, for lacking of issue male of the king's stem, considering the nature of men being prone unto novelties and disposed unto parties and factions, the realm of England would not only enter into their accustomed divisions, but also would owe or do small devotion unto the church; wherefore his holiness was right well content and ready to adhibit all remedy that in him was possible as this time would serve. And because he was not expert in making of commissions, he would consult with the cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, and use his advice, which we should shortly know.

We, perceiving that the obtaining of our charges after the king's and your grace's pleasure depended much upon the advice of Sanctorum Quatuor, did prevent his going unto the pope and delivering your grace's letters with recommendations accordingly, we desired him to be good and favourable unto our requests in the king's behalf; and for the better obtaining of our desires, we promised to see unto him with a competent reward. And this communication had, we showed unto him the commission, which he said could not pass without perpetual dishonour unto the pope, the king, and your grace: and a great part of such clauses as be omitted, he hath touched and laid reason for the same in a writing, which I do send unto your grace with this. Considering his great experience, wisdom, learning, and the entire affection that he beareth unto the king and your grace; and that it was far from the king's desire, and nothing for your purposes, that I should first have sent the said cardinal's sayings unto your grace, and abide answer, and eft-soons prevent to do the same: considering also that the said king desireth a commission convenient and sufficient, we desired him to make the minute of one, which he gladly did: when it was made, the pope said, that at his being in the castle of St. Angelo, the general of the Observants in Spain required his holiness, in the emperor's name, not to grant unto any act that might be preparative, or otherwise, to divorce to be made between the king and the queen: and, moreover, desired an inhibition, that the said cause should not come in knowledge before any judge within the king's dominions. The pope answered that *Inhibitio non datur nisi post litem motam.* And as unto the first his holiness was content, if any like thing were demanded, to advertise the emperor before, that he did let it pass; and this was in a manner for his holiness being in captivity. But his holiness being yet in captivity, as your grace reports, and esteemeth him to be as long as the Almaines and Spaniards continueth in Italy; he thought, if he should grant this commission, that he should have the emperor his perpetual enemy, without any hope of reconciliation: notwithstanding, he was content rather to put himself in evident ruin, and utter undoing, than the king, or your grace, should suspect any point of ingratitude in him, heartily desiring *cum suspiriis et lachrimis*, that the king and your grace, which have always been fast and good unto him, will not now suddenly precipitate him for ever; which should be done, if immediately upon delivering of the commission your grace should begin process. He intendeth to save all upright thus: If Monsieur de Lautrech would set forwards, which he saith daily that he will do, but yet he doth not, at his coming the pope's holiness may have good colour to say, he was required by the ambassador of England of a like commission. And denying the same, because of his promise unto the general, he was eft-soons by Monsieur de Lautrech, to grant the said commission, inasmuch as it was but a letter of justice. And by this colour he would cover the matter, so that it might appear unto the emperor, that the pope did it not as he that would gladly do displeasure unto the emperor, but as an indifferent prince that could not nor might deny justice, specially being required by such personages; and immediately he would despatch a commission, bearing date after the time that Monsieur Lautrech had been with him or nigh unto him. The pope most instantly beseecheth your grace to be a mean that the king's highness may accept this in a good part, and that he will take patience for this little time; which, as it is supposed, will be but short, and (*in omnem eventum*) I do bring a commission with me, and a dispensation, which I trust the king and your grace will like well.

We have given unto my lord cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor 4000 crowns, and unto the secretary 30 crowns.

With this your grace shall receive a letter from the pope's holiness, Item, a counsel of Oldrand, that giveth light unto the king's cause. I shall make the most diligence homeward that I can. Our Lord Jesus preserve your grace.

Your most humble servant and chaplain,
W. KNIGHT.

At Orvieto, this first day of January.

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Rome, Jan. 1, 1528.

TO THE KING.

PLEASE it your highness to understand, that as soon as the pope was at liberty, and came unto Orvieto, I resorted unto his holiness with all diligence; and at my coming unto him did make congratulation on your highness's behalf; forasmuch as he was restored unto his liberty, which he accepted very joyfully and thankfully, giving unto your highness manifold and high thanks for your great goodness, as well proved in his adversity, as when he was in his most felicity. After this he rehearsed my being at Rome, how dangerous it was, inasmuch as when my being there was detected, espial was made, and I was not passed out of Rome by the space of two hours, or two hundred Spaniards invaded and searched the house. He showed also that he had received all such letters as I, at my being in Rome, did send unto his holiness; whereby he did perceive the effect of your highness's desire concerning your dispensation. And albeit he did send me word that I should depart, and his holiness would send unto me the said dispensation fully speed. Nevertheless, he trusted that your highness would be content to tarry for a time: for the general of the Observants in Spain being lately in Rome, had required him, according unto his instructions, that he should suffer nothing to pass that might be prejudicial or against the queen, directly or indirectly, but that the pope should first advertise thereof certain of the Cæsarians here. And forasmuch as this dispensation might encourage your grace to cause my lord legate *Auctoritate Legationis* to hear and decern in the cause that your highness intendeth, and his holiness standeth as yet in manner in captivity and perplexity: his holiness therefore besought your grace to have patience for a time, and it should not be long ere your highness should have, not only that dispensation, but anything else that may lie in his power. I replied unto this, that his holiness had once granted it, and



that I had despatched a post, and made relation thereof, by my writings, unto your highness; so that I could not imagine by what reason I might persuade unto you that he would perform the promise that he had once broken. In conclusion, he was content that your highness should have it, but he would have it delivered with this condition; that the prothonotary Gambora and I, should beseech your highness not to attempt anything in your cause against the queen till such time as the pope were frankly at his liberty; which could not be as long as the Almaynes and Spaniards did thus reign in Italy; and promise made, we should deliver the dispensation: and in my poor judgment, it was best always to be in possession of this dispensation. After this he showed the minute unto the cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, willing him to reform it according to the style of this court; which done, he showed it unto me, and after said, that he thought good I should depart, because I rode but competent journeys, and the prothonotary Gambora should follow by post and bring the bull with him, which is of the same form and substance that your highness's minute is of. And if there be anything omitted, or to be added, his holiness is always content to reform it, and to put it under the same date that the same dispensation now beareth; the copy whereof I do send unto your highness with this, the commission general and protestation being void, because they were conceived *durante captivitate* only. And here, on my behalf, none other thing being to be done, I took my leave of the pope and departed. At my coming unto Scarperii near unto Bonony, I did meet with Thadeus this courier, which brought certain expeditions triplicate; the one unto the prothonotary Gambora, the other unto Gregory de Cassali, and the third unto me; among which was a general commission triplicate, the one to be committed to my lord legate; and if that could not be obtained, because my lord legate might be thought partial, then the same to be committed unto Staphileius. Item.—There was a copy of a dispensation, where I perceived, by your grace's letter, that your pleasure was to have your dispensation in form, after the minute that Barlow brought, which was then sped, and already passed; so remained nothing to be sped, but the commission your highness pleases. This knowing, I caused my servants to continue their journey, and with one servant and this courier I returned unto Orvieto with post-horses; where Mr. Gregory and I, with much business, have obtained a commission directed unto my lord legate, not in the form that was conceived in England, but after such manner as is sufficient for the cause, and as I trust shall content your highness; wherein the lord cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor hath taken great pains to pen, as well your dispensation as the commission; for which, and that hereafter he may do unto your highness the better service, Mr. Gregory and I have rewarded him with 4000 crowns, of such money as your highness hath caused to be made unto Venice for the furtherance of your causes. But albeit that everything is passed according to your highness's pleasure, I cannot see, but in case the same be put in execution at this time, the pope is utterly undone, and so he saith himself. The Imperialists do daily spoil castles and towns about Rome; Monsieur de Lautrek is yet at Bonony, and small hope is of any great act that he intends. The Cæsarians have taken within these three days, two castles lying within six miles of this: and the pope being in this perplexity, not assured of any one friend but of your highness, that lieth too far off; if he do at this time any displeasure unto the emperor, he thinketh he is undone for ever; wherefore he puts his honour and health wholly into your highness's power and disposition. This morning I return homewards, and Gregory de Cassali goeth in my company as far as unto Florence; and from thence he goeth unto Monsieur de Lautrek, to solicit him forwards, if it may be. The Holy Ghost send your highness a prosperous new year, and many.

Your must humble subject, servant, and chaplain,
W. KNIGHT.

At Orvieto, the first day of January.

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V.—Rome, 10th Jan. 1528.

*A part of an Original Letter from the same Person to Cardinal Wolsey, by which it appears that the Dispensation was then granted and sent over.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

YOUR grace commandeth, that I should send the commission and dispensation with diligence, in case they were sped before the receipt of your grace's letters sent at this time. Wherefore the prothonotary Gambora and I being commanded *sub pœna excommunicationis* to deliver the same, with a certain request to be made to the king's highness and his grace, at the time of delivery; I send the same at this time unto Gambora, requiring him in anywise to make diligence towards the king's highness, and not to abide my coming; the request and cause thereof your grace shall perceive by mine other letters adjoined herewith; and supposing that when your grace hath seen my letters, and the dispensations, and considered this time well, it may chance that the king and your grace will be rather well content with that that is past, without suing for any other thing that could not be obtained without long tract, and peradventure not so. Your grace hath committed as much unto Gregory de Cassali at this time as unto me, which being near unto the pope, will without fail do his best diligence: and if it shall be thought good unto the king's highness, and your grace, that I do return unto Orvieto, I shall do as much as my poor carcase may endure, and thereby at Turin I shall abide the knowledge of your grace's pleasure. The datary hath clean forsaken the court, and will serve no longer but only God and his cure. The cardinal Campegius continueth in Rome, sore vexed with the gout; the cardinals Pisane, Trivulcis, Ursine, Gadis, and Cesis, remaineth for hostages. The cardinals Monte, Sanctorum Quatuor, Ridulph, Ravenna, and Perusino, be with the pope,—the rest abides absent. Our Lord Jesus preserve your grace.

Your most humble beadsman and servant,
W. KNIGHT.

At Aste, the 10th day of January.

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VI.—Orvieto, the 13th of January.

*Gregory Cassali's Letter about the method in which the Pope desired the Divorce should be managed. Taken from a copy written by Cardinal Wolsey's Secretary.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

HERI et hodie ad multam diem sum alloquutus Sanctū Dominū nostrū de mittendo legato, insequens ordinem a Reverendissimo Domino Eboracen. suis literis 27 Decemb. mihi præscriptum. Pontifex ostendit se cupidissimum satisfaciendi Regiæ Excellentiæ, cui omnia se debere fatetur, et nunc habuit mecum longum de hac re colloquium, ut inveniatur modus omnia, bene, firme et secure faciendi, quo facto et tueri possit; ideoq; consulere voluit judicium Cardinalis Sanctorum Quatuor et Symonettæ, qui excellentior et Doctior

Auditor Rotæ est, cum quibus sub sigillo Confessionis egit, ut ex eorum consilio inveniatur modus, ad moram tollendam, et causam secure peragendam: Atq; ita Pontifex cum illis, in hoc quod sequitur, se revolvit, videturq; optimus, verus et securus modus, et me rogavit, ut nullo pacto dicam hoc obtinuisse ab ejus Sanctitate sicuti revera obtinui, nam Cæsariani eum statum pro suspecto allegarent, sed quod dicam me habuisse a Cardinali Sanctorum Quatuor, et a dicto Auditore. Dicunt quod Rex deberet committere istic causam Cardinali, ratione Commissionis quam attulit Secretarius, vel propria Authoritate Legationis, quod facere potest; et ubi causa fuerit commissa, si Rex conscientiam suam persentiat coram Deo exoneratam, et quod recte possit facere quod quærit, quia nullus Doctor in mundo est, qui de hac re melius decernere possit quam ipse Rex, itaq; si in hoc se resolverit, ut Pontifex credit, statim causam committat, aliam Uxorem ducat, litem sequatur, mittatur publice pro Legato, qui Consistorialiter mittetur, ita enim maxime expediret: nam Cardinalis Sanctorum Quatuor et Symonetta dicunt hoc certum esse, quod si Regina citetur illa nihil volet respondere, nisi quod protestabitur locum et judices suspectos esse, et Cæsariani petent a Pontifice per viam Signaturæ, justitiæ Inhibitionem, qua Rex aliam nullam possit Uxorem capere, et si capiat proles non sit legitima donec causa non definiatur, et petent Commissionem qua Causa audiatur in Curia; de Inhibitione vero Pontifex non potest negare, neq; et Commissionem nisi injustitia et mera vis inferatur, adversus quam omnis mundus exclamaret. Quod si Rex aliam Uxorem ceperit hoc non possunt petere, et si petant, negabit Pontifex quod jure possit, nec aliud dicere poterunt vel allegare, nisi quod Cardinalis Eboracen. et Cardinalis mittendus et locus sit suspectus, et petere quod Causa videatur hic, in quo si deducatur, statim feretur sententia quam Pontifex maturabit, non servatis terminis propter momentum negotii et alias rationes, quas sciet Pontifex adducere, et ita hic obtinebuntur sententiæ quæ per totum Orbem approbabuntur, quibus nullus Hispanus aut Germanus poterit contradicere, et mittentur in Angliam declarandæ per Cardinales prout Rex voluerit, et hoc etiam non obstante Pontifex mittet Cardinalem.

Tandem hic est modus rebus omnibus secure medendi, ad quem sequendum vos Pontifex hortatur, et rogat ut nihil dicatur quod ab eo procedat. Iste modus non videtur inutilis, quia hic Auditor asserit, non aliter esse faciendum si bene volumus; et quia Reverendissimus Cardinalis Dominus Eboracen. instat pro celeritate, interim accersiri poterit qualiscunq; Legatus Rex voluerit, et magis satisfiet vulgo in mittendo Legato, veluti ad definiendam causam, et hic etiam ut dixi omnia fient quæ super id Rex petierit.

Præterea Pontifex, id quod fecit ut me resolverem ad has literas scribendum, contentus est mittere quemcunq; Cardinalem ego petiero, sed ait oportere ut aliquis mittatur habilis, id est Doctor in Jure, vel in Theologia, qui sunt isti Campegius, Cæsarinus, Senensis, Cesis, Araceli, Monte, qui senex est et immobilis; Cæsis in obsidem ivit Neapolim, Cæsarinus Episcopatum, habet in Hispania, Araceli podagra laborat et Frater est, Senensis est Imperialis et non valde prudens, Campegius esset maxime ad propositum, sed Romæ est locum tenens Pontificis, unde non posset discedere, continuantibus discordiis inter Germanos et Hispanos, neq; auderet egredi a castro sed hoc periculum et dubium brevi expedietur, nam intra octo dies Cæsariani cogentur sibi consulere ut eant in Regnum, si Dominus Lautrek eo progrediatur, vel ibunt Senas per iter Florentiæ, et tunc Campegius poterit exire, et si Rex ita jusserit statim accingetur itineri. Pontifex jussit ut scribam, quod nunquam ingenio aut studio deerit in excogitando ut adimpleat desiderium et voluntatem Regis, et quod solum ista proponit pro meliori securitate, ne ista fiant quæ postea referri debeant, quod pareret dilationem et difficultatem, et quantum ego possim conjicere Pontifex exoptat satisfacere Regiæ voluntati. Pontifex denuo replicavit quod se totum rejicit in Brachia Regiæ Majestatis, et quod certus est quod Cæsar nunquam hoc illi ignoscet, et quod ex hac occasione vocabit eum ad Concilium, vel nihil aliud quæret nisi ut eum omni statu et vita privet; et dicta Sanctitas parvam spem habet in Gallis, nisi quantum operabitur per Regiam Majestatem et Reverendissimum Dominum Eboracen. Ad quod Respondi, illum ex præteritis et præsentibus posse judicare futura. Tandem affirmo, quod si semel tollatur Cæsarianorum metus, poteritis ex arbitrio vestro disponere de sede Apostolica.

Cardinalis Campegius ad Pontificem scripsit, quod sunt tres dies ex quo frater Generalis communicaverat secum negotium Regiæ Majestatis, et quod dixerat ut ad ejus Sanctitatem scriberet, ut omnino faceret aliquam Inhibitionem ne causa istic tractaretur. Ad quod Pontifex non respondit, sed respondebit, se nihil de eo posse facere, quia non pendet causa.

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### VII.—Januar. 1528. ad Collegium.

*A duplicate. The King's Letter to the College of Cardinals; from which it appears how much they favoured his Cause.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

Henricus Rex, Reverendissimis in Christo Patribus Dominis Episcopis Patribus et Diaconis S.R.E. Cardinalibus et Amicis nostris Charissimis salutem. Nihil unquam tam grande esse posse putavimus, quin de ista Sancta sede, vestrarumq; Reverendissimarum Dominat. summa erga nos benignitate, illud semper audacter nobis fuerimus polliciti, quod certe S. Sanctum istud Collegium, quotiens ullam nobis gratificandi occasionem oblatam habuit, cumulatissime præstitit: Cæterum benevolentiam istam vestram et singulare in nos studium, nunc longe superavit, alacritas, quam in nostra omnium gravissima causa, juvanda ac promovenda, in publico Consistorio, amantissime omnes exhibuistis, quo certe beneficio sic Sacro isti Collegio Sanctissimæq; isti sedi adstrictos nos fatemur, ut vehementissime optemus gratiam, vel sanguine ipso, publice ac privatim Reverendissimis Dominat. vestris quoq; posse referre. Quocirca iterum eas impense rogamus, ut in suo erga nos affectu perseverare non graventur, efficiemusq; (Deo bene juvante) ut brevi perspiciant, apud gratum et memorem Principem, Sanctæq; Rom. Ecclesiæ observantissimum, sua se beneficia et officia collocasse. Interim vobis quas possumus ex animo, tum his literis, tum per Oratorem istic nostrum immortales gratias Reverendissimis vestris Dominis agimus, existimetisq; quicquid a nobis præstari queat, id suo ornamento et commodo promptissimum futurum.

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### VIII.—Feb. 10, 1528.

*A duplicate of the Cardinal's Letter to the Pope, about the Divorce; corrected with his own hand.*

[Cott. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

Beatissime Pater, post humillimam Commendationem, et Sanctissimorum pedum oscula, doleo atq; gravissime excrucior, quod ea quæ tanta solicitudine, literis et nunciis apud Beatitudinem vestram ago, nequeam, ut unice et rerum omnium maxime vellem, prius tractare, hoc est, negotium Potentissimi Domini



mei Regis, negotium inquam rectissimum, honestissimum ac sanctissimum, in quo procurando non aliter me interpono, quam in ejus Regiæ Majestatis salute tuenda, in hoc Regno conservando, in publica tranquillitate fovenda, in Apostolica Autoritate, in mea deniq; vita et anima protegenda debeo. Beatissime Pater, ad vestræ Sanctitatis genua provolutus, obsecro et obtestor, ut si me Christianum virum, si bonum Cardinalem, si S. Sancto isto Senatu dignum, si Apostolicæ sedis membrum non stupidum et inutile, si recti, justitiæq; cultorem, si fidelem Creaturam suam, si demum æternæ salutis cupidum me existimet, nunc velit mei Consilii et intercessionis rationem habere, et pientissimis hujus Regis precibus, benigne, promptеq; adnuere: quas nisi rectas, sanctas ac justas esse scirem, omne prius supplicii genus ultro subirem, quam eas promoverem, pro hisq; ego vitam meam et animam spondeo. Alioquin vereor (quod tamen nequeo tacere) ne Regia Majestas humano, divinoq; jure (quod habet ex omni Christianitate suis his actionibus adjunctum) freta, postquam viderit sedis Apostolicæ gratiam, et Christi in terris Vicarii clementiam desperatam, Cæsaris intuitu, in cujus manu neutiquam est tam Sanctos conatus reprimere, ea tunc moliatur, ea suæ causæ perquirat remedia, quæ et non solum huic Regno, sed etiam aliis Christianis Principibus, occasionem subministrarent, sedis Apostolicæ Autoritatem et Jurisdictionem imminuendi, et vilipendendi, non absq; Christianæ Reip. perturbatione: Quibus malis potest vestra Sanctitas sua autoritate et prudentia mederi. Hæc loquor ut Christianus, et ut devotissimum istius Sedis membrum sincere suadeo; non affectus, non Principis amor, non servitutis vinculum me impellit, sed sola rectitudine ad id adducor. Cæterum animi solicitudo non sinit plura exprimere. Vestra Sanctitas in tam justo Regis voto adnuendo, sic ejus Majestatis animum sibi devinciet et conservabit, ut non solum ipse et ego, sed omnes ejus subditi sint ad omnem occasionem, opes, vires, et sanguinem in Sanctitatis vestræ, Apostolicæ Sedis beneficium, libentissime profusuri. Mitto ad Beatitudinem vestram hujus rei gratia, Dominum Stephanum Gardinerum, Primarium Secretissimorum Consiliorum Secretarium, mei dimidium, et quo neminem habeo cariorem; referet ille cuncta distinctius, meum pectus aperiet. Vestram igitur Sanctitatem humillime rogo, ut eum loquentem me loqui existimares, et eam fidem quam præsenti mihi haberet, illi et Domino Edwardo Foxo Regio familiari in omnibus præstare, et me a tam anxia expectatione liberare dignetur.

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### IX.—*Cardinal Wolsey's Letter to Gregory Cassali, directing him to make Presents at Rome.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

Tanta deinde sunt, tamq; magna officia, quæ Reverendissimus Dominus Sanctorum Quatuor, tum erga Regiam Majestatem, tum erga me, nunquam non amantissime exhibuit, ut quum ea in agendis gratiis assequi conamur, id animo facilius complecti, quam exteriori ullo propensæ nostræ in eum voluntatis testimonio indicare queamus: ad nostriq; in eum summum studii et affectionis cumulum, nunc tantum accessit, quantum vix unquam possit a nobis exsolvi; licetq; de ejus Reverendissim. Dominat. ingenti Regiæ Majestati, et mihi gratificandi ardore nunquam addubitaverim, sic tamen pectus suum, in Regiæ Majestatis promovenda juvandaq; causa, sic in meis seorsim curandis expediendisq; negotiis, operam, fidem, autoritatemq; suam interposuit, ut non minora semper efficeret, quam nos optare potuerimus: quo certe nomine, ita utrumq; nostrum, suo suorumq; omnium commodo et ornamento devinxit, ut non prius conquieturi sumus quam aliquo indicio rebus ipsis nostram vicissim gratitudinem fuerimus testati; quot enim modis et quanta sollicitudine Reverendissimus Sanctorum Quatuor de nobis sit optime meritus, res præstita indicat, et Dominus Stephanus Secretarius meus suo Sermone ac relatu assidue prædicat; et quamvis minusculum illud olim oblatum recusaverit, non tamen Regiæ Majestati satisfactum esse potest, nisi memoris sui animi pignus aliquod exhibuerit. Quocirca cum eodem Reverendissimo Domino dexterrime agite, ut in familiari aliquo colloquio eliciatis, quibus rebus ille maxime oblectetur, mihiq; quam primum significate, num illi, aulea, Vasa aurea, aut equi maxime probentur, efficiamq; ne putet apud Principem inhumanum aut ingratum sua se officia collocasse. Intellexi quoq; ex eodem Domino Stephano, quam ardenter idem Dominus Sanctorum Quatuor cupiat ædificium Sancti Petri absolvi, veluti monumentum illud Religionis ac pietatis perpetuo futurum, quod certe ejus animi consilium, ut Sanctum ita dignissimum censeo, ut Christianorum Principum liberalitatem quam plurimum mereatur; meo igitur nomine affirmabitis, sic meam me esse operam apud hunc Serenissimum Regem interpositurum, ut palam constet omnibus, me Ecclesiæ membrum non omnino inutile aut stupidum esse.

De aliis vero rebus, in quibus S. D. N. benignitatem et Reverendissimi Domini Sanctorum Quatuor opera et Patrocinio Regiæ Majestati et mihi in præsentia est opus, per Dominum Stephanum copiose vos instruo, iterum atq; iterum impense rogans, ut solita vestra diligentia et sedulitate ex nostra expectatione eas curare conficereq; velitis.

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### X.—Rome, February, 1527.

*The Decretal Bull that was desired in the King's Cause.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 12.]

Dilecto, &c. Salutem et Apostolicam Benedict. Sedis Apostolicæ Suprema Autoritas potestatis suæ copiam sic omnibus exhibet, ut pro causarum, personarum et temporum qualitate remedia singulis ad ædificationem subministrare, et causas ad Canonum Sanctiones expensas æquissima certissimaq; lance trutinans, laborantibus conscientiis et fluctuantibus consulere, summamq; ipsis tranquillitatem statuere contendat. Cum itaq; Clarissimus in Christo Filius noster Henricus Octavus Angliæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, et Dominus Hiberniæ, sua nobis conquestione monstraverat, quod cum Annos ab hinc decem et octo nobilem Mulierem Catharinam Ferdinandi quondam Hispaniarum Regis Filiam, Illustris Principis Arthuri Fratris sui defuncti quondam Uxorem, hortatu, suasu, ac consiliis eorum, quibus se totum in prima Regni sui Administratione crediderat, quadam sedis Apostolicæ Dispensatione prætensa sibi bona fide Matrimonio copulasset, ac ab eo tempore hactenus cum eadem tanquam cum Uxore cohabitasset, prole interim fœmina suscepta et superstite ex eadem, ac jam tandem post desperatam prolem masculam, de stabilienda et confirmanda ejusdem Filiæ suæ successione cogitaret, lustratisq; scriniis dictam super matrimonio præfato Dispensationem faceret proferri, doctorumq; Virorum judicia examinari, cujus quidem Dispensationis tenor sequitur, et est talis, &c.

Quidam Sanctionum et Canonum Ecclesiasticorum consulti, datum dictæ cum narratis ejusdem conferentes, aliasq; nonnullas circumstantias quæ tum ante dictæ Dispensationis impetrationem, quæ etiam post eandem impetratam intervenerunt, ponderantes, tum quod causa quæ in Bulla pretensa est pacis conti-

nuandœ, viz. quæ ipsa tum coaluerat, fœderibus percussis firma constiterat, mutuis etiam populorum commerciis aucta, nullum suæ violationis timorem incutiens, qui justus et non omnino vanus dici posset, nec urgentissima proinde nec evidentissima videretur, qualem prohibitionis relaxatio exigat et requirat; tum quod preces falsæ erant dum narrabatur prædecessori nostro, eundem Carissimum Filium nostrum tum cupere cum dicta charissima Domina Catharina contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera diutius continuarentur, cum eo tempore, ut asserit, impetrationem prorsus ignoraret, et per ætatis immaturitatem, duodecimum, viz. annum non excedentis, affectum hujusmodi inducere non potuerat; tum quod Protestatione postmodum interveniente et vim Renunciationis habente, Dispensatio tunc per Renunciationem extincta videretur; Deniq; quod principes inter quos fœdera conservarentur, ante mandatam executioni Bullam fatis concesserant; Bullam ipsam, tum ex surreptionis et obreptionis vitiis, quam aliis etiam de Causis minus validam et inefficacem esse renunciarunt et retulerunt, scrupulum dicti Regis animo conscientiæq; gravem injicientes, eamq; illi opinionem inducentes, ut Matrimonium prædictum non consistere, neq; hactenus jure constitisse judicaret. Porro autem cum frequentius apud se, ut asserit, animo volveret ac meditaretur, quales exitus hujusmodi nuptiæ præfatæ habuerunt, ex quibus, viz. aliquot partus masculi imperfecti parumq; vitales prodiere, atq; ideo se omni spe successoris prorsus destitui, quo suam familiam ad paucos redactam conservaret, occurrente simul memoriæ Divina interminatione quæ Fratris sui turpitudinem revelanti, et illius Uxorem contra S. Sancta Dei præcepta accipienti inscribitur, præsertim ubi Dispensatio non interveniat, quæ ex omni sua parte valeat et consistat, nonnullis etiam affirmantibus nostram non eatenus protestatem patere ut in ea specie gratiam faciamus, etiamsi ut scribit de nostræ potestatis plenitudine, non dubitet, juste duntaxat legitimeq; interpositæ, quam summam in terris agnoscit et veneratur, ad improbandas illas nuptias tantum undiq; videt consensum ut illas animo abhorreat, nec aliorum rationibus posset dissuaderi quin abominandas eas judicet, et Divinæ Majestati odiosas. Deniq; idem Carissimus Filius noster debita cum instantia nos precibus sollicitaverit, quatenus personæ suæ et Regni nobis semper devotissimi rationem habentes, maturo judicio ab angustiis liberemus, quibus se usu præsentis Matrimonii per legem conscientiæ privatum, nec ad aliud per leges publicas ante sententiam admissum, vehementer conqueritur comprehensum esse. Nos igitur considerantes quot, quanta, tum in Sedem Apostolicam, tum in fidem Christianam officia præ cæteris exhibuerit, promeritus eo nomine ut nostræ vicissim potestatis gratiam uberrimam et promptissimam referat, aliamq; illius causam atq; privati esse, ex qua nimirum pendeat salus plurimorum, nec posse dictæ causæ decisionem diutius proferri et protelari sine gravi discriminis periculo, dicti vero Principis cruciatu maxima quæ nos ex gratitudinis vicissitudine minueret debeamus, qua decet festinatione procedi facientes ut ad finem celerrime perducatur, de Consilio Fratrum nostrorum, quorum in hac causa tam gravi atq; urgenti judicium adhibuimus, ac etiam eorum quos et Sacræ Theologiæ peritissimos et juris Ecclesiastici callentissimos desuper consulendos audiendosq; putavimus, quoniam vitia et defectus prædictos ejusmodi esse comperimus, quæ pensata præfatæ Prohibitionis natura, vires ipsius Bullæ merito enervarent; quo magis, viz. attestemur et palam faciamus, quanta animi cura et solicitudine præfati Carissimi Filii nostri conscientiam hujusmodi scrupulis et difficultatibus impediri, implicari atq; vexari sustineamus, cum alioquin te dilectum Filium nostrorum Cardin. Eboracen. in illa Provincia et Apostolicæ Sedis Legatum, a præclaris animi tui virtutibus, ad justitiam vero et æquitatem propensissimo sincerissimoq; affectu nobis sic commendatum et cognitum habeamus, ut tibi merito soli omnem nostram Autoritatem, cum in hac Causa expedienda, tum etiam in reliquis committendam putaverimus, dignissimus quidem nobis existimatus, qui partes nostras tractes et vices absentis posse supplere: Te tamen Dilectū Filiū —— a nobis specialiter istuc destinandum duximus, ut conjunctim in hac causa procedere possitis, ita nihilominus propter incertum casuum eventum mandatam Authoritatem temperantes, ut ultero vestrum nolente aut impedito alter omnia exequi et causam sine debito valeat terminare. Vobis ut præfertur conjunctim et ut præfertur divisim, ad cognoscendum et procedendum summarie et de plano, sine strepitu et figura judicii, ac de et super viribus dictæ Bullæ sive Dispensationis inquirendum, ipsamq; Bullam sive Dispensationem, si de vitiis prædictis aut eorum aliquo tali probatione constiterit, quæ licet aliis minus clara videatur, animo tamen Religioso, conscientiæq; vestræ, aut ejus vestrum qui in hac Causa processerit, divisim ut præfertur, satisfecerit, et verisimile apparuerit, vel pacem quæ in Bulla prætenditur sine hujus Matrimonii contractu consistere potuisse et continuari, vel dictum Charissimum Filium nostrum, ut allegabatur, non cupiisse contrahere Matrimonium ad hoc ut pacis fœdera conservarentur, vel deniq; Principes in Bulla nominatos, inter quos fœdera per illud Matrimonium continuatum iri allegabatur, ante mandatam executioni Bullam fatis concessisse, ipsam nullam, minus validam, ex surreptione et obreptione inefficacem, irritam et inanem fuisse, semper et esse pronuntiandam et declarandam; Matrimonium autem prædictum, quod ejusdem virtute consistere videtur, nullum simul ac minus legitimum esse, ac pro nullo minusq; legitimo haberi deberi decernendum: ipsos porro contrahentes ab omni contractu Matrimoniali hujusmodi liberos, a consortio conjugali quod hactenus observarunt separari deberi, sententiendum et autoritate nostra separandum. Deniq; utrumque ad contrahendum cum alio vel alia, novum conjugium ineundi, licentiam et facultatem tribuendum et concedendum, citra omnem recusationem, aut appellationis interpositionem, committimus et demandamus vices nostras; ac vos conjunctim, et altero vestrum nolente ut præfertur aut impedito, divisim, ad præmissa exercenda et expedienda, plenæ finaliq; executioni demandanda, Vicarios nostros et nostrum Vicarium, aut si quo alio nomine uti poterimus, quod demandatam in prædictis Autoritatem ampliaret, cum omni potestatis plenitudine tam absolutæ quam ordinariæ, quatenus vel ad præfati Matrimonii congruam dissolutionem, vel novi contrahendi firmam Constitutionem, expedire videbitur aut pertinere; ita etiam ut Autoritate præsentis Commissionis nostræ, cum omnibus illis Canonibus, ad validiorem efficacioremq; processus vestri firmitatem poteritis dispensare, quæcunq; eidem obstare putabuntur, omnemq; defectum quacunq; ex causa contingentem nostræ Autoritatis interpositione, Dispensatione Apostolica supplere possitis et valeatis, tam prolem ex primo Matrimonio susceptam propter bonam fidem Parentum, si ita expedire visum fuerit, legitimam decernendo, pronuntiando et promulgando, quam ex secundo Matrimonio suscipiendam; legitimitatem etiam utriusq; prolis, censuris et pœnis Ecclesiasticis quibuscunque, per modum decreti aut Sanctionis perpetuæ muniendo et vallando, omnibus validioribus et efficacioribus modis et formis quæ de jure concipi et excogitari poterunt, facimus, constituimus et ordinamus per præsentes: et quicquid per vos conjunctim, ut præfertur, aut divisim procedentes, per cognitionem judiciariam et summariam, aut extrajudiciaram, processus quoscunq; faciendo, pronunciando aut promulgando, eosdemve executioni mandando, Dispensationes quascunq; aut gratias in præmissis concedendo et faciendo, et generaliter in aliquibus prædictorum potestatem nostram vel ordinariam vel absolutam exercendo, ut præfertur, actum, gestum, decretum, dispensatum, pronuntiatum, mandatum, aut executum fuerit, id omne et totum, cum primum poterimus, ratum, gratum et firmum habentes, in validissima et efficacissima forma confirmabimus, nec eorum aliqua unquam infirmabimus aut infringemus, aut eorum alicui contraveniemus, nec interim revocabimus; declarantes etiam et protestantes per præsentes, nostræ intentionis esse, ut præsens Commissio, sive Delegatio Autoritatis nostræ, perpetuo effectu gaudeat, et usq; ad finalem prædictorum conclusionem extremumq; terminum duret et consistat, non obstantibus quibuscunq; decretis, sententiis, mandatis, rescriptis, literis aut Brevibus in contrarium, deinceps per nos tanquam irritatoriis, derogatoriis aut revocatoriis præsentis Concessionis nostræ, emittendis, destinandis aut promulgandis; quibus omnibus expresse per præsentes derogantes, et illa omnia pro nullis, cassis, irritis et inanibus reputantes, ac talia esse et haberi, istiq; omnino anteriora judicari, præsentia vero semper posteriora, et post illa repetita, emissa et destinata, censeri ac tanquam ultima et posteriora contrariis sic deinceps emittendis derogare debere, et cæteris contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque.



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### XI.—Rome, Jan. 1528.

*The Cardinal's Letter to John Cassali about it; taken from a Duplicate written by his Secretary.*

[Cott. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

Reverende Domine Protonotari, tanquam Frater Amantissime, cum aliis meis literis copiose ad vos perscripsi Regiæ Majestatis animum, et desiderium super his rebus quas vobis in præsentia commisit, suo nomine S. D. N. declarandas.

Nunc vero ob humillimam sinceramq; meam Devotionem, quæ ex jure et officio non solum ejus Sanctitati, sed miseris Ecclesiæ sublevandis rebus, dignitatiq; Apostolicæ restituendæ adstringor, his literis vos instruam super quibusdam rebus, præcipue et accurate notandis et considerandis, quas post humillimam, reverentissimamq; meam Commendationem dictæ Sanctitati, meo nomine sigillatim, speciatim declarabitis; et cum causam concernant, quam Regia Majestas nunc maxime optat et requirit, eandem Sanctitatem vehementissime rogabitis, ut cuncta legere et bene notare non gravetur.

Primo itaq; indolens infælicem adversumq; præsentium rerum successum, in quo S. D. N. Cardinaliumq; Collegium versatur, diuq; ac noctu mente volvens, quo pacto quibusve modis, totis meis viribus, omni sumptu molestiaq; neglecta, et cum proprii sanguinis vitæq; effusione, ministerium aliquod impendere, tantæq; afflictioni solamen afferre, et Ecclesiæ Sanctissimi Domini nostri collapso statui opitulari, in quam rem haud dubie quoadq; vita suppetet incumbam; mihiq; in hac cogitatione versanti, in mentem recordationemq; subiit, mirus quidem et grandis affectus, qui Divina sic disponente Providentia, ex instanti assiduaq; mea opera provenit, ut hunc optimum Dominum meum Regem inducerem, eique persuaderem quod ad arctissimam istam intimamq; cordis et animi conjunctionem deveniret erga, S. D. N. Ecclesiæq; et sedis Apostolicæ tutelam ac patrocinium suscipiendum, memoriæq; succurrunt innumeræ rationes a me adductæ, ut Regiam Majestatem, quæ Cæsari tenacissime inhærebat, adducerem, ad S.D.N. defensionem, rerumq; Italicarum tutelam amplectendam, ac inter omnes allegatas rationes, nulla fuit validior aut vehementior, vel quæ Regiæ Majestatis pectus magis permoveret, quam intima securitas, perfectaq; constantia, quam ei assidue indesinenterq; insinuavi de ejus Sanctitatis vera optimaq; et flagranti correspondentia in amore perpetuo indissolubiliq; amicitia, animo et voluntate, petitionibus semper suæ R. Majest. et desideriis concedendis, quoad Ecclesiæ Thesaurus et Autoritas ejus Sanctitati Christi Vicario concessa permittit, vel quoad se extendit, seu possit extendere; super idq; omnia uberrime promisi, meam etiam salutem, fidem, honorem animamque adstringens, quod omnia ex ipsius Regiæ Majestatis votis, in omne tempus præstarentur, absq; ulla prorsus occasione aut scrupulo, ab hujusmodi indulgendis petitionibus digrediendi, adeo quod Regia Majestas, ex hoc meo asseveranti relatu, hunc propensum S.D.N. in se animum perspiciens, mihiq; ejus Sanctitatis nomine, veluti Legato, et Sedis Apostolicæ membro loquenti, firmam, certamq; fidem adhibens, periculis omnibus posthabitis, laboribus sumptibusq; spretis, nullaq; sui Regni aut subditorum habita ratione, animum adfixit, prorsusq; statutum et decretum in omnibus se adjungere, atq; perpetuo et constanter cum S. D. N. in affectu concurrere, in eoq; certum habeo velle decrevisseq; perstare, ad mortem usque, nisi forsan ex eventibus, longe diversis a meo promisso et ejus expectatione, occasio subministretur suam Regiam Majestatem ab hoc animi sui decreto amovendi. Id si illi accideret (quod avertat Deus) merito mihi posset adscribere perfidiam, levitatem, violationemq; promissionis, quo casu quid mox officii aut ministerii possem Sanctissimo Domino nostro præstare, aut quæ fides in Ecclesiæ rebus mihi haberetur, singulari ejus Sanctitatis prudentiæ judicandum relinquo: nunquam enim meo in arbitrio posthac esset, quicquam alicujus momenti hinc efficere, in ejus Sanctitatis commodum, hac nunc in re Regiæ Majestatis concepta spe, aut expectatione frustrata.

Est secundo accurate consideraudum quantopere hoc negotium Regiæ Majestati intersit, et quanti sit momenti, unde namque, præter Conscientiæ Regiæ exoperationem, omnis quoq; Regiæ lineæ, et stemmatis continuatio pendet; huic adnectitur totius Regni felicitas, vel excidium, hic securitas et salus eorum consistit, qui sub Regis sunt Imperio, et qui ullo unquam tempore nascentur in ejus Regno, qua ex re oriri potest occasio, et fomes tranquillitatis perpetuæ, aut discordiæ belliq: atrocissimi in universum Christianum orbem, quæ omnia majoris sunt momenti, et vigilantius prospicienda quam cujusq; Principis vel Principissæ gratia, favor et expectatio.

Tertio, Causa ex se est hujusmodi ut in animam meam spondere ausim, ejus concessionem, futurum non solum in conscientiæ, honorisq; Pontificis exonerationem coram Deo et hominibus, sed in Cœlis quoq; gratam, acceptamq; extituram: In hac deinde re secreta insunt nonnulla, secreto S. D. N. exponenda, et non credenda literis, quas ob causas, morbosq; nonnullos, quibus absq; remedio Regina laborat, et ob animi etiam conceptum scrupulum, Regia Majestas nec potest, nec vult ullo unquam posthac tempore, ea uti, vel ut Uxorem admittere, quodcunque advenerit. Non exigua præterea habenda est ratio eorum, quæ aliis meis literis continentur, concernentia, quæ pro ingenti thesauro S. D. N. habere queat, tam certam Regiæ Majestatis amicitiam, cum ejus Sanctitate constantissime conjunctam futuram in prosperis et adversis, in quas etiam partes amicos suos omnes pertraxit, et assidue pertrahit: ad Ecclesiæ defensionem, Sanctissimi Domini nostri conservationem, causas, omnes suas et actiones dirigens; possentq; hi omnes, Regia

Majestate deficiente, in contrarium verti, et, ut vera loquar, nullum Principem video in quo S. D. N. possit, quam in Regia Majestate plenius aut perfectius confidere, vel cujus medio Apostolicæ sedis status in pristinam suam dignitatem queat certius restitui, cum absq; ejus subsidio, nisi solus Deus ex immensa sua bonitate manum citissime apponat, omnino imminutus iri videatur. Quod si Sanctissimus Dominus noster nunc (quod absit) in his Regiis petitionibus durum se, aut difficilem se exhibuerit, mihi certe molestissimum est futurum vivere diutius, ob innumera mala, quæ inde subsecutura videntur, hoc præsertim firmo, tutoq; Regio subsidio tam ingrate abjecto; hocq; solum, et certum, et salubre remedium videtur tantæ corrigendæ calamitati superesse, quo neglecto omnia corruant necesse est. Hac autem in re S. D. N. sua erga Regiam Majestatem animi gratitudine comprobata, poterit de illius amicitia et conjunctione quæcunq; volet sibi polliceri, adversus eos omnes, qui ejus Autoritatem aut dignitatem voluerint oppugnare. Tandem his causis rationibusq; omnibus in unum congestis, mecum ipse reputans, quam multa gravissimi momenti in hujus conjugii Dissolutione occurrant, in tanta æquitate justoq; fundamento posita, ob quæ hæc Dissolutio nec possit absq; gravissimo detrimento, nec debeat diutius protrahi aut intermitti; videns quoq; quid allegari possit et allegabitur omnino ad Regiæ Majestatis conscientiam coram Deo purgandam, etiamsi id a S. D. N. neutiquam admittatur, quæ in hujusmodi allegationibus confisa, vereor ne in tanta rerum extremitate constituta, potius quam ingentia mala, quæ hinc apertissime imminent, succedant, dicta Regia Majestas ex duobus malis minus malum eligat, et soli suæ puræq; conscientiæ innitens, id agat, quod nunc tam reverenter a Sedis Apostolicæ Authoritate exigit, unde Sedis contemptus indies gravior excreseeret, hoc præsertim tempore admodum periculoso: quæ omnia sunt a S. D. N. summa sua prudentia alte consideranda, nullo prorsus dubio aut difficultate in re tam gravi mature concedenda interjecta; nec eam retardare debet cujusquam mortalis instantia, contemplatio vel satisfactio, præsertim quum in multis aliis rebus, forsan non tam manifestis et apparentibus, Sanctitas sua liberalem, facilemq; erga alios se sæpe præstiterit; cui humillima reverentia præmissa meo nomine dicetis, quod hæc loquor tamquam fidele, utcunq; Ecclesiæ indignum membrum, omnia excogitans quæ possent in Ecclesiæ augmentum et existimationem cedere, ea etiam admovens et consulens ut evitentur, quæ cessura videantur in contrarium. Quocirca Sanctissimo Domino nostro affirmabitis, quod præmissis omnibus tam maximi momenti existentibus probe consideratis, non veluti Mediator aut Intercessor, ob privatum illum affectum quem Regiæ Majestatis causis, ut mei juris est, promovendis gero, sed tanquam is qui in re tanta et ex tam certa scientia et cognitione, velim Sanctissimo Domino nostro suadere, ut quod nunc petitur omnino concedat, idque suaderem etiam si in hoc Regnum nunquam venissem, neq; hic commune quicquam haberem; rogoque, precor, et obtestor ejus Sanctitatem, ut omni dubio, respectu, metuq; deposito, nullo pacto neget aut differat ea concedere aut adnuere, quæ Regia Majestas urgentissimas ob causas tanta nunc animi sollicitudine exposcit; sed his potius benignius liberaliterq; adnuat, et omnia concedere non gravetur in pleniorem modum qui hujus rei gratia possit excogitari, compertissimumq; sibi sua Sanctitas habeat, se id effecturum, quod coram Deo et hominibus justum omnino habebitur, actissimeque Regiam Majestatem devinciet ad suæ Sanctitatis, Ecclesiæ Apostolicæque Sedis, causasque omnes pro viribus juvandas protegendasque, nec ea in re, ulli labori, sumptui, Regno vel subditis parcet, nec (si opus fuerit) propriam Personam exponere recusabit, in ea opinione constantissime permansura, in eandemque sententiam Gallorum Regem et alios confœderatos attrahet, tum pro suæ Sanctitatis et Cardinalium liberatione, tum pro Sedis Apostolicæ Authoritatis et dignitatis restitutione; et præterquam quum dicta Sanctitas mei humillimæ suæ Creaturæ fidem et existimationem conservabit, quo in omnem eventum et necessitatem ea possim hic facilius commodiusq; tractare quæ in Ecclesiæ commodum, beneficium et securitatem cessura videbuntur, in quæ officia omnem meam industriam, zelum, studiumq; adhibebo, hunc quoq; Serenissimum Regem in perpetuum sibi lucrifaciet. Quod si harum rerum rationem non habuerit, vereor ne sit futurum in mea potestate, ut ullo modo hanc Regiam Majestatem vel alium ullum Principem ad ea adducam, quæ Sanctissimo Domino nostro solatio aut subsidio esse possunt. Sed confido ab ipsius Sanctitate tantam malorum occasionem sublatam iri, gratissimo, benignissimo, liberrimoq; animo, omnia ut petuntur concessuram esse, nullo objecto impedimento, contradictione aut mora.

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### XII.—Romæ, Jan. 20, 1528.

*Staphileus's Letter to the Cardinal, that shows how much he was persuaded of the justice of the King's Cause. The Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

Reverendissime et Illustrissime Domine D. mihi colendissime, post humillimam cõmendationem D. V. Reverend. dignabitur intelligere, qualiter quintadecima die post recessum nostrum a Londino conscendimus navem, retenti interim in portu ob tempestatem Maris et contrarios ventos: interim in itinere fui cum Reverendo Domino Roffen. et disputavimus materiam multum, copiose, et satis prolixe, in præsentia Domini Doctoris Marmeduci, qui intellexit omnia ex utraq; parte ab utroque dicta et sæpius replicata; penes quem autem steterit victoria, vel saltem, uter nostrum validius certaverit, D. V. Reverend. percipiet ex fideli relatione præfati D. Marmeduci. Unum certifico D. V. Reverend. quod pro uno mediocri Episcopatu desiderassem quod huic nostræ disputationi interfuisset Serenissimus Rex noster et D. V. et Regina, pro intelligentia veritatis et pro modo disputandi: etenim commendo humiliter D. V. Reverend. istum bonum virum, bonum servitorem ac diligentem Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis et D. V. Reverendiss. Quibus me quoq; humillimum ac ex toto devotissimum eorum servum quam humillime possum ex toto corde meo semper commendo, præstiturus utriq; fideliss. et amantiss. obsequium in rebus et negotiis mihi commissis et committendis. Bene valeat D. V. Reverendiss. quæ dignabitur tenere me semper in bona gratia Serenissimi Regis nostri, qui est decus et ornamentum Regiæ Dignitatis. Ex Bononia, 20 Jan. 1528.

D. V. Reverendiss.

Humillimus Servitor Episcopus
Staphileus.

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### XIII.—Ad Campegium, 1528.

*The Cardinal's Letter to Campegius, taken from the Draught of it; corrected with his own hand.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

Reverendissime in Christo Pater, grata semper huic Regiæ Majestati extiterunt Vestræ Reverend. Dominat. officia, sed gratissimum omnium illud fuit, quod tanta fide et sedulitate in ipsius promovenda causa ab ea fuisse præstitum ex Reverendi Domini



Jerdonen. sermone cognovit: quam optimi amoris significationem toto pectore amplexatur, jussitq; ut suis nominibus ingentes vestræ Reverendissimæ D. gratias haberemus: Cuiego eo quoq; nomine maxime quoq; me debere fateor, nulla enim in re magis obnoxium me sibi potest efficere, quam si totis suis viribus, omni gratia et Authoritate adnitatur, quo negotium hoc ex Regiæ Majestatis sententia quam citissime conficiatur; hujusmodi enim est ut nullum gravius possit accidere, dilationem nullam patitur, utpote quod totius hujus Regni conservationem, Regiæ sobolis continuationem et ejus animi salutem in se contineat: causa quidem manifestior est quam disputatione egeat, et sanctior quam debeat in controversiam adduci, hanc unam gratiam et nunc primum a Sede Apostolica votis omnibus petit, et eam tum ex rei justitia, tum ex sua in S. D. N. filiali devotione, spem concepit, ut nullo pacto sibi persuadeat unquam fieri posse ut sua expectatione frustretur, quam scit vestræ R. D. opera ac pio patrocinio maxime posse juvari.

Iterum igitur atq; iterum Reverendissimam D. vestram obsecro, ut postquam recenti et claro hoc testimonio purgavit quicquid antea in Regiam Majestatem fide sinistre fuerat ad nos delatum, et nostrum animum sibi totum devinxit, non gravetur nunc strenue in hoc Regio promovendo negotio ad optatum usq; finem perseverare, quod ita cor nostrum premit, ut vel proprio sanguine id vellemus posse a S. D. N. impetrare. Cætera, vestra Reverendissima D. uberius ac distinctius cognoscet ex Reverendo Domino Episcopo Jerdonensi, et ex Domino Stephano Gardinero intimo meo servo, et Domino Edwardo Foxo Regio familiari, quibus rogo ut certissimam in omnibus fidem velit habere. Et fælicissime valeat.

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### XIV.—Maii 7, 1528.

*The Cardinal's Letter to G. Cassali, desiring a Decretal Bull to be sent over. A Duplicate.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

Magnifice Domine Gregori, &c. Ingentem Serenissima Regia Majestas et ego lætitiam concepimus, quum tum ex Domini Stephani literis, tum vero ex Domini Foxi relatu cognovimus, quanta fide, industria, ac vigilantia usi sitis in ejusdem Regiæ Majestatis conficiendo negotio, quem vestrum animum, etsi sæpe antea arduis in rebus exploratissimum certissimumq; haberemus, hoc tamen tam claro testimonio nihil a vobis omissum perspicimus, quod votum nostrum utcunq; juvare potuisset. Cæterum quum nonnulla adhuc meo aliorumq; Doctiss. virorum judicio superesse videantur, ad Regiæ Majestatis causam securissime stabiliendam finiendamq; de quibus ad D. Stephanum in præsentia perscribo; Vos iterum atq; iterum rogo, ut de illis impetrandis apud S. D. N. una cum Domino Stephano vestram gratiam et Authoritatem, quam apud ejus Sanctitatem maximam esse et audio et gaudeo, pro viribus interponatis, maxime autem ut in Commissione illa Decretali a S. D. N. nullis Arbitris seu consultoribus admissis concedenda, et secreto ad me mittenda, omnes vires ingenii, prudentiæ diligentiæq; vestræ adhibeatis, affirmabitisq; et in salutem animamq; meam eidem S. D. N. spondebitis, quod dictam Bullam secretissime nullis mortalium oculis conspiciendam apud me asservabo, tanta fide et cautione, ut ne minimum quidem ex ea re periculum, vel periculi metum ejus Sanctitas sit sensura; non enim eo consilio aut animo eam Commissionem impetrari tam vehementer cupio, ut vel illius vigore ullius processus aut aliud præterea quicquid ageretur, vel eadem publice privatimve legere illa ulli exhiberetur, sed ut hac quasi arrha et pignore summæ paternæq; S. D. N. erga Regiam Majestatem benevolentiæ apud me deposito, quum videat nihil illi denegaturum quod petiverit, perspiciatq; tantum fidei ejus Sanctitatem in me reposuisse, sic mea apud dictam Majestatem augeatur Authoritas, ut quanquam vires omnes suas opesq; Apostolicæ Sedis conservationi et in pristinum statum reparationi sic sponte dicaverit, me tamen suasore et consultore omnia in posterum, et in sanguinis effusionem sit concessura et effectura, quæ in ejusdem Sedis et suæ Beatitudinis securitatem, tranquillitatem et commodum, quaquam ratione cedere poterunt.

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### XV.—*The Breve of Pope Julius for the King's Marriage; suspected to be forged.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 12.]

Julius Papa Secundus. Dilecte Fili et dilecta in Christo Filia, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens Authoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout (personarum, negotiorum et temporum qualitate pensata) id in Domino conspicit expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, quod cum alias tu Filia Catharina, et tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus Carissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustrissimus primogenitus, pro conservandis pacis et amicitiæ nexibus et fœderibus inter præfatum Angliæ Regem, et Carissimum in Christo Filium nostrum Ferdinandum Regem, et Carissimam in Christo Filiam nostram Elizabeth. Reginam Catholicos Hispaniarum et Siciliæ, Matrimonium per verba legitime de præsenti contraxeritis, *illudque carnali copula consummaveritis*, quia tamen Dominus Arthurus, prole ex hujusmodi Matrimonio non suscepta, decessit, et hujusmodi vinculum pacis et connexitatis inter præfatos Reges et Reginam ita firmiter verisimiliter non perduraret, nisi etiam illud alio affinitatis vinculo confoveretur et confirmaretur, ex his et certis aliis causis, desideratis Matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præsenti contrahere: Sed quia desiderium vestrum in præmissis adimplere non potestis, Dispensatione Apostolica desuper non obtenta, nobis propterea humiliter supplicari fecistis, ut vobis providere in præmissis de Dispensationis gratia et benignitate Apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui inter singulos Christi fideles, præsertim Catholicos Reges et Principes, pacis et concordiæ amænitatem vigere intensis desideriis affectamus, his et aliis causis animum nostrum moventibus, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut aliquo impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente non obstante Matrimonium inter vos contrahere, et in eo postquam contractum fuerit, remanere, libere et licite valeatis, Authoritate Apostolica per præsentes Dispensamus; et quatenus forsan jam Matrimonium inter vos de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis, ac carnali copula consummaveritis, vos et quemlibet vestrum ab excessu hujusmodi, ac Excommunicationis sententia quam propterea incurristis, eadem Authoritate absolvimus, ac etiam vobiscum ut in hujusmodi Matrimonio sic de facto contracto remanere, seu illud de novo contrahere, inter vos libere et licite valeatis, similiter Dispensamus, prolem ex hujusmodi Matrimonio sive contracto sive contrahendo suscipiendam legitimam decernendo. Volumus autem, si hujusmodi Matrimonium de facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos et quemlibet vestrum eligendus, pœnitentiam, quam adimplere teneamini, propterea vobis injungat. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die 26 Decemb. millesimo quingentesimo tertio. Pont. nostri Anno primo.

Sigismundus.

XVI.—*A part of the Cardinal's Letter to G. Cassali, desiring leave to show the Decretal Bull to some of the King's Council. A Duplicate.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

Illud igitur video maxime necessarium superesse ut Decretalis Bulla, quam Reverendissimus Dominus Legatus secum defert, secreto legenda exhibeatur nonnullis ex Regis Consultoribus, eo quidem consilio, non ut in judicium proferatur, vel ad causam definiendam adhibeatur, sed solum ut perspicientes illi, quorum prudentia et Autoritas non parva est, nihil a me fuisse omissum, quod causam Regis possit securissimam reddere, omniaq; fuisse a S. D. N. concessa, quæ in causæ firmamentum ullo pacto queant excogitari facilius, ubi Regiæ Majestatis securitati, Regni quieti, et perpetuo totius rei stabilimento undiq; consultum viderint, in sententiam nostram deveniant, summaq; cum diligentia in Autoritate Apostolica ad Dei gloriam conjuncta rectissime absolvantur. Proinde, Domine Gregori, iterum atq; iterum vos impense rogo, quod ad S. D. N. genua devoluti ejus Beatitudinem meo nomine obsecretis, ut hoc relinquum meæ fidei meæq; dexteritati de Bulla Decretali ostendenda committere velit, quam rem sic moderabor, ut nullum prorsus periculum, nullum damnum, nullum odium queat unquam sibi, vel Sedi Apostolicæ provenire; hocq; tam instanter precor, ut pro salute mea conservanda petere queam ardentius nihil.

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XVII.—*John Cassali's Letter about a Conference he had with the Pope. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

Reverendissime ac Illustrissime Domine D. mi Colendissime, &c.

Quum Tabellarius D. Vestræ Reverendissimæ cum ejus mandatis literisq; die 2 Novem. datis Bononiam ad Equitem fratrem pervenisset, neq; ipse tunc posset præ debilitate properatis itineribus Romam venire, ne ad eam rem longioris temporis moram interponeret, misit per dispositos equos D. Vicentium Cassalium fratrem nostrum patruelem, volens ipsum statim subsequi; venit igitur D. Vincentius Cassalius. At ego Vestræ Dominationis Reverendissimæ literis lectis ac perpensis, S. D. N. adivi, et ea quæ D. V. Reverendissima scripserat, diligenter ejus Sanctitati exposui, ipsasq; etiam literas recitavi, quæ prudentissime et efficacissime omnia explicabant. Atq; hujusmodi verbis sum loquutus.

Non locus hic nec tempus postulat, Beatissime Pater, ut ego nunc commemorem, quanto amore, quanto animi effectu, quibusq; officiis illa Regia Majestas Apostolicam Sedem Sanctitatemq; Vestram sit ubique omni tempore prosequuta, quantaq; observantia et fide Reverendissimus Dominus Eboracen. semper coluerit; nec recensendum hic videtur, quot labores, quot incommoda subiverint, quæ officia, quas multoties impensas effecerint, quærentes Ecclesiasticum statum, Christianam Religionem, et Catholicam Fidem protegere ac conservare: Nec vestra Sanctitas ignorare debet, quibus laboribus, quantis precibus, quot tabellariis, quot oratoribus missis, quot non dicam literis, sed voluminibus conscriptis, post multa insuper Jurisperitorum consilia, tum ex Anglia allata, tum hic etiam formata, fuerit tandem a vestra Sanctitate impetratum, ut res eo, quo fuit pacto, componeretur: Qua ratione Regiæ Majestatis desiderio indulgebatur, et Beatitudinis vestræ honori ac conscientiæ, justitiæq; et æquitati consulebatur: At nunc Sanctitas Vestra animadvertit illos, præter omnium nostrum spem et opinionem, omni auxilio penitus esse destitutos: Reverendiss. Campegius non modo non ostendit, se adeo urgentibus precibus Serenissimi Regis obtemperare velle, sed ut primum ad Colloquium venit, rem totam pervertit, Regiam Majestatem a Divortio dissuasit, perinde ac si ei Legatio demandata fuerit, ut Serenissimo Regi ex parte Reginæ persuadere debeat, ut se a Divortio abstineat, adeo ut non possit Regia Majestas stimulum hunc Conscientiæ ex suo pectore evellere, semperq; in ea mentis perturbatione illi sit permanendum, ut omnibus horis cogitet successorem sui Regni ex suo sanguine defuturum. Neq; adhuc Reverendissimus Campegius ullam significationem dedit, velle se ad id exequendum descendere, quod priore illa generali Commissione continetur; verum, quod pejus etiam est, quum multis precibus Bulla Decretalis in hac causa Regia impetrata fuerit, promiseritq; Vestra Sanctitas se permissurum ut Serenissimo Regi ac Reverendiss. D. Eboracen. ostenderetur, et eorum manibus crederetur, quam ipsi aliquibus ex Secretissimis Consiliariis ostenderunt, ut Serenissimus Rex de totius negotii æquitate instructior fieret, noluit Reverendissimus Campegius eam credere Serenissimo Regi, aut Reverendissimo Domino Eboracen. suo in ea causa Collegæ. Cur autem velit Vestra Sanctitas Regiam Majestatem in eam spem adduxisse, ut deinde hoc pacto illam frustretur ac deludat. Tunc S. D. N. injecta in meum brachium manu, me ulterius loqui prohibuit, se ira accensum non abscondens, dixit, Non parum sibi de D. V. Reverendissima conquerendum esse, atque sub ejus fide se deceptum esse; Bullam Decretalem dedisse, ut tantum Regi ostenderetur, concremareturq: statim: ad hæc me (inquit) multis illemagnisque precibus protraxit, ostendens, si id non daretur, manifestam suæ saluti ruinam impendere; nunc autem eam Bullam, quæ debuit esse Secretissima, vult divulgare, neq; unquam se promisisse concessurum ut Consiliariis ostendatur: literas (inquit) ipsas Reverendissimi Eboracen. proferre possum, quibus id tantum, quod dixi, petit, et ipsum Equitem Cassalium testem volo, quod Dominus Stephanus Gardinerus et ipse nil aliud a me postulaverunt, nec si postulassent, quicquam amplius obtinuissent; atq; utinam aliter rem petissent, eam namq; facile denegassem, nec ad hanc pœnitentiam venissem, ex qua vel unius digiti jactura (modo fieri possit) quod factum fuit revocarem, video enim quantum mali ex eo mihi subeundum sit. Quum S. D. N. hæc et similia contra suum morem dixisset, ego in eam sententiam subsequutus, sciendum esse, quod D. V. Reverendissima petit, non esse ab eo, quod ejus Sanctitas constitutum fuisse dicet alienum, nec D. V. Reverendissima hanc rem divulgari velle, aut secundum eam Bullam sententiam ferri; Cæterum Regiæ Majestati et sibi tradi, ut possent aliquibus fidelioribus carioribusq; Consiliariis ostendere, ut ipsi de re tota fiant instructiores, quod perinde arcanum erit, ac si in nullius notitiam devenisset. An non (inquam) Sanctitas Vestra plerosq; habet, quibus quum aliquid arcanum crediderit, putet id non minus celatum esse, quam si uno tantum pectore contineretur, quod multo magis Serenissimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet, cui singuli in suo Regno sunt subjecti, neq; etiamsi velint, possunt Regi non esse fidelissimi: Ve namq; illis si vel parvo momento ab illius voluntate recederent, quid hoc præterea obesse potest? an non sic petitum, sic constitutum fuit? quæ ratio Sanctitatem Vestram propositum mutare cogit? Ibi Pontifex iracundus, et concitatior etiam quam paulo ante; Haud (inquit) ita fuit constitutum, nec me latet, quid de ea Bulla facere cogitent et cujusmodi ex eo mihi damnum redundaturum sit; firmum igitur illud habeatis, me decrevisse, neq; sententiam muto, nolle quicquam amplius hac in re permittere. At ego, nolit (quæso) Vestra Sanctitas sic ex certa animi sententia loqui, ac



potius in his literis Reverendissimi Domini Eboracen. consideret damna, ruinas, hæreses, quæ Vestræ Sanctitatis culpa in illo Regno orirentur: Regia enim Majestas male a Vestra Beatitudine tractata, injuria, et ignominia affecta, studium et voluntatem, quam semper optimam in Sedem Apostolicam habuit, in contrariam partem convertere posset, hoc est Dominationi Vestræ toto pectore considerandum. Esto quod de hujus negotii æquitate disceptatum non sit, concedamus etiam hanc rem malam, et mali exempli futuram (quod quidem secus esse judicaverunt omnes) an non Vestra Sanctitas novit pleraq: quæ non bona sunt præferri nonnunquam a nobis solere, ne pejora patiamur; atq; hoc tum aliis in rebus, tum imprimis hæresium evitandarum causa providendum est, quas videmus, quum semel altiores radices egerint, non posse amplius extirpari: atq; ibi ad illius pedes genibus flexis, eam precibus omnibus sum obtestatus, ut amicitiam potentissimi Regis conservare, observantium Dominationis Vestræ Reverendissimæ erga ejus Sanctitatem, nostramq; servitutem respicere vellet; relicta namq; Regiæ Majestatis amicitia, religionis imminutio subsequeretur, et Regni illius a tam antiqua cum Sede Apostolica conjunctione dissolutio, ac Dominationis Vestræ Reverendissimæ gratia et Autoritas apud sereniss. Regem non suo merito deficeret, ejusq; fortasse salus periclitaretur; Nos autem qui semper Beatitudini Vestræ inservivimus, pro qua tot bonis officiis functi sumus, et tantum operæ perfecimus, ad integram amicitiam inter Regiam Majestatem et Vestram Sanctitatem conservandam, in medio nostrarum actionum, Regni illius damna et calamitatem, nostramq; certissimam ruinam conspiceremus. Ad hæc S. D. N. et brachiorum et totius corporis agitatione, animum commotum ostendens, Volo (inquit) ego ruinam, quæ mihi modo immineat considerare, et idipsum quod feci valde me angit; Si hæreses, vel alia mala oritura sunt, quænam in eo mea culpa erit, satis meæ conscientiæ fuerit me vacasse culpa, cui essem obnoxius, si hoc etiam quod nunc ex me petitur concederem: Nec Reverendissimus Dominus Eboracensis, nec vos ullam causam de me conquerendi habetis, quicquid nunc pollicitus sum præstiti, neq; aliud unquam, etsi mihi faciendi esset facultas, Regia Majestas et Reverendissimus Dominus Eboracen. a me petierunt, quod non promptissime concesserim, ut quisq; facile intelligat, quanti eos semper fecerim; ad aliqua etiam Vestri causa faciliorem me præbui. Cæterum ubi vertitur meæ conscientiæ integritas omnia posthabenda censeo, agant per se ipsi quod volunt, Legatum remittant eo prætextu, quod in causam ulterius procedi nolint, et deinceps ut ipsi volent rem conficiant, modo ne me autore injuste quicquam agatur. Tunc ego, Nonne Vestra Sanctitas vult, ut ex vigore Commissionis procedatur? quod quum velle affirmasset, dixi, igitur Reverendissimus Campegius Sanctitatis Vestræ voluntati adversatur, Divortium enim Regi dissuasit; At Pontifex, ego (inquit) illi imposui, ut Divortium Regi dissuaderet, persuaderet Reginæ; quod autem ad Commissionem pertinet, si requiratur, exequetur. Sumus ergo (inquam) concordes, Beatissime Pater, quod quum ita sit, quid nocere poterit Decretalem Bullam aliquibus secretissimis ac juramento addactis Consiliariis ostendisse: Tum quassans caput, Scio (inquit) quid de ea facere constituant, verum nondum Campegii literas ex Anglia legi, quapropter die crastino ad me redibitis. Hoc pacto S. D. N. primo die me dimisit. Adfuit his sermonibus Dominus Vincentius Cassalius, quem ob equitem fratrem huc missum dixi, qui equitem ipsum excusavit, quod quamvis ille animadverteret negotium hoc tanti momenti esse, ut etiam cum vitæ discrimine Romam per dispositos equos sibi properandum esse videret, nihilominus supersedisse videns quod si id fecisset necesse sibi futurum domi, et in lectulo permanere potius, quam de re tanta coram ejus Sanctitate agere. Atque interim Dominus Vincentius multas rationes ad persuadendum, equitis Cassalii nomine adhibuit, quas eodem pacto ejus Sanctitas in sequentem diem rejecit.

Postridie ejus diei signatura habita est, cui ego tanquam referendarius interfui, in vesperumq; est protracta, nec judicavi opportunum Pontificem signaturæ munere defessum aggredi, quum præsertim ejus Sanctitas diceret se nondum Campegii literas perlegisse. Res igitur iterum in diem proximum rejecta fuit, quo postea horam commodam nactus Pontificem adivi, quumq; omnium Capitum, quæ D. V. Reverendissimæ literis continebantur, quasi summam effecissem, ne quicquam per oblivionem præterirem, ab ea primum parte cœpi, in qua dicitur suam sanctitatem concessisse Commissionem generalem in amplissima forma, et promisisse ferendam sententiam, se ratificaturum. Pontifex hoc verum esse affirmavit, dicens se contentum esse, ut ad sententiam procedatur; Qua vero parte est, ejus Sanctitatem Bullam Decretalem concessisse, ut secretiores Regiæ Majestatis Consiliarios instrueret, id a veritate longe remotum dixit, posseq; ad id se literas D. V. Reverendissimæ ostendere: Atque ea repetivit, quæ priore die super hoc dixerat, viz. Dominum Stephanum Gardinerum et Equitem Cassalium se testes habere, hanc Bullam non ea conditione petitam fuisse ut ostenderetur cuiquam, præterquam Serenissimo Regi et D. V. Reverendissimæ, et Campegium nunc ad se scribere tantundem effecisse, quo facto ex conventione Bullam comburi debere, promissurum quoq; se dixit, ut si quæ allegantur, probentur, ad sententiam ferendam procedatur, se id ratum habiturum. Quumq; ego quæsissem an vellet, quæ fierent per eam Bullam comprobare, minime id oportere dixit; negavit quoq; eam Consiliariis ostendendam esse, qui tametsi rem bonam non judicarent, approbarent tamen super ejus Sanctitatis Conscientiam; ac sæpius interim repetivit, non esse amplius in ea re commorandum. Ad aliam igitur partem deveni, in qua D. V. Reverendissima dicit, Reverendissimum Campegium Divortium inter Regem Serenissimum et Reginam conatum dissuadere: Tum Pontifex Campegium scribere dixit, eo se etiam functurum officio, ut Reginæ Divortium persuaderet, quam ab eo alienam invenerit; modeste tamen eam, ait, locutam fuisse, et Consiliarios petiisse, qui ex Hispania denegati fuerint, ex Flandria autem concessi. Dixit etiam S. D. N. se literas ad Regem, Reverendissimo Campegio ex suo Chirographo dedisse, ut Regia Majestas fidem his haberet, quæ Reverendissimus Campegius suæ Sanctitatis nomine diceret. Ad illam deinde partem deveni, ubi est: Causam Regis perinde differt, ac si nolit ad judicium, sententiamq; in partem suæ Majestatis ferendam descendere, donec S. D. N. certiorem prius effecerit, de his ad hanc causam concernentibus, quæ ibi vidit et audivit. Ad hæc respondit, Campegium quandocunq; requisitus fuerit, processurum, neq; de supersedendo Commissionem habere; se tantum injunxisse, ut quum procedi cœptum esset, se certiorem faceret, ne tamen interim moræ aliquid interponeretur. At ubi est nullo pacto adduci vult, ut mihi suo Collegæ Commissionem hanc Decretalem credat: Dixit verum id esse, ideo factum ne pluribus palam fieret, eaque conditione qua petitum fuit, ostensam nequicquam amplius expectandum, ea repetens, quæ prius etiam circa hoc dixerat. At ego, videat Sanctitas vestra quod ex his verbis, quæ hic scripta sunt loquor, quæ dicunt Sanctitatem Vestram Commissionem Decretalem concessisse, ea conditione ut aliquibus Regiis Consiliariis ostenderetur. Tum Pontifex iterum excandescens; Ostendam (inquit)

literas ipsius Reverendissimi Eboracen. nec loquor mendacia, et non minus meis verbis, literisq; prioribus Reverendissimi Eboracen. fides est habenda, quam his quas nunc affertis. Tum ejus Sanctitatem mitigari quæsivi, si minus urgenter mandata exequerer, quoniam id a me fieri oportet. Quod ad Regni ruinas, damna, calamitates, scandala, et diminutionem Religionis, multa in eandem sententiam dixit, in quam primo die locutus fuit; quum diceret, Egregium vero decus Serenissimo huic Regi fuerit, si ipse, qui Fidei Defensor et sit et appelletur, qui libros etiam pro ejus defensione ediderit, eandem nunc impugnare cogatur; Ad hæc quam recte sint venturi, viderint ipsi. Eo autem loco, in quo dicebatur aliquid de Regio negotio, inter Generalem Fratrum de Observantia, et ejus Sanctitatem convenisse, et eo autore fœdus inter ejus Sanctitatem et Cæsarianos componendum, Dixit, id ostendere, quod de Regio negotio nihil promiserit, quod quicunq; pollicitus sit, et quin poterit habita ratione suæ conscientiæ, re ipsa præstare velit: In eo autem quod de Pace tractanda affertur, dixit, se nullum modum in tali negotio invenire, neq; se adhuc scire, quod iste Generalis ullas pacis conditiones sit allaturus; atq; ea insuper addidit, quæ meis literis die 15 Novemb. datis D. V. Reverendissimæ significavi.

Aliis deinde diebus S. D. N. sæpissime sum alloquutus, qui decrevit cum Reverendissimis de Monte et Sanctorum Quatuor Cardinalibus de his rebus omnibus loqui, præterquam de Bulla Decretali, de qua cum nemine vult ullam fieri mentionem, jussitq; ex omni Scriptura ejus memoriam eximi. De reliquis itaq; rebus omnibus loquutus sum cum his duobus Cardinalibus qui dixerunt Pontificem contentum fore, ut ad sententiam procedatur, tametsi id plerisq; alienum videatur, deque eo nonnulli ex Cardinalibus cum obtrectatione loquuntur, et Cæsaris Orator ne procedatur Protestatur, voluntq; fieri in Curia Causæ advocationem, Commissionemq; cum Inhibitione ad partes; dicuntq; hi duo Reverendissimi, quod quæ postulant illi, justa sunt, nec minimo cuiq; denegari possent, nolle tamen Regiæ Majestatis causa S. D. N. quicquam ex eo quod factum sit, immutare.

Quum alio etiam die Pontificem otiosum nactus essem, multa cum ejus Sanctitate, de rebus præteritis disserui, deque eo, quod ego ad ejus utilitatem cum Venetis egissem, quoniam scirem Serenissimi Regis et D. V. Reverendissimæ voluntatem esse, ut quotiescunq; occasio daretur, pro suæ Sanctitatis commodo omnia fierent: exposui deinde quantopere elaborassem pro negotio Cerviæ et Ravennæ, utq; multa Gallici Oratores egissent a D. V. Reverendissima potissimum instigati; Addidi etiam efficacissima verba, quibus usus est Dominus Stephanus Gardinerus. Ad omnia S. D. N. respondit, se ea de re Regiæ Majestati, ac D. V. Reverendissimæ gratias habere, et mihi quoque gratias egit; dixitque, non tamen omnes simul tantum efficere potuistis, ut mihi mæ civitates redderentur. Scitis autem conditiones fœderis in quo ego quoque eram, fuisse, ut quum quis nostrum injuria afficeretur, ab eo cæteri confœderati injuriam propulsarent, quod multo magis pro me faciendum erat, quum qui in ipso fœdere essent mihi injuriarentur; Et inde Cæsariani volunt mihi persuadere Venetos non fuisse id facturos, si putassent Regi Angliæ aut Christianissimo displiciturum: Neque interim desistunt, multa, magnaq; mihi polliceri, unde ego, quod alias etiam dixi, id quod affertur, quum aliter facere nequeam, accipere cogar. Illudq; etiam vos scire volo promissum mihi fuisse, si legatus hic in Angliam mitteretur, futurum ut mihi civitates a Venetis restituerentur. Tum ego, non omnia, Beatissime Pater, adhuc sunt perfecta, Rex enim potentissimus omnino operam dabit, ut illæ civitates Beatitudini Vestræ restituantur: An non, quæ ejus Majestas scribit Vestra Sanctitas animadvertit? Cui videndum imprimis est, ne de ipsa Serenissimo Regi sit conquerendum; et ex hac occasione iterum ad Regiam Causam redii. At ejus Sanctitas dixit, se omnia quæ potuisset pro Regia Majestate et D. V. Reverendissima fecisse, facturamq; etiam libenter.

Nonne igitur (inquam) posset ratio aliqua inveniri qua concederetur eam Bullam aliquibus ex Secretioribus Consiliariis ostendi posse? Tum Pontifex, non (inquit) Non potest hoc fieri, nec a me impetrari; quod si ullo modo fieri potuisset, minime tam multas magnasq; preces a Serenissimo Rege, et Reverendissimo Domino Eboracen. expectassem; quumq; quibusdam validis Argumentis instarem, prohibuit me ulterius de hujusmodi re loqui. Nolui ego unquam dicere, equitem fratrem brevi esse venturum, ne Pontifex rem in illius adventum protraheret, ea tantum de causa, ut moram interponeret.

Omnibus deinde aliis diebus super eodem negotio institi, nunquam tamen Pontifex sententiam suam ulla ex parte immutare voluit; tantum illud decrevit, Nuntium mittere velle, qui suam sententiam verbis explicaret: quumq; nulla mihi amplius spes relinqueretur quicquam amplius impetrandi, tum demum dixi, Equitem fratrem Romæ futurum sequenti die, qui quum adeo gravis momenti rem, cerneret, nolueritsuæ valetudini consulere, et quod is minime putasset, suæ servitutis in ejus Sanctitatem merita hoc modo male tractanda fuisse. Gratum sibi dixit Pontifex Equitis adventum fore, quodq; cum ipso et constituerentur omnia, negans tamen se ullo pacto id quod nunc petitur concessurum. Venit itaq: Eques frater, qui non secus ac si nunquam quisquam de hac re cum Pontifice egisset, singula de integro tractavit, omnibus his modis et rationibus tentatis quæ excogitari poterunt. Quæ omnia minutim Dominus Vincentius Cassalius noster patruelis, quem ad ipsum mittimus, verbis coram explicabit, egoque ne D. V. Reverendissimæ jam nimis molestus sim, de hac ulterius non scribam.

Quod ad Wintoniensem Expeditionem spectat multum hi Reverendissimi Domini Cardinales offendebantur, nunc ab ipsis pecuniarum remissiones postulari, quum deprædata eorum bona sint, ipsiq; propter id ad Paupertatem redacti. Quibus ego ostendi, majus emolumentum ad ipsos venturum, si D. V. Reverendissima unam Ecclesiam acciperet, alteram deponeret, quam si alter tantum Wintoniensis Ecclesiæ expeditionem faceret; neque D. V. Reverendissimam nimis hanc permutationem optare dixi, quum Wintoniensis non multo Ecclesiæ Dunelmensi sit ditior. Ad hæc dixerunt, quod libentius D. V. Reverendissimæ quam cuiquam alteri erunt gratificaturi, quoniam ipsa de sede Apostolica sit semper bene merita, non tamen se vereri, quin D. V. Reverendissima Wintoniensem Ecclesiam illius Regni primariam sit acceptura. Ego quum Pontificem, et deinde Cardinales eos qui magis rebus nostris student ambissem, effeci ut Pontifex, de ea re in Consistorio referret, quod ejus Sanctitas effecit, multis etiam additis laudibus D. V. Reverendissimæ, quibus aliqui Cardinales, et maxime Neapolitani, responderunt ea quæ superius dixi. Illud tandem decreverunt, quod quum D. V. Reverendissima solvere debeat, pro expeditione Wintoniensis Ecclesiæ, et pro retentione Ecclesiæ Eboracensis et Abbatiæ Sancti Albani, habita ratione totius summæ, ejus pars dimidia D. V. Reverendissimæ condonaretur, et ut ad 13 vel 14 millia aureorum remittant, et non multo plus eo, quod pro Wintonient. tum Ecclesia deberet solvere. Id Reverendissimis Cardinalibus ideo displicebat, quoniam nollent res hujusmodi in exemplum trahi, quum præsertim Magnus Franciæ Cancellarius, ipse quoque in magna quadam Expeditione, idipsum in præsentia flagitat, quod isti concedere nolunt.



Cætera ex Domini Vincentio D. V. Reverendissima copiosius coram intelligat; Quæ bene valeat. Dat. Romæ die 17 Decemb. 1528.

Humillimus servus
Jo. Cassalius
Prothonotar.

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XVIII.—*The Pope's Letter to the Cardinal, giving Credence to Campana. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

Dilecto Filio nostro Thomæ Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbytero Cardinali Eboracen. In Regno Angliæ, nostro et Sedis de Latere Legato.

Dilecte Fili noster, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Existimavimus non tam commode per literas responderi posse his, de quibus postremo Oratores Carrissimi in Christo Filii nostri istius Regis nobiscum egerunt; Itaq; proprium hominem Franciscum Campanam familiarem nostrum istuc mittimus, ex quo sua Serenitas ac Circumspectio tua plenius intelligent quæ nobis occurrant, tam de rebus ad pacem et publice ad universam Christianitatem spectantibus, quam super privatis Serenitatis suæ, de quibus nobis per literas et Oratores vestros significastis, quas quidem summopere cordi habemus. Circumspectionem tuam hortamur, ut sibi ac Serenitati suæ persuadeat nos paternam benevolentiam atq; animum gessisse et gerere erga Serenitatem suam, ab eodemq; amore proficisci omnia quæcunq; illi significamus, ut pluribus Circumspectionem tuam, quam merito multum amamus, exponet Dilect. Fil. Card. Campegius, Legatus una tecum noster, ac dictus Franciscus, quibus plenissimam fidem habebitis. Datum Romæ 15 Decembris M. D. XXVIII.

J.
Clemens manu propria.

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XIX.—Decemb. 1. 1528.

*A part of Peter Vannes his Instructions, directing him to threaten the Pope. An Original.*

And Peter, as of himself, shall a-part say unto his holiness: sir, I being an Italian, cannot but with a more fervent zeal and mind than any other, study and desire the weal, honour and safety of your holiness and the see apostolic; which compelleth me to show unto your holiness, frankly, what I see in this matter. Surely, sir, in case your holiness continuing this particular respect of fear of the emperor, do thus delay, protract, and put off the accomplishment of the king's so instant desire in this matter, and not impart to his majesty therein bounteously of the treasure and goods of the church, and the see apostolic,—*quantum potestis ex thesauro ecclesiæ et ex plenitudine potestatis ac autoritate a Deo vel ab ecclesia collata,*—I see assuredly, that it will be a means so to alienate the fast and entire mind which his highness beareth to your said holiness, as not only thereby his grace, nobles, and realm, but also many other princes his friends and confederates, with their nobles and realms, shall withdraw their devotion and obedience from your holiness, and the see apostolic, studying how they may acquite this your ingratitude, in the highest cause that can be devised, showed, and so long continued with the semblable. And therefore, sir, at the reverence of Almighty God, cast not from you the heart of this noble virtuous prince, who finally cannot fail, the peace had, which Christendom may not long forbear, to have in his puissance, such a stay as may be able, in the highest and largest manner, to recompence his friends, and to acquite the contrary.

Henry R.

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XX.—*The Cardinal's Letter to the Ambassadors about his Promotion to the Popedom. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10.]

Magnifico Equiti Domino Gregorio Cassalio ac Domino Petro Vanni, Serenissimi Domini Angliæ et Franciæ Regis in Rom. Curia oratoribus.

Magnifice Domine Gregori et Domine Petre salutem. Sicuti incommodissimus totius Reipublicæ Christianæ, ac potissimum Regis Majestatis negotiis S. D. N. obitus accidit, ita etiam vos non latere puto quantum periculi et discriminis hujus Serenissimi Regis saluti et honori, ac Regni sui quieti ab hac futuri Pontificis Electione immineat, et quantopere vobis adnitendum, ac vestro studio, diligentia, industria et prudentia occurrendum et obstandum sit, ne aliquis eligatur Pontifex alienus ab hac Regia Majestate; et quid pro me promovendo facere ac tractare debeatis, cumulate per communes meas literas vos admonui: nec oportet per has quicquid aliud replicare, quas solum ad vos scribere volui, ut significem vobis me totum hoc gravissimum et omnium maximum negotium, de quo acturi estis, vestræ prudentiæ, fidei, et dexteritati, quam longo temporis usu exploratissimam habeo, committere et credere, speroq; vos spei et opinioni meæ de vobis conceptæ omnino responsuros, et bene valete. Londini die 6 Feb. 1528.

Vester amantissimus frater
T. Cardin. Eborac.

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XXI.—*An Information given to the Pope about the Divorce. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

Adnotatio Summaria eorum quæ aliis libellis fusius explicata S. D. N. tum licere, tum expedire, persuadent, ut in Causa Regiæ Majestatis Sententiam divortii ferat.

Primum licet atque etiam expedit dirimere hoc Matrimonium, quod juri tum divino tum humano repugnat.

Divinum enim jus duci prohibet Uxorem fratris, quin hic fratris Uxorem ductam fuisse sit notorium.

Humanum vero jus, duo hujus Matrimonii impedimenta continet, alterum Affinitatis, quod divino jure inductum velint, sed ipsius Pontificis sententia constat, quem suæ Jurisdictionis modum, et optime novisse et ampliare velle potius quam restringere credendum est; quæ quum ita sint, etiam si humani juris prohibitio per Dispensationem sublata videatur, manet nihilominus immotum, quod divinum est, si ipsis contra seipsos credimus Pontificibus.

Deinde, ut posse Pontifices dispensare fateamur, et in ea parte tribuamus plus Authoritatis quam ipsi sibiipsis audeant arrogare, tamen non passim, non quocunq; modo, non temere, et sine omni consideratione, posse eos dispensare; atq; fatendum est ne suo

Sed cessavit, inquiunt, in hac specie juris utriusq; prohibitio per gratiam et Dispensationem summi Pontificis.

Respondetur quidem istis multis modis. Primo non esse videri, quod nullum est, nullum autem haberi quod sine Autoritate legitima fiat; deniq; Pontificis Autoritatem non eatenus pertinere, ut in gradibus divina lege prohibitis dispensare possit: non opinionibus Scripturientium, qui Pontificis Authoritatem imminutam velint, sed ipsius Pontificis sententia constat, quem suæ Jurisdictionis modum, et optime novisse et ampliare velle potius quam restringere credendum est; quæ quum ita sint, etiam si humani juris prohibitio per Dispensationem sublata videatur, manet nihilominus immotum, quod divinum est, si ipsis contra seipsos credimus Pontificibus.

testimonio Dissipatores verius, quam Dispensatores appellentur. Itaque ut causam urgentissimam et evidentissimam, tum etiam manifestissimam debet habere Dispensatio, precibus deniq; veris, non ementitis atq; conflictis inniti.

In Dispensatione autem, quo constat hoc Matrimonium, verbis quidem pacis causa proponitur, sed non ideo quia sic refertur, re ipsa subsistit. Pontificis facta non ad verborum superficiem, sed rei ipsius solidam veritatem expendi convenit.

Certum est, pacem multis modis, tum firmissimam fuisse unoq; Matrimonio conciliatam, pactorum deniq; ac fœderum vi constantem, istud necessario Matrimonium non desiderasse, et jam Dispensationem sine causa intervenisse dicimus, et consequenter nullam esse, manereq; adhuc divinam prohibitionem atq; adeo et humanam.

Porro etiam, si aliqua sit, et causam haberet, tum mendaciis conflata est, subreptitia et obreptitia merito appellanda, jure tum divino, tum humano reprobata.

Nam quum quod alioqui Canonibus cautum sit ipsius etiam Dispensationis, proœmium, contineat, "Romani Pontificis Autoritatem concessa sibi desuper uti potestate, prout personarum, causarum, et temporum qualitate pensata, id in Domino salubriter conspicit expedire;" Quomodo potuit S. D. N. hujus Serenissimi Regis qualitates pensare quas ignoravit? Neque enim de ætate quicquam, quæ in contrahendo hoc Matrimonio præcipua qualitas erat, narrabatur, et tamen illum annum eo tempore duodecimum non excessisse notorium est; et tacita ad hunc modum ætate, mendacium pro causa suggestum est manifestissimum; Cupiisse, viz. tunc Serenissimum Regem contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur: facti veritas est, tum quid ageretur ignorasse, et etiamsi tum scivisset, tamen non fuisse verum quod cuperet ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur, ætas ostendit, quæ per communis juris dispositionem discretionem non admittit; cupere quidem affectus est, cæterum cupere contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur, judicii est et discretionis. Porro autem, quum de continuandis inter duos Principes fœderibus ageretur, alter ante mandatam exequutioni Bullam fatis concessit, et re integra, causa, si quæ fuit, cessavit.

Sed producitur aliud Breve tenoris tam efficacis ut istas Objectiones non admittat.

Sed manet nihilominus eorum sententia, qui Pontificem non posse dispensare affirmant, secundum quos nec Breve nec Bulla consistit; deinde Breve falsum esse, et pro falso judicari deberi, multis rationibus convincitur: denique falsum cum sit, et tamen prioris Bullæ errores corrigat, illam opinionem merito confirmet, ne prior Dispensatio efficax videatur, vel eorum judicio, qui hoc Matrimonium defendere studuerunt, viz. qui veris allegationibus diffisi, ad falsas et conficitas Dispensationes, vitia objecta removentes confugere coacti sunt.

Ista, si singula minus sufficiant, saltem collata, obtineant et persuadeant licere. Illa vero opinio multis persuasa, Pontificem, viz. non potuisse dispensare, ut sola infirmet Dispensationem, non petitur, sed habet nihilominus aliquid considerationis; quanquam enim refellatur a quibusdam et reprobetur, manet tamen scripta, atque adeo testimonio ipsius Pontificis comprobata. Perpendatur deinde causa et suggestionis veritas, si mendacium intervenisse apparet, et quod est notorium, illam Dispensationem adversariorum factis in novi Brevis fabricatione tacite reprobari, quis non videt ex his causis licere ut sententia Divortii proferatur?

Postremo expedit ut id pronuntietur, quod in omnium sententias consentiat, Reprobatio autem Dispensationis cum omnibus convenit opinionibus, sive quia Authoritas abfuit, sive quia non recte interposita dicatur; Approbatio vero cum istis dissentit omnibus.

Expedit ut firma sit et inconcussa Regni Successio, quæ contra has opiniones confirmari non potest.

Expedit ut conscientia Serenissimi Regis his scrupulis impedita, et turbata, expedita et tranquilla reddatur.

Breviter, expedit votis Serenissimi Regis satisfieri, qui pro genuinis et innatis suis virtutibus, non nisi optima cupit, et modo etiam optimo votorum suorum compotem effici laborat: si non virtutem spectaret, cætera nihil haberent difficultatis, sed omnium virtutum cogitationem quandam esse animadvertens, suum justitiæ decorum, quod temperantia est, quærit, ut justum, justo modo, obtineat et assequatur. Itaq; expedit ne auxilium denegetur, vel differatur ei qui id juste implorat.

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XXII.—*The second part of a long Dispatch of the Cardinal's concerning the Divorce. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

To my loving Friends, Master Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of both Laws; Sir Francis Brian, and Sir Gregory Cassali, Knights; and Mr. Peter Vannes, Secretary to the King's Highness for the Latin Tongue; His Grace's Orators, Residents in the Court of Rome.

ANOTHER part of your charge consisteth in expedition of the king's great and weighty cause of matrimony, whereupon depend so many high consequences, as for no earthly cause to suffer or tolerate, tract or delay, in what case soever the pope's holiness be of amendment or danger of life; nor as is aforesaid, oweth to be by his holiness preteromitted, whether the same be in the state of recovery, or in any doubt or despair thereof: for one assured and principal fundamental and ground is to be regarded, whereupon the king's highness doth plant and build his acts and cogitations in this behalf, which is from the reasonable favour and justice, being the things from the which the pope's holiness, *in prosperis nec adversis*, may lawfully and honestly digress; and when the plainness of his cause is well considered, with the manifest presumptions, arguments, and suspicions, both of the insufficiency of the bull, and falsity of the brief, such as may lead any man of reason or intendment well to perceive and know that no sufficiency or assured truth can be therein; How may the pope's holiness, *ex æquo et justo*, refuse or deny to any Christian man, much less to a prince of so high merits, and in a cause whereupon depend so many consequences, to his holiness well known, for a vain respect of any person, or by excuse of any sickness, justify, colour, or defend any manner refusal, tract, or delay, used in declaration of the truth in so great a matter, which neither for the infinite conveniences that thereby might ensue, admitteth or suffereth to be delayed, nor by other than himself, his act or authority, may lawfully be declared. And well may his holiness know, that to none it appertaineth more to look unto the justness of the king's desire in this behalf, than to his highness his self, whose interest, whose cause, with the same of his realm and succession resteth herein; for if his grace were minded, or would intend to do a thing inique or injust, there were no need to recur unto the pope's holiness for doing thereof. But because his highness and his council, who best know the whole of this matter, and to whose part it belongeth most profoundly to weigh and ponder everything concerning the same, be well assured of the truth of the matter, needing none other thing but for observance of his duty towards God and his church, to have the same truth also approbate and declared by him to whom the doing thereof appertaineth; his grace therefore seeing an untruth alleged, and that so craftily as by undue and perverse ways, the same, without good reason adhibited, may for a season bring things into confusion, doth communicate unto the pope's holiness presumptions and evidences enough, and sufficient to inform the conscience of his holiness of the very truth: which then, if his holiness will not see, but either for affection, fear, or other private cause, will hearken to every dilatory and vain allegation of such as led upon undue grounds would colour the truth; what doth his holiness less therein, than under a right vain colour expressly deny and refuse the said justice, which to be done either in health or sickness, in a matter of so great moment, is in nowise tolerable? But for the same reasons that he before mentioned, is the thing, whether the pope's holiness be in hope or despair of life, without further tract to be absolved and determined; for if Almighty God grant his holiness life, this act is, and always shall be, able to bear itself, and is meet to be an example, a precedent, and a law, in all like cases emerging, the circumstances and specialties of the same in every part concurring as they do in this; nor can the emperor make exceptions at the same, when he best knowing, percase, the untruth shall see the grounds and occasions, that of necessity and mere justice have enforced and constrained the pope's holiness thereunto; which he could not refuse to do, unless he would openly and manifestly commit express injury and notorious injustice. For be it that the pope's holiness hearkening to the said frivolous and vain allegations, would refuse to declare the law herein to the king's purpose, then must his holiness, either standing in doubt, leave and suffer the cause to remain in suspense, to the extreme danger of the king's realm and succession for ever; or else declare the bull or brief, or both, to be good, which I suppose neither his holiness nor any true Christian man can do, standing the manifest occasions, presumptions, and apparent evidences to the contrary. Then if the matter be not to be left in suspense, no judgment can be truly given to the approbation of the bull or brief; how can the pope's holiness of conscience, honour or virtue, living or dying, thus procrastinate or put over the immediate finishing thereof, according to the king's desire? or how may his holiness find his conscience towards God exonerate, if either living he should be the cause of so many evils as hereof may arise; or dying, wilfully leave this so great a matter, by his own default, in this confusion, incertainty, and perplexity? It is not to be supposed, that ever prince most devout to the see apostolic, could so long tolerate so high an injury, as being so merited towards the said see, is both unacquitted for his kindness with any special grace, and also denied upon his petition of that which is evident to be plain justice. This thing is otherwise to be looked upon, than for the pope's sickness, where most need were to put an end unto it, to be delayed, seeing that living and amending it is of itself expedient and justifiable, and dying, it shall be an act both necessary, meritorious, and honourable. For this cause ye now knowing the king's mind in this behalf, shall, if ye have not already before this time spoken with the pope's holiness at length in these matters, as the king's grace trusteth ye have done, solicit as well by the means of Messire Jacobo Salviati, as by the bishop of Verone, and otherwise as ye can think best, to have such commodious access unto his holiness, as ye may declare the premises unto him; which by your wisdoms, in as effectual and vive manner as ye can open it unto his holiness. It is undoubtedly to be thought the same shall rather be to his comfort and increase of health, than to any his trouble or unquietness; and that his holiness hearing these reasons not evitable, will, whether he be in way and hope of amendment, or otherwise, both proceed to the said indication, and also to the declaration of the law, and passing of a sufficient and ample decretal, as hath been devised in the king's said cause, with other such things, as by former letters and instructions, by the decrees mentioned in the same, that failing have been committed unto you, to be solicited and procured there; in the labouring whereof, albeit since your departures from hence, the things have, by reasons of the pope's sore sickness, otherwise chanced than was here supposed, by means whereof ye not instructed what to do in any such case, were peradventure not over hasty or importune to labour these matters, till the pope's holiness might be better amended, nor could percase find the means to have convenient access unto his presence for the same, ye must nevertheless adhibit such diligence, as howsoever the sickness of his holiness shall cease, amend, or continue, these things be not for the same, or any other cause, tracted or left in longer suspense; but finding possible means to come unto the pope's presence, to declare all such things unto the same, mentioned both in the former letters and instructions given unto you, and also in these presents, as may make to the purpose; and failing of often access in your own persons to his holiness, ye cause the bishop of Verone, and other such assured friends as ye can attain, being about him at such times as they may have with his holiness, to inculcate unto him the said points and considerations, and all other that ye can excogitate and devise to the furtherance and advancement of these matters, not forbearing or sparing also, if ye shall see difficulty at the pope's hand, or in audience to be given to you or your friends there, being about his person, to break and open after a good fashion and manner the same unto such of the cardinals as ye may perceive assuredly and constantly to favour the king's highness, and the French king in election of a future pope, in case (as God forbid) the pope's holiness should decease; and to show unto the same cardinals all such things as you shall think meet, both for their more ample instructions in the truth and specialties of the matters, as well concerning the indication of truce as the king's said cause, and the presumptuous reasons, and plainer evidences, leading to the insufficiency of the bull, and apparent falsity of the said brief; to the intent, that as many of the said cardinals as ye can win, made sure in those matters, they may, both in time of sickness and also of amendment, move and induce the pope's holiness thereunto, laying before him as well the merits and honour that may ensue by the perfection of the premises, as the danger imminent by the contrary; and semblably it shall be expedient that ye win and make sure to the same purpose as many of the officers of the Rota and other as ye can, who as ye write be not accustomed, nor will give counsel to any person but the pope's holiness; for albeit, ye cannot have them to be of the king's council, yet nevertheless they may do as much good, or more, in training and counselling the pope's holiness upon the great reasons that you can show unto them, to hearken unto your overtures in this behalf. To which purpose you shall adjure, make, and win, as many friends of the cardinals, of them, and other, as ye possibly may, as for the thing which the king's highness and I more esteem than twenty papalities; and amongst other, ye shall insist, by all means and good persuasions ye can, for the continuance there of the said bishop of Verone, so as he may countervail

the archbishop of Capuan, who, as it seemeth, is continually about the pope's person, and were necessary to be met with in the labours and persuasions, which by likelihood he maketh to the hindrance of the king's purpose: for the better continuing of the which bishop of Verone, not only the king's highness and I write unto him at this time, as by the copy of the same several letters being herewith ye shall perceive, but also the French king will do the semblable. And furthermore, to the intent that the pope's holiness may well perceive that not only the said French king mindeth the king's said cause, and taketh it to heart as much as it were his own, and will effectually join and concur with the king's highness therein, but that also he is and will be conformable to the said indication,—he will send thither, with all speed, the bishop of Bayon, to further, solicit, and set forth the same; who, before his departure from hence, which was a good season passed, was and is sufficiently and amply instructed in all things requisite to this purpose; and not only in these matters, but also in such other as were written unto you by Vincent de Cassalis and Hercules, upon advertisement given hither that the pope's holiness was deceased; so as ye may be sure to have of him effectual concurrence and advice in the furtherance and solicitation of your charges, whether the pope's holiness amend, remain long sick, or (as God forbid) should fortune to die; trusting, that being so well furnished by all ways that can be devised, ye will not fail to use such diligence as may be to the consecuting and attaining of the king's purpose: wherein, though ye be so amply and largely instructed that more cannot be, yet nevertheless having lately received from the bishop of Worcester a memorial of divers great things to be well noted and considered, for trial of the falsity of the said brief, I send you herewith a copy of the same memorial, to the intent ye substantially visiting and perusing the same, may follow and put in execution such part thereof, for better trial of the falsity, as is to be done there, like as the rest meet to be done here, shall not fail to be executed with diligence accordingly.

Thus be ye with these, and other former writings, sufficiently instructed what is to be done by you there, whether the pope's holiness continue long in his sickness, or whether the same fortune to decease, or soon, God willing, to amend. There resteth no more, but that ye always take for a perfect ground, that though to every new chance not before known, sufficient provision and instruction could not be given to you at your departure, ye always note, remember, and regard, that this the king's cause admitteth nor suffereth any manner negative, tract, or delay; wherefore, knowing that so well as ye do, and also how much the indiction of the truce shall be commodious and necessary, both to the king's highness in particular, and to all Christendom in general, by means whereof his grace shall avoid contribution, and other charges of the war, ye must now, if ever ye will have thanks, laud, or praise, for your service, employ yourselves opportune and importune, to put an end to the points to the king's satisfaction and desire; and in every difficulty to study, by your wisdoms, the best and next remedy, and not always to tract your doings, till upon your advertisement hither, ye shall have new knowledge from hence: for thereby the matter itself, and also your demur there, be of over long a continuance, and infinite inconveniences by the same may ensue. I therefore require you, according to the special trust and confidence that the king's highness and I have in you, now for ever to acquit yourselves herein with all effect possible, accordingly so as the king's highness be not longer kept in this perplexity and suspense, to his grace's intolerable inquietness, and the great heaviness of all those that observe and love the same.

Furthermore, though it so be that the king's trust, and also mine is, ye will by your wisdom find such good means and ways as ye shall not fail, God willing, to open and declare unto the pope's holiness, the whole of the king's mind, and all and singular the premises, with the residue above-mentioned in your former instructions and letters sent unto you: yet, nevertheless, considering what ye wrote of the doubt of continuance of the pope's sickness, and to make sure for all events and chances, in case his holiness (as God forbid) should long remain in such state, as he might either take upon him the naming of the peace, journeying and repairing to the sacred diet, nor also hear the whole of the things by you to be opened and propounded, touching the king's said cause,—it hath been thought to the king's highness convenient, rather than these great and weighty matters should hang in longer suspense, to excogitate some other good means and way how these matters, so necessary, may by some ways be conduced and brought to an end; and it is this,—that the pope's holiness not being able to travel to the place devised, where the princes may be near him for treaty, and managing of the peace, he do depute me and my lord cardinal Campegius, *conjunctim et divisim*, as his legates for that purpose, to do and execute all such things in his holiness's name, as the same should do in that behalf if he were there present; whereunto, for the wall of Christendom, we shall be contented to condescend. So always, that as hath been written heretofore unto you, before I pass or set forth to any convention or place, to the intent before specified, the king's highness be fully satisfied and pleased in his said matter of matrimony, without which, neither with nor without the pope's presence, I will ever begin or take that voyage: for performance whereof, this article following is of new devised, to be by you propounded unto his holiness, if the decretals cannot be obtained, or some other thing, that ye shall well know and perceive, by advice of expert counsel there, to be better to the king's purpose than this thing now devised, and that may without tract be passed or granted; that is to say, that his holiness do enlarge, extend, and amplify his commission given to me and my lord legate Campegius, whereby we jointly and severally may be sufficiently furnished and authorized, to do as much in this cause of matrimony, with all the emergents and dependencies upon the same, as his holiness may do of his ordinary and absolute power, with sufficient and ample clauses, *ad Decernend. et Interpretand. jura, leges, et Rescripta quæcunq; hoc Matrimonium concernentia, una cum omnibus et singulis dubiis in eadem causa emergentibus.* And further, to make out compulsories to any princes, or persons of what pre-eminence, dignity, state, or condition soever they be, *Etiam si in Imperiali, Regali, vel alia quacunque dignitate perfulgeant, sub quibuscunq; pœnis*, and in what countries and places soever they be, to exhibit and produce any manner, witness, records, originals, rescripts, or other thing, in what place or time we, or the one of us, shall require them, or any of them in this behalf, with all and singular the circumstances requisite and necessary to such a commission, after such ample and assured manner as the same once had, we shall not need for any objections, doubt, or other thing that might infringe or lack, to send of new to the pope's holiness for other provision, whereby the king's said cause might hang in any longer tract or delay. In which case of coming to this commission, ye Mr. Stevins must have special regard to see the same sufficiently and substantially penned, by advice of the most expert men that ye can find to



that purpose; for the better doing whereof, I send unto you herewith a copy of the said commission to me and my lord Campegius, with certain additions thereunto noted in the margin, such as have been here devised, and also a copy of certain clauses in a bull, to the intent ye may see how amply the same be couched, to avoid appellations and other delays in causes of far less moment and importance than the king's is. Nevertheless ye must, if it shall come to the obtaining of this new commission, see to the penning and more fully perfecting thereof, so as the same may be in due perfection, without needing to send eftsoons for remedying of anything therein, as is aforesaid; looking also substantially whether the chirograph of pollicitation, being already in your hands, be so couched, as the date, and everything considered, it may sufficiently oblige and astringe the pope's holiness to confirm all that we, or one of us, shall do, by virtue of this new or the old commission: and if it be not of such efficacy so to do, then must ye in this case see, that either by sufficient and ample words to be put in this new commission, if it may be so had, or by a new chirograph the pope's holiness may be so astringed; which chirograph, with the commissions before specified, if ye obtain the same, the king's pleasure is, that ye, sir Francis Brian, shall bring hither, in all possible diligence, after the having and obtaining thereof, soliciting nevertheless, whether the pope be to be facilly spoken with or not, the immediate indication of the truce, as is aforesaid, without which in vain it were for me, either with or without the pope, to travel for labouring and conducing of the peace. And so by this way should the pope's holiness, with his merit and sufficient justification, proceed for the truce, as a fundament of universal peace, satisfy the king's desires, and avoid any doubt of the emperor; forasmuch as his holiness might allege, that being so extremely sick that he was not able to know of the cause himself, he could no less do of justice than to commit it unto other, seeing that the same is of such importance as suffereth no tract or delay. And finally, the king's highness, God willing, by this means, should have an end of this matter. One thing ye shall well note, which is this; albeit this new device was now for doubt of the pope's long continuance in sickness, first excogitate; yet it is not meant, nor ye be limited to this device, in case ye can obtain any other, nor ye be also commanded, to prefer this before all the other devices: but now that ye shall see and understand what this device is, and knowing what thing is like or possible to be obtained there, without long putting over of your pursuits, expend, consider, and regard well with yourself, what thing of this, or any other that may best serve to the brief and good expedition of the king's cause. So always that it be a thing sure, sufficient, and available to his grace's purpose, that may without any further tract be there had; and then by your wisdom taking unto you the best learned counsel that ye can have there, leave you to the expedition of that which so may be most meet, as the times require and suffer, to the brief furnishing of the king's said cause to this purpose, without tract or delay, and that ye may see is the thing which, as the matter stands, can speedily be obtained and sped, as is aforesaid. For whether the decretal be better than this, or this better than that, or which soever be best, far it shall be from wisdom to stick, and still to rest upon a thing that cannot be obtained; but since ye know the king's meaning, which is to have a way sufficient and good for the speedy finishing of this cause to his grace's purpose, note ye now, and consider with yourself, by advice of learned counsel, as is aforesaid, how ye may bring that to pass, and shall ye deserve as high thanks as can be possible. So always that it be so well provided and looked upon, that in it be no such limitations or defaults, as shall compel us any more to write or send for reformation thereof: and coming to this commission, though percase ye can by no means or sticking have it in every point as the copy, which I send you with the annotations do purport; yet shall ye not therefore refuse it, but take it, or any other thing as can be had, after such form as may substantially serve, and as ye can by your wisdom and good solicitations obtain, for the speedy finishing of the king's cause to his purpose, as is aforesaid, which is the scope whereunto we must tend at this time; and therefore ye be not limited or coacted within any such bounds as ye should thereby be compelled or driven, for lack of obtaining any thing or point mentioned in these or other your instructions, or former writings, to send hither again for further knowledge of the king's pleasure; but ye be put at liberty so to qualify, so to add, detray, immix, change, choose or mend as ye shall think good; so always that ye take the thing that best can be had, being such as may as effectually as ye can bring about, serve to the king's purpose, and to put indelayed end to it, according to his grace's desire, without further tract, or sending thither, which is as much as here can be said or devised. And therefore at the reverence of Almighty God bring us out of this perplexity, that this virtuous prince may have this thing sped to the purpose desired, which shall be the most joyous thing that this day in earth may chance and succeed to my heart; and therefore I eftsoons beseech you to regard it accordingly: howbeit if the pope's holiness refusing all your desires, shall make difficulty and delay therein, it is an evident sign and token that his holiness is neither favourable to the king's reasonable petitions, nor indifferent, but should thereby show himself both partial, and expressly averse unto his grace; wherefore in that case finding in his holiness such unreasonableness, as it can in no wise be thought ye shall do, the king's pleasure is, that ye proceed to the protestations mentioned in the first instructions given to you Mr. Stevins, for you and the residue of your colleagues; and that ye not only be plain and round with the pope's holiness therein, if ye come to his speech, but also ye show and extend unto the cardinals, and other that be your friends, which may do any good with him, the great peril and danger imminent unto the Church and See apostolic; thereby exhorting them that they, like virtuous fathers, have regard thereunto, and not to suffer the pope's holiness, if he would thus wilfully, without reason or discretion to precipitate himself and the said see, which by this refusal is like to suffer ten times more detriment, than it could do for any miscontentment that the emperor could take with the contrary: for ye shall say, sure they may be, and so I for my discharge declare, both to the pope's holiness and to them, if this noble and virtuous prince, in this so great and so reasonable a cause, be thus extremely denied of the grace and lawful favour of the church, the pope's holiness shall not fail for the same to lose him and his realm, the French king and his realm, with many other their confederates; besides those that having particular quarrels to the pope, and so aforesaid will not fail, with divers other, as they daily seek occasions, and provoke the king's highness thereunto, which will do the semblable, being a thing of another sort to be regarded, than the respect to the emperor; for two cities, which nevertheless shall be had well enough, and the emperor neither so evil contented, nor so much to be doubted herein, as is there supposed. This, with other words mentioned in your instructions concerning like matter, ye shall declare unto his holiness, and to the said cardinals, and other being your friends, if it come to that point; whereby

it is not to be doubted, but they perceiving the dangers aforesaid, shall be glad to exhort and induce his holiness, for the well of himself and the church, to condescend to the king's desire; which is as much as can be here thought or devised, to be by you done in all events and chances: and therefore I pray you, eftsoons, and most instantly require you, as afore, to handle this matter with all effect possible. Coming to this new commission, when you shall have once attained such thing as shall be sufficient for the king's purpose, as is aforesaid; and that ye have it in your hands and custody, and not afore, lest thereby ye might hinder the expedition thereof, ye shall by all ways and means possible, labour and insist, that the king's highness, as need shall be, may use and enjoy the benefit of the decretal, being already in my Lord Cardinal Campegius's hands, whereunto his highness and I desire you to put all your effectual labour for the attaining of the pope's consent thereunto accordingly.

Ye shall furthermore understand, that it is thought here, in case, as God forbid, the pope should die before ye should have impetrate any thing that may serve to the absolution of the king's matter, that the college of cardinals have authority, power, and jurisdiction, *sede vacante*, to inhibit, avoke, *et ex consequenti*, to pass and decide the king's matter, seeing that the same is of so high moment and importance, concerning the surety of a prince and his realm, as more amply ye shall perceive in the chapters, *ubi Periculum de Electione, ne Romani, de Jurejurando, et capite primo de Scismaticis*; wherefore the king's pleasure is, that ye Mr. Stevins shall diligently weigh and ponder the effect of the said chapters, not only with yourself, but also with such the king's learned counsel as ye and your colleagues have conducted there; and what jurisdiction, *sede vacante*, the college of cardinals have, either by the common law, usage or prescription, which may far better be known there than here: and if ye find that the cardinals have in this the king's cause, and such other like authority and jurisdictions to inhibit, avoke and decern, then, *in casu mortis Pontificis, quod Deus avertat*, ye shall specially foresee and regard that for none intercession or pursuit made by the emperor and his adherents, they shall either inhibit or avoke: and also if before such death ye shall not have obtained such thing to the king's desire and purpose, as these present letters before do purport, his grace's pleasure is, that ye shall pursue the effectual expedition of the same, at the hands of the said college, *sede vacante, ne res quæ nullam dilationem exposcit, tantopere usque ad electionem novi pontificis quoquam modo differatur*; using for this purpose all such reasons, allegations, and persuasions mentioned in those letters, and your former instructions, as ye shall see and perceive to serve to that effect; and so to endeavour and acquit yourself, that such things may be attained there, as may absolve this the king's matter, without any further tract or delay; whereby ye shall as afore highly deserve the king's and my special thanks, which shall be so acquitted, as ye shall have cause to think your pains and diligencies therein in the best wise employed, trusting in God that howsoever the world shall come, ye shall by one means or other bring the king's matter, which so highly toucheth his honour and quiet of mind, unto the desired end and perfection.

Finally, ye shall understand that the French king, among other things, doth commit at this time to the bishop of Bayon, and Mr. John Joachim, to treat and conclude the confederation heretofore spoken of, between his holiness and the king's highness, the French king, the Venetians, and other potentates of Italy, for a continual army to be entertained to invade Spain in case it stand by the emperor, that the peace shall not take effect: wherefore the king's pleasure is, that ye having conference with them at good length in that matter, do also for your parts, solicit, procure, and set forth the same; entering also on the king's behalf unto the treaty, and conclusion thereof, after such manner as your former instructions and writings do purport. So as like as the French king is determined, that his agents shall join and concur with you in the king's pursuits and causes; so ye must also concur with them in advancement of their affairs, the successes whereof, and of all other your doings there, it shall be expedient ye more often notify hitherto than ye do, for many times in one whole month no knowledge is had from you, which is not meet in those so weighty matters, specially considering that sometime by such as pass to Lyons, ye might find the means to send your letters, which should be greatly to the king's and my consolation, in hearing thereby from time to time, how the things succeed there; I pray you, therefore to use more diligence therein, as the king's and my special trust is in you. And heartily fare you well. From my palace besides Westminster, the sixth day of April.

The French king hath sent hither an ambassiate, Monsieur de Langes, brother to the said bishop of Bayon, with certain clauses in his instructions, concerning the said treaty of confederation, the copy whereof ye shall receive herewith, for your better carrying on that matter. Praying God to speed you well, and to give you grace to make a good and short end in your matters. And eftsoons fare ye well.

Your loving friend,

T. CARDIN. EBORAC.

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### XXIII.—*Another Dispatch to the Ambassadors to the same purpose. A Duplicate.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

RIGHT well, beloved friends, I commend me unto you in my hearty manner, letting you wit, that by the hands of Thadeus bearer hereof, the king's highness hath received your several letters to the same, directed with the pope's pollicitation mentioned in the same, and semblably I have received your conjunct and several letters of the date of the 18th and 29th days of March; the 8th, 19th, 20th, and 22nd of April, to me directed, wherein ye at right good length have made mention of such discourses, conferences, audiences and communications as ye have had concerning your charge, since the time of your former advertisements made in that behalf, with all such answers and replications as have been made unto you by the pope's holiness, and other on his behalf concerning the same. In the circumstances whereof ye have so diligently, discreetly, and substantially, acquitted yourselves, as not only your firm and fervent desire, to do unto the king's highness special and singular service in this his great and weighty cause, but also your wisdom, learning, and perfect dexterities, heretofore well known, hath every one for his part thereby been largely of new shewed, comprobate and declared to the king's good contentment, my rejoice and gladness, and to your great laud and praise. For the which his grace giveth unto you right hearty thanks, and I also for my part do the semblable; assuring you, in few words, though the time and state of things hath not suffered that your desires might at this time be brought unto effect, yet the king's grace well knoweth, perceiveth, and taketh, that more could not have been done, excogitated, or devised, than ye have largely endeavoured yourself unto for conducing the king's purpose, which his grace accepteth, as touching your merits and



acquittal in no less good and thankful part, than if ye, finding the disposition of things in more direct state, had consecute all your pursuits and desires: nor ye shall doubt or think, that either the king's highness or I have conceived, or thought any manner negligence in you for such things as were mentioned, in the last letters sent unto you by Alexander, Messenger; but that albeit his highness had cause, as the same wrote, to marvel of your long demor, and lack of expedition of one or other of the things committed to your charge; yet did his highness right well persuade unto himself the default not to be in you, but in some other cause, whereof his grace not knowing the same, might justly and meritoriously be brought unto admiration, and marvel: and therefore be ye all of good comfort, and think your perfect endeavours used, and services done, to be employed there, as it can right well, in every part regarded and considered.

In effect coming to the specialities of the things now to be answered, the king's highness having groundly noted and considered the whole continue and circumstances of all your said letters and advertisements, findeth and perceiveth evidently, that whatsoever pursuits, and instances, and requests have been, or shall be for this present time, made there by you on his grace's behalf to the pope's holiness, for the furtherance of the said great and weighty cause; and how much soever the necessity of Christendom for the good of peace, the importance of the matter, the justness of the thing itself, reason, duty, respect to good merits, detecting of falsities used, evident arguments and presumptions to the same, or other thing whatsoever it be, making for the king's purpose, do weigh; the times be now such, as all that shall be done in any of the premises there, is apparent by such privy intelligence and promise as is between the pope and the emperor, to hang and depend upon the emperor's will, pleasure, and arbitre, as whom the pope's holiness neither dare nor will in any part displease, offend, or miscontent, nor do by himself anything notable therein, which he shall think or suppose to be of moment, the said emperor first inconsulted, or not consenting thereunto. And for that cause, since the emperor not only is the adversary of universal peace, letter, and impeacher thereof, but also, as hath appeared by sundry letters heretofore, and now of new sent out of Spain, doth show himself adverse, and enterponing himself as a party against the king's said great matter; it were in manner all one to prosecute the same at the emperor's hands, as at the pope's, which so totally dependeth upon the emperor; and as much fruit might be hoped of the one as of the other, so as far discrepant it were from any wisdom in a thing so necessary, and which as ye know must needs be brought unto an end without any farther delay, to consume and spend the time, where such express contrariety and in manner dispair appeareth to do good therein, and where should be none other but continual craft, colour, abuses, refuses and delays, but rather to proceed unto the same in place, and after such form as may be an appearance of some good and brief effect to ensue. Wherefore to show you in counsel, and to be reserved unto yourselves, the king's highness finding this ingratitude in the pope's holiness, is minded for the time to dissemble the matter, and taking as much as may be had and attained there to the benefit of his cause, to proceed in the decision of the same here, by virtue of the commission already granted unto me and my lord legate Campegius.

And for because that ye Mr. Stevins be largely ripened and acquainted in this matter, and that both the king's highness and I have right large experience of your entire zeal and mind to the studying and setting forth of such things concerning the law, as may be to the furtherance hereof; considering also that for any great thing like to be done there herein, such personages as be of good authority, wisdom, and experience, though they be not learned in the law, may with such counsel as ye have retained there, right well serve to the accomplishment of such other things as shall occur, or be committed unto them on the king's behalf, though so many ambassadors do not there remain and continue: his grace therefore willing and minding to revoke you all by little and little, except you sir Gregory being his Ambassador there continually residing, willeth, that after such things perfected and done, as hereafter shall be mentioned, ye Mr. Stevins, and you Sir Francis Brian, shall take your leave of the pope's holiness, and with diligence return home. For if ne had been the absence of you Mr. Stevins, seeing that there is small appearance of any fruit to be obtained there, the king's highness would have entered into process here before this Whitsuntide: But because his grace would have you here present, as well for the forming of the said process, and for such things as be trusted that ye shall obtain and bring with you, as also for the better knowledge to be had in sundry matters, wherein you may be the better ripened and informed by means of your being in that court: and otherwise his highness will somewhat the longer defer the commencement of the said process, and respite the same, only for your coming; which his grace therefore desireth you so much the more to accelerate, as ye know how necessary it is, that all diligence and expedition be used in that matter. And so ye all to handle and endeavour yourselves there, for the time of your demor, as ye may do the most benefit and advantage that may be to the speedy furtherance of the said cause.

And forasmuch as at the dispatch of your said last letters, ye had not opened unto the pope's holiness, the last and uttermost device here conceived, and to you written in my letters sent by the said Alexander, but that ye intended, as soon as ye might have time and access, to set forth the same; wherein it is to be trusted, since that thing could by no colour or respect to the emperor be reasonably denied, ye have before this time done some good, and brought unto perfection; I therefore remitting you to such instructions as ye received at that time, advertise you that the king's mind and pleasure is, ye do your best to attain the ampliation of the said commission, after such form as is to you in the said last letters and instructions prescribed; which if ye cannot in everything bring to pass, at the least to obtain as much to the king's purpose, and the benefit of the cause as ye can; wherein all good policy and dexterity is to be used, and the pope's holiness by all persuasions to be induced thereunto; showing unto the same how ye have received letters from the king's highness and me, responsives to such as ye wrote of the dates before rehearsed; whereby ye be advertised that the king's highness, perceiving the pope's strange demeanour in this his great and weighty cause, with the little respect that his holiness hath, either to the importance thereof, or to do unto his holiness at this his great necessity, gratuity and pleasure; not only cannot be a little sorry and heavy to see himself frustrate of the future hope and expectation that his grace had, to have found the pope's holiness a most loving, fast, near and kind father, and assured friend, ready and glad to have done for his grace, that which of his power, ordinary or absolute, he might have done in this thing, which so near toucheth the king's conscience, health, succession, realm, and subjects; but also marvelleth highly, that his holiness, both in matters of peace, truce, in this the king's cause, and in all other, hath more respect to please and content him of

whom he hath received most displeasures, and who studieth nothing more than the detriment of the see, than his holiness hath either to do that which a good common father, for the weal of the church, himself, and all Christendom, is bounden and oweth to do, or also that which, everything well pondered, it were both of congruence, right, truth, equity, wisdom, and conveniency for to do. Thinking verily that his highness deserved to be far otherwise entreated, and that not at his most need in things nearest touching his grace, and where the same had his chief and principal confidence, thus to have his just and reasonable petitions rejected and totally to be converted, to the arbitre of his enemy; which is not the way to win, acquire and conserve friends to the pope's holiness and see apostolic, nor that which a good and indifferent vicar of Jesus Christ, and common father unto all princes, oweth and is bound to observe. Nevertheless ye shall say the king's highness, who always hath showed, and largely comprobate himself a most devout son unto the see apostolic, must and will take patience; and shall pray to God to put in the pope's mind a more direct and virtuous intent, so to proceed in his acts and doing, as he may be found a very father, upright, indifferent, loving, and kind; and not thus for partial respect, fear, or other inordinate affection, or cause, to degenerate from his best children, showing himself unto them as a step-father, nor the king's highness ye shall say can persuade unto himself, that the pope's holiness is of that nature and disposition, that he will so totally fail his grace in this matter of so high importance, but that by one good mean or other, his holiness will perfectly comprobate the entire love that always the same hath showed to bear towards his highness, wherein ye shall desire him now to declare by his acts the uttermost of his intent and disposition; so as ye Mr. Stevins and Mr. Brian, who be revoked home, do not return with void hands, or bring with you things of such meagreness, or little substance, as shall be to no purpose: and thus by these, or like words, seconding to the same effect, which as the time shall require, and as he shall have cause, ye by your wisdoms can qualify and devise, it is not to be doubted, but that the pope's holiness perceiving how the king's highness taketh this matter, and that two of you shall now return, will in expedition of the said ampliation of the commission, and other things requisite, strain himself to do unto the king's highness as much gratuity and pleasure as may be; for the better attaining whereof, ye shall also show, how heavy and sorry I with my lord legate Campegius be, to see this manner of proceeding, and the large promises which he and I so often have made unto the king's highness, of the pope's fast and assured mind, to do all that his holiness, *etiam ex plenitudine potestatis*, might do, thus to be disappointed: most humbly beseeching his holiness on my behalf, by his high wisdom to consider what a prince this is; the infinite and excellent gratitudes which the same hath exhibited to the pope's person in particular, and to the see apostolic in the general; the magnitude and importance of this cause, with the consequences that may follow, by the good or ill entreating of the king's highness in the same; wherein ye shall say, I have so largely written, so plainly for my discharge declared the truth unto his holiness, and so humbly, reverently, and devoutly, made intercession, that more can I not add or accumulate thereunto, but only pray unto God that the same may be perceived, understood, and taken, as the exigence of the case and the merits of this noble prince doth require; trusting always and with fervent desire, from day to day, abiding to hear from his said holiness some such thing as I shall now be able constantly to justify and defend, the great things which I and my said lord legate have said and attested on his holiness' behalf.

This, with all other such matter as may serve to the purpose, ye shall extend as well as ye can, and by that means get and attain as much to your purpose for the corroboration and surety of all things to be done here as is possible, leaving to speak any more, or also to take or admit any rescripts for exhibition of the brief, advocation of the cause, or other of the former degrees, seeing that all which shall or can be done or attained there, shall hang merely upon the emperor's will, consent, and arbitre: and therefore nothing is now or hereafter to be procured, that may tend to any act to be done, in decision of the cause or otherwise there, or which may bring the adverse party to any advantage to be taken by the favour or partiality, that the same may have in that court; but to convert and employ all your suit to that thing which may be to the most convalidation and surety of the process, and things to be done here, as well by attaining, as ample, large, and sufficient words, clauses, and sentences as ye can get, for ampliation of the new commission.

As for the defeating of anything that may be procured to the impeachment of the process thereof, and the corroboration of the things to be passed, and done, by virtue of the same. And amongst other things, whereas ye with these last letters, sent the pope's pollicitation, for the non-inhibition or avoking of the cause, the ratifying and confirming of the sentence by us his legates herein to be given, and other things mentioned in the same, ye shall understand, that the said pollicitation is so couched and qualified, as the pope's holiness whensoever he will may resile: like as by certain lines and annotations, which in the margin of a copy of the said pollicitation I send you herewith, ye shall perceive more at large: and therefore after your other suits, for the ampliation of the new commission, if any such may be attained, brought unto as good a purpose as ye can, ye shall by some good way find the mean to attain a new pollicitation, with such, or as many of the words and additions newly devised as ye can get; which ye may do under this form and colour, that is to say, to show unto the pope's holiness, by way of sorrow and doleance, how your courier, to whom ye committed the conveyance of the said pollicitation, so chanced, in wet and water in the carriage thereof, as the pacquet wherein it was, with such letters as were with the same, and amongst other the rescripts of pollicitation, were totally wet, defaced, and not legible; so as the pacquet and rescript was and is detained by him to whom ye direct your letters, and not delivered amongst the other unto the king's hands: and unless his holiness, of his goodness unto you, will grant you a double of the said pollicitation, ye see not but there shall be some notable blame imputed unto you for not better ordering thereof, to the conservation of it from such chance. And thus coming to a new pollicitation, and saying, ye will devise it as near as ye can remember, according to the former, ye by your wisdoms, and namely ye Mr. Stevins, may find the means to get as many of the new and other pregnant, fat, and available words as is possible, the same signed and sealed as the other is, to be written in parchment; the politic handling whereof, the king's highness and I commit unto your good discretions; for therein, as ye Mr. Stevins know, resteth a great strength and corroboration of all that shall be done there, in decision of the king's said cause; and as ye write, may be in manner as beneficial to the king's purpose, as the commission decretal.

And to the intent ye may the better know how to proceed in this business, I advertise you that the king's highness hath now received fresh letters out of Spain, answering to those sent by Curson jointly with a servant of the queen's, for exhibition of the original brief here, of whose expedition you, Mr. Stevins, were privy before your departure. The letters were of sundry dates, the last whereof is the 21st of April, at which time the emperor was at Cæsar Augusta, upon his departure towards Barcelona. In effect, the emperor minding by his departure thither, and other his acts, to make a great demonstration of his coming into Italy, who is to nothing, as the king's ambassadors write, more unmeet and unfurnished than to that voyage, not having any galleys there but three, which lay on dry land unrigged, as they have done a long time past, none assembly of the states of that land, none order, provision of victual, towardness in conscription of men-of-war, or appearance of such thing; but that his going to Barcelona is chiefly under pretext to attain certain old treasure there remaining, and to give the better reputation to his affairs in Italy. As to the matter of peace and truce, he seemeth not so alien from it but that he would, under colour thereof, be glad to separate and disjoin other from the sincerity of confidence that is between them, working somewhat with the French king, which he himself confesseth to be but abuses. On the other side, he maketh overture of peace or truce to be had with the king's highness apart; and in the mean time entertaineth the pope's holiness as one whom, won from the residue of the confederates, he thinketh himself most assured of. Howbeit, in all this his business, ye may constantly affirm, that his compasses cannot prevail in anything that may be excogitate to the separation of the king's highness and the French king, who so entirely proceed together, that the emperor coming or not coming into Italy, the said French king intendeth to prosecute him in the place where his person shall be. To whom the king's highness now sendeth the duke of Suffolk, with the treasurer of his honourable household; who, if the pope will not really and actually intend to the maintaining of the peace, coming to the convention of his holiness, moved as the case shall require, shall be furnished of a substantial number of men-of-war out of his realm to the assistance of the said French king, if the emperor happen to descend in Italy. So, as his things there be not like to be in such surety as might bring the pope's holiness to this extremity of fear and respect. And all the premises touching this knowledge had out of Spain, and the French king's interest with the king's concurrence, as afore; it shall be well done ye declare to the pope's holiness, whereby, peradventure, the same shall be removed from some part of his said overmuch respect to that part.

As to sending of the brief, the emperor refusing to send it into England, showeth some towardness of sending it to Rome, minding and intending to have the king's matter decided there and not here; howbeit, all be but vain collusions. For, as ye shall perceive by such things as be extracted out of the letters of the king's orators resident in Spain, a copy whereof I send you herewith, the more the said breve cometh into light and knowledge, the more falsities be deprehended therein; and, amongst other, one there is specially to be noted, making, if it be true, a clearer and manifest proof of the same falsity; which—because if it were perceived by the adverse party, or any of their friends, counsellors or adherents, it might soon by a semblable falsity be reformed,—is above all other things to be kept secret, both from the pope and all other there, except to yourselves: for in computation of the year of our Lord is a diverse order observed in the court of Rome in bulls and breves: that is to say, in the bull beginning at the Incarnation of our Lord, in the brief at the Nativity; so, as the thing well searched, it is thought it shall be found, that the date presupposed to be of the breve, which is 26th Decemb., Anno Dom. 1503, *Pontificatus Julii anno primo*, well conferred with the manner and usages of that court: he that counterfeited the breve, not knowing such diversity between the date of the bull and breves, and thinking to make both dates of one day, dated the breve at a day before pope Julius was pope; which ye shall more plainly perceive by the said copy, and specially if under some good colour ye ripen yourselves there, whether the year in the date of breves change upon Christmas-day or upon New-year's day, wherein the king's pleasure is, that ye ensearch and certify here what ye shall know and perceive. And if ye shall by such inquiry find matter making to the purpose, as it is not doubted but ye shall do, then for the more sure justification and proof thereof before the judges, it shall be expedient ye in writing make mention of such a doubt, finding the means that it may be answered and declared in the same writing, by certain expert persons of the secretaries, and other officers of that court, with subscription of their answer and names; whereby it may appear here before us as judges, as a thing true and approved: howbeit, great dexterity is to be used for the secrecy thereof; for if such exceptions might come to the knowledge of the adverse party, they might, as the said orators write, soon reform that default by detrahing one letter, or title, or forging a new brief, alleging error in the transumpts, which might be the total disappointment of deprehension of the falsity in that chief and principal point. I pray you therefore to regard that matter substantially, and to order it by your good wisdoms accordingly.



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### XXIV.—*The two Legates' Letter to the Pope, advising a Decretal Bull. A Duplicate.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

Prioribus nostris ad Sanctitatem Vestram literis quid hic ageremus, quove in statu causa hæc esset exposuimus; postea quum, et res ipsa, et desiderium Regis admodum urgeret, ut ad Causæ ipsius merita agnoscenda accingeremur, quando in suspenso, non modo horum Regum vota, sed nec hujus Regni firmandi ratio, diutius haberi potest, omni suasionis genere horum animis prius adhibito, ut alterius voluntati alter cederet, eique morem gererent, cum nihil profecerimus, ad Judicii institutionem accedentes, de modo causam ipsam pertractandi, multa longioribus colloquiis inter nos commentati sumus; qua in re, dum quæ necessaria sunt adornantur, exhibitum est per Reginam exemplum Brevis Julii 2. eodem tempore quo et Bulla super hac materia, dati et scripti, sed attentiore cura et longe considerationre mente confecti, quod, quia in substantialibus etiam ab ipsa Bulla diversum est, non modo Regium, sed nostrum quoq; animum, mire suspensum habuit, usq; adeo ut de ejus veritate plurimum suspicari libeat; nam præter insperatam in tanta opportunitate ejus apparitionem, incredibile videtur, ut eodem tempore idem author, eisdem partibus, in eadem Causa, diversa admodum ratione caverit, et permansuro Diplomati ejusq; Decreto, ad perpetuam rei memoriam, proferendo, et plumbeo caractere excudendo dormitaverit, brevioribus vero literis, molli cera communiendis exactissimi studii et sobriæ cogitationis speciem impresserit: ne tamen Majestas hæc rem hanc damnatam priusquam exploratam habeat, quippe quæ magis in veritate quam in voto suo, Causæ hujus eventum sus-

ceptura videtur, ad ipsius Brevis exhibitionem instat, quod, quia honestum et rationi consonum videtur, a nobis etiam probatur, propterea omni studio curamus, ut Breve ipsum, quod in Hispaniis esse dicitur, et a quo exemplum hoc effigiatum aiunt proferatur; atque ut hoc expeditiore cura, et majore compendio assequamur, præter primam et summam illam de Causa cognoscendi potestatem, quam a Sanctitate Vestra habemus, aliam quoque ad hunc specialiter articulum habendam putamus, per quam possimus etiam per censuras, omnes etiam Regia et Imperiali Authoritate fulgentes, monere et adigere ut dictum Breve nobis exhibeant, sine quo causa hæc nedum absolvi, sed nec commode tractari queat. Atque hoc primum est, quod Majestas hæc, in tanta animi fluctuatione qua nunc æstuat, a nobis curandum putat, quo impetrato, Judicii via insistentes ad Causæ cognitionem procedemus; quod si non proferatur, vel inutile et vitiatum, et fide sua facile rejiciendum, prolatum fuerit, nihil prohibebit, hoc sublato obice, quin ex officio nostro reliqua prosequamur: sin vero exhibeatur, et veritate sua, vel adeo scite conficta fallacia, ita se tueatur ut acriori examine id inquiri debeat, patefacto jam patrocinorum cavillis et calumniis foro, quibus undis et judicii fluctibus non solum articulum hunc Brevis, sed universam Causam implicaturi simus, nullus non videbit; neque enim deerunt quæ suspectam ipsius Brevis fidem faciant, vel ex hoc maxime, quod cum maxime Regis et Regni hujus intersit, nihil prorsus de eo antehac anditum fuerit, nec ejus memoria aut ratio ulla extet in Scriniis Regiis, in quibus etiam minima quæque ad Regnum spectantia asservari solent: nam verisimile non est in Hispaniis majorem Anglicæ rei curam fuisse quam in ipsa Anglia, neq; quempiam solerti et acri adeo ingenio fuisse, qui hujuscemodi dissidium vigesimo quinto ab hinc anno suboriturum, et hac sola ratione sublatum iri posse divinaverit, nulla ut diximus apud hunc Regem, et in hoc Regno talis rei memoria extante. Porro si ex Brevi ad Bullam, et ex Bulla ad Breve transitus fiat, atque illius jejunitatem et ariditatem insectemur, hujus prægnantia verba, et ad omnes fere exceptiones tollendas, superstitiosam quodammodo vigilantiam conferamus, et quæ utrinq; deduci poterunt in Rescriptis Apostolicis æquo animo audiamus, pericliataturi certe sumus, ne, quod minime cupimus, Sedis Apostolicæ Authoritatem patientia nostra in discrimen rapiamus, atque dum Regno, et Regi hinc suppetias ferre volumus, rem dignitatemq; nostram multo minorem faciamus, cui tum posita etiam anima, favere et adesse semper cupimus et debemus. Propterea, Beatissime Pater, non solum pro Regis et Causæ hujus commodo, sed pro dignitate quoq; Ecclesiastica et Sanctitatis Vestræ Autoritate hic tuenda et conservanda, nullo pacto committendum ducimus, ut nobis spectantibus et audientibus, de Potestate Romani Pontificis, de literarum Apostolicarum sub plumbo et sub annulo scriptarum fide, et repugnantia, deque juris divini abrogatione disceptetur, maxime in Regum causa oppugnanda et defendenda, qui, ut sublimiore sunt fastigio collocati, ita iniquiori animo patiuntur Causæ suæ casum, cum qua et dignitatem et existimationem suam diminutam iri intelligunt, quæ si ignobilium etiam animos quosq; exulcerare, ipsa rerum experientia docti cernimus, qualiter quæso putamus Regios et generosos affectura. Itaq; quoniam hanc Carybdim et hos scopulos evitasse semper tutum erit, propterea hujusmodi incommoda quodammodo prætervecti, ubi ad litis molestias et incertas fori fluctuationes causam deducendam perspicimus, suadere, rogare et summis precibus pariq; reverentia contendere non desinemus, ut si exhibito Brevi pura veritas ita latitaverit, quod rectumne an falsum, vitiatum ceu adulterinum fuerit judicare ac decernere minime valeamus, Sanctitas Vestra Causam hanc ad se avocet, non solum ut tanto discrimine, et perplexitate nos eximat, sed ut paterno affectu Causæ et Regi huic optimo subveniat et opem ferat, atque ex Potestatis suæ plenitudine et summa prudentia finem huic rei optatum imponat, quæ non sine magno hujus Regni et Ecclesiasticæ dignitatis periculo diutius trahi potest: Speramus autem Serenissimū hunc Regem in hujusmodi avocandæ Causæ consilio facile quieturum, salebrosa hæc litium itinera et labirinthos evitaturum, modo in fide Sanctitatis Vestræ chyrographo manus suæ testata, cognoverit, se diutius suspenso in hac re animo detinendum non fore, atq; ab hujusmodi Matrimonio se tandem liberandum, in quo nec humano nec divino jure permanere se posse putat, ex causis Sanctitati Vestræ forsan notis, et per hos suos nuntios longioribus verbis explicandis. Quod si Sanctitas Vestra commodius existimaverit, Avocatione hujusmodi posthabita, per Decretalis unius concessionem huic causæ occurri et succurri posse, in hanc quoque rationem Regis animum paratum dabimus; et propterea concepto quodam Decretalis modulo, eum per hos ipsos Majestatis suæ nuntios mittimus, ex quibus abunde intelliget, quodque non absque exemplo istiusmodi auxilia proponantur, et quam non temere nec absque ratione Majestas hæc desiderio huic suo inhæreat: interea vero, dum hac vel illa ratione huic rei occurritur et Breve ipsum perquiretur, posset utiq; Sanctitas Vestra iterum Reginæ animum tentare, et ad Religionem emollire, curando (ut quod maxime apud eam gratia et Autoritate esse debeant) et literis, et precibus, et nuntiis, omniq; alia ratione, hac ipsa via, sibi, suisq; rebus omnibus, atq; aliis optime consulat. Cujusmodi multa, pro salute Regni et publica cum dignitate, tum tranquillitate animo agitamus, ut tandem optimo Regi præsidio simus, qui incredibili patientia et humanitate, nostram et Sanctitatis Vestræ opem expectat, sed tanta obsessus cura, sollicitudine et anxietate, ut nullus facile explicare possit, vix enim in hoc ipso, oculis et auribus nostris credimus; cujus usque adeo nos miseret, ut nihil ingrato magis animo audiamus quam ejus de hac re verba, querelas et cruciatum: jure, an injuria liceat nobis hoc, Beatissime Pater, cum Sanctitate Vestra tacere, ne præjudicium nobis aut aliis faciamus, sed quem non excitet tot annorum Conscientiæ Carnificina, quam ut transversum et modo in has et modo in illas partes agant Theologorum disputationes, et Patrum decreta, nullus non videt; qua in re enucleanda ita ambiguo laboratur sensu, ut jam non doctioris sed melioris hominis lumine et pietate egeamus, et propterea factum est ut cum ab utraq; parte stant assertores maximi, in illam magis Majestas sua inclinat, quæ ab offensionibus et periculis magis remota videtur. Quem præterea non moveat dulcis illa insitaque sobolis successio, in qua morientes et animam exhalaturi conquiescere, natura ipsa, videmur omnes? quem insuper non accendat, Regni atque imperii propagatio, et per solos liberos continuata quædam fruitio? quem deniq; populorum fidei ac ejus curæ commissorum tranquillitas et securitas, quæ in designatis jam regibus et principibus nutritur et vivit, non sollicitet? ita ut tanti adeoq; communis boni fundamenta nulla a se jacta, non doleat et suspiret, cum in extremis ejus diebus, extrema quoque tempora eis adventare sentiat, atq; secum omnia quodammodo in ruinam trahi? Majores habet, Beatissime Pater, Causa hæc anfractus et difficultates, quam superficie tenus inspectantibus offerantur, in qua vel hæ potissimæ sunt quod nec moram patitur, et in alteram partem non inclinat quidem, sed omnino cogit, ni velimus ab ea præcipites et maxima cum privatæ tum publicæ rei jactura cadere; nam qui vel Reginæ odio, vel speratæ, nec dum forsan notæ, futuræ conjugis illecebra et titillatione Regem agi



putant, ii excordes plane et toto, quod aiunt, cœlo errare videntur: ut enim credere dignum est, nullis illius quamlibet duris moribus aut injocunda consuetudine, vel ulterioris sobolis spe desperata, Regium animum tanto periculo ad odium impelli posse; ita nec in hominis bene sani mente cadere debet, Regem hunc imbecillo adeo esse animo, ut sensuum suadela eam abrumpere cupiat consuetudinem, in qua adolescentiæ suæ florentes annos exegerit persancte adeo, ut in hac quoq; fluctuatione, non sine reverentia et honore versetur. Inest, credite omnes, voluntati ejus non modo divinæ legis timor, sed humani quoq; juris ratio eximia, hæcq; non privata sed publica, ad quam cum ejus animum trahant, utriusq; juris peritissimi, et Regni hujus sui proceres, et primates omnes, nihil tamen suo, aut suorum tantum arbitrio constitutum habere cupit, sed Apostolicæ Sedis judicio; qua in re quanta sit pietate, maxime ostendit, quum non ex magorum carminibus, et circulatorum imposturis, aliisve malis artibus, sed Sanctissima Pontificis manu, tanto huic vulneri suo opem petat, de quo vel plura forte quam licuisset Sanctitati Vestræ subjecimus, quoniam hæc ipsa ulcera manibus nostris contrectavimus, et quantum vitales spiritus exhalent cognovimus: proinde Sanctitas Vestra, pii patris et peritissimi medici more, dum virtus adhuc stat, dum salus non desperatur, dum æger ipse sese sustinet et legitima petit auxilia, Regem de se et Apostolica sede optime meritum in piætatis suæ sinu foveat, illudq; ei indulgeat quod nec disputationum immortalia dissidia, nec litium immensum chaos unquam dabit, nec sine maximo discrimine unquam tractabitur; atque illud etiam secum reputet, quam injurium, et cum privatis tum publicis rebus incommodum sit, extremos juris apices consectari, quanquam non expediat ex scripto jure semper judicari; cui, quia Pontifices et Principes miro omnium consensu, a Deo ipso præfecti, censentur Spiritus et animæ vice, merito in ambiguis, et ubi multa periclitatur hominum salus, arbitrio suo ejus duritiem moderari possunt et debent, in quo Sanctitas Vestra et Regem et Regnum hoc plane servaverit. Quod si alia ratione vel aliunde paranda sibi fuerint auxilia, veremur ne de Regno et Rege hoc actum sit, quicquid enim alia manu huic vulneri impositum fuerit, nihil minus faciet quam sanitatem, seditionibus enim et tumultibus omnia exponentur, atq; imprimis Ecclesiastica Dignitas et Apostolicæ Sedis Authoritas hinc deturbabitur; quod non erit difficile, aut ingratum quibusdam, qui Rege cum Sanctitate Vestra nunc conjunctissimo, impietatis suæ venenum perbelle dissimulant; Cujusmodi jacturam si dura hæc tempora nostra fecerunt, quod deinde sperandum sit, non videmus. Conservandus itaq; Rex est, ejusq; eximia in Apostolicam Sedem voluntas et fides, ne eo a nobis abalienato, non modo Angliæ Regem, sed Fidei quoq; Defensorem amittamus, cujus virtutes et Religionem tanto plausu orbi commendavimus. Brevitati studentes multa prætermisimus, et præsertim quid Regni proceres, Nobiles æque atque ignobiles dicant, qui fremunt et acerbissime indignantur, se tamdiu suspensos haberi, atq; ab aliorum nutu et voluntate expectare, quid de fortunis eorum omnibus et capitibus statuant, aut decernant: atq; hac potissimum via insistunt, qui nullum aut certe diminutam hic Romani Pontificis Authoritatem vellent, quorum pleriq; in his disceptationibus, quibus alter alteri, ut usu venire solet, re in ambiguo posita, adversatur, ea dicunt quæ non æquo; horrore referri queant; nam inter cætera illud maxime in ore obvium habent, et prædicant, se nunquam satis demirari, aut ridere posse quorundam ignaviam, qui patienter audiunt, Pontificibus in Jure Divino figendo et refigendo licere, Pontifici Pontificis ceram aut plumbum conflare non permitti; nos, ut hos scopulos et has syrtes evitemus, nihil non agimus, et ne præceps, huc vel illuc, Rex hic ruat, curamus, quem in officio vix contineri posse confidimus, dum a Sanctitate Vestra his literis rescribatur: quibus si ut speramus et cupimus aliquid rescriptum fuerit, per quod et Regem et horum omnium animos quietiores reddere valeamus, accedet nobis quoq; vis aliqua cætera fælicius perficiendi; sin minus, omnia in deterius itura non ambigimus. Quæ ut celerius Majestas sua cognoscat præsentes hos nuntios suos per dispositos equos ad Sanctitatem Vestram mittit, ex quorum sermone plura quoque intelliget quam literæ ipsæ commode capere potuerunt. Ignoscet vero Sanctitas Vestra literarum nostrarum prolixitati, quæ tametsi modum excedunt, rei tamen hujus difficultatem et periculum majori ex parte minime attingunt.

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### XXV.—May 21, 1529. Richmont.

*Another Dispatch to Rome. An Original.*

RIGHT well beloved friends, I commend me unto you in my most hearty manner, by the hands of Alexander, messenger. I have in good diligence received your letters of the 4th of this month; and semblably the king's highness hath received your other letters, sent by the same messenger unto his grace; by tenor whereof it well appeareth, that the king's highness is now frustrate of the good hope and expectation that his grace and semblably I were in of the pope's determination to have done for his highness in this great and weighty cause of matrimony, as his holiness by his chamberlain promised,—not only that which might be done of power ordinary, but also of absolute; and that ye be utterly in despair to consecute or attain anything to the purpose there, to the benefit of the said cause, with the strange demeanour that hath been used in calling you to make answer why the supplications presented by the emperor's ambassador for advocation of the cause should not proceed, and how discreetly and substantially ye have answered and ordered yourselves therein; affirming finally, that as to that matter ye think it shall not serve to any purpose, but only to stop your suit in the obtaining of a new commission, and desiring to be ascertained of the king's pleasure touching the protestation mentioned in your instructions, and how the same is meant and understood, with many other things comprised in your said letters, right well and substantially couched and handled; for the which the king's highness giveth you hearty thanks, and I also thank you in most hearty manner for my part.

Ascertaining you, that by Thadeus, courier, upon receipt of your former letters sent by him, who I trust be arrived with you long before this time, I wrote unto you the king's mind and pleasure, as well to forbear any further pursuits of the degrees committed unto your charge, except only the expedition of a new commission and pollicitation mentioned in the same: as also that you Mr. Stevins, and Sir Francis Brian, should return home, like as my said letters purported. And forasmuch as now it appeareth that there is no hope for you to attain the said commission and pollicitation, the king's highness, supposing that ye the said Mr. Stevins and Sir Francis be on your way homeward, and perceiving that it should be necessary for his grace to have there a substantial counsellor of his, well learned in the laws, as well to defend all such things as shall be procured or set forth by the Cæsareans, to the hindrance of the king's cause, as to let and impeach any advocations, inhibitions, or other thing that may be damageable thereunto, hath de-

spatched thither this bearer and Mr. Bennet, who hath commandment to show unto you, and every of you, wheresoever he shall meet with or find you, his whole instructions, by tenor whereof ye shall be advertised of the king's further mind and pleasure in that behalf; wherefore this shall be only to signify unto you, how his highness will that ye now forbear any further pursuit, either for commission, pollicitation, or rescript, to be sent to the emperor for exhibition of the brief, either here or at Rome, but that following in every part the tenor of the said instructions, ye Mr. Stevins and Sir Francis Brian use all the diligence possible in your voyage homeward, and the residue of you to intend to such things as be mentioned in the said instructions; ascertaining you, that whereas ye were in doubt what is meant by the protestation spoken of in my former letters and your instructions, it was none other thing than in the same instructions was plainly specified and declared; that is to say, failing of all your requests and pursuits touching the king's great matter, to have showed unto his holiness the danger that might ensue, by losing the entire favour of this prince, by mean of his so strange and unkind dealing with his grace; howbeit, considering in what state the things now be, and how much the pope's holiness seemeth to be inclined to the emperor's part. And yet, as appeareth both by your letters and by such o her knowledge as the king hath, his holiness would gladly conserve the king's love and favour, and is loth to do anything to the prejudice of his cause; it is no time to come to any rigorous or extreme words with his holiness, but in gentle and modest manner to show himself in such words as be mentioned in my said last letters sent by Thadeus; and so without irritation of him, but with conservation of his favour to entertain his holiness in the best manner that may be, without meddling in any other protestation, but only to look what may be done touching such protestations apart, as is mentioned in the said instructions given to Mr. Bennet, which with these letters shall be a sufficient information of you all what to do in the causes to you committed, not doubting but in all other particular suits of bulls, and other things committed unto you, ye, Mr. Stevins and Sir Francis Brian, have or will do your best to bring the same with you; the expedition whereof, if they be not sped already, the king's highness committeth to the wisdoms of such of you as shall fortune to be in the court of Rome at the receipt hereof; wherein, and in all other things, his highness trusteth, and I do the semblable, that ye will order yourselves with all effectual diligence, as the special confidence that is put in you doth appertain.

And forasmuch as the greatest thing that is to be looked unto is the importune suit of the Cæsareans, not only to stop any further things to be granted to the king's highness, but also to revoke the commission given to the lord legate Campegius, and to me, which should be a clear disappointment and frustration of the king's cause; ye shall, therefore, look substantially by all politic means to withstand that no such thing be granted; assuring the pope and all the cardinals, and such other as have respect to the well of the see apostolic, that if he should do such an high injury to the king and his realm, and an act so contumelious to us his legates, and so contrarious to his faith and promise, he should thereby not fail so highly to irritate the king and all the nobles of this realm, that undoubtedly they should decline from the obedience of the see apostolic, and consequently all other realms should do the semblable, forasmuch as they should find in the head of the same neither justness, uprightness, nor truth; and this shall be necessary, as the case shall require, well to be inculked and put in his head, to the intent his holiness by the same may be preserved from granting, passing, or condescending to any such thing.

After these letters perfected hither, and read unto the king's highness, albeit that mention is made in sundry places heretofore, that as well ye Mr. Stevins and Sir Francis Brian, if ye be not returned from the court of Rome, as also the rest of the king's ambassadors, which at the arrival of Mr. Doctor Bennet shall fortune to be there, shall forbear to make any further means or pursuit for the new commission and pollicitation, but clearly to use silence therein; yet nevertheless regarding, and more profoundly considering the effect of your letters last sent, it doth plainly appear, that though after the overture made to the pope's holiness of the said new commission, the business chanced to be made by the emperor's ambassador, upon preferring a supplication for advocation of the cause; which thing by your writing Mr. Stevins to Capisuke was well avoided; yet was there none express refusal made by the pope's holiness to condescend unto the said new commission, but order given that you should consult and confer with the cardinal Anconitane and Symonette upon the same; which conference, by mean of the said business, was deferred and disappointed, without any final conclusion or resolution taken thereupon. Wherefore, inasmuch as yet there appeareth none utter despair of obtaining the said new commission and pollicitation, with some more fat, pregnant, and effectual clauses than the other hath; the king's pleasure is, that notwithstanding any words before mentioned, both ye, the said Mr. Stevins and Sir Francis Brian, if ye be not departed from the court of Rome, do for the time of your demur there, which the king's pleasure is, shall not be long, but only for taking of your leave; and also the rest of the king's said orators, after your departure shall, as ye shall see the case require, endeavour yourselves as much as may be, to obtain the said new commission and pollicitation, foreseeing always that you handle the matter after such manner, as thereby the pope be not the rather induced to hearken and incline to any pursuits of the imperials for advocation of the cause, which were a total frustration of all the king's intent, but so to use yourselves as ye shall see to be to the benefit, and not to the hindrance thereof: which done, the king's grace doth refer the good handling of this thing to your wisdoms and discretions, neither to leave the pursuit for the said commission and pollicitation, if it may without damage be followed; nor to follow it, if thereby you shall see apparent danger of any such advocation, or advantage to ensue to the purpose of the imperialists, like as his highness doubteth not, knowing now the king's mind and pleasure, you will with wisdom and dexterity order yourselves herein accordingly.

And furthermore, you shall in anywise dissuade the pope for sending either by his Nuntio, to be sent unto Spain, or otherwise, for the original brief: and if the Nuntio be already passed, having charge to speak for sending the same to the court of Rome, then to find the means that a commandment be by the pope's holiness sent after him, not to make any mention thereof: which done to you, the king's said ambassador shall have a good colour to induce the pope's holiness, saying, as of yourself, that you have well considered your own pursuits for producing the brief at Rome, and because the emperor might per-case think that the pope were about to arect unto him the falsity of the said brief, therefore you can be contented that that matter be put off, and no mention to be made thereof by his Nuntio, or otherwise; whereunto it is not to be doubted but the pope's holiness will have special regard, and facilly condescend to your desires in that behalf.



Finally: It appeareth also, by certain your letters sent, as well to the king's highness as to me, that the pope's holiness is much desirous to study and find a mean and way to satisfy the king's highness in this behalf; amongst which one clause in his letters to me is this: *Tametsi enim jurisperitorum consilium quæsiverimus, sed nihil reperimus, quod bonis oratoribus simul et justitiæ ac honori nostro satisfaceret; sed tamen agimus omnia, et tentamus omnes modos Regiæ suæ Serenitati, ac circumspectioni tuæ satisfaciendi.* (And it is added in the margin, with Wolsey's hand:

*Mi Petre, referas tuis literis pervelim quid tibi et mihi Pontifex dixerit de modis excogitandis, et quomodo subridens dicebat. In nomine Patris, et cet.*)

Wherefore, since his holiness so plainly declared that he seeketh the ways and means to satisfy the king's highness, it shall be in any wise expedient that you, the said orators, perceiving any towardness of advocation, lay this to the pope's holiness, saying, that that is not the way to satisfy his grace; and yet besides that, by your wisdoms to find the means to understand and know of his holiness what be the ways and means which his holiness hath studied or can study to satisfy the king according to his writing in this behalf, whereof they shall say his grace is glad, and is very desirous to know and understand the same; and as you shall perceive any towardness or untowardness in the pope in that behalf, so to set forth your pursuits to the best purpose accordingly. And thus heartily fare you well. From Richmond, the 21 day of May.

Your loving friend,

T. Cardinalis Eborac.

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## XXVI.—May 31. Romæ 1529.

*A Letter of the Pope's to the Cardinal. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

Dilecto Filio nostro Thomæ tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbytero Cardinali Eboracensi, nostro et sedis Apostolicæ Legato de latere.

Clemens manu propria.

Dilecte Fili noster, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum Angliæ Rex ac Circumspectio vestra, vetera vestra erga nos et Sedem Apostolicam merita novis officiis augeretis, optabamus occasionem, in qua et vos nostrum amorem cognoscere possetis; sed molestissime tulimus eam primum esse oblatam, in qua circumsepti angustis terminis justitiæ, non possemus progredi quantum vellemus, studio vobis gratificandi, multis ac rationabilibus Causis desiderium vestrum impedientibus, quod quidem Regiis Oratoribus istuc redeuntibus demonstrare conati sumus. Sed super his et publicis negotiis copiosius vobiscum loquetur Dilectus Filius noster Cardinalis Campegius. Datum Romæ die ultima Maii, 1529.

J.

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## XXVII.—April 6, 1529.

*The King's Letter to his Ambassadors, to hinder an Avocation of the Suit. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

By the King.

Henry Rex.

Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. Since your departure from hence, we have received sundry your letters to us directed, whereof the last beareth date at Rome, the 4th day of the last month; and have also seen such other as from time to time ye have sent to the most reverend father in God, our most entirely well-beloved counsellor the lord legate, cardinal, archbishop of York, primate of England, and our chancellor: by continue whereof, we have been advertised of the successes, as well of your journey thitherwards, as of such things as ye to that time had done in our causes to you committed; for the which your diligent advertisement, and good acquittal, we give unto you condign thanks: ascertaining you, we do not a little marvel, that in your said last letters you show so much desperation of any great favour to be had at the pope's hand in our said causes; considering that neither ye then had spoken with his holiness in the same, nor by such conferences as ye had had with Mr. Jacobo Salviati, or other on his behalf, we can perceive but all good favour and towardness; though per-case the superiority of the imperials, and the common fame, led you to think the contrary: howbeit as you know no credence is to be given unto such common report, nor we trust the same shall prove more true, than hath done the opinion that was of the lord legate Campegius now here resident, whom we find and certainly know to be of a far other sort in his love and inclination towards us, than was spoken, not having such affection towards the emperor, as in him was suspected. And to be plain with you, if ever he had been of other mind, we have said somewhat to him after such manner as might soon change that intention. So that little faith is to be given to the outward sayings and opinions of such people as measure everything at their pleasure; which we doubt not but ye right wisely do consider, and that ye have before this time, by your diligent solicitation made to speak with the pope's holiness for declaration of your charge, proved the contrary. Whereof we shall be glad and joyous to hear; willing and desiring you therefore, according to the great and special confidence that we have in you, to pretermit no time in the diligent handling and execution of your said charge, but by one good way or other to find the mean, if you have not already done it, to declare the same unto the pope, wherein the good advice and address of the bishop of Verone shall, we trust, do you great furtherance; and by whose means, if ye for the pope's extreme debility or sickness might in nowise be often admitted unto his presence, ye may signify unto him at great length our whole mind, desire, and intent, after such form as your instructions and letters given and sent unto you in that behalf do purport: for sure ye may be, it shall highly confer unto the benefit of our causes, that ye have there present one so fast and assured friend unto us, as we trust the bishop of Verone is, who shall be able right largely to countervail, and meet with the malicious practices of the archbishop of Capua, who is thought to be one of the chief authors and contrivers of the falsities, crafts, and abuses, set forth to the hindrance of our said causes; which no man shall more politicly and facilly deprehend, than the said bishop of Verone may do: and therefore he is by you, with all good means and ways possible, to be entertained; as we doubt not but you will have special eye and regard to the making, winning, and conservation of as many friends to our purpose as ye can possibly obtain; so handling yourself, as now may appear your dexterity and perfect endeavour to conduce, with your diligent labour and policy, our matters to the speedy, indelayed, and desired end and effect, which ye may be sure we shall not put in oblivion, but will have the same in remembrance accordingly. Marvelling nevertheless, that though ye Mr. Stevins could not bring hitherto our great causes to perfection, ye had not in the mean season advertised us what is done touching such bulls as were to be sped for our other particular matters, whereof no mention is made in

your said letters; willing and desiring you therefore, by your next letters, to advertise us in what state and train the same be; knowing right well that ye being not only by the former letters and writings, but also by such as be sent unto you, at this time sufficiently and amply instructed of our mind and pleasure, will now so acquit yourself, as shall correspond to the perfect expectation and firm opinion that we have of you, which we shall not fail to have in our tender consideration to your well, as is aforesaid. Ye shall also, in your conferences with the said bishop of Verone, understand and know of him, by what ways and means ye may best further his advancement to the cardinality; exhorting him, for the manifold good effects that thereof may ensue, to conform himself to the acceptation thereof, if it may be obtained: for doubtless his virtue, wisdom, and experience, fidelity, and other great and commendable merits well considered, we think no man more meet at this time to be preferred thereunto than him: and therefore our express mind and pleasure is, that ye do it by all the ways and means to you possible. And finally, we will that ye show unto him how effectually we have written unto you in that behalf, to the intent, being advanced thereunto, he may give us the better thanks, and in every way bear to us the more perfect affection. And by your next letters, we will that ye advertise us what advocates ye have on our part, with their names and qualities; finding the means also, if it be possible, to retain some notable and excellent divine, a frier, or other that may, can, or will firmly stick to our causes, in leaning to that, *Quod Pontifex ex Jure Divino non potest dispensare, &c.* And of all the successes to advertise us, as our special trust is in you. Given under our signet, at our Mannor of Greenwich, the 6th of this April.

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### XXVIII.—June 23, 1529.

*The King's Letter to his Ambassadors, about his appearance before the Legates. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

To our trusty and right well-beloved counsellors, Mr. William Bennet, Doctor of both Laws; Sir Gregory de Cassalis, knight; and Mr. Peter Vannes our Secretary for the Latin Tongue, our Ambassadours, resident in the Court of Rome, and to every of them.

By the King.

Henry R.

Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. By former letters and writings sent to you, sir Gregory and Mr. Peter, with other of your colleagues then being at Rome, and by such conference as was had with you Mr. Benet before your departure, you were advertised in what state then stood our cause and matter of matrimony, and how it was intended that the process of the same should with diligence be commenced before the pope's legates here, being authorized for that purpose. Since that time, ensuing the deliberation taken in that behalf, the said legates, all due ceremonies first observed, have directed citations both to us and to the queen, for our and for her appearing before them the 18th of this month; which appearance was duly on either party kept, performed, and all requisite solemnities accomplished: at which time the queen trusting more in the power of the imperialists, than in any justness of her cause, and thinking of likelyhood, by frustratory allegations and delays, to tract and put over the matter to her advantage, did protest at the said day, putting in libels, recusatories of the judges; and also made a provocation, alledging the cause to be avoked by the pope's holiness, *et litis pendentiam coram eodem*; desiring to be admitted for probation thereof, and to have a term competent for the same: whereupon day was given by the judges till the 21st of the same month, for declaration of their minds and intentions thereunto; the queen in person, and we by our proctor enjoined to appear the same day, to hear what the said judges should determine in and upon the same. At which time both we and the queen appeared in person; and notwithstanding that the said judges amply and sufficiently declared, as well the sincerity of their minds directly, justly to proceed without favour, dread, affection, or partiality; as also that no such recusation, appellation, or term for proving of *litis pendentium*, could or might be by them admitted: yet she nevertheless persisting in her former wilfulness, and in her appeal, which also by the said judges was likewise recused: and they minding to proceed further in the cause, the queen would no longer make her abode to hear what the said judges would fully discern, but incontinently departed out of the court; wherefore she was thrice preconnisate, and called eftsoons to return and appear; which she refusing to do, was denounced by the judges contumax, and a citation decerned for her appearance on Friday next, to make answer to such articles and positions as should be objected unto her: So as now it is not to be doubted, but that she will use all the ways and means to her possible, to impetrate and attain such things, as well by her own pursute, as by her friends, as may be to the impeachment of the rightful process of this cause, either by advocation, inhibition, or otherwise: wherefore seeing now in what state this our matter standeth and dependeth, necessary and requisite for the great consequences hanging upon the same, not only for the exoneration of our conscience, but also for the surety of our succession, and the well of this our realm and people, to be with all celerity perfected and observed. It was thought convenient to advertise you of the premisses, to the intent ye being well and sufficiently instructed in all things concerning the same, shall by your wisdoms and diligences have special regard that nothing pass or be granted there by the pope's holiness, which may either give delay or disappointment to the direct and speedy process to be used in this cause, neither by advocation of the cause, inhibition, or otherwise; but that if any such thing shall, by the Cæsareans, or by her agents, or other, be attempted, or desired, the like men of wisdom, good zeal, learning, and experience, diligently procure the stopping thereof, as well upon such reasons and considerations as before have been signified unto you, as by inferring the high and extream dishonour, and intolerable prejudice that the pope's holiness thereof should do to his said legates; and also the contrariety both of his bull and commission, and also of his promise and pollicitation passed upon the same; beside the notable and excellent displeasure thereby to be done by his holiness to us, and our realm, clear contrary to our merits and deserts; extending also the other dangers mentioned in the said former writings, apparent to ensue thereby to his holiness, and the see apostolic, with the manifold, and in manner, infinite inconveniences like to follow of the same to all Christendom, and all other such reasons, introductions and persuasions ye can make and devise for that purpose: putting him also in remembrance of the great commodity coming unto his holiness herein, by reason that this cause being here decided, the pope not only is delivered from the pains that he should in this time of disease and sickness, to the extreme peril of his life, sustain with the same, seeing that it is of such moment and importance, as suffereth no tract or delay; but also his holiness shall by such decision here eschew and avoid all displeasure that he should not fail to have, if it were or should be passed elsewhere: which matter is no little wisdom well to foresee and consider, and not only to forbear to do or pass anything derogatory or prejudicial to his said commission, but also by all means possible to corroborate and fortify the same, and all such acts judicial as shall pass by his said legates by virtue thereof. Like as we doubt not but that the pope's holiness, of his uprightness, virtue, and perfect wisdom will do; and rather, like a most loving father and friend, tender and favour our good, just and reasonable causes and desires, putting thereunto all the furtherance he may do, than to do or consent to be done anything hurtful, prejudicial, damageable, or displeasant unto us, or this our said cause. And finally; if need shall be we will ye also infer, as the case shall require, how inconvenient it were this our matter should be decided in the court of Rome; which now dependeth totally in the emperor's arbitre, having such puissance near thereunto, that, as hath been written by the pope's own letters, their state and life there is all in the emperor's hands, whose armies may famish or relieve them at their pleasure. And semblably ye shall not forget the prerogative of our crown and jurisdiction royal, by the ancient laws of our realm, which admitteth nothing to be done by the pope to the prejudice thereof, and also what danger they should incur that would presume to bring or present any such thing unto the same, as in our last letters sent by Alexander was touched at good length. Wherein since ye be already so well and amply instructed, knowing also how much the matter imports and toucheth us, and what profit and agreeable service ye may do unto us herein, with the high thanks that ye may deserve for the same; we shall not be more prolix, but refer the substantial, perfect, and assured handling hereof to your circumspections, fidelities, and diligences, not doubting but that ye will now, above all other things, look vigilantly hereunto, and so acquit yourselves in the same, as it may well appear that your acts shall be correspondent to our firm trust and expectation, and no less tender this thing than ye know it to be imprinted in the bottom of our heart, nor then as ye know both the importance and high moment, and also the very necessity of the matter doth require. In which doing, beside the laud and praise that ye shall consecute thereby of all good men, we shall so have your acquittals in our remembrance, as ye shall have cause to think your travels, pains, and studies herein, in the best wise collocate and employed. Given under our signet, at our palace of Bridewell, the 23d day of June.

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### XXIX.—Rome, 9 July, 1529.

*Doctor Bennet's Letter to the Cardinal, showing how little they might expect from the Pope. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

Please it your grace to understand, that the 6th day of this month the pope's holiness sent for us: albeit we had made great suit for audience before to his holiness, soon after that we had understanding that his holiness was recovered of this his last sickness, into the which he fell the second day after I had my first audience of his holiness, which was the 21 day of the last month: and after our long communication and reasoning in the king's highness' cause, which at length we have written to your grace in our common letter, for a confirmation of many inconveniences and dangers which we persuaded to his holiness, to follow both to himself and to the see apostolic, in case his holiness should avoke the cause; I thought much convenient at that same time to deliver the king's familiar and likewise your grace's letter, and so to show your grace's credence to his holiness. After the foresaid letters delivered, and by his holiness read, his holiness showed me, that he perceived by your grace's letters, that I had certain credence to show unto him of great moment and importance, concerning him and the see apostolic. I showed to his holiness your grace's faith and observance, his holiness doth best know; most humbly besought his holiness to believe these undoubtedly to follow, That if his holiness should, at the labours of the Cæsareans, avoke the cause, he should not alonely offend the king's highness, which hitherto hath been a stay, a help, and a defence of the see apostolic; but also by reason of this injury, without remedy, shall alienate his majesty and realms, with others, from the devotion and obedience of the see apostolic. This I showed his holiness, that your grace doth evidently perceive to follow, in case his holiness should incline to the Cæsareans' desire on this behalf: yea further, I said, that your grace most clearly perceiveth also by that act, the church of England utterly to be destroyed, and likewise your person; and that these your grace, with weeping tears, most lamentably committed unto me to show to his holiness. Furthermore I showed to his holiness that your grace, howsoever you should proceed in this cause, did intend to proceed so sincerely, indifferently, and justly, that you would rather suffer to be jointed, joint by joint, than, either for affection or fear, do any act either against your conscience or justice. Furthermore I said, that seeing his holiness may be so well assured, that your grace will do nothing but according to justice in this cause, he may the more boldly deny avocations to the Cæsareans, seeing that the queen and the emperor can desire but justice, which they may have at your grace's hand, and my lord Campegius, as well there as here; and by this means his holiness should deliver himself from great pains and unquietness of mind, which he should sustain in case the cause should be known here, where he should have the king's highness on one part, and the emperor on the other side, daily calling upon his holiness. To this his holiness most heavily, and with tears, answered and said, That now he saw the destruction of Christendom, and lamented that his fortune was such to live to this day, and not to be able to remedy it, (saying these words,) For God is my judge, I would do as gladly for the king as I would for myself; and to that I knowledge myself most bounden, but in this case I cannot satisfy his desire, but that I should do manifestly against justice to the charge of my conscience, to my rebuke, and to the dishonour of the see apostolic; affirming that his counsel shows him, that seeing the Cæsareans have a mandate or proxy of the queen, to ask the avocations in her name, he cannot of justice deny it, and the whole signature be in that same opinion; so that though he would most gladly do that thing that might be to the king's pleasure, yet he cannot do it, seeing that signature would be against him whensoever the supplication should be up there: and so being late, we took our leave of his holiness and departed, seeing that we could obtain nothing of the pope for stopping the avocation, we consulted and devised for the deferring of it till such time as your grace might make an end in the cause there. And so concluded upon a new device, which at length we have written in our common letter, wherein, I promise your grace, Mr. Gregory has used great diligence, and taken great labours at this time, we can do no more for our lives: and if your grace saw the importune labour of the ambassadors of the emperor's and Ferdinandoes

you would marvel, I premise your grace they never cease; wherefore in staying hitherto, as we have done, it is marvel, as God knoweth, whom I pray to preserve your grace in health and prosperity *ad multos annos*. I beseech your grace most humbly to commend me to the king's highness, and likewise I beseech your grace to pardon my ill writing. At Rome, the 9th day of July.

Your daily beadman and servant,

W. Benet.

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XXX.—*A Letter of the Pope's to the Cardinal concerning the Avocation. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 11.]

19 Julii, 1529.

Dilecte Fili noster, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Difficile est nobis explicare literis, qua nostra molestia seu potius dolore fuerimus coacti, ad Avocationem Causæ istic commissæ concedendam: nam etsi res ita fuit justa ut tanto tempore differri non debuerit, tamen nos qui isti Serenissimo Regi pro ejus singularibus erga nos et Apostolicam sedem meritis placere in omnibus cupimus, sicut consuevimus, ægre nunc adducti sumus, ut quamquam justitia cogente, quicquid contra ejus voluntatem concederemus. Nec vero minus, Fili, doluimus tua causa, cui rem hanc tantæ curæ esse perspeximus quantum tua erga dictum Regem fides et amor postulat; sed tamen quod datur justitiæ minus esse molestum debet, cum præsertim id fuerit tam dilatum a nobis, omniaq; antea pertentata ne ad hoc descenderemus. Itaq; optamus in hoc adhiberi a te illam tuam singularem prudentiam et æquitatem, persuadereq; te tibi id quod est, nos qui semper vobis placere quantum nobis licuit studuimus, id quod vestro maximo merito fecimus, et semper facturi sumus, nunc non nisi invitos et justitia coactos quod fecimus fecisse: Teque omni studio et amore hortamur, ut dictum regem in solita erga nos benevolentia retinere velis, eiq; persuadere, nihil ex hoc apud nos de benevolentia erga se veteri imminutum unquam fore, quod recipiemus a Circumspectione tua longe gratissimum. Quemadmodum plenius dilectus Filius noster Cardinalis Campegius hæc circumspectioni tuæ explicabit. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 19 Julii 1529. Pont. nostri anno sexto.

Blosius.

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XXXI.—Act 26. Anno Regni 21 Henr. 8.

*An Act for the releasing unto the King his Highness of such Sums of Money as was to be required of him, by any his Subjects, for any Manner of Loan, by his Letters Missives, or other ways or manner whatsoever.*

*Item quædam alia billa formam cujusdam actus in se continens, exhibita est præfato Domino Regi in Parliamento prædicto. cujus quidem billæ tenor sequitur in hæc verba.* The king's humble, faithful, and loving subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, considering and calling to their remembrances the inestimable costs, charges, and expences which the king's highness necessarily hath been compelled to support and sustain since his assumption to his crown, estate, and dignity royal; as well first for the extinction of a right dangerous and damnable schism sprung and risen in the church; which, by the providence of the Almighty God, and the high prudence and provision and assistance of the king's highness was, to the great honour, laud, and glory of his majesty, repressed; the enemies then being of the church reformed, returned, and restored to the unity of the same, and peace over all componed and concluded, as also for the modifying of the insatiable and inordinate ambition of those which do aspire unto the monarchy of Christendom, did put universal trouble, divisions in the same, intending, if they might, not only to have subdued this realm, but also all the rest unto their power and subjection: for the resistance whereof, the king's highness was compelled, after the universal peace, by the great study, labour, and travel of his grace conduced, and the same by some of the contrahents newly violate and infringed; in showing the form of the treaties thereupon made again, and take armour. And over and besides the notable and excessive treasure and substance which his highness in his first wars had employed for the defence of the church, the faith catholic, and this his realm, and of the people and subjects of the same, was eftsoons brought of necessity to new, excellent, and marvellous charges, both for the supportation of sundry armies by sea and by land; and also for divers and manifold contributions outward, to serve, keep, and contain his own subjects at home in rest and repose; which hath been so politicly handled and conduced, that when the most part of all religious Christians have been infested with cruel wars, discords, divisions, and dissensions, the great heads and princes of the world brought unto captivity; cities, towns, and places, by force and sedition, taken, spoiled, burnt, and sacked; men, women, and children found in the same slain and destroyed; virgins, wives, widows, and religious women, ravished and deflowered; holy churches and temples polluted, and turned unto profane use; the reliques of the holy saints irreverently treated; hunger, dearth, and famine, by mean thereof in the said outward regions ensuing, and gentily over all, was depopulation, destruction and confusion; the king's said subjects in all this time were by the high providence and politic means of his grace nevertheless preserved, defended, and maintained, from all these inconveniences and dangers; and such provisions taken, by one way or other, so as reasonable commodity was always given unto them to exercise their trafficks of merchandise, and other their crafts, mysteries, and occupations for their living; which could not possibly have been brought about, unless then the king's highness, with continual studies, travels, and pains, and with his infinite charges and expenses, had converted the peril and danger of the enterprises and exploits, set forth for the reduction of the enemies unto peace from his own subjects unto strangers: whereof finally such fruit and effect is ensued, as by the king's policy, puissance, and means, general and universal peace is established amongst all Christian princes; and this realm now, thanked be God, constitute in free, better, and more assured and profitable amity with all outward parties, than hath been at any time whereof is memory or remembrance. Considering, furthermore, that his highness, in and about the premises, hath been fain to employ not only such sums of money as hath risen and grown by any manner of contribution made unto his grace by his said loving subjects, but also over and above the same, sundry other notable and excellent sums of his own treasure, and yearly revenues, which else his grace might have kept and reserved to his own use; amongst which manifold great sums so employed, his highness also, as is notoriously known, and as doth evidently appear by the accounts of the same, hath to that use and none other, converted all such money, as by any his subjects and people, spiritual and temporal, hath been advanced unto his grace by way of prest and loan, either particularly, or by any taxation made of the same, being a thing so well collocate and bestowed, seeing the said high and great fruits and



effects thereof ensued, to the honour, surety, well, perfect commodity, and perpetual tranquillity of this sad realm, as nothing could better nor more to the comfort of his said subjects be desired, studied, or imagined; of one mind, consent and assent, and by authority of this present parliament, do for themselves and all the whole body of the realm whom they do represent, freely, liberally, and absolutely, give and grant unto the king's highness, by authority of this present parliament, all and every sum and sums of money, which to them, and every of them, is, ought, or might be due, by reason of any money, or any other thing, to his grace at any time heretofore advanced, or payed, by way of prest or loan, either upon any letter or letters under the king's privy seal, general or particular, letter, missive, promise, bond, or obligation of payment, or by any taxation, or other assessing, by virtue of any commission or commissions, or by any other mean or means whatsoever it be heretofore passed for that purpose, and utterly, frankly, liberally, and most willingly and benevolently for them, their heirs, executors, and successors, do remit, release, and quit claim, unto his highness, his heirs and successors for ever, all and every the same sums of money, and every parcel thereof, and all and singular suits, petitions, and demands, which they, or any of them, their heirs, successors, or executors, or the heirs, executors, or successors of any of them, have, had, or may have for the same, or any parcel thereof; most humbly and lovingly beseeching his highness, for the more clear discharge for the same, that it may be ordained and enacted by the king, our said sovereign lord, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that all promises, bonds, writings, obligatory letters, under the king's privy seal, signet, sign manual, or great seal passed, and other bonds or promises, whatsoever they be, had, or made, to any person or persons, spiritual or temporal, shire, city, borough, waxentale, tranship, hamlet, village, monastery, church, cathedral or collegiate, or to any guild, fraternity, or body corporate, fellowship, or company, or other whatsoever, having capacity to take any bond, specially and generally, jointly or severally, touching or concerning the same prest or loan, or every of them, or the repayment of any sum or sums of money for the same, be from henceforth void and of none effect. *Cui quidem billæ probe et ad plenum intellectæ per dictum Dominum Regem ex assensu et Authoritate Parliamenti prædicti taliter est responsum. Le Roy remercie Les Seigneurs et ses communes de leur bonne cueurs en faisant cest graunt, et icelle se Majeste accepte et tout le contenu, et cest escriture a graunt et aprove avecques tous les articles en ceste escripture specifies.*

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XXXII.—*A Letter from Gardiner and Fox, about their proceedings at Cambridge. An Original.*

Feb. 1530, from Cambridge, by Stephen Gardiner.

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.]

To the King's Highness.

Pleaseth it your highness to be advertised, that arriving here at Cambridge upon Saturday last past at noon, that same night, and Sunday in the morning, we devised with the vice-chancellor, and such other as favoureth your grace's cause, how and in what sort to compass and attain your grace's purpose and intent; wherein we assure your grace we found much towardness, good-will, and diligence, in the vice-chancellor and Dr. Edmunds, being as studious to serve your grace as we could wish or desire: nevertheless there was was not so much care, labour, study, and diligence employed on our party, by them, ourself, and other, for attaining your grace's purpose, but there was as much done by others for the lett and empeachment of the same; and as we assembled they assembled; as we made friends they made friends, to lett that nothing should pass as in the Universities name; wherein the first day they were superiors, for they had put in the ears of them, by whose voices such things do pass, *multas fabulas*, too tedious to write unto your grace. Upon Sunday at afternoon were assembled, after the manner of the University, all the doctors, batchelors of divinity, and masters of art, being in number almost two hundred: in that congregation we delivered your grace's letters, which were read openly by the vice-chancellor. And for answer to be made unto them, first the vice-chancellor calling apart the doctors, asked their advice and opinion; whereunto they answered severally, as their affections led them, *et res erat in multa confusione. Tandem* they were content answer should be made to the questions by indifferent men: but then they came to exceptions against the abbot of St. Benets, who seemed to come for that purpose; and likewise against Dr. Reppes, and Dr. Crome; and also generally against all such as had allowed Dr. Crammer's book, inasmuch as they had already declared their opinion. We said thereunto, that by that reason they might except against all; for it was lightly, that in a question so notable as this is, every man learned hath said to his friend as he thinketh in it for the time; but we ought not to judge of any man, that he setteth more to defend that which he hath once said, than truth afterward known. Finally, the vice-chancellor, because the day was much spent in those altercations, commanding every man to resort to his seat apart, as the manner is in those assemblies, willed every man's mind to be known secretly, whether they would be content with such an order as he had conceived for answer to be made by the University to your grace's letters; whereunto that night they would in nowise agree. And forasmuch as it was then dark night, the vice-chancellor continued the congregation till the next day at one of the clock; at which time the vice-chancellor proponed a grace after the form herein inclosed; and it was first denied: when it was asked again, it was even on both parties to be denied or granted; and at the last, by labour of friends to cause some to depart the house which were against it, it was obtained in such form as the schedule herein enclosed purporteth; wherein be two points which we would have left out; but considering by putting in of them we allured many, and that indeed they shall not hurt the determination for your grace's part, we were finally content therewith. The one point is that where it was first, that *quicquid major pars* of them that be named *decreverit*, should be taken for the determination of the University. Now it referred *ad duas partes*, wherein we suppose shall be no difficulty. The other point is, that your grace's question shall be openly disputed, which we think to be very honourable; and it is agreed amongst us, that in that disputation shall answer the Abbot of St. Benets, Dr. Reppes, and I Mr. Fox, to all such as will object anything or reason against the conclusion to be sustained for your grace's part. And because Mr. Doctor Clyss hath said, that he hath somewhat to say concerning the canon-law; I your secretary shall be adjoined unto them for answer to be made therein. In the schedule which we send unto your grace herewith, containing the names of those who shall determine your grace's question, all marked with the letter A. be already of your grace's opinion; by which we trust, and with other good means, to induce and obtain a great part

of the rest. Thus we beseech Almighty God to preserve your most noble and royal estate. From Cambridg the day of February.

Your highness's most humble
Subjects and servants,
STEPHEN GARDINER,
EDWARD FOXE.

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The Grace purposed and obtained, Feb. 1530.

*Placet vobis ut*

A. Vicecancellarius.

*Doctores.*

A. Salcot. The Abbot of St. Benets.
Watson.
A. Repps.
Tomson.
Venetus, *de isto bene speratur.*
A. Edmunds.
Downes.
A. Crome.
A. Wygan.
A. Boston.

*Magistri in Theologia.*

Middelton.
A. Heynes.
Mylsent, *de isto bene speratur.*
A. Shaxton.
A. Latimer.
A. Simon.
Longford, *de isto bene speratur.*
Thyxtel.
Nicols.
Hutton.
A. Skip.
A. Goodrich.
A. Heth.
Hadway, *de isto bene speratur.*
Dey.
Bayne.

A. A. Duo Procuratores.

Habeant plenam facultatem et Authoritatem, nomine totius Universitatis, respondendi Literis Regiæ Majestatis in hac Congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius Universitatis definiendi et determinandi quæstionem in dictis literis propositam: Ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorem præsentium inter se decreverint, respondendi dictis literis, et definierint ac determinaverint super quæstione proposita, in iisdem habeatur, et reputetur pro Responsione, Definitione et determinatione totius Universitatis, et quod liceat Vicecancellario, Procuratoribus et Scrutatoribus, literis super dictarum duarum partium definitione et determinatione concipienda sigillum commune Universitatis apponere; sic quod disputetur Quæstio publice et antea legatur coram Universitate absq; ulteriori gratia desuper petenda aut obtinenda.

*Your highness may perceive by the notes that we be already sure of as many as be requisite, wanting only three; and we have good hope of four; of which four if we get two, and obtain of another to be absent, it is sufficient for our purpose.*

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## XXXIII.—July 1, 1530.

***A Letter from Crook, out of Venice, concerning the Opinions of Divines about the Divorce. An Original.***

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.]

PLEASE it your highness to be advertised, that as this day I obtained the common seal of the University of Padua, in substantial and good form; for all the doctors were assembled upon Sunday, and the case was amongst them solemnly and earnestly disputed all Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and this present Friday in the morning again; and thereupon they concluded with your highness, and desired a notary to set his sign and hand unto an instrument, by Leonicus and Simonetus devised, in corroboration of your cause, and thereby to testify that this instrument was their deed, device, act, and conclusion; and for the more credence to be given to the said instrument, they caused the chancellor of the Potestate here to set his hand and seal for the approbation of the authority of the notary. A copy of all the which things I send unto your highness by this bearer, in most humble wise beseeching the same to be advertised, that the general of the blackfriars hath given a commandment, that no blackfriar dispute the pope's power: notwithstanding, prior Thomas Omnibonus procureth daily new subscriptions, and will do till the brief of contrary commandment shall come unto his hands.

My fidelity bindeth me to advertise your highness, that all Lutherans be utterly against your highness in this cause, and have letted as much with their wretched power, malice, without reason or authority, as they could and might, as well here as in Padua and Ferrara, where be no small companies of them. I doubt not but all Christian universities, if they be well handled, will earnestly conclude with your highness. And to obtain their assent, as well through Italy, France, Almagne, Austritch, Hungary, and Scotland, I think it marvellous expedient, for the preferment of this your most honourable and high cause; as from the seigniory and dominion of Venice towards Rome, and beyond Rome, I think there can be no more done than is done already, albeit, gracious lord, if that I had in time been sufficiently furnished with money. Albeit, I have, beside this seal, procured unto your highness an hundred and ten subscriptions, yet it had been nothing in comparison of that that I might easily and would have done; and at this hour, I assure your highness, that I have neither provision nor money, and have borrowed an hundred crowns, the which also are spent about the getting of this seal; of the which my need, and divers impediments in your highness's cause here, I have advertised your highness by many and sundry letters, and with the same sent divers books and writings; part to Hierom Molins a Venetian, and factor to Mappheus Bernardus, by the hands of your subject Edmund Herwell; part directed to Mr. Tuke, whereof I am nothing ascertained whether they be exhibited unto your highness or not, to no little discomfort unto me; notwithstanding, I have reserved a copy of all things, letters, and other, and herein enclosed a bill, specifying by whom and to whom I directed my said letters; in most humble wise, beseeching your most royal clemency, to ponder my true, sure, and good endeavours, and not to suffer me to be destitute of money, to my undoing, and utter loss of your most high causes here; for of myself I have nothing whereby to help myself. And thus the most Blessed Trinity keep and preserve your highness in his most royal estate. At Venice, the 1st day of July at night, Anno —30.

R. CROOK.

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## XXXIV.— *The judgment of the Universities concerning the King's Marriage; taken from the printed edition of them. London, 1532.*

*Censura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ almæ Universitatis Parisiensis.*

DECANUS et Facultas Sacræ Theologiæ almæ Universitatis Parisiensis, omnibus, ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, salutem in eo, qui est vera Salus



Cum nuper suborta magnæ difficultatis controversia super invaliditate Matrimonii, inter Serenissimum Henricum Octavum Angliæ Regem, Fidei Defensorem, et Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Illustrissimam Dominam Catharinam Angliæ Reginam, claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Regis Catholici Filiam contracti, et carnali copula consummati, illa etiam nobis Quæstio in justitia et veritate discutienda et examinanda proposita fuerat, videlicet, An ducere relictam fratris mortui sine liberis sic esset jure divino et naturali prohibitum, ut interveniente summi Pontificis Dispensatione, non posset fieri licitum, ut quis Christianus relictam fratris ducat, et habeat in Uxorem; Nos Decanus et Facultas antedicta, cogitantes, quam esset pium et sanctum, necnon debito charitatis, et nostræ Professioni consentaneum, ut his, qui in lege Domini secura, tranquillaq; conscientia vitam hanc ducere, et transigere cupiant, viam justitiæ ostenderemus, noluimus tam justis et piis votis deesse. Hinc more solito, apud ædem S. Mathurini per juramentum convenientes, et solemni Missa cum Invocatione Spiritus Sancti ob hoc celebrata, necnon præstito juramento de deliberando super præfata quæstione, secundum Deum et Conscientiam; Post varias et multiplices Sessiones, tam apud ædem S. Mathurini, quam apud Collegium Sorbonæ, ab octava Junii usq; ad secundum Julii habitas, et continuatas, perscrutatis prius excussisq; quam diligentissime, ac ea qua decuit, reverentia et religione, Sacræ Scripturæ Libris eorumq; probatissimis interpretibus, necnon Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ generalibus ac Synodalibus Concilii Decretis et constitutionibus longo usu receptis et approbatis: Nos prædicti Decanus et Facultas de prædicta Quæstione disserentes, et ad eam respondentes, sequentes unanime judicium et consensum Majoris partis totius Facultatis, Asseruimus et Determinavimus, prout et in his Scriptis per præsentes Asserimus et Determinamus, quod prædictæ nuptiæ cum Relictis fratrum decedentium sine liberis, sic naturali jure pariter et divino sunt prohibitæ, ut super talibus Matrimoniis contractis, sive contrahendis, Summus Pontifex dispensare non possit. In cujus nostræ Assertionis et Determinationis fidem et testimonium, sigillum nostræ Facultatis cum signo nostri Notarii, seu Bedelli, præsentibus apponi curavimus. Datum in generali nostra Congregatione per juramentum celebrata apud S. Mathurinum. Anno Dom. Millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo, Mensis vero Julii die secundo.

*Censura Facultatis Decretorum almæ Universitatis Parisiensis.*

IN Nomine Domini Amen. Cum proposita fuisset coram nobis Decano et Collegio Consultissimæ Facultatis Decretorum Parisiensis Universitatis Quæstio; An Papa possit Dispensare, quod Frater possit in Uxorem ducere, sive accipere relictam Fratris sui, Matrimonio consummato per Fratrem præmortuum? Nos Decanus et Collegium præfatæ Facultatis, post multas Disputationes et Argumenta hinc inde super hac materia facta ac habita, cum magna et longa librorum, tam divini, quam Pontificii et Civilis, jurium revolutione consulimus, et dicimus, Papam non posse in facto proposito dispensare. In cujus rei testimonium, has præsentes Sigillo nostræ Facultatis, et signo nostri scribæ primi Bedelli muniri fecimus. Datum in Congregatione nostra apud Sanctum Joannem Lateranensem, Parisiis die vicesima tertia mensis Maii, Anno Dom. millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo.

*Censura almæ Universitatis Aurelianensis.*

CUM ab hinc aliquod tempus nobis Collegio Doctorum Regentium almæ Universitatis Aurelianensis propositæ fuerint, quæ sequuntur Quæstiones, videlicet; Si jure divino liceat fratri Relictam fratris (quam Fratriam vocant) accipere Uxorem? Item et si hoc sit eo jure vetitum, utrum divinæ Legis prohibitio Pontificali Dispensatione remitti possit? Nos prædictum Collegium, post multas ad prædictorum dubiorum Disputationem (de more nostro) factas Sessiones et Congregationes, postque Juris tum Divini tum Canonici locos (quod facere potuimus) examinatos, et omnibus mature atque exacte pensatis et consideratis: Definivimus, prædictas nuptias citra divinæ legis injuriam attentari non posse, etiamsi summi Pontificis accedat indulgentia, vel permissus. In cujus rei testimonium præsens publicum Instrumentum a Scriba præfatæ almæ Universitatis subsignari fecimus, ejusdemq; Sigillo communiri. Actum in Sacello Beatæ Mariæ Boninuncii Aurelianensis. Anno Dom. Millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo nono, die quinto Mensis Aprilis.

*Censura Facultatum Juris Pontificii et legum Almæ Universitatis Andegavensis.*

CUM certo ab hinc tempore nobis Rectori et Doctoribus Regentibus in Pontificia et legum disciplina almæ Universitatis Andegavensis sequentes Quæstiones propositæ fuerint, scilicet, Utrum Jure Divino pariter et naturali illicitum sit homini Christiano Relictam fratris sui, etiam absq; liberis, sed Matrimonio jam consummato defuncti, ducere Uxorem? Et an Summo Pontifici liceat super hujusmodi nuptiis dispensare? Nos præfati Rector et Doctores, post plures ad Disputationem hujusmodi quæstionum, et veritatem comperiendam factas, ex more, Congregationes et Sessiones, postq; varios Juris tam Divini, quam humani locos, qui ad eam rem pertinere videbantur, discussos, multas quoq; rationes in utramq; partem adductas et examinatas, omnibus fideliter consideratis, et matura deliberatione præhabita, Definimus neque Divino neque Naturali Jure permitti homini Christiano, etiam cum Sedis Apostolicæ Authoritate seu Dispensatione super hoc adhibita, Relictam fratris, qui etiam sine liberis post consummatum Matrimonium decesserit, Uxorem accipere vel habere. In quorum omnium supradictorum fidem, præsens publicum Instrumentum a Scriba seu Notario præfatæ Almæ Universitatis subsignari jussimus, ejusdemq; Universitatis Magno Sigillo muniri. Actum in æde sacra Divi Petri Andegavensi, in Collegio nostro. Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo, die septimo Maii.

*Censura almæ Universitatis Bituricensis.*

Nos cum Decano Theologiæ, Facultas in Universitate Bituricensi (ut Doctoris Gentium Pauli exemplo plerisq; locis auspicemur scriptum nostrum a precatione) omnibus dilectis Dei in quibus vocati estis, Lectores Charissimi, quiq; ad quos scribimus, Gratia vobis et pax a Deo Patre et Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Dum complerentur dies inter Octavas Pentecostes, et essemus omnes pariter in eodem loco, corpore et animo congregati, sedentesq; in domo dicti Decani; facta est nobis rursus Quæstio eadem, quæ sæpius antea, non quidem parva, hunc in modum: An rem faciat illicitam necne, frater accipiens Uxorem a præmortuo fratre relictam, consummato etiam Matrimonio? Tandem rei ipsius veritate disquisita et perspecta, multo singulorum labore, et Sacrorum iterata atq; iterata revolutione codicum, unusquisq; nostrum non fascinatus, quominus veritati obediret, cœpit, prout Spiritus Sanctus dedit, suum hoc unum arbitrium eloqui, absq; personarum acceptione, in veritate comperi, personas memoratas in Capite Levitici octavo supra decimum prohibitas esse jure ipso naturali, authoritate humana minime relaxabili, et vetitas, ne

invicem Matrimonium contrahant, quo fit fraternæ turpitudinis abominabilis Revelatio. Et hoc nobis signum nostri Bedelli Notarii publici, cum Sigillo dictæ supra nostræ Facultatis præsentibus appenso. Die decimo Junii, Anno vero a Christi Nativitate, Millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo. Ut autem nostræ scriptionis pes et caput uni reddantur formæ, quemadmodum sumus auspicati a precatione, ita claudamus illius quo utimur exemplo. Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, charitas Dei, et communicatio Sancti Spiritus sit cum omnibus vobis. Amen.

*Censura almæ Universitatis Tholosanæ.*

Tractabatur in nostra Tholosana Academia perquam difficilis Quæstio, Liceatne fratri eam, quæ jam olim defuncto fratri Uxor fuerat (nullis tamen relictis liberis) in Matrimonio sibi conjungere? Accedebat et alius scrupulus, qui nos potissimum torquebat, si Romanus Pontifex, cui est commissa gregis Christiani cura, id sua, quam vocamus, Dispensatione permittat, tunc saltem liceat? Ad utramq; Quæstionem agitandam Doctores omnes Regentes, qui tunc Tholosæ aderant, coegit Rector in Concilium, neque id semel tantum sed etiam iterum: Quippe existimavit præcipitari non oportere Consilia, indigereq; nos tempore, ut aliquid maturius agamus. Demum, cum in unum locum convenissent omnes, tum Sacrarum Literarum disertissimi Interpretes, tum utriusq; Censuræ Consultissimi, deniq; qui quavis in re et judicio et oratione viri fœlicibus ingeniis non mediocriter exercitati essent, ac sese Sacrosanctis Conciliis parere velle, Sanctorumq; Patrum haudquaquam piis animis violanda Decreta imitari jurassent, et unusquisq; suam sententiam protulisset, atq; in utramq; partem diffuse decertatum esset; tandem in eam Sententiam sic frequentius itum est, ut uno omnium ore Alma nostra Universitas animis sincerissimis nulloq; fermento vitiatis censuerit, Jure Divino pariter et Naturali Uxorem relictam fratris sui nemini licere accipere. At postquam id lege eadem non licet, responsum est, non posse Pontificem aliquem ea lege solvere. Nec huic sententiæ refragari potest, quod cogeretur olim frater Uxorem demortui fratris accipere. Nam hoc figura erat, atque umbra futurorum, quæ omnia adveniente luce et veritate Evangelii evanuerunt. Hæc quoniam ita se habent, in hanc formam redegimus, et per Notarium, qui nobis est a Secretis, signari, sigilliq; autentici ejusdem nostræ Almæ Universitatis jussimus Appensione Communiri. Tholosæ. Kal. Octob. Ann. a Christo nato M. D. XXX.

*Censura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ Universitatis Bononiensis.*

Cum Deus Optimus Maximus veterem Legem ad morum vitæque informationem ac institutionem ore suo tradiderit, idemque humanitate sumpta, mortalium Redemptor Deus novum condiderit Testamentum, sed ad dubia, quæ in multis emergebant, tollenda declarandaque contulerit, quæ ad hominum perfectionem elucidata nonnihil conferunt; nostras partes semper fore duximus hujusmodi sanctissima patris æterni documenta sectari, et in rebus arduis ac dubitabilibus, superno illustratos lumine, nostram ferre sententiam, ubi causa mature consulta, multisq; hinc inde rationibus, scriptisq; Patrum dilucidata fuerit, nihil quod possumus, in aliquo temere ferentes. Cum itaq; nos, præstantes quidam et clarissimi viri, obnixe rogarint, ut subsequentem casum maxima diligentia perscrutaremur, nostrumq; subinde in eum judicium ferremus æquissime, soli veritati innitentes, in unum omnes Almæ Universitatis hujus Doctores Theologi convenimus, casu prius per unumquemq; nostrum sigillatim domibus propriis examinato, summaq; solertia per dies plurimos contracto: Illud una mox vidimus, examinavimus, contulimus, ad amussimq; singula quæq; pertractantes ponderavimus, rationes quascunq; contrarias, quas fieri posse censuimus, in medium afferentes atq; solventes, etiam ipsius Reverendissimi D. D. Card. Cajetani, necnon Deuteronomicam Dispensationem de fratris suscitando semine, et reliquas tandem omnes sententias oppositas, quæ ad id negotii facere viderentur. Quæsitum est igitur a nobis, An ex sola Ecclesiæ institutione vel etiam Jure Divino prohibitum fuerit, ne quis Relictam a fratre sine liberis in Uxorem ducere valeat? Quod si utraq; lege ne fieri possit, cautum est; An quenquam possit Beatissimus Pontifex super ejusmodi contrahendo Matrimonio dispensare? Qua diligentissime (ut diximus) ac exactissime seorsim palamq; examinata, ac pro viribus nostris, optime discussa Quæstione, Censemus, Judicamus, dicimus, constantissime Testamur et indubie affirmamus, hujusmodi Matrimonium, tales nuptias, tale conjugium horrendum fore, execrabile, detestandum, viroq; Christiano, immo etiam cuilibet infideli prorsus abominabile, esseque a Jure naturæ divino et humano diris pœnis prohibitum. Nec posse Sanctissimum Papam (qui tamen fere omnia potest) cui collatæ sunt a Christo claves Regni Cœlorum: Non inquam posse aliqua ex causa super hujusmodi contrahendo Matrimonio, quenquam dispensare. Ad hujus conclusionis veritatem tutandam, omnes in omnia loca et tempora parati sumus. In quorum fidem has scripsimus, almæq; nostræ Universitatis ac Sacri Venerabilium Theologorum Collegii Sigillo munivimus, solita nostra generali subscriptione Signantes. Bononiæ in Ecclesia Cathedrali, decima Junii, Anno Dom. M.D.XXX. sub Divi Clementis 7. Pontificatu.

*Censura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ Almæ Universitatis Pataviensis.*

Testantur, qui Catholicam fidem astruunt, Deum Optimum Maximum legis veteris præcepta filiis Israel ad exemplar vitæ ac morum nostrorum institutionem ore proprio tradidisse, eundemq; trabea humanitatis indutum, Redemptorem omnium factum, Novum Testamentum condidisse, et nedum propter hoc, sed ad dubia quæcunq; emergentia removenda, dilucidandaq; nobis misericorditer condonasse, quæ ad nostri perfectionem enucleata fructus uberes conferunt et salutares. Nostrum semper fuit eritq; per sæcula (uti Christicolas decet) hujusmodi celebratissima Summi Pontificis instituta sectari, et in quibusq; dubitationibus, ac arduis Quæstionibus supernaturali lumine freti, nostrum proferre Judicium, ubi res ipsa optime considerata, multisq; hinc inde demonstrationibus, atq; Patrum Authoritatibus mature declarata fuerit, temere quoad possumus nihil omnino judicantes. Cum igitur nos, quidam oratores clarissimi, suppliciter exorarint, ut subsequentem casum diligentissime perscrutari dignaremur, atq; nostram ferremus exinde sententiam, soli veritati simpliciter attendentes: Qua ex re omnes hujus Almæ Universitatis Doctores Theologi in simul convenimus, re ipsa prius per nostrum quemlibet particulariter propriis domibus examinata, summaq; cum solertia enucleata, mox in unum redacti cuncta consideravimus, examinavimus, omniaq; sigillatim ponderavimus, Argumenta quæcunq; contraria, quæ fieri quoquomodo posse putavimus, adducentes, atq; integerrime dissolventes, necnon Deuteronomicam Dispensationem de Fratris suscitando semine, et reliquas omnes rationes atq; sententias oppositas, quæ ad id facere videbantur: Quæstio igitur talis fuit exposita, An ex sola Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ institutione, vel etiam de Jure divino prohibitum fuerit, ne quis Relictam fratris absq; liberis in Uxorem ducere valeat? Quod si utrobiq; fieri nequeat cautum est, An Beatissimus



Pontifex super hujusmodi contrahendo Matrimonio quenquam dispensare legitime possit? Quo exactissime (ut dictum est) seorsim publiceq; discusso, ac pro viribus dilucidato quæsito, Dicimus, Judicamus, Decernimus, Attestamur, atque veridice Affirmamus, Matrimonium hujusmodi, tale conjugium et tales nuptias nullas esse, immo detestabiles, atque execrandas Christiano cuilibet esse, prophanas, et, ut scelus abominandas, crudelissimis pœnis, jure naturæ, divino et humano, clarissime esse prohibitas. Nec Beatissimum Pontificem, cui claves Regni cœlestis a Christo Dei Filio sunt collatæ, ulla ex causa posse super tali Matrimonio contrahendo quenquam juridice dispensare. Cum illa, quæ sunt a Jure Divino prohibita, non subsint ejus potestati, nec in illa gerit vicem Dei, sed solum super ea, quæ sunt commissa jurisdictioni hominum. Ad cujus Sententiæ ac Conclusionis veritatem tutandam et ejusdem certissimam defensionem, Nos omnes unanimes semper et ubique parati sumus. In quorum fidem has nostras fecimus, Almæ Universitatis nostræ, ac Sacri Reverendorum Theologorum Collegii Sigillo solito communivimus. Datum Paduæ in Ecclesia Hermitarum S. Augustini, die primo Julii, M.D.XXX.

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XXXV.—*The Judgment of the Lutheran Divines about the King's Marriage, ex MSS. R. Smith, London.*

Ex hac Collatione in qua audivimus Argumenta de Controversia Divortii Serenissimi et Illustrissimi Regis Angliæ, Franciæ, &c. proposita et diligenter agitata a Reverendo D. D. Edwardo Hereford. Episcopo, D. Nicolao Archdiacono et D. D. Barnes, intelleximus Serenissimum Regem maximis et gravissimis Causis adductum, superatum et conclusum esse, ut in hoc negotio Matrimonii sui faceret quod fecit: Nam hoc manifestum est et negare nemo potest, quod Lex Levit. tradita Lev. 18. v. 20. prohibet ducere fratris Uxorem, &c. sed Divina, naturalis, et moralis lex est intelligenda tam de vivi quam de mortui fratris Uxore, et quod contra hanc legem nulla contraria lex fieri aut constitui possit, sicut et tota Ecclesia semper hanc Legem retinuit, et judicavit hujusmodi nuptias incestas esse, sicut testantur Synodorum Decreta et Sanctissimorum Patrum Clarissimæ Sententiæ, et has nuptias prohibent et vocant incestas etiam jura Civilia. Proinde et nos sentimus, et hanc Legem de non ducenda Uxore fratris in omnibus Ecclesiis servandam esse veluti divinam, naturalem, et moralem Legem; Nec in nostris Ecclesiis vellemus dispensare aut permittere, præsertim ante factum, ut ejusmodi nuptiæ contraherentur, et hanc Doctrinam possumus et volumus Deo volente facile defendere. Cæterum quantum ad Divortium pertinet, nondum sumus plene persuasi ut sententiam nostram ferre possimus, An post Contractum Matrimonium in hoc casu Serenissimi Regis debuerit fieri Divortium. Rogamus igitur Seren. Regem ut æquo animo ferat, differri nostram Sententiam in hac re donec erimus certiores.

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XXXVI.—*An Abstract of the Grounds of the Divorce.*

*Written in the beginning,* Thomas Cantuarien, *with his own hand.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vesp. B. 5.]

Articuli ex quibus plane admodum demonstratur Divortium inter Hen. VIII. Angliæ Regem Invictiss. et Serenissimam Catharinam necessario esse faciendum.

1. Affinitas quæ Divino et Naturali Jure impedit ne Matrimonium contrahatur, et contractum dirimit, solo nuptiali fœdere inducitur.

2. Substantia Matrimonii, verum perfectumq; conjugium, sola conjugali pactione, et non carnali copula efficitur.

3. Vir et Uxor solo fœdere conjugali, Deo inprimis operante, una mens et una caro fiunt.

4. Carnalis Copula affinitatem solo Jure Ecclesiastico repertam inducit.

5. Affinitas sola Carnis concubitu orta Sanctione humana solum impedit, ne Matrimonium contrahatur, et contractum dissolvit.

6. Carnalis Copula Matrimonium necessario reddit consummatum.

7. Potest Matrimonium Carnali Copula consummari, etiam Uxoris Virginitate irrecuperabili non amissa.

8. Serenissimam Catharinam ab Illustrissimo Principe Arthuro relictam Virginem non fuisse affirmamus.

9. Sereniss. Catharinam ex Judiciis quam plurimis attestantibus, et violentam præsumptionem inducentibus, ab eodem Illustrissimo Principe Arthuro corruptam, atque Matrimonium inter eos consummatum fuisse non dubitamus.

10. Serenissima Catharina, præsumptione violenta hujusmodi constante, Virginitatem suam Juramento præsertim publico probare nequit.

11. Judex eandem Serenissimam Catharinam, super ea causa jurare volentem, ad juramentum jure quidem admittere non potest.

12. Henrici octavi Angliæ Regis Invictissimi et Serenissimæ Catharinæ prætensum Matrimonium, lege Divina et naturali prohibente, nullum omnino fuisse neq; esse posse Censemus.

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XXXVII.—*A Bull sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, against the Statutes of Provisors.*

Ex MS. D. Petyt.

Martinus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabili Fratri Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Si quam districto Dei Judicio de commissis tibi ovibus rationem redditurus es, aliquando cogitares, si meminisses et tu quæ pastoralis officii cura esse debet, quantumq; Ecclesiæ Romanæ, a qua dignitatem et auctoritatem vendicas, jus atque honorem tueri obligatus es, in considerationem duceres; profecto non usque adeo dormitares neque negligeres: Surrexisses jamdudum, et post oves jam longe aberrantes inclamares, ac pro viribus resisteres iis, qui jura ac privilegia a summo Ecclesiarum capite omnium Christo, Ecclesiæ Romanæ tradita, sacrilego vel ausu violant atque contemnunt. Numquid ideo Pontificalis Dignitas tibi commissa est ut hominibus præsis, opes cumules, et quæ tua sunt non quæ Jesu Christi quærere debeas? Si id existimas vehementer erras, et a Christi intentione longe abes, qui cum Beato Petro oves suas committeret, nil ei aliud nisi ut illas pasceret indixit, priusque non semel, sed bis ac tertio, an ab eo diligeretur expostulans. Estne hæc in Christum dilectio quam habes? Estne hoc amare ac pascere oves? Itane debitum quo Ecclesiæ Romanæ astringeris, recte exsolvis? En ante oculos tuos ab ovili errantes in præcipitium labuntur oves, nec illas revocas neque reducis. In conspectu tuo herbas pergunt pestiferas pascere, nec illas prohibes, immo (quod abominabile est) tuis quasi manibus hujusmodi præbes mortiferum cibum. Te vidente, lupus illas dispergit, et taces tanquam canis mutus non valens latrare. Aspicis simul et Christi et Ecclesiæ et sedis Apostolicæ mandata, auctoritatem, reverentiamque contemptui haberi, nec semel unum murmuras verbum, clanculum saltem, si nolles palam. An ignoras ante æterni tribunal judicis hujusmodi reatus et culpæ usque ad minimum

quadrantem redditurum te rationem? num credis, si qua tuo neglectu perierit ovium (pereunt autem multæ) de tuis manibus sanguis earum exigetur? Quid per os Ezechielis Dominus comminatur, memorare et extimesce. Ipse, inquit, Speculatorem Domini posuit te Deus, si videris gladium venientem, et non insonueris buccina, et aliquis perierit, sanguinem ejus de manibus tuis requiram; hæc dicit Dominus. Qualis autem et qualis iniquitatis et abominationis gladius in Angliæ Regnum, atque oves tuas descenderit, tuo judicio (si ratione uteris) relinquimus. Perlege illud Statutum Regium, si tamen Statutum, si tamen Regium dici fas est. Nam quomodo Statutum, quod Statuta Dei et Ecclesiæ destruit? Quomodo Regium? quod Instituta peremit? contra illud quod scriptum est, Honor Regis Judicium diligit. Et judica, venerabilis Frater et Christiane Episcope, ac Catholice Præsul, si justum, si æquum, si a Populo Christiano servari est. Imprimis per illud execrabile Statutum ita Rex Angliæ de Ecclesia cum Provisionibus et Administrationibus disponit, quasi Vicarium suum Christus eum instituisset. Legem condit super Ecclesias, beneficia, Clericos et Ecclesiasticum statum, ad se suamq; laicalem Curiam nonnullas causas Spirituales et Ecclesiasticas jubet introduci; et ut uno verbo concludamus, ita de Clericis statuit, de Ecclesiis et Ecclesiastico Statu, quasi Ecclesiæ claves in manibus haberet, et non Petro, sed sibi hujusmodi cura commissa foret. Præter hanc nefandam Dispositionem, vipereas quasdam contra Clericos adjecit pœnas, quæ ne quidem contra Judæos vel Saracenos, per ullum de Statutis suis, promulgatæ inveniuntur. Possunt ad Angliæ Regnum cujuslibet generis homines libere proficisci; soli acceptantes beneficia Auctoritate Summi Pontificis, Vicarii Jesu Christi, jubentur exulari, capi, incarcerari, omnibusq; bonis exui, executoresq; literarum Apostolicarum, Procuratores, Notarii, ac quicunq; alii Censuram seu Processum ab Apostolica sede in Regnum mittentes aut deferentes, ultimo supplicio deputantur, projectiq; extra protectionem Regis exponuntur ab omnibus captivandi. Vide si audita est unquam similis Statuti iniquitas: Consideret prudentia tua, si Regem aut Regnum hujusmodi Statuta decent: Cogita si te talia inspicientem silere oporteat, et non magis clamare, contradicere, et pro viribus resistere. Estne ista filialis Reverentia? Estne ista Christiana devotio quam Regnum Angliæ suæ Matri Ecclesiæ ac Sedi Apostolicæ exhibet? Potestne Catholicum Regnum dici, ubi hujusmodi statuuntur profanæ leges et observantur, ubi prohibetur adiri Vicarius Christi, ubi oves suas Successor Apostoli Petri pascere juxta mandatum Domini non permittitur? Christus dixit Petro suisq; Successoribus, Pasce oves meas; Statutum autem Regni pascere ipsas non sinit, sed vult ut Rex ipse pascat, devolvendo ad eum in certis casibus Apostolicam Auctoritatem. Christus ædificavit supra Petrum Ecclesiam; sed Regni Statutum, id prohibet: Nam non patitur Petri Cathedram de Ecclesia prout judicaverit, expedire, ordinare vel disponere. Christus voluit quod quicquid summus Pontifex in terris solverit aut ligaverit, solutum ligatumve esset in cœlis; Statutum huic divinæ voluntati non assentit: Nam si quos Sacerdotes ad ligandum solvendumq; animas Christi Vicarius in Regnum contra Statuti tenorem destinaret, non modo ipsos non admittit Statutum sed exulare jubet, bonis privari, aliisq; pœnis affligi, et censuram seu Processum Apostolicum in Regnum deferens, tanquam Sacrilegus capite punitur. Quid ad hoc tua Discretio respondebit? Estne hoc Catholicum Statutum? Potestne sine Christi injuria, sine Evangelii transgressione, sine animæ interitu tolerari aut observari? Cur igitur non clamas, et quasi tuba exaltas vocem tuam, annuncians populo tuo peccata sua, Domui Israel scelera eorum, ne sanguis eorum de manibus tuis requiratur. Quod et si omnes quibus populorum cura commissa est, facere teneantur, quanto magis id tibi erit necessarium exequi, cui populos et populorum ministros, oves et ovium pastores, tuæ solicitudini Romana deputavit Ecclesia, a qua et Primatum et Sedis Apostolicæ legationem super Anglicanas Ecclesias suscepisti, et ipsius gloriosissimi Martyris Beati Thomæ olim Cantuariæ Archiepiscopi Successor effectus es, qui adversus similia decertans Statuta, holocaustum se Deo offerens pro libertate Ecclesiastica occubuit. Tu certe ob hæc, omnium primus qui vexillo assumpto in aciem prodiere deberes, et fratres Co-episcopos tuos tuo exemplo in certamine sistere, primus omnium terga vertis, et aliquos qui forte resistendi impetum caperent, tua sive pusillanimitate, sive dissimulatione, sive (ut omnes attestantur) evidenti prævaricatione a bono proposito dejicis. Itaq; si de te queritur Ecclesia, si in te omnis culpa transfertur, non mirari sed dolere, immo potius teipsum corrigere debes, et debitum quo ovium jure astrictus es audacter exolvere: pro qua re efficienda, si velis quam potes operam adhibere, non magnum certamen subeundum est. Persuade tuo pro officio et Auctoritate tua, secularibus, et eos veritatem instrue. Ostende eis peccatum quo observantes prædictum Statutum illaqueantur: Et erunt (ut omnes asserunt) prava in directa, et aspera in vias planas. Ne ergo, si tacueramus et nos, tuam aliorumq; desidiam dissimulantes similis apud omnipotentem Deum culpæ reos efficiat, neve ovium nostrarum sanguis (si neglexerimus) de manibus nostris exigatur, tuam fraternitatem qua possumus instantia, toto corde, totoq; affectu hortamur, monemus, requirimus, et in virtute Sanctæ obedientiæ, et sub Excommunicationis pœna cui (si neglexeris) ipso facto te subjicimus, districte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus quamprimum ad locum ubi Consiliarii Charissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illustris conveniunt, personaliter accedas, eosq; tam Ecclesiasticos quam Seculares pro sapientia tua, quam tibi Dominus inspiraverit, rationibus ac monitionibus reddas instructos, ut prædictum Statutum in proximo Parliamento tollant penitus et aboleant: Cum enim Divinæ et Humanæ rationi, veteris ac Novi Testamenti, Conciliorum, Sanctorum Patrum, Summorum Pontificum Decretis, ipsius denique Universalis Ecclesiæ observantiæ evidentissime contradicat, nec sine interitu salutis æternæ quovis modo servari possit. Illudq; inter alia dicere non omittas, qualiter Ecclesiasticæ libertatis violatores, facientesq; Statuta aut consuetudines contra libertatem servari, Officiales, Rectores et Consiliarii, locorum ubi hujusmodi Statuta vel consuetudines editæ fuerunt vel servatæ, Ac etiam qui secundum prædicta judicaverint, ipso jure Excommunicationem incurrunt, quæ quantum sit Christi fidelibus metuenda, ipsis plene poteris declarare. Idem sub pœna eadem te facere volumus cum Parliamentum inchoabitur, tam erga prædictos Consiliarios quam Communitates, et alios qui vocem in ipso habuerint Parliamento. Insuper ut pluribus viis honori Dei et Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, et animarum saluti provideatur, sub simili pœna mandes ac præcipias omnibus tam Rectoribus Ecclesiarum, quam aliis officium prædicationis obtinentibus, Secularibus et Religiosis, ut frequenter in sermonibus suis populos de prædicta materia instruere non omittant. Volumus autem ut quicquid super prædictis feceris per tuas literas (quibus saltem duæ graves personæ, quæ ipsis requisitionibus per te faciendis interfuerint, se subscribant) nos certiores efficias. Dat. Rom. apud Sanctos Apostolos quinto die Decembris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.



### XXXVIII.—*A Letter to King Henry VI. for repealing that Statute.*

Martinus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Charissimo in Christo Filio Henrico Regi Angliæ Illustri, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Quum post multos nuncios ad tuam Serenitatem pro abolitione illius detestabilis Statuti contra libertatem Ecclesiasticam editi olim transmissos, postremo dilectum filium Magistrum Julianum causarum curiæ Cameræ Apostolicæ Auditorem, pro eadem causa destinassemus; per ipsum tua Celsitudo tunc nobis respondit, quod quamprimum commode possit, Parliamentum, sine quo idem nequit aboleri Statutum, convocaret, et in eo quod sibi possibile foret pro nostræ requisitionis implemento faceret, Protestans quod Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ sedisq; Apostolicæ Juribus ac Privilegiis nullo modo detrahere aut derogare intendebat: Nos ob hoc, sicut deinde aliis literis tibi significavimus, usq; ad id tempus cum patientia expectare decrevimus, sperantes quod in Verbo Regio nobis pollicitus fueris, id tempore suo exequi non differres; itaq; quicquid ex parte nostra hactenus faciendum fuit, omnem mansuetudinis et patientiæ modum experientes jam fecimus. Et licet gravibus interim per aliquos de Regno tuo lacessiti sumus injuriis, volumus tamen (ne quid contra promissum fieri videretur) usq; ad id tempus (non sine rubore Sedis Apostolicæ) expectare, ut merito illud verbum Evangelicum jam dici possit, Quid debui huic vineæ facere et non feci? Tu vero, Fili Charissime, cum ipsius Parliamenti jam tempus instet, quod ex tua parte agendum restat, juxta promissionem tuam ac verbum Regium implere non omittas, ad quod et Jure Divino et Humano tanquam Christianissimus Princeps obligatus, sine cujusvis requisitione pro tua et tuorum subditorum salute et honore facere teneris: præsertim quum talia obtuleramus, ob quæ nec tibi nec dicto Regno ex prædicti Statuti abolitione præjudicium ullum redundare possit; providere enim iis omnibus quæ causam Statuto dedisse dicuntur, jam sæpe nostro nomine oblatum est, et nunc de novo offerimus. Jam igitur cum nulla quævis contradicendi occasio prætendi possit, speramus in dicto Parliamento tuam Serenitatem ita facturam, ut prædictum tam execrabile Statutum penitus de eodem Regno tollatur. Quod si feceris, salvabis primum tuam, tum vero multorum animas, quæ ob dictum Statutum gravi crimine illaqueatæ tenentur: Providebis deinde tuo et ipsius Regni honori, quod utiq; propterea non modicum est notatum: Demum nos ac sedem ipsam semper tuis justis desideriis obligabis. Super iis autem omnibus et de nostra intentione plene per literas nostras instructo, dilecto Filio magistro Joanni de Obizis in dicto Regno Nuncio et Collectori nostro, dabis credentiæ fidem plenam. Dat. Rom. die decimo tertio Octobris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

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### XXXIX.—*A Letter to the Parliament upon the same occasion.*

Martinus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabilibus Fratribus et dilectis Filiis, Nobilibus viris Parliamenti Regni Angliæ, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Multis nunciis ac frequentibus exhortationibus, pro debito pastoralis officii, vos ac Regnum vestrum hactenus admonuimus, ut pro salute animarum vestrarum, et ipsius Regni honore, quoddam detestabile Statutum contra Divinum et Humanum Jus editum, quod sine interitu salutis æternæ nullatenus servari potest, aboleretur. Et quoniam id sine Parliamento tolli non posse, ex parte Charissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Regis Angliæ illustris, Dilecto Filio Magistro Juliano Causarum curiæ Cameræ Apostolicæ Auditori, tunc Nuncio nostro, responsum extitit, in quo (quam primum posset) convocato, quod sibi possibile foret pro nostræ Requisitionis executione se facturum, idem Rex pollicitus est, protestans Juribus ac Privilegiis Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ et Sedis Apostolicæ in nullo velle detrahere aut derogare. Nos volentes solita erga vos mansuetudine uti, decrevimus usq; ad ipsius Parliamenti tempus expectare, sperantes quod tam Rex juxta suam Regiam Promissionem, quam vos pro salute animarum vestrarum, Sancte ac Catholice secundum nostram Requisitionem concludetis. Itaq; cum Parliamentum (ut fertur) jam instet, vos omnes, quorum animas nostræ curæ Dominus noster Jesus Christus commisit, hortamur, monemus, obsecramus, ut unanimes vestrarum animarum salutem, ac conscientiarum puritatem præ cæteris rebus amantes, prædictum abominabile Statutum (quod qui observat vel observari faciat salvari non potest) penitus tollatur, et de Regno in perpetuum aboleatis. Quod si quis forsitan vobis contrarium persuadere audeat, quicunq; ille sit, Sæcularis vel Ecclesiastici Status, tanquam hostem animarum vestrarum et honorum, nullatenus audite; nec eum virum Catholicum reputetis, qui adversus Romanæ Ecclesiæ Auctoritatem, Juraque et Privilegia Sedi Apostolicæ Divinitus concessa, aliquid machinari præsumpserit, quibus ipse Rex vester Illustris nolle ullatenus derogare publice protestatus est. Nos quidem ipsi sumus ab omnipotenti Deo Jesu Christo super vos et Universalem Ecclesiam constituti, cujus Doctrinæ ac persuasioni sine ulla contradictione omnimodam fidem vos et quilibet Christianus habere debetis: Nos tamen, etsi indignos, oves suas pascere Christus voluit, clavesq; aperiendi ac solvendi Cœlos tradidit. Et si quis nos audit, servi Christi testimonium Christianum audit; et si quis nos spernit, Christum spernere convincitur. Et quoniam de vobis ac singulis Christianis in districto Dei Judicio rationem reddituri sumus, ideo vos pro salute vestra tam sæpe tamq; efficaciter admonemus; et ne quisquam sub alicujus damni temporalis prætextu vos ab hac nostra Catholica Doctrina submoveat, ecce nos promptos paratosq; offerimus, omnibus causis, propter quas dictum Statutum conditum esse prætenditur, salubriter providere, ita ut nec Regno nec cuiquam privatæ personæ præjudicium aliquod ex ipsius Statuti abolitione possit accidere. Super his omnibus et nostra intentione plene instructo dilecto Filio Magistro Joanni de Obizis, in dicto Regno Nuntio et Collectori nostro, dabitis Credentiæ plenam fidem. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctos Apostolos tertio die Octobris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

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### XL.—*An Instrument of the Speech the Archbishop of Canterbury made to the House of Commons about it.*

Die Veneris, penultimo mensis Januarii, Anno Domini secundum cursum et computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quadringentesimo decimo septimo, indictione sexta, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri Domini Martini Divina Providentia Papæ quinti Anno undecimo, Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini, Domini, Henricus Dei Gratia Cantuariensis et Johannes Eboracensis Archiepiscopi, necnon Reverendiss. Patres W. Londinensis, Benedictus Menevensis, Philippus Eliensis, Jochen et W. Norvicensis, Episcopi, et cum eis venerabiles Patres et viri religiosi Westmonasterii et Radingiæ Abbates de palatio regio Westmonasteriensi de Camera, viz. Ubi tam Domini Spirituales quam Temporales in Parliamento ad tunc tento negotia Regni

tractaverint et tractare solebant, recedentes, et dimissis ibi Dominis Temporalibus, in simul transierunt ad viros illos qui pro communitate Regni ad Parliamentum hujusmodi venerant in loco solito, viz. in Refectorio Abbatiæ Westmonasteriensis prædictæ personaliter existentes, et incontinenter eisdem Dominis Spiritualibus cum reverentia debita, prout decuit a viris hujusmodi communitatem Regni facientibus et repræsentantibus, receptis: Præfatus Reverendissimus Pater Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis causam adventus sui et con-fratrum suorum ad tunc exponere cœpit in vulgari; Protestando primitus, et protestabatur idem Dominus Cantuariensis vice sua et confratrum suorum prædictorum, quod pro dicendo tunc ibidem non intendebat ipse Reverendissimus Pater, aut aliquis confratrum suorum, Domino Regi Angliæ aut Coronæ suæ vel communitati Regni in aliquo derogare, et sic adhærendo Protestationi suæ hujusmodi, idem Reverendissimus Pater prosequebatur et exposuit solemniter causam adventus sui et con-fratrum suorum, sumpto quasi pro themate, Reddite quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo. Super quo procedendo, ea quæ ad Jurisdictionem Ecclesiasticum, et ea quæ ad Cæsaream pertinebant, notabiliter et ad longum declaravit, materiam Provisionis et pro Statuti illius contra Provisores editi abolitione, cum bona et matura deliberatione prosequendo, et in processu declarationis hujusmodi jura nonnulla et Sacræ Scripturæ Auctoritates convenientes allegavit, pro jure Domini nostri Papæ in Provisionibus habendis, sicut Sancti Prædecessores sui summi Pontifices in Regno Angliæ et alibi per universalem Christianitatem habuerunt, ipseq; Dominus Papa modernus in cæteris Regnis habet et possidet in præsenti: Unde præmissis, Bullisq; et literis Apostolicis, quas pro hac re idem Dominus Papa jam tarde ad Regnum transmiserat, diligenter consideratis, et quod dictus Dominus noster Papa tot Ambassiatas et nuncios solemnes ad prosequendum jus suum et Ecclesiæ libertatem in præmissis, non absq; laboribus magnis, periculis et expensis de Curia Romana ad Regnum Angliæ destinavit, idem Reverendissimus Pater Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, nomine suo et confratrum suorum ad tunc ibidem præsentium, et absentium in dicto Parliamento per Procuratores comparentium, ad quos ut asseruit divisim saltem principalis cura animarum totius Communitatis Regni pertinere dignoscitur, dictos viros omnes et singulos tunc præsentes, Communitatem (ut præmittitur) repræsentantes, requisivit et in Domino exhortabatur, quatenus ob salutem animarum suarum totiusq; Regni prosperitatem et pacem, materiam prædictam sic ponderarent, et taliter in eodem Parliamento super eadem deliberarent, ut Sanctissimus Dominus noster Papa placari, ac Regis zelum ad Sedem Apostolicam totiusq; Regni devotionem in hac parte habere posset materiam commendandi. Et addidit ultra hujusmodi Requisitionem et Exhortationem præfatus Reverendissimus Pater Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis; et ex corde, ut apparuit, exposuit lacrymando, pericula per censurarum, viz. Ecclesiasticarum et etiam Interdicti fulminationem, et alias tam Regi quam Regno (quod absit) verisimiliter eventura alia, in casu quo responsio Parliamenti illius, in materia tunc declarata, grata non foret Domino Papæ et accepta, sic dicendo; Forte videtur quibusdam vestrum, quod hæc quæ Regni Prælatos potissime concernunt ex corde non profero, Sciatis pro certo, et in fide, qua Deo teneor et Ecclesiæ, affirmo coram vobis, quod magis mihi foret acceptum nunquam conferre aut etiam habere aliquod beneficium Ecclesiasticum, quam aliqua talia pericula seu processus meo tempore in Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Scandalum venirent. Ulterius idem Reverendissimus Pater expresse declaravit, qualiter dictus Dominus noster Papa in diversis Bullis suis obtulit et promisit, se et Sedem Apostolicam, ad quascunq; causas et occasiones editionis Statuti prædicti rationabile, remedium apponere, et materias causarum et occasionum hujusmodi Statuti in toto tollere et abolere; et sic Requisitione, Exhortatione et periculorum hujusmodi expositione finitis, Reverendissimi Patres Cantuar. et Eborac. Archiepiscopi, cum confratibus suis Episcopis et Prælatis prædictis, recesserunt Regni Communitate, seu saltem dictis viris Communitatem Regni repræsentantibus remanentibus, et circa materiam eis expositam tractantibus, præsentibus, et Declarationem, Requisitionem, et Exhortationem, hujusmodiq; periculorum expositionem per dictum Dominum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem (ut præmittitur) factas audientibus, venerabilibus viris Richardo Coudray Archidiacono Norwici in Ecclesia Norwicensi, Magistro Joanne Forster Canonico Lincolnensi, &c. et Johanne Boold Notario Publico et multis aliis.

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### XLI.—Act. 33. Anno Regni vicesimo tertio.

*An Act concerning Restraint of payment of Annates to the See of Rome.*

Forasmuch as it is well perceived, by long approved experience, that great and inestimable sums of money have been daily conveyed out of this realm, to the impoverishment of the same; and specially such sums of money as the pope's holiness, his predecessors, and the court of Rome, by long time have heretofore taken of all and singular those spiritual persons which have been named, elected, presented, or postulated to be archbishops or bishops within this realm of England, under the title of annates, otherwise called first fruits; which annates, or first fruits, have been taken of every archbishopric or bishopric within this realm, by restraint of the pope's bulls, for confirmations, elections, admissions, postulations, provisions, collations, dispositions, institutions, installations, investitures, orders, holy benedictions, palls, or other things requisite and necessary to the attaining of those their promotions, and have been compelled to pay, before they could attain the same, great sums of money, before they might receive any part of the fruits of the said archbishopric or bishopric whereunto they were named, elected, presented, or postulated; by occasion whereof not only the treasure of this realm hath been greatly conveyed out of the same, but also it hath happened many times, by occasion of death, unto such archbishops and bishops so newly promoted, within two or three years after his or their consecration, that his or their friends, by whom he or they have been holpen to advance and make payment of the said annates, or first fruits, have been thereby utterly undone and impoverished: and for because the said annates have risen, grown, and increased, by an uncharitable custom grounded upon no just or good title, and the payments thereof obtained by restraint of bulls, until the same annates or first fruits have been paid, or surety made for the same, which declareth the said payments to be exacted and taken by constraint, against all equity and justice. The noblemen, therefore, of the realm, and the wise, sage, politic Commons of the same, assembled in this present parliament, considering that the court of Rome ceaseth not to tax, take, and exact the said great sums of money, under the title of annates or first fruits, as is aforesaid, to the great damage of the said prelates and this realm; which annates or first fruits were first suffered to be taken within the same realm, for the only defence of Christian people against the Infidels, and now they be claimed and demanded as mere duty, only for lucre, against all right and



conscience. Insomuch that it is evidently known that there hath passed out of this realm unto the court of Rome, sithen the second year of the reign of the most noble prince, of famous memory, king Henry VII., unto this present time, under the name of annates or first fruits, paid for the expedition of bulls of archbishoprics and bishoprics, the sum of eight hundred thousand ducats, amounting, in sterling money, at the least to eight-score thousand pounds, besides other great and intolerable sums which have yearly been conveyed to the said court of Rome, by many other ways and means, to the great impoverishment of this realm. And albeit, that our said sovereign the king, and all his natural subjects, as well spiritual as temporal, been as obedient, devout, Catholic, and humble children of God, and holy church, as any people be within any realm christened, yet the said exactions of annates or first fruits be so intolerable and importable to this realm, that it is considered and declared, by the whole body of this realm now represented, by all the estates of the same assembled in this present parliament, that the king's highness before Almighty God is bound, as by the duty of a good christian prince, for the conservation and preservation of the good estate and commonwealth of this his realm, to do all that in him is to obviate, repress, and redress the said abusions and exactions of annates or first fruits. And because that divers prelates of this realm being now in extreme age, and in other debilities of their bodies, so that of likelihood, bodily death in short time shall or may succeed unto them; by reason whereof great sums of money shall, shortly after their deaths, be conveyed unto the court of Rome, for the unreasonable and uncharitable causes abovesaid, to the universal damage, prejudice, and impoverishment of this realm, if speedy remedy be not in due time provided: It is therefore ordained, established, and enacted, by authority of this present parliament, That the unlawful payment of annates, or first fruits and all manner contributions for the same, for any archbishopric, or bishopric, or for any bulls hereafter to be obtained from the court of Rome, to or for the foresaid purpose and intent, shall from henceforth utterly cease, and no such hereafter to be paid for any archbishopric, or bishopric, within this realm, other or otherwise than hereafter in this present act is declared; and that no manner person, nor persons hereafter to be named, elected, presented, or postulated to any archbishopric, or bishopric, within this realm, shall pay the said annates, or first fruits, for the said archbishopric, or bishopric, nor any other manner of sum or sums of money, pensions, or annates for the same, or for any other like exaction or cause, upon pain to forfeit to our said sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, all manner his goods and chattels for ever, and all the temporal lands and possessions of the same archbishopric, or bishopric, during the time that he or they which shall offend, contrary to this present act, shall have, possess, or enjoy, the archbishopric, or bishopric; wherefore he shall so offend contrary to the form aforesaid. And furthermore it is enacted, by authority of this present parliament, That if any person hereafter named and presented to the court of Rome by the king, or any of his heirs or successors, to be bishop of any see or diocese within this realm hereafter, shall be letted, deferred, or delayed at the court of Rome from any such bishopric, whereunto he shall be so represented, by means of restraint of bulls apostolic, and other things requisite to the same; or shall be denied, at the court of Rome, upon convenient suit made, any manner bulls requisite for any of the causes aforesaid, any such person or persons so presented, may be, and shall be, consecrated here in England by the archbishop, in whose province the said bishopric shall be, so always that the same person shall be named and presented by the king for the time being to the same archbishopric: and if any persons being named and presented, as aforesaid, to any archbishopric of this realm, making convenient suit, as is aforesaid, shall happen to be letted, deferred, delayed, or otherwise disturbed from the same archbishopric, for lack of pall, bulls, or other to him requisite, to be obtained in the court of Rome in that behalf, that then every such person named and presented to be archbishop, may be, and shall be, consecrated and invested, after presentation made, as is aforesaid, by any other two bishops within this realm, whom the king's highness, or any of his heirs or successors, kings of England for the time being, will assign and appoint for the same, according and in like manner as divers other archbishops and bishops have been heretofore, in ancient time by sundry the king's most noble progenitors, made, consecrated, and invested within this realm: and that every archbishop and bishop hereafter, being named and presented by the king's highness, his heirs or successors, kings of England, and being consecrated and invested, as is aforesaid, shall be installed accordingly, and shall be accepted, taken, reputed, used, and obeyed, as an archbishop or bishop of the dignity, see, or place whereunto he so shall be named, presented, and consecrated requireth; and as other like prelates of that province, see, or diocese, have been used, accepted, taken, and obeyed, which have had, and obtained completely, their bulls, and other things requisite in that behalf from the court of Rome. And also shall fully and entirely have and enjoy all the spiritualities and temporalities of the said archbishopric, or bishopric, in as large, ample, and beneficial manner, as any of his or their predecessors had or enjoyed in the said archbishopric, or bishopric, satisfying and yielding unto the king our sovereign lord, and to his heirs and successors, kings of England, all such duties, rights, and interests, as before this time had been accustomed to be paid for any such archbishopric, or bishopric, according to the ancient laws and customs of this realm, and the king's prerogative royal. And to the intent our said holy father the pope, and the court of Rome, shall not think that the pains and labours taken, and hereafter to be taken, about the writing, sealing, obtaining, and other businesses sustained, and hereafter to be sustained, by the offices of the said court of Rome, for and about the expedition of any bulls hereafter to be obtained or had for any such archbishopric, or bishopric, shall be irremunerated, or shall not be sufficiently and condignly recompensed in that behalf. And for their more ready expedition to be had therein, it is therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every spiritual person of this realm, hereafter to be named, presented, or postulated, to any archbishopric or bishopric of this realm, shall and may lawfully pay for the writing and obtaining of his or their said bulls, at the court of Rome, and ensealing the same with lead, to be had without payment of any annates, or first fruits, or other charge or exaction by him or them to be made, yielden, or paid for the same, five pounds sterling, for and after the rate of the clear and whole yearly value of every hundredth pounds sterling, above all charges of any such archbishopric, or bishopric, or other money, to the value of the said five pounds, for the clear yearly value of every hundredth pounds of every such archbishopric, or bishopric, and not above, nor in any other wise, any things in this present act before written notwithstanding. And forasmuch as the king's highness, and this his high court of parliament, neither have, nor do intend to use in this, or any other like cause, any manner of extremity or

violence, before gentle courtesy or friendship, ways and means first approved and attempted, and without a very great urgent cause and occasion given to the contrary, but principally coveting to disburden this realm of the said great exactions, and intolerable charges of annates, and first fruits, have therefore thought convenient to commit the final order and determination of the premises, in all things, unto the king's highness. So that if it may seem to his high wisdom, and most prudent discretion, meet to move the pope's holiness, and the court of Rome, amicably, charitably, and reasonably, to compound, other to extinct and make frustrate the payments of the said annates, or first fruits; or else by some friendly, loving, and tolerable composition to moderate the same in such wise as may be by this realm easily borne and sustained; that then those ways and compositions once taken, concluded, and agreed, between the pope's holiness and the king's highness, shall stand in strength, force, and effect of law, inviolably to be observed. And it is also further ordained, and enacted by the authority of this present parliament, That the king's highness at any time, or times, on this side the feast of Easter, which shall be in the year of our Lord God, one thousand five hundred and three and thirty, or at any time on this side the beginning of the next parliament, by his letters patents under his great seal, to be made, and to be entered of record in the roll of this present parliament, may and shall have full power and liberty to declare, by the said letters patents, whether that the premises, or any part, clause, or matter thereof, shall be observed, obeyed, executed, and take place and effect, as an act and statute of this present parliament or not. So that if his highness, by his said letters patents, before the expiration of the times above limited, thereby do declare his pleasure to be, that the premises, or any part, clause, or matter thereof, shall not be put in execution, observed, continued, nor obeyed, in that case all the said premises, or such part, clause, or matter, as the king's highness so shall refuse, disaffirm, or not ratify, shall stand and be from henceforth utterly void and of none effect. And in case that the king's highness, before the expiration of the times afore-prefixed, do declare by his said letters patents his pleasure and determination to be, that the said premises, or every clause, sentence, and part thereof, that is to say, the whole, or such part thereof as the king's highness so shall affirm, accept, and ratify, shall in all points stand, remain, abide, and be put in due and effectual execution, according to the purport, tenor, effect, and true meaning of the same; and to stand and be from henceforth for ever after, as firm, stedfast, and available in the law, as the same had been fully and perfectly established, enacted, and confirmed, to be in every part thereof, immediately, wholly, and entirely executed, in like manner, form, and effect, as other acts and laws; the which being fully and determinately made, ordained, and enacted in this present parliament: and if that upon the foresaid reasonable, amicable and charitable ways and means, by the king's highness to be experimented, moved, or compounded, or otherwise approved, it shall and may appear, or be seen unto his grace, that this realm shall be continually burdened and charged with this, and such other intolerable exactions and demands as heretofore it hath been. And that thereupon, for continuance of the same, our said holy father the pope, or any of his successors, or the court of Rome will, or do, or cause to be done at any time hereafter, so as is above rehearsed, unjustly, uncharitably, and unreasonably vex, inquiet, molest, trouble, or grieve our said sovereign lord, his heirs or successors, kings of England, or any of his or their spiritual or lay subjects, or this his realm, by excommunication, excomengement, interdiction; or by any other process, censures, compulsories, ways, or means; be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the king's highness, his heirs and successors, kings of England, and all his spiritual and lay subjects of the same, without any scruples of conscience, shall and may lawfully, to the honour of Almighty God, the increase and continuance of virtue and good example within this realm, the said censures, excommunications, interdictions, compulsories, or any of them notwithstanding, minister, or cause to be ministered, throughout this said realm, and all other the dominions or territories belonging or appertaining thereunto; all and all manner sacraments, sacramentals, ceremonies, or other divine services, of the holy church, or any other thing or things necessary for the health of the soul of mankind, as they heretofore at any time or times have been virtuously used or accustomed to do within the same; and that no manner such censures, excommunications, interdictions, or any other process or compulsories, shall be by any of the prelates, or other spiritual fathers of this region, nor by any of their ministers or substitutes, be at any time or times hereafter published, executed, nor divulged, nor suffered to be published, executed, or divulged in any manner of ways. *Cui quidem Billæ prædictæ et ad plenum intellectæ per dictum Dominum Regem ex assensu et Autoritate Parliamenti prædicti taliter est Responsum.*

Le Roy le Volt. Soit Baille aux comunes.

A cest Bille Les comunes sont assentes.

Memorand. quod nono die Julii, Anno Regni Regis Henrici vicesimo quinto, idem Dominus Rex per Literas suas Patentes sub magno sigillo suo sigillat. Actum prædictum ratificavit et confirmavit, et actui illo assensum suum regium dedit, prout per easdem Literas Patentes, cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba, magis apte constat.

*Here follows the king's ratification, in which the act is again recited and ratified.*

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## XLII.—*The King's last Letter to the Pope. A Duplicate.*

[Cott. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.]

To the Pope's Holiness, 1532.

After most humble commendations, and most devout kissing of your blessed feet. Albeit that we have hitherto differred to make answer to those letters dated at Bonony, the 7th day of October; which letters of late were delivered unto us by Paul of Cassali: yet when they appear to be written for this cause, that we deeply considering the contents of the same, should provide for the tranquillity of our own conscience, and should purge such scruples and doubts conceived of our cause of matrimony; we could neither neglect those letters sent for such a purpose, nor after that we had diligently examined and perpended the effects of the same, which we did very diligently, noting, conferring and revolving every thing in them contained, with deep study of mind, pretermit ne leave to answer unto them. Forsith that your holiness seemeth to go about that thing chiefly, which is to vanquish those doubts, and to take away inquietations which daily do prick our conscience; insomuch as it doth appear at the first sight to be done of zeal, love, and piety, we therefore do thank you of your good will. Howbeit sith it is not performed in deed, that ye pretend we have thought it expedient to require your holiness to provide us other remedies; wherefore forasmuch as your holiness would vouchsafe to write unto us concerning this matter, we heartily thank you, greatly



lamenting also both the chance of your holiness, and also ours, unto whom both twain it hath chanced in so high a matter of so great moment to be frustrated and deceived; that is to say, That your holiness not being instructed, nor having knowledge of the matter, of yourself, should be compelled to hang upon the judgment of others, and so put forth and make answers, gathered of other men, being variable and repugnant among themselves. And that we being so long sick, and exagitate with this same sore, should so long time in vain look for remedy; which when we have augmented our ægritude and distress by delay and protracting of time, ye do so cruciate the patient and afflicted, as who seeth it should much avail to protract the cause, and through vain hope of the end of our desire to lead us whither ye will. But to speak plainly to your holiness; forasmuch as we have suffered many injuries, which with great difficulty we do sustain and digest; albeit that among all things passed by your holiness, some cannot be laid, alleged, nor objected against your holiness, yet in many of them some default appeareth to be in you, which I would to God we could so diminish, as it might appear no default; but it cannot be hid, which is so manifest, and though we could say nothing, the thing itself speaketh. But as to that that is affirmed in your letters, both of God's law and man's, otherwise than is necessary and truth, let that be ascribed to the temerity and ignorance of your counsellors, and your holiness to be without all default, save only for that ye do not admit more discreet and learned men to be your counsellors, and stop the mouths of them which liberally would speak the truth. This truly is your default, and verily a great fault, worthy to be alienate and abhorred of Christ's Vicar, in that ye have dealt so variably, yea rather so inconstantly and deceivably. Be ye not angry with my words, and let it be lawful for me to speak the truth without displeasure; if your holiness shall be displeased with that we do rehearse, impute no default in us, but in your own deeds; which deeds have so molested and troubled us wrongfully, that we speak now unwillingly, and as enforced thereunto. Never was there any prince so handled by a pope as your holiness hath entreated us. First, when our cause was proponed to your holiness, when it was explicated and declared afore the same; when certain doubts in it were resolved by your counsellors, and all things discussed, it was required that answer might be made thereunto by the order of the law. There was offered a commission, with a promise also that the same commission should not be revoked; and whatsoever sentence should be given, should straight without delay be confirmed. The judges were sent unto us, the promise was delivered to us, subscribed with your holiness's hand; which avouched to confirm the sentence, and not to revoke the commission, nor to grant anything else that might let the same; and finally to bring us in a greater hope, a certain commission-decretal, defining the cause, was delivered to the judge's hands. If your holiness did grant us all these things justly, ye did injustly revoke them; and if by good and truth the same was granted, they were not made frustrate nor annihilate without fraud; so as if there were no deceit nor fraud in the revocation, then how wrongfully and subtilly have been done those things that have been done! Whether will your holiness say, That ye might do those things that ye have done, or that ye might not do them? If he will say that ye might do them, where then is the faith which becometh a friend, yea, and much more a pope to have, those things not being performed, which lawfully were promised? And if ye will say that ye might not do them, have we not then very just cause to mistrust those medicines and remedies with which in your letters ye go about to heal our conscience, especially in that we may perceive and see those remedies to be prepared for us, not to relieve the sickness and disease of our mind, but for other means, pleasures, and worldly respects? And as it should seem profitable, that we should ever continue in hope or despair, so always the remedy is attempted; so that we being always a-healing, and never healed, should be sick still. And this truly was the chief cause why we did consult and take the advice of every learned man, being free, without all affection, that the truth (which now with our labour and study we seem partly to have attained) by their judgments more manifestly divulged, we might more at large perceive; whose judgments and opinions it is easy to see how much they differ from that, that those few men of yours do show unto you, and by those your letters is signified. Those few men of yours do affirm the prohibition of our marriage to be inducted only by the law positive, as your holiness hath also written in your letters; but all others say the prohibition to be inducted, both by the law of God and nature: those men of yours do suggest, that it may be dispensed for avoiding of slanders; the others utterly do contend, that by no means it is lawful to dispense with that, that God and nature hath forbidden. We do separate from our cause the authority of the see apostolic, which we do perceive to be destitute of that learning whereby it should be directed; and because your holiness doth ever profess your ignorance, and is wont to speak of other men's mouths, we do confer the sayings of those with the sayings of them that be of the contrary opinion, for to confer the reasons it were too long. But now the universities of Cambridge, Oxford, in our realms; Paris, Orleans, Biturisen, Andegavon, in France; and Bonony in Italy, by one consent; and also divers other of the most famous and learned men, being freed from all affection, and only moved in respect of verity, partly in Italy, and partly in France, do affirm the marriage of the brother with the brother's wife, to be contrary both to the law of God and nature; and also do pronounce that no dispensation can be lawful or available to any Christian man in that behalf: but others think the contrary, by whose counsels your holiness hath done that, that sithence ye have confessed ye could not do in promising to us as we have above rehearsed, and giving that commission to the cardinal Campege to be showed unto us; and after, if it so should seem profitable to burn it, as afterwards it was done indeed as we have perceived. Furthermore, those which so do moderate the power of your holiness, that they do affirm, that the same cannot take away the appellation which is used by man's law, and yet is available to Divine matters everywhere without distinction. No princes heretofore have more highly esteemed, nor honoured the see apostolic than we have; wherefore we be the more sorry to be provoked to this contention, which to our usage and nature is most alienate and abhorred. Those things so cruel we write very heavily, and more glad would have been to have been silent if we might, and would have left your authority untouched with a good will, and constrained to seek the verity, we fell, against our will, into this contention; but the sincerity of the truth prohibited us to keep silence, and what should we do in so great and many perplexities? For truly if we should obey the letters of your holiness, in that they do affirm that we know to be otherwise, we should offend God and our conscience, and we should be a great slander to them that do the contrary, which be a great number, as we have before rehearsed: also, if we should dissent from those things which your holiness doth pronounce, we would account it not lawful, if there

were not a cause to defend the fact, as we now do, being compelled by necessity, lest we should seem to contemn the authority of the see apostolic. Therefore your holiness ought to take it in good part, though we do somewhat at large and more liberally speak in this cause, which doth so oppress us, specially forasmuch as we pretend none atrocity, nor use no rhetoric in the exaggerating and increasing the indignity of the matter; but if I speak of anything that toucheth the quick, it proceedeth of the mere verity, which we cannot nor ought not to hide in this cause, for it toucheth not worldly things but divine, not frail but eternal; in which things no feigned, false, nor painted reasons, but only the truth, shall obtain and take place: and God is the truth, to whom we are bound to obey rather than to men; and nevertheless we cannot but obey unto men also, as we were wont to do, unless there be an express cause why we should not; which by those our letters we now do to your holiness: and we do it with charity, not intending to spread it abroad, nor yet further to impugn your authority, unless ye do compel us; albeit also, that that we do, doth not impugn your authority, but confirmeth the same, which we revocate to its first foundations; and better it is in the middle way to return, than always to run forth headlong and do ill. Wherefore if your holiness do regard or esteem the tranquillity of our mind, let the same be established with verity, which hath been brought to light by the consent of so many learned men; so shall your holiness reduce and bring us to a certainty and quietness, and shall deliver us from all anxiety, and shall provide both for us and our realm, and finally shall do your office and duty. The residue of our affairs we have committed to our ambassadors to be propounded unto you, to whom we beseech your holiness to give credence, &c.

XLIII.—*A Promise made for engaging the Cardinal of Ravenna. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.]

Rome, Februar. 7. 1532.

Ego Willielmus Benet Serenissimi Domini mei D. Henrici Octavi Angliæ, &c. Regis, in Romana Curia Orator, habens ad inscripta ab ipso Rege potestatem et facultatem, prout constat per ipsius Majestatis Literas Patentes datas in Regia sua Greenewici die penultima Decemb. M.D.XXXI. manu sua propria suprascriptas, et secreto sigillo suo sigillatas; Quoniam in ipsius Regis arduis negotiis expertus sum singularem et præclaram operam Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini D. Henrici Sancti Eusebii S. R. E. Presbyteri Cardinalis Ravennæ, quibus et deinceps uti cupio, ut eadem semper voluntatem et operam sua Dominatio Reverendissima erga ipsum regem præstet, libere promitto eidem Cardinali nomine dicti mei Regis, quod sua Majestas provideri faciet eidem Cardinali, de aliquo Monasterio seu Monasteriis aut aliis beneficiis Ecclesiasticis in Regno Galliæ primo vacaturis, usq; ad valorem annuum sex millium ducatorum: Et insuper promitto quod Rex Angliæ prædictus præsentabit, seu nominabit eundem Cardinalem ad Ecclesiam Cathedralem primo quocis modo vacaturam, seu et ad præsens vacantem, in Regno Angliæ, et de illa ei provideri faciet; eo casu quo Ecclesia primo vacatura hujusmodi, seu ad præsens vacans, non sit Ecclesia Eliensis, promitto etiam quod succedente postea vacatione Ecclesiæ Eliensis, Rex Angliæ transferri faciet eundem Cardinalem, si ipsi Cardinali magis placuerit, ab ea alia Ecclesia de qua provisus erit, ad Ecclesiam Eliensem: et dictorum Monasteriorum et Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum in Regno Galliæ, et Ecclesiæ Cathedralis in Regno Angliæ possessionem pacificam, cum fructuum perceptione, ipsum Cardinalem assequi faciet: Et hæc omnia libere promitto, quod Rex meus supradictus plenissime et sine ulla prorsus exceptione ratificabit et observabit et exequetur; in quorum fidem præsentes manu mea propria scripsi et subscripsi, sigilloq; munivi. Dat. Rom. die septimo Februarii, M.D.XXXII.

*This is all written with his own hand, and was sent over by him to the king.*

XLIV.—*Bonner's Letter about the proceedings at Rome. An original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.]

Rome, April 29, 1532.

Pleaseth it your highness; this is to advertise the same, that sithen we William Benet, Edward Karne, and Edmond Bonner, sent our letters of the 7th of this present to your highness; there hath been two disputations public, the one the 13th of this, the other the 20th day of the same, according to the order given and assigned, which was three conclusions to be disputed every consistory; and what was spoken, as well by your highness's counsel, for the justification of the conclusion purposed the said 13th, as also for the impugnation thereof by the party adverse, with answers made thereunto by your highness's said counsel as fully as were anywise deduced, your said highness shall perceive by the books sent herewithal containing the same; and also the justifications, objections, and answers, made in the 6th of this present according as I Edward Karne in my said letters promised. The copies of all the which justifications, objections, and answers, after that they were fully noted and deduced in writing, and maturely considered by your highness's learned counsel, I Edward Karne did bring to the pope's holiness, and to the cardinals, for their better information; and likewise did of the first, alwise afore the consistory, according to the order assigned at the beginning: looking in likewise that the queen's counsel should do this same, but as yet they have done nothing therein, though your ambassadors and I have called upon the pope many times for the same. And as concerning such things as were spoken and done for either part in the disputation of the 20th day, it is not possible for us, by reason of the shortness of time, to reduce all in good order, and to send the same to your highness at this time; nevertheless with all speed it shall be made ready, and sent to your highness by the next courier. After the disputation done, the said 13th day of this present, the advocate of the party adverse did allege, that we did seek this disputation but only to defer the process: protesting therefore, that the queen's counsel would dispute no more; and desiring therefore the pope's holiness, and the whole consistory, to make process in the principal cause. Whereunto I Edward Karne said, that the pope's holiness, with the whole senate, had granted the disputations upon the matters, and given an order that the conclusions published should be disputed according to the same. Whereupon I desired that forasmuch as there remained sixteen conclusions not disputed, (which to propose and justify, with your highness's counsel I would be ready at all times,) that if the party adverse knowing the conclusions to be canonical, would not confess them, and thereby avoid disputations, that then the said party should dispute them, and upon the refusal of both the same, the matters excusatories to be admitted by his holiness, especially because the said party adverse hath nothing material that could be perceived to let the same. The pope's holiness answered, that he would deliberate upon the demand of both parties. The 16th of this present, the datary on the pope's behalf sent unto me Edward Karne an intimation for disputation of the consistory to be kept the 20th of this present, and that I should send the conclusions not disputed, that they might be in the said consistory disputed; adding withal, that the said consistory should be *ultimus et peremptorius terminus quoad alias disputationes*. Of the which intimation your highness shall receive a copy herewith. Upon this, with the advice of your ambassadors and counsel here I repaired unto the said datary, and brought unto him three conclusions to be disputed, with a protestation, *de non recedendo ab ordine hactenus observato*, according to the proem of the said conclusions, the copy whereof your highness shall receive herewith. Afterwards with the same conclusions and protestation I went to cardinal de Monte, who said at the beginning that all the consistory crieth out upon the disputations, and that we had been heard sufficiently, and that it was enough that we should have the fourth disputation, adding withal that it was a thing never seen before after such sort, and that it stood not with the honour of the see to have such disputations in the consistory to the great disquieting of the pope and the cardinals, especially considering the manner that is used, and that all the conclusions be touched which should content us. To this I answered and desired his most reverend lordship to call to his remembrance what he had promised to your highness's ambassadors and me, in the Castel-Angel upon Shrove-Sunday, the pope being present and allowing the same, contended that all the conclusions should be disputed *singulariter*, and that I should at my pleasure from time to time choose the conclusions to be disputed. And how also afterward, viz. 17th February, the pope's holiness, cardinal Ancona and his lordship not going from that promise, gave direction for three conclusions to be disputed every consistory, the choice whereof to be at my liberty (according to the copy of the said order which I sent to your highness with my letters, of the date of the 22nd of the last); and furthermore, that what time the order to dispute three conclusions in a consistory was sent unto me, and I required to send the conclusions first to be disputed according to the said order, I did, to avoid all manner of doubts, protest afore I would accept it, and in the deliverance of the said conclusions that I would not otherwise accept it, but that all the conclusions according to the order promised in Castel-Angel should be disputed and examined *singulariter*, and that standing and not otherwise I delivered my said conclusions according to the order of the 17th of February, which order the pope's holiness hitherto had approved and observed, and from that I neither could nor would go from: and where he said that we had been heard sufficiently, I said that audience and information of less than the one half of a matter could not be sufficient; and if they intended to see the truth of the whole every point must be discussed. And as for the crying out of the cardinals, I said they had no cause so to do, for it was more for the honour of the see apostolic to see such a cause as this is well and surely tried, so that the truth may appear and the matters be well known, than to proceed *precipitanter*, as they did at the beginning of this matter afore they well knew what the matter was. And as touching the disquieting the pope's holiness and the said cardinals, I said your highness for their pains was much beholden unto them; nevertheless, I said that they might on the other side ponder such pains as your highness hath taken for them, in part declared by me, which was much more than for them to sit in their chairs two or three hours in a week to hear the justice of your defence in this cause. And as touching the manner used in the said disputation, I said his lordship knew well that it was by the party adverse, which all manner of ways goeth about to fatigate and make weary the consistory of the disputations, specially in chiding, scolding, and alleging laws and decisions that never were, nor spoken of by any doctor, and vainly continuing the time, to the intent that the pope's holiness and the cardinals dissolving the consistory, and not giving audience, the said party, without law, reason, or any good ground, might attain their desire, and keep under the truth that it should not appear; and if anything was sharply spoken of our party, I said it was done only for our defence, and to show the errors and falsity of the queen's advocates in their allegations, wherein I said they should not be spared. And forasmuch as on the behalf of your highness there was nothing spoken but that which was grounded upon law, and declared in what place, so that it cannot be denied; I desired his lordship that he would continue his goodness in this matter, as your highness's especial trust was he would do; and that we might always, as we were accustomed, have recourse unto the same in all our business for his good help and counsel. His lordship, not yet satisfied, said that as concerning the order, the pope's holiness might interpretate and declare what he meaned by it; and as touching the conclusions, they were superfluous, impertinent, and calumnious, only proposed to defer the matter. I answered and said, that to interpretate the said order, where it is clear out of doubt, the pope's holiness considering the promise made on Shrove-Sunday, with my protestation foresaid, and the execution of the said order to that time, in divers consistories observed, could not by right interpretate the said order, admitting disputation upon all the conclusions; and of this I said, that if such alterations were made, without any cause given of your highness's party, there was little certainty to be reckoned upon amongst them. And as touching the superfluity and impertinency of the said conclusions, I said, that that was the saying of the party adverse, that did not understand the same conclusions. And further, that such conclusions as were clamorously by the advocates of the party adverse alleged to be superfluous, his lordship in the disputation and trial thereof in the consistory did manifestly perceive that it was not so. And where it was alleged the said conclusions to be calumnious, and laid in to defer the process, I answered that we might well allege again the counsel of the party adverse, the thing against us alleged, and say truly that we were calumniously dealed withal, seeing the matters were so just and clear, and yet not admitted. Then his lordship went further, and said, that *impedimentum allegatum erat perpetuum*, because your highness, *ex causa reipublicæ*, could not come out your realm, and *quia dignitas vestra est perpetua*; and also *quod causa requirit celeritatem*. To this, I said that his lordship mistook the matter, for we said not in the matters that your highness could not go out of your realm to no place, but we said that the same could not go, *ad loca tam remota*, as Rome is; so that it was not *perpetuum impedimentum*. And to the other I showed him a text, and the common opinion of doctors in a cause of matrimony, being *inter Regem et Reginam*, which took away the thing that he had said. Then his lordship said, that it was enough that the place were sure to the procurator by the chapter, *cum olim de testibus*. I said that that chapter did not prove that allegation, and that they mistook the text that so did understand it, for the alternative that is in that text is not referred

*ad locum tutum*, but *ad ordinem citationis inchoandæ in persona principali, aut ejus procuratore*; and so *Petrus de Anchorano* understandeth that text; and otherwise understanding the same it should be against the chapter, *Et parte de appellatione*, and the common opinion there. Then he said that Aretine saith, *Quod sufficit quum locus sit tutus procuratori*. I said, that under his favour, Aretine saith the contrary, for he saith, *Quod partibus debet locus tutus assignari si potierit, et si non poterit partibus, detur procuratoribus*. Then his lordship said to me, that I knew well he began to set forward these disputations, and that he would do the best he could for the furtherance thereof.

The 19th of this present I went with your highness's ambassadors to the pope, and delivered his holiness in writing those things that were done in the disputation of the 13th of this: and then your ambassadors were in hand with the pope to alter the intimation, and to put out the term *peremptory*, and other that were exclusory of further disputations to be had upon the same conclusions. The pope's holiness said, that disputations was no act judicial requiring to be in the consistory; and therefore he said, he would call certain congregations of cardinals, on Friday and Monday following, to hear the disputations. Then I, William Benet, said, that that could not stand very well with the decree of the intimation, which was peremptory for any further disputations after the 20th of this present; and therefore I spake that the same term *peremptory* might be put out of the intimation, alleging withal, that upon the said Friday or Monday it was no time to hear the disputation, being so nigh after; and that his holiness hitherto hath observed the consistory for the disputations, which consistory cannot be unto after Easter, if the manner of the court be observed. Then the pope said, he might call a consistory when he would, as he hath done in making of cardinals, an act much more solemn than a disputation. To that I said, his holiness might do so if he would; howbeit, it should be *præter solitum morem*: and therefore desired his holiness to consider therein the order before assigned, and that this term *peremptory* would not stand with the order. His holiness then willed we should inform the cardinals Anchona and de Monte, and so we did; Anchona showed himself somewhat reasonable, and was contented the term *peremptory* should be put out. De Monte said that the pope would promise to hear the conclusions disputed in congregations, calling thereto certain cardinals, so that the term *peremptory* should not be prejudicial. Then I, Edward Karne, desired him, that if the said term should not be prejudicial, that it might be stricken out, for I told him plainly that I would not stand to words, the writing showing the contrary; adding withal, that I would not dispute in this term, *tanquam peremptorio*, but would manifestly show and protest, that I, with other your highness's counsel, were ready to defend the conclusions published, according to the order given, and hitherto observed; alleging also, that the conclusions being justified, the matters ought to be admitted; and that if the pope's holiness and the cardinals would not give audience to me and your highness's said counsel, for the manifest trial and showing of the truth, they should give us cause to complain upon them, and to cry out, *usque ad Sidera*, your highness's ambassadors all affirming the same. Then the said cardinal de Monte said, that the pope's holiness would provide for the disputations, notwithstanding the term *peremptory* assigned, and said also, that in the morning he would speak with the pope, and give your ambassadors and me an answer.

In the morning, which was the 20th of this present, the said cardinal would that nothing of the decree of Intimation should be manifested, because the other part had a copy thereof, but would the pope's holiness to give an order that the word *peremptory* should be only for disputations to be had in the consistory, and not in congregations, in which congregations the conclusions remaining might be disputed; and though they had drawn out this order, yet because it was nothing plain, neither certain to be conformable to the former order, I would have had the said cardinal to speak to the said datary for to make it as afore: and he was then contented, howbeit the pope's holiness commanded all the cardinals to their places, so that I could not have the said order, and was driven thereby either to dispute and accept the term, *tanquam peremptorium*, or else to fly the disputations; giving occasion to the adverse party to say, that I diffided in the justness of the matters, and defence of the conclusions. Whereupon your highness's ambassadors and we, with other your learned counsel, concluded, that I Edward Karne should protest, *De non consentiendo in termino, tunquam peremptorio*, and afterward to proceed to the proposing of the conclusions, and so I did by mouth according to the tenor of a copy, which heremithal your highness shall receive. When I had protested, and the pope had spoken this word *Accepta-mus*, the queen's advocate began to protest that they would dispute no more, and desired his holiness to proceed in the principal cause. Then I Edward Karne said, that the pope's holiness did well perceive that the conclusions were published and proposed, not only for them to dispute, but also for all other, come who would, for the information of his holiness, and the whole consistory. And therefore I said, that though they would not dispute, yet I was there, with other your highness's learned counsel, to propose the conclusions, according to the order given, justifying them to be canonical, and ready to defend them against all those that would gainsay them; and thereupon desired the pope's holiness, that though the counsel of the party adverse would not dispute, yet I, with your highness's learned counsel, might be heard again; against which my desire the queen's advocate made great exclamations, till at the last the pope commanded him to silence, and willed us to go to the conclusions, which we did.

And here now it is determined, that we shall have no more disputations in the consistory, but the rest of the conclusions to be disputed in congregations before the pope, purposely made for the same; and what therein shall be determined or done, your highness from time to time shall thereof by us be advertised, and of all other our doings in that behalf.

And as concerning the letters which your highness sent by Francis the courier, of the last of February, as well to the pope as to me Edward Karne, for the admission of me and the matter excusatory, we shall, according to your highness's pleasure and order assigned, in the common letter sent unto us by your said highness, proceed and do therein as may be most beneficial and profitable for the same.

And thus most humbly we commend us to your highness, beseeching Almighty God to preserve the same in felicity and health many years. At Rome the 28th of March, 1532.

Your highness's most humble subjects, servants, and chaplains,

WILLIAM BENET,
EDWARD KARNE,
EDMOND BONNER.



## XLV.—*Another Letter concerning the Process at Rome. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.]

PLEASETH it your highness, sithen our letters of the 23rd of March, here hath been great labour and soliciting, to bring the disputation public out of the consistory, kept once in the week, into the congregations, to be observed and kept before the pope's holiness and the cardinals, in such place, and as oft as should please them; to the intent, as we perceived, that the said disputation might be the sooner ended, and not take such effect as it was devised for. And upon this great importune labour, I, Edward Karne, was monished oftentimes to send conclusions to be proposed in the said congregations, as well in Palm-Sunday week as in Easter-week, as appeareth by the copies of the intimations sent herewithal to your highness: upon which intimations I delivered certain conclusions, according to the order taken at the beginning, with a protestation devised by your grace's counsel here, *De non recedendo ab eodem ordine, et de proponendo easdem Conclusiones in Consistorio, juxta eundem ordinem et non aliter*. That, notwithstanding, the pope's holiness caused me to be monished again, *cum Comminatione*, that if I would not come in, *cum Advocatis*, the 3rd day of April, *procederet ad ulteriora protestatione me a prævia non obstante*. Whereupon, with the advice of your said learned counsel, I conceived a protestation, and the same delivered to the pope's holiness the said third day in the morning, protesting as it was therein contained, and causing it to be registered by the datary; of the which protestation your highness shall also receive a copy herewithal. This notwithstanding, the pope's holiness, the said third day in the afternoon, made a congregation, where the said protestation was examined; and, after the treaty had upon the same, we were in conclusion remitted again to the consistory, there to be heard, as much as the consistory intendeth to hear, upon the conclusions that are published; which was much more beneficial to us than to have had all proposed in congregations to have been kept as is afore. And by this means the matter was shifted off, and deferred unto the 10th of this month; at which time the pope's holiness kept the consistory. And one Mr. Providel, a singular good clerk, which came from Bonony for the furtherance of your highness's cause, very compendiously, and after good fashion and handling, to the great contentation, as appeared, of the audience there, purposed three conclusions, of the which two concerned the habilitation of me, Edward Karne, to lay in the matters excusatory: and the third was, that the cause ought to be committed, *extra curiam, ad locum tutum utrique parti*: of the which conclusions, and also his sayings, the said 10th day, your highness shall receive a copy herewithal. And forasmuch as at the said consistory, neither the imperials, neither yet the queen's counsel, did appear; I, Edward Karne, with the advice of your highness's counsel, said to the pope's holiness, after the proposition made by Mr. Providel, that his holiness might perceive well, that if the party adverse had any good matter to allege, against such things as were deduced for the justification of the conclusions and matter excusatory, and did not diffide of their part, they would not have absented themselves or shrunken from the disputations, which they afore had accepted and taken; wherefore I accused their contumacy and absence, desiring that it might be enacted, and thereupon departed from the consistory, for that day dissolved.

The 14th of this present, the pope's holiness caused intimation to be made unto me, of the consistory to be kept the 17th of the same; willing me to be there, *cum Advocatis*, to dispute all the conclusions not proposed and disputed: upon the which intimation, I delivered to the datary three conclusions, the 19th, the 20th, and the 21st in order, with a protestation devised by your learned counsel, sent herewithal to your highness: and in the said consistory, Mr. Providel did also allege for the justification of the matters and conclusions; and over that answered to such objections as he thought the party adverse to make foundation upon, and that very compendiously, being sorry that the imperials and queen's counsel did not come in to dispute the said conclusions, and the sayings of the said Mr. Providel in the said consistory, with my protestation also, in not agreeing to the term, as peremptory, your highness shall perceive in writing sent herewithal.

As concerning the seven conclusions yet remaining undisputed, we think the pope's holiness will hear us no further in the consistory, saying that the part adverse will not abide the disputations, nor come into the same; nevertheless to take otherwise out of the consistory, with the cardinal's information, his holiness is well contented.

And verily, sir, to study, labour, set forward, and call upon such things as may confer to the advancement of the matter and your highness's purpose, there shall not want neither good will, neither diligence to the uttermost, that we can excogitate or desire, as hitherto surely neither party hath failed; trusting in God that thereby, if justice be not oppressed, some good effect shall follow, to the good contentation of your highness. With these presents your highness shall also receive a copy of all things that were spoken, as well for your highness's behalf as by the party adverse in the consistory, the 20th day of March.

And thus most humbly we commend us to your highness, beseeching Almighty God long to continue the same in his most royal estate. At Rome, the 29th of April.

Your highness's most humble subjects, and poor servants,

EDWARD KARNE.
EDMOND BONNER.

## XLVI.—*A Letter from Benet and Cassali about the Process. An Original.*

[Cott. Libr. Vitel. B. 13.]

SERENISSIME et Invictissime Domine noster Supreme, salutem. Tribus Superioribus Consistoriis ante vacationes habitis, de Causa Excusatoria actum fuit; sed quid illud fuerit quod in primo egerunt rescire non potuimus, quia Cardinales pœna Excommunicationis prohibiti fuerant quicquam revelare. Secundo etiam aliquid super eadem causa tractarunt, quod itidem nos celaverunt. Sed ultimo illo, quod die octavo Julii Congregatum fuit, ita ut inferius patebit, constituerunt. Quum ergo postero die Pontificem adivissemus, ut quod decretum foret cognosceremus, ab eo sic accepimus; nolle se ore suo, propterea quod Jurisperitus non sit, Consistorii deliberationem pronunciare; quocirca die sequenti ad ipsum rediremus, quoniam vellet Cardinales Montem et Anconitanum id ipsum nobis proferre: Et nihilominus idem quod deinde ex ipsis Cardinalibus audivimus tunc explicavit, noluit tamen nobis esse Responsi loco. Igitur sicut dixerat, redivimus, et nobis duo illi Cardinales sic retulerunt summum Dominum et Cardinales decrevisse, literas Exhortatorias cum a Pontifice, tum a Collegio Cardinalium, Majestati vestræ scribendas esse, quibus vestram Majestatem adhortarentur, ut velit hic ad

Causam Procuratorem constituere, ubq; per totum Octobrem proximum facere. Pontifex præterea suadebat ut ad idem nos Majestatem Vestram cohortaremur, iidemq; fecerunt Cardinales, volentes omnes ambiguitates et dubitationes tollere. Respondimus, velle quod nobis injungebatur Majestati Vestræ scribere; verum illud non posse reticere quod erga Majestatem Vestram inique actum videbatur; quum neq; Excusator admissus, neq; ipsius allegationes forent probatæ ac receptæ, id quod tam sæpe instantissime petitum fuerat. Præterea non posse nos non valde mirari, ac etiam summopere conqueri, quod quum pro comperto haberemus juris esse id fieri, esset nihilominus denegatum; quum præsertim petendo Mandatum procuratorium, tacite viderentur rejicere Excusatorem, et per ipsum allegata. Sic autem illi nobis responderunt, neque Excusatorem fuisse rejectum, neq; per ipsum allegata, sed in eodem, quo prius, statu permanere; hoc autem excusatorium negotium minime ut nobis judicibus clarum, sed dubium videri. Ibiq; Ancontanus quædam nostris contraria addivit, quæ D. Karne suis literis recenset. Dicebant quoq: in hac re favorabilius nos, quam adversarios fuisse tractatos; illud etiam addentes, quod si procuratorium mandatum mittatur, justitia optime ministrabitur, ac etiam quatenus fieri possit, favorabiliter: idque et Pontifex et Cardinales ambo constanter asseverabant. Quum vero nos sæpius diceremus, excusatorem admitti debuisse, dixerunt, si recte considerare velimus, nos idem ipsum re habuisse; si enim (aibant), Procurator hic constituatur, literæ Remissoriæ et Compulsoriæ decernentur, ad testes in partibus examinandos. Itemq; vir aliquis probus ad id delegabitur ad utramq; partem, testesque scil. examinandos, ita ut processus in partibus fiat; Atque hoc pacto nos id consequi quod desideramus, quoniam quod ad totius causæ decisionem pertinet, ex eo quod de Pontificis potestate cognoscendum, et de jure Divino disceptandum sit, ac aliis etiam de causis, ipsam Decisionem Pontifici integram semper reservari nihilominus oporteret, quamvis causam alibi quam Romæ cognosci permissum fuisset. Nobis certe visum est, haud parum esse quod obtinuimus, longe enim pejora timebamus, quum nemo in urbe esset, qui non crederet Excusatorem una cum suis allegationibus rejectum iri. Hunc quidem eventum rei Cæsariani ægerrime tulerunt. Optime valeat Majestas Vestra. Romæ die 13 Julii 1532.

Vestræ Regiæ Majestatis
Hier. Episcopus Wigornien.
W. Benet.
Gregorio Cassali.

## XLVII.—*The Sentence of Divorce.*

[In an Inspeximus, Rot. Pat. 25 Reg. 2 P. m. 1.]

Anno Incarnationis millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tertio, Indictione sexta, Clementis Papæ decimo, mensis Maii vicesimo tertio, in Ecclesia Conventuali Monasterii Sancti Petri Dunstabiliæ, Ordinis Sancti Augustini Lincoln. Dioces. nostri Cantuarien. Provinciæ.

In Dei Nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas Permissione Divina Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas, et Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, in quadam causa inquisitionis de et super viribus Matrimonii inter Illustrissimum et Potentissimum Principem et Dominum nostrum Henricum Octavum Dei Gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Regem, Fidei Defensorem et Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandi Hispaniarum Regis Filiam contracti et consummati, quæ coram nobis in judicio ex officio nostro mero aliquandiu vertebatur, et adhuc vertitur, et pendet indecisa, rite et legitime procedentes. visis primitus per nos et diligenter inspectis, articulis sive capitulis in dicta causa objectis et ministratis, una cum responsis eis ex parte dicti Illustrissimi et Potentissimi Principis Henrici Octavi factis et redditis, visisque et similiter per nos inspectis plurimorum Nobilium et aliorum testium fide dignorum dictis et dispositionibus in eadem causa habitis et factis, visisq; præterea et similiter per nos inspectis, quamplurium fere totius Christiani orbis Principalium Academiarum Censuris seu Conclusionibus Magistralibus, etiam tam Theologorum quam Jurisperitorum responsis et opinionibus, utriusq; denq: Provinciæ Anglicanæ Consiliorum Provincialium assertionibus et affirmationibus. aliisque salutaribus monitis et doctrinis super dicto matrimonio desuper respective habitis et factis; visisq; ulterius, et pari modo per nos inspectis, pactis seu fœderibus pacis et amicitiæ inter perennis famæ Henricum septimum nuper Regem Angliæ, et dictum nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandum nuper Regem Hispaniæ desuper initis et factis; visi, quoque peramplus, et diligenter per nos inspectis, omnibus et singulis actis, actitatis, literis, processibus, instrumentis, scripturis, monumentis, rebusq; aliis universis in dicta causa quomodolibet gestis et factis, ac aliis omnibus et singulis per nos visis et inspectis, atq; a nobis cum diligentia et maturitate ponderatis et recensitis, servatisq; ulterius per nos in hac parte de jure servandis, necnon partibus prædictis, videlicet præfato illustrissimo et potentissimo Principe Henrico Octavo per ejus Procuratorem idoneum coram nobis in dicta causa legitime comparente, dicta vero Serenissima Domina Catharina per contumaciam absente, cujus absentia Divina repleatur præsentia, de Consilio Jurisperitorum et Theologorum, cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus, ad sententiam nostram definitivam sive finale Decretum nostrum in dicta causa ferendam sive ferendum sic duximus procedendum, et procedimus in hunc modum. Quia per acta actitata, deducta, proposita, exhibita, et allegata, probata pariter et confessata, articulataque, capitulata, partis responsa, testium depositiones, et dicta instrumenta, monumenta, literas, scripturas, censuras, conclusiones Magistrales, opiniones, consilia assertiones, affirmationes, tractatus et fœdera pacis, processus, res alias, et cætera promissa coram nobis in dicta causa respective habita, gesta, facta, exhibita et producta; Necnon ex eisdem, et diversis aliis ex causis et considerationibus, argumentisq; et probationum generibus variis, et multiplicibus, validis quidem et efficacibus, quibus animum nostrum hac in parte ad plenum informavimus, plene et evidenter invenimus et comperimus dictum Matrimonium inter prædictos Illustrissimum et Potentissimum Principem et Dominum nostrum Henricum Octavum, ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, ut præmittitur, contractum et consummatum, nullum et omnino invalidum fuisse et esse, et Divino Jure prohibente contractum et consummatum extitisse: Ideirco nos Thomas Archiepiscopus Primas et Legatus antedictus, Christi nomine primitus invocato, ac solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes, pro nullitate et invaliditate dicti Matrimonii pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus, ipsumq; prætensum Matrimonium fuisse et esse nullum et invalidum, ac Divino Jure prohibente contractum et consummatum, nulliusq; valoris aut momenti esse, sed viribus et firmitate juris caruisse et carere, prædictosq; Illustrissimo et Potentissimo Principi Henrico Octavo et Serenissimæ Dominæ Catharinæ non licere in eodem prætenso Matrimonio remanere, et pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus: ipsosq; Illustrissimū et Potentissimum Principem Henricum Octavum ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, quatenus de facto et non de jure dictum prætensum Matrimonium ad invicem contraxerunt et



consummarunt, ab invicem separamus et divorciamus, atq; sic separatos et divorciatos, necnon ab omni vinculo Matrimoniali respectu dicti prætensi Matrimonii liberos et immunes fuisse et esse, pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus, per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale Decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus in his scriptis. In quorum præmissorum fidem et testimonium, has literas nostras testimoniales, sive præsens publicum sententiæ vel Decreti instrumentum, exinde fieri ac per Notarios Publicos subscriptos, scribas et actuarios nostros in ea parte specialiter assumptos, subscribi et signari, nostriq; sigilli appensione jussimus et fecimus communiri.

*He likewise passed judgment (confirming the king's marriage with queen Anne) at Lambeth, May 28, 1533, which is in the same Inspeximus.*

## XLVIII.—Act 5, Anno Regni 25.

### *An Act concerning the Deprivations of the Bishops of Salisbury and Worcester.*

Where before this time the church of England, by the king's most noble progenitors, and the nobles of the same, have been founded, ordained, and established, in the estate and degree of prelatic dignities, and other promotions spiritual, to the intent and purpose that the said prelates, and other persons, having the said dignities and promotions spiritual, continually should be abiding, and reseants upon their said promotions within this realm; and also keep, use, and exercise hospitality, divine services, teaching and preaching of the laws of Almighty God to such persons as were and have been within the precinct of their promotions or dignities, for the wealth of the souls of their givers and founders, greatly to the honour of Almighty God. Of the which said spiritual persons, the king's highness, and his most noble progenitors, have had right honourable and well-learned personages, apt, meet, and convenient, for to guide and instruct his highness, and his most noble progenitors, in their counsels, concerning as well their outward as inward affairs, to be devised and practised for the utility and preservation of this realm; by reason whereof the issues, revenues, profits, and treasure, rising and coming of the said spiritual promotions and dignities, were and should be spent, employed, and converted within this realm, to the great profit and commodity of the king's subjects of the same. And where also by the laudable laws and provisions of this realm, before this time made, it hath been ordained, used, and established, that no person nor persons, of whatsoever estate, degree, or quality he or they were, should take or receive within this realm of England, to farm, by any procuracy, writ, letter of attorney, administrations, by indenture, or by any other mean, any benefice, or other promotion within this realm, of any person or persons, but only of the king's true and lawful subjects, being born under the king's dominions. And also that no person or persons, of what estate and degree soever he or they were, by reason of any such farm, procuracy, letter of attorney, administration, indenture, or by any other mean, as is aforesaid, should carry, convey, or cause to be carried and conveyed out of this realm, any gold, silver, treasure, or other commodity, by letter of exchange, or by way of merchandise, or otherwise, for any of the causes aforesaid, to the profit or commodity of any alien, or other stranger, being born out of this realm, having any such promotion spiritual within the same, without license of the king's highness, by the advice of his council, as by the same laws, statutes, and provisions, more plainly at large it may appear; which said laudable laws, statutes, and provisions, were made, devised, and ordained by great policy and foresight of the king's most noble progenitors, the nobles and commons of this realm, for the great profit, utility, and benefit of the same, to the intent that the gold, silver, treasure, riches, and other commodity of the same, by the occasion aforesaid, should not be exhausted, employed, converted, and otherwise transported out of this realm and dominions of the same, to the use, profit, and commodity of any stranger being born out of this realm, or the dominions of the same; but only to be spent, and used, and bestowed within the same, to the great comfort and consolation of the subjects of this realm. Notwithstanding which said wholesome laws, statutes, and provisions, the king's highness being a prince of great benignity and liberality, having no knowledge, nor other due information, or instruction of the same laws, statutes, and provisions, heretofore hath nominated, and preferred, and promoted Laurence Campegius bishop of Sarum, with all the spiritual and temporal possessions, promotions, and other emoluments and commodities in anywise belonging or appertaining to the same: and also hath nominated, preferred, and promoted Hierome, being another stranger, born out of the king's said realm and dominions, to the see and bishopric of Worcester, with all the spiritual and temporal promotions, and other emoluments and commodities, in anywise belonging or appertaining to the same. Which said two bishops, and namely the bishop of Sarum, nothing regarding their duties to Almighty God, nor their cures of the said bishoprics, ever sith or for the more part of the time of their said promotions or profections into the same, have been, and yet be resident, dwelling and abiding at the see of Rome, or elsewhere, in other parts beyond the sea, far out and from any of the king's said dominions; by reason whereof, the great hospitality, divine service, teaching and preaching the laws, and examples of good living, and the other good and necessary effects before rehearsed, have been many years by-past, and yet continually be, not only withdrawn, decayed, hindered, and minished, but also great quantity of gold, silver, and treasure, to the yearly sum and value of 3000*l.* at the least, have been yearly taken and conveyed out of this realm, to the singular profit and great enriching of the said bishops, and daily is like to be conveyed, transported, and sent, contrary to the purport and effect of the said former wholesome laws and statutes, to the great impoverishing of this realm, as well presently as for to come, if speedy remedy be not had therefore in brief time provided. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the said two several sees and bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester, and either of them from henceforth, shall be taken, reputed, and accounted in the law to be utterly void, vacant, and utterly destitute of any incumbent or prelate, &c.

## XLIX.—*A Letter from Cromwell to Fisher, about the Maid of Kent, Anno* 34, *or end of* 35.

[Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.]

My lord, in my right hearty wise I commend me to your lordship, doing you to understand, that I have received your letters, dated at Rochester the 18th day of this month; in which ye declare what craft and cunning ye have to persuade, and to set a good countenance upon an ill matter, drawing some Scriptures to your purpose; which well weighed, according to the places whereout they be taken, make not so much for your purpose as ye allege them for; and where in the first leaf of your letters ye write, that ye doubt nothing, neither before God nor before the world, if

need shall that require, so to declare yourself, whatsoever hath been said of you, that ye have not deserved such heavy words or terrible threats, as hath been sent from me unto you by your brother.

How ye can declare yourself afore God and the world, when need shall require, I cannot tell; but I think verily that your declaration made by these letters is far insufficient to prove that ye have deserved no heavy words in this behalf. And, to say plainly, I sent you no heavy words, but words of great comfort, willing your brother to show you how benign and merciful the prince was: and that I thought it expedient for you to write unto his highness, and to recognise your offences, and desire his pardon, which his grace would not deny you now in your age and sickness; which my counsel I would you had followed, rather than to have written these letters to me, excusing yourself although there were no manner of default in you. But, my lord, if it were in another manner of case than your own, and out of the matter which ye favour, I doubt not but that ye would think him that should have done as ye have done, not only worthy heavy words, but also heavy deeds; for where ye labour to excuse yourself of your hearing, bribing, and concealing of the maiden's false and feigned revelations, and of your manifold sending of your chaplains unto her, by a certain intent which ye pretend yourself to have had, to know by communing with her, or by sending your chaplains to her, whether her revelations were of God or no, alleging divers Scriptures that ye were bound to prove them, and to receive them after they were proved. My lord, whether ye have used a due means to try her and her revelations or no, it appeareth by the process of your own letters. For where you write that ye had conceived a great opinion of the holiness of this woman, for many considerations rehearsed in your letters, comprised in six articles; whereof the first is grounded upon the bruit and fame of her; the second, upon her entering into religion after her trances and diffiguration; the third, upon the rehearsal that her ghostly father, being learned and religious, should testify that she was a woman of great holiness; the fourth, upon the report that divers other virtuous priests, men of good learning and reputation, should so testify of her, with which ghostly father and priests ye never spake, as ye confess in your letters; the fifth, upon the praises of my late lord of Canterbury, which showed you, as ye write, that she had many great visions; the sixth, upon the saying of the prophet Amos, *Non faciet Dominus Deus Verbum, nisi revelaverit secretum suum ad servos suos Prophetas*. By which considerations ye were induced to the derire to know the very certainty of this matter, whether these revelations, which were pretended to be showed to her from God, were true revelations or not. Your lordship, in all the sequel of your letters, show not that ye made no further trial upon the truth of her and her revelations, but only in communing with her, and sending your chaplains to her with idle questions, as of the three Mary Magdalens, by which your communication and sending, ye tried out nothing of her falsehood, neither (as it is credibly supposed) intended to do as ye might have done, in anywise more easily than with communing with her, or sending to her; for little credence was to be given to her, affirming her own feigned revelations to be from God; for if credence should be given to every such lewd person as would affirm himself to have revelations from God, what readier way were there to subvert all common-weals and good orders in the world?

Verily, my lord, if ye had intended to trace out the truth of her and of her revelations, ye would have taken another way with you; first, you would not have been converted with the vain voices of the people, making bruits of her trances and diffiguration, but like a wise, discreet, and circumspect prelate, ye should have examined (as other since) such sad and credible persons as were present at her trances and diffigurings, not one or two but a good number, by whose testimony ye should have proved whether the bruits of her trances and diffigurations were true or not. And likewise ye should have tried by what craft and persuasion she was made a religious woman; and if ye had been so desirous, as ye pretended, to inquire out the truth or falsehood of this woman and of her revelations, it is to be supposed ye would have spoken with her good, religious, and well-learned ghostly father ere this time, and also with the virtuous and well-learned priest, (as they were esteemed,) of whose reports ye would have been informed by them which heard them speak; or ye would also have been minded to see the book of her revelations which was offered you, of which ye might have had more trial of her and her revelations than of a hundred communications with her, or of as many sendings of your chaplains unto her. As for the late lord of Canterbury's saying unto you, that she had many great visions, it ought to move you never a deal to give credence unto her or her revelations; for the said lord knew no more certainty of her or of her revelations than he did by her own report. And as touching the saying of Amos the prophet, I think verily the same moved you but a little to hearken unto her; for sithence the consummation and the end of the Old Testament, and sithen the passion of Christ, God hath done many great and notable things in the world, whereof he showed nothing to his prophets that hath come to the knowledge of men. My lord, all these things moved you not to give credence unto her, but only the very matter whereupon she made her false prophecies; to which matter ye were so affected, as ye be noted to be in all matters which ye enter once into, that nothing could come amiss that made for that purpose. And here I appeal your conscience, and instantly desire you to answer, Whether if she had showed you as many revelations for the confirmation of the king's grace's marriage, which he now enjoyeth, as she did to the contrary, ye would have given as much credence to her as the same done, and would have let the trial of her and her revelations to overpass those many years, where ye dwelt not from her but twenty miles in the same shire where her trances, and diffigurings, and prophecies in her trances, were surmised and reported. And if percase, ye will say, (as it not unlike but ye will say, minded as ye were wont to be,) that the matter be not like, for the law of God, in your opinion, standeth with the one and not with the other: surely, my lord, I suppose there had been no great cause more to trust the one more than the other; for ye know by Scriptures of the Bible, that God may by his revelation dispense with his own law, as with the Israelites spoiling the Egyptians, and with Jacob to have four wives, and such other. Think you, my lord, that any indifferent man, considering the quality of the matter, and your affections, and also the negligent passing over of such lawful trials as ye might have had of the said maiden, and her revelations, is so dull, that cannot perceive and discern that your communing, and often sending to the said maid, was rather to hear and bruit many of her revelations than to try out the truth or falsehood of the same. And in this business, I suppose, it will be hard for you to purge yourself before God or the world, but that ye have been in great default in hearing, believing, and concealing such things as tended to the destruction of the prince; and



that her revelations were bent and purposed to that end, it hath been duly proved afore as great assembly and council of the lords of this realm as hath been seen many years meet out of a parliament. And what the said lords deemed them worthy to suffer, which said, heard, believed, and concealed those false revelations, be more terrible than any threats spoken by me to your brother.

And where ye go about to defend, that ye be not to be blamed for concealing the revelations concerning the king's grace, because ye thought it not necessary to rehearse them to his highness, for six causes following in your letters; afore I show you my mind concerning these causes, I suppose that albeit you percase thought it not necessary to be showed to the prince by you, yet that your thinking shall not be your trial, but the law must define whether ye ought to utter it or not.

And as to the first of the said seven causes; Albeit she told you that she had showed her revelations concerning the king's grace to the king herself; yet her saying or others discharged not you, but that ye were bound by your fidelity, to show to the king's grace that thing which seemed to concern his grace and his reign so nighly: for how knew you that she showed these revelations to the king's grace but by her own saying, to which she should have given no such credence, as to forbear the utterance of so great matters concerning a king's weal? And why should you so sinisterly judge the prince, that if he had showed the same unto him, he would have thought that ye had brought that tale unto him, more for the strengthening and confirmation of your opinion than for anything else? Verily, my lord, whatsoever your judgment be, I see daily such benignity and excellent humanity in his grace, that I doubt not but his highness would have accepted it in good part if ye had showed the same revelations unto him, as ye were bounden by your fidelity.

To the second cause; Albeit she showed you not that any prince, or other temporal lord, should put the king's grace in danger of his crown; yet there were ways enough by which her said revelations might have put the king's grace in danger, as the aforesaid council of lords have substantially and duly considered: and therefore albeit she showed you not the means whereby the danger should ensue to the king, yet ye were nevertheless bounden to show him of the danger.

To the third; Think you, my lord, that if any person would come unto you and show you that the king's destruction were conspired against a certain time, and would fully show you that he were sent from his master to show the same to the king, and will say further unto that, he would go straight to the king; were it not yet your duty to certify the king's grace of this revelation, and also to inquire whether the said person had done his foresaid message or no? Yes verily, and so were ye bound, though the maiden showed you it was her message from God to be declared by her to the king's grace.

To the fourth; Here ye translate the temporal duty that ye owe to your prince, to the spiritual duty of such as be bound to declare the word of God to the people, and to show unto them the ill and punishment of it in another world; the concealment whereof pertaineth to the judgment of God, but the concealment of this matter pertaineth to other judges of this realm.

To the fifth; There could no blame be imputed to you, if ye had showed the maiden's revelation to the king's grace, albeit they were afterward found false, for no man ought to be blamed doing his duty: and if a man would show you secretly, that there were a great mischief intended against the prince, were ye to be blamed if ye showed him of it; albeit, it was a feigned talk, and the same mischief were never imagined.

To the sixth; Concerning an imagination of Mr. Pary, it was known that he was beside himself, and therefore they were not blamed that made no report thereof; but it was not like in this case, for ye took not this maiden for a mad woman, for if ye had, ye would not have given unto her so great credence as ye did.

To the final and seventh cause; Where ye lay unto the charge of our sovereign, that so hath unkindly entreated you with grievous words and terrible letters, for showing his grace truth in his great matter, whereby ye were discomforted to show unto him the maiden's revelations: I believe that I know the king's goodness and natural gentleness so well, that his grace would not so unkindly handle you, as your unkindly writings him, unless ye gave him other causes than be expressed in your letters. And whatsoever the king's grace hath said or written unto you heretofore, yet notwithstanding ye were nevertheless bounden to utter to him those pernicious revelations.

Finally; Where ye desire, for the passion of Christ, that ye be no more twitched in this matter, for if ye be put to that strait, ye will not lose your soul, but ye will speak as your conscience bindeth you, with many more words of great courage. My lord, if ye had taken my counsel sent unto you by your brother, and followed the same, submitting yourself by your letters, at the king's grace, for your offences in this behalf, I would have trusted that ye should never be quykkrand in this matter more. But now, where ye take upon you to defend the whole matter, as ye were in no default, I cannot so far promise you: and surely, my lord, if the matter come to trial, your own confession in this letter, besides the witness which be against you, will be sufficient to condemn you: wherefore, my lord, I will eftsoons advise you, that laying apart all such excuses as ye have alleged in your letters, which in my opinion be of small effect, as I have declared, ye beseech the king's grace by your letters to be your gracious lord, and to remit unto you your negligence, oversight, and offence committed against his highness in this behalf; and I dare undertake that his highness shall benignly accept you into his gracious favour, all matters of displeasure past afore this time forgotten and forgiven. As touching the speaking of your conscience, it is thought that ye have written and have spoken as much as ye can, and many things, as some right probably believes, against your own conscience: and men report that at the last convocation, ye spake many things which ye could not well defend; and therefore it is not greatly feared what ye can say or write in that matter, howsoever ye be qukkrane and startled. And if ye had taken, &c.

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### L.—*A Renunciation of the Pope's Supremacy; signed by the heads of six Religious Houses.*

Quum ea sit non solum Christianæ Religionis et pietatis ratio, sed nostræ etiam obedientiæ regula, ut Domino nostro Henrico ejus nominis pro Dominio Regio Octavo, cui uni et soli post Christum Iesum Salvatorem nostrum debentur omnia, non modo omnimodam in Christo, et eandem sinceram perpetuamq; animi devotionem, fidem, observantiam, honorem, cultum, reverentiam præstemus, sed etiam de eadem fide et observantia nostra rationem quotiescunq; postulabitur reddamus, et palam omnibus si res poscat libentissime testemur: Norint universi ad quos præsens, scriptum pervenit, quod nos Priores et Conventus fratrum, viz. prædicatoris Langley Regis ordinis Sancti Dominici, Minorum de Ailsbury Ordinis Sancti Francisci, prædicatorum Dunstopliæ Ordinis ante-

dicti, Minorum de Bedford Ordinis Sancti Francisci, Fratrum Carmelitarum de Hechyng Ordinis Beatæ Mariæ, Minorum de Morea Ordinis Sancti Francisci, uno ore et voce, atque unanimi omnium et singulorum consensu et assensu, hoc scripto nostro sub sigillis nostris communibus, et in domibus nostris capitularibus dato, pro nobis et successoribus nostris omnibus singulis, in perpetuum profitemur, testamur et fideliter promittimus et spondemus, nos dictos Priores et Conventus et successores nostros, omnes et singulos, integram, inviolatam, sinceram perpetuamq; fidem, observantiam et obedientiam semper præstituros erga Dominum Regem nostrum Henricum Octavum, et erga Serenissimam Reginam Annam Uxorem ejusdem, et erga castrum Sanctumq: Matrimonium nuper non solum inter eosdem juste et legitime contractum, ratum et consummatum, sed etiam tam in duabus Convocationibus Cleri, quam in Parliamento Dominorum Spiritualium et Temporalium atq: Communium in eodem Parliamento Congregatorum et præsentum determinatum, et per Thomam Cantuarien. Episcopum solemniter confirmatum, et erga quamcunq; aliam ejusdem Henrici Regis nostri Uxorem post mortem prædictæ Annæ nunc Uxoris suæ legitimæ ducendam, et erga sobolem dicti Domini Regis Henrici ex prædicta Anna legitime tam progenitam quam progignendam, et erga sobolem dicti Domini Regis ex alia quacunq: legitima uxore post mortem ejusdem Annæ legitime progignendam, et quod eadem populo notificabimus, prædicabimus et suadebimus, ubicunq: dabitur locus et occasio. Item, quod confirmatum ratumq; habemus semperq: perpetuo habituri sumus, quod prædictus Rex noster Henricus est Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Item, quod Episcopus Romanus, qui in suis Bullis Papæ nomen usurpat et summi Pontificis Principatum sibi arrogat, nihilo majoris neq: Auctoritatis aut jurisdictionis habendus sit, quam cæteri quivis Episcopi in Anglia alibi in sua cujusq; Diocese. Item, quod soli dicto Domino Regi et Successoribus suis adhærebimus, atq; ejus et Proclamationes, insuper omnes Angliæ leges atque etiam Statuta omnia, in Parliamento et per Parliamentum decreta, confirmata, stabilita et ratificata, perpetuo manutenebimus, Episcopi Romani legibus, decretis et Canonibus, si qui contra legem Divinam et Sacram Scripturam esse invenientur, in perpetuum renunciantes. Item, quod nullus nostrum omnium in ulla vel privata vel publica concione quicquam ex Sacris Scripturis desumptum ad alienum sensum detorquere præsumet, sed quisquis Christum ejusq; vera, prædicabit Catholice et Orthodoxe. Item, quod unusquisq; in suis orationibus et comprecationibus de more faciendis, primum omnium Regem, tanquam Supremum Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Deo et populi precibus commendabit ; deinde Reginam cum sua sobole, tum demum Archiepiscopum Cantuarien. cum cæteris Cleri Ordinibus, prout videbitur. Item, quod omnes et singuli prædicti Priores et Conventus et Successores nostri, Conscientiæ et Jurisjurandi Sacro firmiter obligamur, quod omnia et singula prædicta fideliter et in perpetuum observabimus. In cujus rei testimonium huic Instrumento, vel scripto nostro, communia sigilla nostra appendimus, et nostra nomina propria quisq; manu subscripsimus, Sacris in Dominibus nostris Capitularibus, die quinto Mensis Maii, Anno Christi millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo quarto, Regni vero Regis nostri Henrici Octavi vicesimo sexto.

Ego Frater Richardus Ingerth Prior Conventus, et Prædicator Langley Regis, cum consensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Cotton, Prior Conventus Prædicatorum Dunstablíæ, cum assensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Sutler, Prior Conventus Carmelitarum Hicchiæ, cum assensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Edwardus Tryley Sacræ Theologiæ Bacalaureus, et Conventus Ailsberiæ, cum assensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Wyatt, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctor Conventus Bed. una cum assensu omnium Fratrum, sponte hoc scribo et non coactus.

Ego Frater Joannes Chapmanus, Sacræ Theologiæ Bacalaureus, Magister immerito Conventus Mare, cum assensu omnium Fratrum, mea sponte subscribo.

*Another Declaration to the same purpose, mutatis mutandis is made by the prioress of Bedford in Kent, of the order of St. Dominic, May 4, 1533. Regni vicesimo sexto. Rot. Clausa.*

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### LI.—*A Mandate for the Consecration of a Suffragan Bishop.*

[Rot. Pat. 2, par. 27 Regni.]

Rex Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et perdilecto Consiliario nostro Thomæ Cantuariensi Episcopo salutem. Reverendus Pater et dilectus Consiliarius noster Richardus Norvicensis Episcopus nobis significavit, quod Diocesis sua Episcopi Suffraganei solatio, qui suæ sollicitudinis partem sustinere consuevit, destituta est et existit; et ideo reverendos Patres Gregorium Abbatem Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Leystone, et Thomam Mannynge Priorem Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Butley, Norvicen. Dioc. Ordine Sacerdotali rite insignitos, et legitimo Matrimonio natos, et in ætate legitima constitutos, virosq; in spiritualibus et temporalibus multum circumspectos, quibus de Canonicis nihil obviant instituta, quo minus (ut asserunt) ad Episcopalem Suffraganei Dignitatem admitti possint et deberent, nobis per suas literas suo magno sigillo munitas præsentavit, humiliter et devote supplicans, quatenus nos alterum ipsorum sic præsentatorum ad aliquam sedem Episcopi Suffraganei infra Provinciam Cantuariensem existentem nominare, ipsique sic nominato stylum, Titulum et Dignitatem hujusmodi sedis donare dignaremur : unde nos ex gratia nostra speciali et mero motu nostris, dictum Reverendum Patrem Thomam Manynnge Priorem Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Butley prædicti, alterum ex dictis, Præsentamus in Episcopum Suffraganeum Sedis Gips vici Norvicen. Dioces. antedictæ, nominamus, eique Stilum, Titulum et Dignitatem ejusdem Sedis Episcopi Suffraganei damus et conferimus. Atque hæc vobis tenore præsentamus, significamus, requirentes vos, quatenus eundem Patrem sic per nos nominatum, in Episcopum Suffraganeum ejusdem Sedis Gips vici consecretis, eique Benedictionem ac omnia Episcopalia Insignia conferatis ; cæteraq; omnia et singula quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt officio pastorali, juxta modum et formam Statuti Parliamenti in vicesimo sexto Anno Regni nostri apud Westmonasterium nuper editi peragetis.

T. R. apud Westm. 6. die Martii 27. Regn.

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## AD LIBRUM TERTIUM.

### 1.—*Instructions for the General Visitation of the Monasteries.*

[Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.]

Articuli Regiæ Inquisitionis, in Monasticam vitam agentes, exponendi, et præcipue in exemptos a jurisdictione Diocæsana, jam tantum Regiæ Majestati et ejus jurisdictioni subditos et subjectos, ac hujus inclyti sui Regni Statutis et legibus, nullisq; aliis penitus, obnoxios et astrictos.

1. *In primis*, Whether divine service be solemnly sung, said, observed, and kept, in this monastery, according to the number and the abilities thereof, by night and by day, in due time and hours? and how many be present commonly at mattins, and other service, and who be absent, and so accustomed to be, without cause or sickness?

2. *Item*, How many monks, canons regulars, or nuns, be within this monastery, and how many there ought to be, and whether the number be complete according to the founder's will, or the statutes, ordinances, and laudable custom of this house; and whether the number be augmented or diminished now of late?

3. *Item*, Who were the first founders of this house?

*Fundationem primam, secundam, tertiam, et quotquot habent, exhibeant.*

4. *Item*, Whether this house hath had any increase of lands given to it sithence the first foundation thereof? by whom? by how many? and when?

5. *Item*, To what sum of money those revenues and rents of this house do extend and amount unto yearly.

6. *Item*, Whether this house was ever translated from one habit and order to another? by whose authority? and for what cause?

*Translationem exhibeant.*

7. *Item*, How the lands and possessions appertaining unto this monastery, given by the first founder, and all other lands given sithence the first foundation, were granted, given, and established, and so first brought to *morte main?* whether by the only authority of the giver, or by the authorization of the prince for that time reigning, and by what tenor and form ye hold them?

*Donationem et Confirmationem exhibeant.*

8. *Item*, What evidence have you to show for all and singular your lands, manors, tenements, and other your possessions mortisate, and given unto you, and this your monastery?

9. *Item*, Wherefore, for what causes and considerations ye were exempt from your diocesan? and what was your suggestion and motive at the obtaining of your said exemption?

*Exemptionem exhibeant.*

10. *Item*, Whether ye have any private, peculiar, or local statutes, confirmations, ordinances, or rules, made only for the behoof, good order, and singular weal of this house, besides the rules of your profession? and whether they were made either by your founders before your exemption, or by the good fathers of this house, with the whole consent of the brethren, being sinneth your exemption ; to what use they were made, and how ye observe them?

*Statuta illa localia, et alia quotquot habent, exhibeant.*

11. *Item*, By what way and form the master of this house was elected and chosen? And whether all the brethren having, or ought to have by the law, statutes, or laudable custom of this house, voices in the election, were present in the same election, or lawfully called or cited to it?

12. *Item*, Whether any persons excommunicate, suspended, or interdicted, did give voices in the same election?

13. *Item*, Within what time after the election was made and done, the master of this house was confirmed? and by whom?

14. *Item*, Whether unto the confirmation, all that had interest, or that would object against the same, were lawfully cited, monished, and called?

*Exhibeat Electionem, Confirmationem, et Titulum suæ Incumbentiæ.*

15. *Item*, What rule the master of this house, and other the brethren, do profess?

16. *Item*, How many be professed, and how many be novices; and whether the novices have like habit, or use to wear an habit distinct from the habit of the brethren professed?

17. *Item*, Whether ye do use to profess your novices in due time, and within what time and space after they have taken the habit upon them?

18. *Item*, Whether the brethren of this house do know the rule that they have professed, and whether they keep their profession according to that their rule and custom of this house; and in especial, the three substantial and principal vows, that is to say, *poverty*, *chastity*, and *obedience?*

19. *Item*, Whether any of the brethren use any propriety of money or of plate in their chambers; or of any other manner thing unwarre of the master, and without his knowledge and license, or by his sufferance and knowledge? and for what cause?

20. *Item*, Whether ye do keep chastity, not using the company of any suspect woman within this monastery, or without? And whether the master, or any brother of this house, be suspected upon incontinency, or defamed for that he is much conversant with women?

21. *Item*, Whether women useth and resorteth much to this monastery by back ways or otherwise? and whether they be accustomably or at any time lodged within the precinct thereof?

22. *Item*. Whether the master, or any brother of this house, useth to have any boys or young men laying with him?

23. *Item*, Whether the brethren of this house keep their obedience, being ready at their master's commandment, in all things honest, lawful, and reasonable?

*Sequuntur Regulæ Cæremoniales.*

24. *Item*, Whether ye do keep silence in the church, cloister, fraitry, and dormitory, at the hours and time specified in your rule?

25. *Item*, Whether ye do keep fasting and abstinence, according to your rules, statutes, ordinances, and laudable customs of this house?

26. *Item*, Whether ye abstain from flesh in time of Advent, and other times declared and specified by the law, rules, and laudable customs of this house?

27. *Item*, Whether ye wear shirts and sheets of woollen, or that ye have any constitution, ordinance, or dispensation, granted or made to the contrary, by sufficient and lawful authority?

*Profitentes Regulam Benedicti quam arctissime tenentur ad prædicta Cæremonialia observanda.*

28. *Item*. Whether ye do sleep altogether in the dormitory, under one roof, or not?

29. *Item*, Whether ye have all separate beds, or any one of you doth lay with another?

30. *Item*, Whether ye do keep the fraitry at meals, so that two parts, or the least, the two part of the whole covent be always there, unless the master at every one time dispense with you to the contrary?

31. *Item*, Whether ye do wear your religious habit

continually, and never leave it off but when ye go to bed?

32. *Item*, Whether every brethren of this house have lightly departed hence, and hath gone to any other house of like order and profession, without special letters and license of their master?

33. *Item*, Whether the master and brethren of this house have received and admitted any brother of another house, without special license and letters of his master and head?

34. *Item*, Whether any of you, sithence the time of your profession, hath gone out of this house to his friends, or otherwise?

35. *Item*, How oftimes he did so, and how long at every time ye tarried forth?

36. *Item*, Whether ye had special license of your master so to go forth, or not?

37. *Item*, Whether at every time of your being forth, ye changed or left off your habit, or every part thereof?

38. *Item*, Whether ye, or any of you be, or hath been, in manifest apostacy, that is to say, fugitives or vagabonds?

39. *Item*, For what cause or occasion ye have so gone forth and been in apostacy? and whether the cause of your going forth was by reason of the great cruelty of your master, or by his negligence, not calling you home to your cloister?

40. *Item*, Whether ye be weekly shaven, and do not nourish or suffer your hair to be long? and whether ye wear your apparel according to the rule, not too excessive nor too exquisite; and in likewise the trappos of your horses, and other your bearing beasts?

41. *Item*, Whether the master and head of this house do use his brethren charitably, without partiality, malice, envy, grudge, or displeasure, more showed to one than to another?

42. *Item*, Whether he do use his disciplines, corrections, and punishments upon his brethren, with mercy, pity, and charity, without cruelty, rigorousness, and enormous hurt, no more favouring one than another?

43. *Item*, Whether any brother, or religious person of this house, be incorrigible?

44. *Item*, Whether the master of this house do use his brethren charitably when they be sick and diseased? and whether in time of their sickness he do procure unto them physicians, and all other necessaries?

45. *Item*, Whether he make his accompts (as he ought to do) once every year before his brethren, and chiefly the seniors and officers, to the intent they may be made privy to the state and condition of the house, and know perfectly the due administration thereof?

46. *Item*, Whether the prior, subprior, sellerar, kitchener, terrure, sacristen, or any such like officer, having administration of every manner revenues of this house, do make his whole and true accompt, according as he is bound to do, not applying anything by him received to his own proper use or commodity?

47. *Item*, Whether any religious person of this house do bear, occupy, or exercise more offices than one, for, and to his own singular commodity, advantage, or profit, by the partial dealing of the master?

48. *Item*, Whether all and singular the revenues and profits of this house be converted and employed to the behove and use thereof, and of the brethren, and according to the founder's mind and giver?

49. *Item*, Whether the master do make sufficient reparations upon his monastery, as the church and all other housing thereto adjoined, and also upon all other the lands, granges, farms, and tenements belonging to the same; and whether he suffer any dilapidation, decay, or ruin in any part of them?

50. *Item*, Whether there be any inventory made of all and singular the moveables, goods, which from time to time have been, and yet be in this house, as of jewels, reliques, ornaments, vestiments, ready money, plate, bedding, with other utensils; also of corn, chattels, and other commodities, to the intent the state and condition of this house may be always known?

51. *Item*, That ye express truly and sincerely the whole state and condition of this house, as in money, plate, cattle, corn, and other goods?

52. *Item*, Whether this monastery be indebted? to whom? and for what cause?

53. *Item*, Whether any of the lands be sold, or mortgaged? and for what sums?

54. *Item*, Whether any be let to farm by the master of this house for term of years, and for how many years? and specially, whether they be letten for small sums, or for less sums than they were wont to be letten for, to the intent to have great sums of ready money beforehand?

55. *Item*, Whether he do enforce, compel or constrain his brethren, or any of them, to consent to the sealing of any leases, grants, farm-holds, annuities, corrodies, or any other alienations?

56. *Item*, Whether the plate and jewels, or any part or parcel thereof, or of any other moveable goods of this house be laid to pledge, sold, or alienated for a time, or for ever? for what cause, and to whom? or otherwise embezzled, or consumed?

57. *Item*, Whether the master of this house be wont to give under his seal or office, or convent-seal, farms, corrodies, annuities, or offices, to his kinsfolk, alliances, friends, or acquaintance, for term of years, or otherwise, to the hurt, hindrance, damage, and impoverishment of this house?

58. *Item*, Whether he be wont to grant any patent, or convent-seal, without the consent of his brethren?

59. *Item*, Whether the convent-seal of this house be surely and safely kept under three keys; that is to say, one remaining and being in the custody of the master, and the other two in the custody of two seniors?

60. *Item*, Whether the muniments and evidences of the lands, rents, and revenues of this house, be safely kept from vermin and moistness?

61. *Item*, Whether the master do keep hospitality according to the ability of his house, and in like manner as other fathers hereof have done heretofore?

62. *Item*, Whether the master of this house in receiving any novice, being of willing and toward mind to enter into religion, hath demanded or received, or convented to receive any money, rewards, or any other temporal commodities of him so entering, or willing to enter, or of any other his friends? and whether for not promising, granting, or giving such rewards or gifts, any hath been repelled and not received?

63. *Item*, Whether the novices, and other received into religion, have a preceptor and master deputed unto them to teach them grammar and good letters?

64. *Item*, Whether any senior of this house be deputed to declare, inform, and instruct them their rules, and whereunto they shall be bounden to observe and keep after their profession?

65. *Item*, Whether any of you have taken upon him the habit and profession of your religion, chiefly for the intent, hope, or trust to be made head and master of this house?

66. *Item*, Whether the master of this house, in giving any advocation, nomination, presentation, or collation of any parsonage, vicarage, chapel, or benefice of the patronage and gift of this house, do take or use to take any manner pension, portion, or other commodity or gains; or else doth make any convention or compaction, whereby any lucre may ensue to him in that behalf?



67. *Item*, Whether he do receive, or use to receive, the fruits and revenues of every such benefice vacant, or use to borrow any money of him to whom he intendeth to give such benefice unto, expressly covenanting or intending, that he so obtaining the said benefice shall freely and clearly remit the said money so borrowed?

68. *Item*, What and how many benefices the master of this house doth occupy and keep in his own hands?

69. *Item*, Whether the same benefices be appropriate and united to this house by sufficient authority?

70. *Item*, Whether the master of this house doth make distributions amongst the parishioners of the benefices appropriate, and doth keep and observe all and singular other provisions and ordinances specified and expressed in the appropriations of the same benefices?

*Exhibeant omnes et singulas Appropriationes, una cum Ordinationibus et Donationibus Vicariatuum.*

71. *Item*, Whether he do promote unto such benefices as be of his gift sufficient and able persons in learning, manners, and virtue?

72. *Item*, Whether any brother of this house do serve any parish-church, being appropriate and united to the same, and how many churches appropriate to be so served?

73. *Item*, Whether the master of this house hath and possesseth any benefice with cure, or any other dignity with his abbey?

*Si aliquod tale habet, Dispensationem exhibeat.*

74. *Item*, Whether the master of this house at any time since he was first made abbot, or master, did know or believe that he was suspended, or excommunicate, either by the law, or by any judge; and whether he knowing or supposing himself so to be, did sing mass in the mean time, and before he was absolved?

*In Visitatione Monialium ad Premissa addantur hæc.*

75. *Item*, Whether this monastery hath good and sufficient enclosure, and whether the doors and windows be diligently kept shut, so that no man can have any entry into the same or any part thereof at inconvenient times?

*Propter quod necessarium erit Visitatori circumire Monasterium, ac videre et rimare dispositionem ædificiorum, et an sint aliqua loca pervia per quæ secrete intrari possit; et una secum habeat Abbatissam cum duabus aut tribus senioribus Monialibus, a quibus tum interroget an ostia Monasterii singulis quibusque noctibus sub clavibus clausa teneantur, et quæ earum Monialium senio conf. ctarum, vel an Abbas ipsa clavium custodiam tempore nocturno habeant et teneant: nam non est totum clavium custodiam Junioribus committere.*

76. *Item*, Whether strangers, both men and women, useth commonly to have communication with the sisters of this house, without license of the abbess or prioress, specially in secret places, and in the absence of their sisters?

77. *Item*, Whether any sister of this house were professed for any manner of compulsion of her friends and kinsfolks, or by the abbess or prioress?

78. *Item*, Whether any of the sisters of this house useth to go forth any whither out of the precinct thereof, without special license of their abbess or prioress?

79. *Item*, Whether any sister doth use her habit continually out of her cell?

80. *Item*, Wherein every one of you occupieth herself, beside the time of divine service?

81. *Item*, Whether any sister of this house hath any familiarity with religious men, secular priests, or lay-men, being not near of kin unto them?

82. *Item*, Whether any sister of this house hath been taken and found with any such accustomably so communing, and could not shew any reasonable cause why they so did?

83. *Item*, Whether any of you doth use to write any letters of love or lascivious fashion to any person, or receive any such, or have any privy messengers coming and resorting unto you, or any of you, with token or gifts, from any manner secular person or other?

84. *Item*, Whether any of you doth use to speak with any manner of person, by night or by day, by grates or back windows, or other privy places within this monastry, without license of your head?

85. *Item*, Whether the confessor of this house be a discreet man, of good learning, virtue and honest behaviour, of good name and fame, and whether he hath been always so taken?

86. *Item*, How oftimes in the year the sisters of this house useth to be confessed and communicate?

*Restat pro Ecclesiis Collegiatis, Hospitalibus, Ecclesiis Cathedralibus, Parochialibus, Ecclesiis, Episcopo, et Archiepiscopo, pro ordine Jerosolomitarum?*

*Exhibeant omnia scripta, munimenta, Inventaria, Scedulas quascunque, unde aliquid cognitionis eorum reformationi Monasteriorum, sive domorum utilitati, necessariæ explicari, aut quoquo modo colligi possit.*

## II.—*General Injunctions to be given on the King's Highness's behalf, in all Monastries and other Houses, of whatsoev r order or religion they be.*

[Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.]

FIRST; That the abbot, prior, or president, and all other brethren of the place that is visited, shall faithfully, truly, and heartily keep and observe, and cause teach, and procure to be kept and observed of other, as much as in them may lie, all and singular contents, as well in the oath of the king's highness' succession, given heretofore by them, as in a certain profession lately sealed with the common seal, and subscribed and signed with their own hands: also that they shall observe and fulfil, by all the means that they best may, the statutes of this realm, made, or to be made, for the suppression and taking away of the usurped and pretended jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome within this realm: and for the assertion and confirmation of the authority, jurisdiction, and prerogative of our most noble sovereign lord the king, and his successors; and that they shall diligently instruct their juniors and youngers, and all other committed to their cure, that the king's power is by the laws of God most exellent of all under God in earth; and that we ought to obey him afore all other powers, by God's prescript; and that the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction or authority heretofore usurped by no means is founded or established by Holy Scripture: but that the same, partly by the craft and deceit of the same bishop of Rome, and by his evil and ambitious canons and decretals; and partly by the toleration and permission of princes, by little and little hath grown up; and therefore now, of most right and equity, is taken away and clean expelled out of his realm.

Also, that the abbot, prior, or president and brethren may be declared, by the king's supreme power and authority ecclesiastical, to be absolved and loosed from all manner obedience, oath, and profession by them heretofore perchance promised, or made, to the said bishop of Rome, or to any other in his stead, or occupying his authority; or to any other foreign

prince, or person: and nevertheless let it be enjoined to them, that they shall not promise or give such oath or profession to any such foreign potentate hereafter. And if the statutes of the said order religious, or place, seem to bind them to obedience, or subjection, or any other recognizance of superiority to the said bishop of Rome, or to any other foreign power, potentate, person or place, by any ways; such statutes, by the king's grace's visitors, be utterly annihilate, broken, and declared void and of none effect; and that they be in no case bounden or obligate to the same, and such statutes to be forthwith utterly put forth and abolished out of the books or muniments of that religion, order or place, by the president and his brethren.

Also, that no monk, or brother of this monastery, by any means go forth of the precinct of the same.

Also, that women, of what state or degree soever they be, be utterly excluded from entering into the limits or circuits of this monastery, or place, unless they first obtain license of the king's highness, or his visitor.

Also, that there be no entering into this monastery but one, and that by the great fore-gate of the same, which diligently shall be watched and kept by some porter specially appointed for that purpose, and shall be shut and opened by the same both day and night, at convenient and accustomed hours; which porter shall repel all manner women from entrance into the said monastery.

Also, that all and singular brethren, and monks of this monastery, take their refections altogether in a place called the Misericorde, such days as they eat flesh, and all other days in their refectory; and that at every mess there sit four of them, not of duty demanding to them any certain, usual, or accustomed duty or portion of meat as they were wont to do; but that they be content with such victuals as is set before them, and there take their refections soberly, without excess, with giving due thanks to God; and that at every such refection, some chapter of the New Testament, or Old, by some of the said brethren, be read and recited to the other, keeping silence, and giving audience to the same.

Also, that the abbot and president do daily prepare one table for himself and his guests thither resorting, and that not over-sumptuous, and full of delicate and strange dishes, but honestly furnished with common meats; at which table, the said abbot, or some senior in his stead, shall sit to receive, and gently entertain the strangers, the guests.

Also, that none of the brethren send any part of his meat, or the leavings thereof, to any person, but that there be assigned an almoner, which shall gather the leavings, both of the convent and strangers' tables, after that the servants of the house have had their convenient refections, and distribute the same to poor people; amongst whom special consideration be had of such, before other, as be kinsfolk to any of the said brethren, if they be of like power and debility as other be; and also of those which endeavour themselves, with all their will and labour, to get their living with their hands, and yet cannot fully help themselves for their chargeable household, and multitude of children: yet let not them be so cherished, that they shall leave labour and fall to idleness; with consideration also specially to be had of them, which by weakness of their limbs and body be so impotent that they cannot labour; and by no means let such alms be given to valiant mighty and idle beggars and vagabonds, as commonly use to resort about such places; which rather, as drove-beasts and mychers, should be driven away and compelled to labour, than in their idleness and lewdness, against the form of the king's grace's statute in this behalf made, cherished, and maintained, to the great hindrance and damage of the commonweal.

Also, that all other almses or destributions due, or accustomed to be made, by reason of the foundation, statutes, or customes of this place, be made and given, as largely and as liberally as ever they were at any time heretofore.

Also, that the abbot, prior, or president, shall find wood and fewel sufficient to make fire in the refectory, from Allhallow-even to Good-Friday.

Also, that all the brethren of this house, except the abbot and such as be sick, or evil at ease, and those that have fulfilled their jubilee, lie together in the dormitory, every one by himself in several beds.

Also, that no brother, or monk, of this house, have any child or boy laying, or privily accompanying with him, or otherwise haunting unto him, other than to help him to mass.

Also, that the brethren of this house, when they be sick, or evil at ease, be seen unto, and be kept in the infirmary duly, as well for their sustenance of meat and drink, as for their good keeping.

Also, that the abbot, or president, keep and find in some university, one or two of his brothers, according to the ability and possessions of this house; which brethren, after they be learned in good and holy letters, when they return home, may instruct and teach their brethren, and diligently preach the word of God.

Also, that every day, by the space of one hour, a lesson of Holy Scripture be kept in this covent, to which all, under pain by this said president to be moderated, shall resort; which president shall have authority to dispense with them, that they, with a low and treatable voice, say their long hours, which were wont to be sung.

Also, that the brethren of this house, after divine service done, read or hear somewhat of Holy Scripture, or occupy themself in some such like honest and laudable exercise.

Also, that all and every brethren of this house, shall observe the rule, statutes, and laudable customs of this religion, as far as they do agree with Holy Scripture and the Word of God. And that the abbot, prior, or president of this monastery, every day shall expound to his brethren, as plainly as may be, in English, a certain part of the rule that they have professed, and apply the same always to the doctrine of Christ, and not contrariwise; and he shall teach them, that the said rule, and other their principles of religion (so far as they be laudable) be taken out of Holy Scripture; and he shall show them the places from whence they were derived; and that their ceremonies, and other observances of religion, be none other things than as the first letters or principles, and certain introductions to true Christianity, or to observe an order in the church. And that true religion is not contained in apparel, manner of going, shaven heads, and such other marks; nor in silence, fasting, uprising in the night, singing, and such other kind of ceremonies, but in cleanness of mind, pureness of living, Christ's faith not feigned, and brotherly charity, and true honouring of God in spirit and verity: And that those above said things were instituted and begun, that they being first exercised in these, in process of time might ascend to those as by certain steps, that is to say, to the chief point and end of religion: and therefore let them be diligently exhorted, that they do not continually stick and surcease in such ceremonies and observances, as though they had perfectly fulfilled the chief and utmost of the whole true religion; but



that when they have once passed such things, they endeavour themselves to higher things, and convert their minds from such external matters, to more inward and deeper considerations, as the law of God and Christian religion doth teach and show. And that they assure not themselves of any reward or commodity anywise, by reason of such ceremonies and observances, except they refer all such to Christ, and for his sake observe them; and for that they might thereby the more easily keep such things as he hath commanded, as well to them as to all Christian people.

Also, that the abbot and president of this place shall make a full and true reckoning and account of his administration every year to his brethren, as well of his receipts as expences; and that the said account be written in a great book remaining with the covent.

Also, that the abbot and president of this house shall make no waste of the woods pertaining to this house, nor shall set out unadvisedly any farmes or reversions, without the consent of the more part of the convent.

Also, that there be assigned a book and a register that may copy out into that book all such writings, word by word, as shall pass under the convent-seal of this house.

Also, that no man be suffered to profess or to wear the habit of religion in this house ere he be twenty-four years of age complete; and that they entice nor allure no man with suasions and blandyments to take the religion upon him.

*Item*, that they shall not show no reliques, or feigned miracles, for increase of lucre; but that they exhort pilgrims and strangers to give that to the poor, that they thought to offer to their images or reliques.

Also, that they shall suffer no fairs or markets to be kept or used within the limits of this house.

Also, that every brother of this house that is a priest, shall, every day in his mass, pray for the most happy and most prosperous estate of our sovereign lord the king, and his most noble and lawful wife queen Anne.

Also, that if either the master, or any brother of this house, do infringe any of the said injunctions, any of them shall denounce the same, or procure to be denounced, as soon as may be, to the king's majesty, or to his visitor-general, or his deputy. And the abbot, or master, shall minister spending-money and other necessaries, for the way to him that shall so denounce.

Other spiritual injunctions may be added by the visitor, as the place and nature of the comperts shall require, after his discretion.

Reserving power to give more injunctions, and to examine and discuss the comperts, to punish and reform them that be convict of any notable crime, to search and try the foundations, charters, donations, appropriations, and muniments of the said places; and to dispose all such papistical escripts as shall be there found, to the right honourable Mr. Thomas Cromwell, general visitor to the king's said highness, as shall seem most expedient to his high wisdom and discretion.

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### III.—*Some Particulars relating to the Dissolution of Monasteries.*

Sect. I.—*The Preamble of the Surrender of the Monastery of Langden.*

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, &c. Willielmus Dyer, Abbas Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ Virginis et S. Thomæ Martyris de Langden, in Com. Kent, et ejusdem loci Conventus, Ordinis Præmonstrat. capitulum dictæ domus plene facientes, ejusdemq; domus (quæ in suis fructibus, redditibus, provenien. even. et emolumen. non mediocriter deteriorata est, et quasi in totum diminuta, ingentiq; ære alieno obruta, oppressa, et gravata extitit) statum usq; adeo matura deliberatione, et diligenti tractatu, considerantes, ponderantes, et pensantes, quod nisi celeri remedio, regia provisione huic monasterio sive Prioratui (quippe quod de ejus fundatione et personatu existit) brevi succuratur et provideatur, funditus in spiritualibus et temporalibus annihiletur, per præsentes damus et concedimus, &c.

*The rest follows in the ordinary form of law: but the ordinary preamble in most surrenders is,*

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, &c. Nos—Salutem. Sciatis quod nos, deliberate, certa scientia, et mero motu, nostris, ex quibusdam causis, justis, et rationabilibus, nos, animas et conscientias nostras, specialiter moventibus, ultro et sponte dedisse et concessisse, Domino Regi, &c.

But it seems some few houses, though they were prevailed with to surrender, yet would not do it with such a preamble; for there are about twenty surrenders without any preamble at all, made to John London, clerk, ad usum Domini Regis.

Sect. II.—*A List of Religious Houses, which, by the King's Letters Patents, were of new founded and preserved from the Dissolution of Lesser Monasteries.*

[Anno Regni 28.]

Aug. 17. St. Mary of Betlesden, Buckinghamshire, Cistercians.
St. Mary of Huntington, Augustians.
Chertsey, Cambridgeshire, Benedict. nuns.
St. Mary in Winton, Southamptonshire, Benedict. nuns.
Grace-dieu, Leicestershire, August. nuns.
27. St. Michael, Hull, Yorkshire, Carthusians.
28. St. Clare of Denby, Cambridgeshire, nuns.
Sept. 2. Kymme, Lincolnshire, Augustin.
9. St. Ann, Marrick, Yorkshire, Benedict. nuns.
Nov. 16. St. Mary of Bindon, Dorsetshire, Cistercians.
16. St. Mary Harpa, Westm. Præmonstrat.
27. St. Mary of Hynnings, Lincolnshire, Cistercian nuns.
Dec. 13. St. Mary de-la-Pray, Northamptonsh. nuns.
14. St. Mary of Kelling, Yorkshire, nuns.
19. St. Mary of Cockersand, Lancash. Præmonstrat. nuns.
Jan. 2. De-la-val, Yorkshire, Carthus.
2. St. Mary Newstead, Nottinghamsh. August. nuns.
27. Wormsley, Herefordsh. August.
30. St. Mary of Alnwick, Northumb. Præmonst.
30. Bellalanda, Yorksh. Cisterc.
30. St. John Bapt. Egglestone, Yorksh.
30. St. Mary de Nith, Glamorgansh. Cisterc.
30. St. Mary Ulnestock, Leicestersh.
30. St. Mary of Dale, Derbysh. August.
30. St. Katharine of Polesloo, Devonshire, Benedict. nuns.
30. St. Mary Lacock, Wiltsh. August. nuns.
30. St. Mary Chester, nuns.
30. St. Mary of Studley, Oxfordsh. nuns.
Feb. 12. St. Mary of Canon Leigh, Devonsh. nuns
Mar. 5. Cockhill, Worcestersh. August. nuns.
30. St. Bartholomew, Newcastle, nuns.
Apr. St. Mary of Wallingwells, Yorksh.

*The grants for these houses are all in the twenty-eighth year of the king, to be held in perpetuam elemosynam, and are enrolled in the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth parts of the Patent Rolls for that year.*

Sect. III.—*A List of all the Surrenders of Abbies, which are not extant in the Augmentation Office.*

Regni 27.

Nov. 13. Langden, Præmonst. signed by the abbot and 10 monks, com. Kent.

15. Folkeston, Benedict. the prior, Kent.
16. Dover, the prior, 8 monks, Kent.

Feb. 9. Merten, August. the prior, and 5 friers, Yorksh.
23. Hornby, Premonst. the prior and 2 monks.
28. Tilty, Cisterc. the abbot and 5 monks, Essex.
21. Bilsington, the prior and 2 monks, Kent.

*These are all enrolled Rot. Claus. Part 1st.*

Regni 28.

Apr. 9. Furnesse, the abbot and 30 monks, Lancashire.
June 1. Bermondsey, the abb. Surrey.
July 5. Bushlisham, Bp. of St. David's, Commendator, Berk.

*The originals of these two last are lost, but enrolled Rot. Claus. part 2d. Regn. 28.*

Regni 29.

May 10. Lanthony, August. the prior and 21 monks, Gloucestersh.
29. Abbington, Bened. the abbot and 25 monks, Berksh.
June 10. Charterhouse, the prior, London.
July 6. Chertsey, the abbot and 14 monks.
Dec. 4. Wardon, Cisterc. the abbot and 14 monks, Bedfordsh.
5. St. Austin's Canterbury, the abbey seal.
Jan. 14. Westacre, August. the prior and 8 monks, Norfolk.
Feb. 1. Kingswood, Cisterc. Gloucestersh. the abbot and 13 monks.
5. Coxhall, Cisterc. the abbot, Essex.
Mar. 2. St. Andrew, Bened. Northampton, the prior and 12 friars.
6. Holmcultrin, the abbot and 25 monks, Cumberland.
.. Butley, August. the Commend. and 8 monks, Suffolk.
8. Stradford-Langthorn, Cisterc. the abbot and 14 monks, Essex.
Apr. 7. Southwick, August. Hampsh.
14. Kennelworth, Bened. the prior and 16 monks, Warwicksh.
16. Merton, August. the abbot and 14 monks, Surrey.
16. Pont-Robert, Cisterc. the abbot and 8 monks, Sussex.
17. Belloloco, Cisterc. the abbot and 19 monks, Hampshire.

*Besides these, the following Surrenders are enrolled:*

Nov. 16. Lewes, Cluniac, Sussex, the prior.
22. Castle-Acre, Cluniac. Norfolk, the prior.
Dec. 18. Titchfield, Præmonst. the Commend. Southamptonsh.
Jan. 3. Muchelling, Bened. Sommersetsh. the abbot.
26. Boxley, Cisterc. Kent, the abbot.
Mar. 22. Walden, Bened. Essex, the Bpp. Suffr. of Colchester, Commend.

*Almost all these Abbies were above the value of two hundred pound, so that they were not within the Statute for suppressing the lesser Abbies, but the Abbots were prevailed on by other motives to surrender their houses to the king.*

Regni 30.

May 27. Batle, Bened. Sussex, the abbot and 16 monks.
June 14. Thurgarton, August. Yorksh. the prior and 8 frat.
19. Bushlisham, Bened. Berksh. the abbot and 15 monks.
June 23. Axiholm, Carthus. Lincolnsh. the prior and 8 monks.
23. Rupa. Cisterc. Yorksh. the abbot and 17 monks.
20. Walbeck, Præmonst. Nottingsh. the abbot and 18 monks.
July 11. Huntingdon Canons, Aug. the prior and 8 can.
14. Lincoln, Gilbertines, the prior and 15 monks.
8. Feversham, Cluniac. Kent, the abbot and 8 monks.
17. Bordesley, Cisterc. Worcestersh. the abbot and 19 monks.
27. Cumbermore, August. Chesh. the abbot.
30. St. Austin's, Canterb. Bened. the abbot and 30 monks.
Aug. 25. St. James, Northamptonsh. Bened. the abbot elect and 5 monks.
Sep. 1. Fordham, Gilbertines, Cambridgesh. the prior and 3 frat.
3. Chateras, black nuns, Cambridgsh. the abbess and 10 nuns.
7. Val-royal, Chesh. the abbot and 14 monks.
8. Croxton, Præmonst. Leicestersh. the abbot and 22 monks.
9. Haughmond, Canons, Shropsh. the abbot and 10 monks.
14. Tudburry, Bened. Staffordsh. the prior and 8 monks.
16. De-la-pray, no subscriptions, only the common seal.
16. Rostiter, August. Staffordsh. the abbot and 8 monks.
17. Crockesden, Cisterc. Staffordsh. the abbot and 12 monks.
18. Hilton, Cisterc. Staffordsh. the abbot and 8 monks.
18. Semperingham *, Gilbertines, the prior and 8 monks.
20. Sulby, Præmonst. Northamptonsh. the abbot and 11 mon.
24. Haberholm, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the prior and 6 canons.
25. Betlesden, Cisterc. Bedfordsh. abbot and 11 monks.
25. Cately, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the prior.
26. Bolington, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the prior and 9 monks.
26. Thelsford, the Holy Trinity, Warwicksh. prior and 3 monks.
27. Sixhill, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the Commend. and 8 monks.
27. Thetford, August. Norfolk, the prior.
29. Alvinghame, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the prior and 27 monks.
30. Ormesby, Gilb. the prior and 6 frat.
30. Linn { Carmelites, } the prior and 10 frat.
Linn { Dominicans, } the prior and 11 frat.
Linn { August. } Norfolk. the prior and 14 frat.
Oct. 1. Linn, Francisc. the Warden and frat.
1. Ailesbury, Francisc. Buckinghamsh. the warden and 6 frat.
1. Coventry, Carm. Warwicksh. the prior and 13 frat.
2. Newstead Gilb. the prior and 5 monks.
3. Mattersey, Gilb. the prior and 4 monks.
5. Coventry, Franc. warden and 10 frat.
5. Marmond, Cannons, Cambridgsh. the prior and 1 monk.

* In the houses of this order there were cloisters for both sexes. St. Gilbert L. of Semperingham founded it: the Bpp. of Landaff was at this time Commendator of the whole order.



Oct. 6. Stamford, August. Lincolnsh. the prior and 5 frat.
7. Stamford, Dominic. the prior and 9 frat.
9. Grinsbey, Francisc. Lincolnsh. the prior and 5 frat.
13. Miravel, Cisterc. Warwicksh. the abbot and 9 monks.
15. Shouldham, Gilb. Norfolk, the prior, 9 monks, 7 nuns.
16. Braywood, Black-Nuns, Staffordsh. the prioress.
16. Lilleshull, August. Shropsh. the abbot and 10 monks.
16. Stafford, August. the prior and 5 monks.
16. Northampton, Dominic. the prior and 7 frat.
17. Northallerton, Carmel, Yorksh. the prior and 9 frat.
20. Warwick, Dominic. the prior and 6 frat.
20. Northampton, Carmel. the prior and 8 frat.
20. Weatheral, Dominic. Cumberland, the prior.
22. Chicksand, Gilb. Bedfordsh. the prior, 6 monks, 18 nuns.
22. Darley, August. Derbysh. the abbot and 13 monks.
24. Dale, Premonst. Derbysh. the abbot and 16 monks.
25. Repton, August. Derbysh. the subprior and 8 monks.
27. Grace-Dieu, August. Nuns, Leicestersh. the prioress.
28. Northampton, Francisc. the warden and 10 frat.
28. Northampton, August. the prior and 9 frat.
29. Mallen Nuns, Kent, the abbess and 10 nuns.
Nov. 1. Bardeny, Bened. Lincolnsh. the abbot and 13 monks.
8. Barnwell, August. Can. Cambridgsh. the prior and 6 monks.
10. Leicester, Francis. the warden and 7. frat.
10. Dominic. the prior.
10. August. the prior.
10. London, Dominic. the Bp. of Rochest. Commend. and 15 frat.
12. August. the prior and 12 frat.
12. Francis. the warden and 25 frat.
13. Cross-Friars, 6 frat.
13. Doncaster, Carm. Yorksh. the prior and 6 friars.
14. Werksop, August. Nottingsh. the prior and 15 friars.
15. Pipewell, Lincolnsh. the abbot and 13 monks.
18. Wigemore, Herefordsh. the Commend. and 10 friars.
18. York, August. the prior and 7 friars.
20. Doncaster, Francisc. Guardian, 6 friars, 3 novices.
21. Monkbreton, Bened. Yorksh. the prior and 13 monks.
25. St. Helens London, a Nunnery, no hands, only the seal.
26. Pomfret, Dominic. Yorksh. the prior, 7 friars, 1 novice.
27. York, Carmel. the prior, 9 friars, 3 novices.
27. Francisc. the Guardian, 15 friars, 5 novices.
27. Dominic. the prior, 6 friars, 4 novices.
28. Gilbertines, the prior, 3 monks.
28. August. the prior, 9 friars, 4 novices.
30. Bellalanda, Cisterc. Yorksh. the abbot and 24 monks.
30. Dunnington, the Order of the Trinity, Berksh. the minister.

Dec. 3. Ryeval, Cisterc. Yorksh. the abbot and 23 monks.
5. St. Albans, Bened. Herfordsh. the abbot and 37 monks.
4. Ansham, Bened. Oxfordsh. the prior and 8 monks.
8. Kirkham, August. Yorksh. the prior and 17 friars.
9. Notely—Yorksh. the abbot and 17 monks.
11. Ellerton, Gilber. Yorksh. the prior and 4 friars.
York, the H. Trin. the minister and 10 priests.
Yarom, Dominic. the prior, and 5 friars, 6 novices.
Jan. 3. Darby, Dominic. the prior and 5 friars.
6. Semperingham, Gilber. the Commend. and 3 monks.
9. Newcastle, Francisc. the warden, with 8 friars, and 2 novices.
9. Newcastle, August.
10. Newcastle, Dominic. the prior, and 12 friars.
10. Newcastle, Carmel. the prior, 7 friars, and 2 novices.
10. Walknell, Newcastle, H. Trin. the prior.
12. Tinmouth, Bened. Northumberl. prior, 15 prebend. 3 Nov.
15. Warwick, Bened. the prior and 12 monks.
16. Coventry, Carthus. the prior, and 7 monks.
17. York, August. the prior, and 17 fellows.
18. Brednestock, Wiltsh. the prior, and 13 monks.
19. Richmond, Yorksh. Francis. the prior and 14 friars.
21. Lacock, Wiltsh. Nunnery, the abbess.
21. Come, Warwicksh. Cisterc. the quondam abbot, 13 monks.
23. Kenisham, Somersetsh. August. the abbot and 10 monks.
29. Bolton, Yorksh. August. the prior and 14 friars.
29. Cockersand, Lanksh. Premons. the abbot and 22 monks.
31. Pollsworth, Warwicksh. Nunnery, no hands, only the seal.
Feb. 5. Nottingham, Carmel. the prior and 6 friars.
5. Francisc. the prior and 7 friars.
8. Athelny, Somersetsh. Bened. the abbot and 8 monks.
10. Taunton, Somersetsh. August. the prior and 12 monks.
10. Buckland, Somersetsh. Nunnery, the prioress.
12. Dunkeswell, Somersetsh. Cisterc.
14. Polleslow, Devonsh. Nunnery, the prioress.
15. Witham, Somersetsh. Carthus. the prior and 12 monks.
19. Busham, Devonsh.
19. Cannonleigh, Devonsh. Nunnery, no hands but the seal.
21. Hartland, Devonsh. August. the abbot and 4 monks.
23. Torry, Premonst. Devonsh. the abbot and 15 monks.
24. Launceston, Cornwall, August. the prior and 8 monks.
25. Buckfast, Devonsh. Cister. the abbot, with 10 monks.
27. Buckland, Devonsh. Cister. the abbot.
27. Bodmyn, Cornwall, August. the prior and 8 monks.
28. Edingdon, Wiltsh. August. the rector and 12 monks.

Mar. 1. Plimptone, Canons, August. Devonsh. the prior and 18 monks.
2. St. Germans, Can. August, Cornwall, the prior and 7 monks.
8. Ford, Cister. Devon. the abbot and 13 monks.
11. Midleton, Bened. Devonsh. abbot and bp. Suff. of Shaft. 12 monks.
12. Abbotsbury, Bened. Dorsetsh. the prior and 10 monks.
13. Tarent, Nunnery, Dorsetsh. the abbess and 18 nuns.
14. Bindon, Cisterc. Dorsetsh. the abbot and 7 monks.
15. Cerne, Bened. Dorsetsh. the abbot and 16 monks.
18. Sherburne, Bened. Dorsetsh. the abbot and 16 monks.
20. Montecute, Cluniac. Sommer.sh. the abbot and 13 monks.
20. Tavenstock, Bened. Sommer.sh. the abbot and 20 monks.
23. Shaftsbury Nunnery, Dorsetsh. the abbess.
25. Willton Nunnery, Wiltsh. the abbess.
31. Hinton, Carthus. Sommersetsh. the prior and 19 monks.

April 1. Brutton Cannons-August. Somer.sh. the abbot and 14 monks.
Hide, Bened. Hampsh. Bp. Bangor Commend. and Mon. in April, but no date.

*Without date there are four.*

Franciscans Cambr. the guardian and 23 frat.
Dominicans Cambr. the prior and 15 fr.
Thetford Dominic. the prior.
Sancta Maria de Pratis, the abbot and 19 monks.

*Hospitals resigned this year.*

July 25. St. Thomas Southwark, the master and one brother.

Feb. 3. St. John Wells, the master and 3 brothers.
3. Bridgwater, the master and 7 brothers.
20. St. John Exon, the master and 2 brothers.

*All the former resignations have the Covent Seals put to them, except those of some few Houses of Begging Friars, which perhaps had no Seals; they are also enrolled in the 1st, 2d, 3d and 5th Claus. Rolls of that year. There are likewise some few more enrolled, of which the Originals are lost, which follow.*

June 9. Hales-Owen, Premonst. Sallop. the abbot.
Aug. 22. Clattercott. Gilbert. the prior.
Oct. 3. Bedford, Francis. the warden.
8. Stamford, Francis. the warden.
20. Derleyghs, Cisterc. Staffordsh. the abbot.
Nov. 5. Pipeldeth, Cisterc. Northam.sh. the abbot.
Dec. 16. De-la-pray Nunnery, Northam.sh. the abbess.
20. Northallerton. Carmel. Yorksh. the prior.
Jan. 16. Pulton Gilbert. the prior.
22. Newburg, August. Yorksh.
27. Bath Cathedral, Bened.
Feb. 17. Brusyard Nunnery, Suffolk, the abbess.
Mar. 8. Newham, Cisterc. Devonsh. the abbot.

*Here follow the Resignations made in the 31 year of the King's Reign, of which the Originals are yet extant.*

July 6. Kimme Can. August. Lincolnsh. the prior and 9 monks.
8. Bevoll Carthus. Notting.sh. the prior and 7 monks.
9. Irthforth Nunnery, Lincolnsh. the prioress and 17 nuns.
11. Nuncotton Nunnery, Yorksh. without subscriptions.
11. Hynings Nunnery, Lincolnsh. no subscriptions.
July 11. Fosse Nunnery, Lincolnsh. the prioress.
21. Newstead Premonst. Notting.sh. the prior and 11 monks.
28. St. Osith. Can. August. Essex. the abbot and 16 monks.

Aug. 26. Elistu Nunnery, Bedfordsh. the abbess.
31. Hamond, a commission to the Bp. of Chester to take the surrender of it.

Sep. 3. Swine Nunnery, Yorksh. no subscriptions.
9. Haughmond Can. August. Sallop. the abbot and 10 monks.
10. Nunnkeling Nunnery, Yorksh. no subscription but the seal.
12. Nunniton Nunnery, the prioress, 27 crosses for subscript.
15. Ulnescroft, Leicestersh. the prior and 11 friars.
15. Marrick Nunnery, Yorksh. the prioress.
19. Burnham Nunnery, Bucks, the abbess and 9 nuns.

Oct. 25. St. Bartholomew Smithfield. the prior.
Nov. 4. Edmundsbury Bened. Suffolk, the abbot and 44 monks.
7. A commission for the surrender of St. Allborrough, Chesh.
14. Berkin Nunnery, Essex, the abbess.
16. Tame, Oxfordsh. Bp. *Reonen. and 16 monks.
17. Osney, *ibid. id.* and 12 monks.
17. Godstow Nunnery, Oxfordsh. subscribed by a notary.
19. Studley Nunnery, Oxfordsh. signed as the former.

Feb. 16. Thelsford, Norfolk, the prior and 13 monks.
Jan. 16. Westminster Bened. the abbot and 27 monks.
20. A commission to the archbpp. of Canterb. for taking the surrender of Christ's-church Canterb.
20. And another for the surrender of Rochester, both dated.
23. Waltham Benedict. Essex, the abbot and 17 monks.
St. Mary Watte, Gilber. Bpp. of Landaffe Commend. 8 friars and 14 nuns.

*There is also in the Augmentation-Office, a Book concerning the Resignations and Suppressions of the following Monasteries.*

Nov. 15. St. Swithins Winchester.
17. St. Mary Winchester.
21. Wherewell, Hampshire.
28. Christ's church, Twinham, the commendator thereof is called *Episcopus Neopolitanus.*

Dec. 3. Winchelcomb.
4. Ambrose Bury.
9. St. Austins, near Bristol.
9. Billesswick, near Bristol.
15. Malmesbury.
19. Cirencester.
24. Hales.

Jan. 2. St. Peter's, Gloucester.
9. Teuksbury.

*There are also several other Deeds enrolled, which follow.*

Oct. 14. St. Mary-Overhay, in Southwark.
Nov. 9. St. Michael, near Kingston upon Hull, Carthus.
11. Burton upon Trent. Staffordsh.
19. Hampol Nunnery, Yorksh.
20. St. Oswald, Yorksh.
22. Kirkstall, Yorksh.
23. Pomfret, Yorksh.
24. Kirkelles, Yorksh.
26. Ardyngton, Yorksh.

* Perhaps Roanen. King, Abbot of Osnay, had the title *Episcopus Roanansis.*—STRYPE'S CORRECTIONS.



Nov. 26. Fountains, Yorksh.
29. St. Mary York.
Dec. 1. St. Leonard York.
5. Nunnapleton Nunnery, Yorksh.
6. St. Gelmans Selbe, Yorksh.
11. Melsey, Yorksh.
11. Malton, Yorksh.
14. Whitby, Yorksh.
18. Albalanda, Northumb.
18. Montgrasse Carthus. Yorksh.
22. Alnewick Premonstrat. Northumb.
22. Gisburne August. Yorksh.
29. Newshame, Dunelme.
31. St. Cuthberts Cathedral of Duresme.
Jan. 3. St. Bartholomew Nunnery, in Newcastle.
5. Egleliston, Richmondsh.
9. St. Mary Carlile, Cumber.
14. Hoppa Premonst. Westmorland.
20. St. Werburg, Chester.
21. St. Mary Chester, a Nunnery.
24. St. Peters Shrewsbury.
26. St. Milburg Winlock, Salop.

Sect. IV.

It seems there was generally a confession made with the surrender: of these some few are yet extant, though undoubtedly great care was taken to destroy as many as could be in queen Mary's time. That long and full one made by the prior of St. Andrews in Northampton, the preamble whereof is printed by Fuller, and is at large printed by Weaver, is yet preserved in the Augmentation-office. There are some few more also extant: six of these I have seen, one of them follows:—

Forasmuch as we Richard Green, abbot of our monastery of our blessed Lady St. Mary of Betlesden, and the convent of the said monastery, do profoundly consider, That the whole manner and trade of living, which we and our pretensed religion have practised, and used many days, does most principally consist in certain dumb ceremonies, and other certain constitutions of the bishops of Rome, and other forinsecal potentates, as the abbot of Cistins, and therein only noseled, and not taught in the true knowledge of God's laws, procuring always exemptions of the bishops of Rome from our ordinaries and diocesans: submitting ourselves principally to forinsecal potentates and powers, which never came here to reform such disorders of living and abuses, as now have been found to have reigned amongst us. And therefore now assuredly knowing, that the most perfect way of living is most principally and sufficiently declared unto us by our master Christ, his evangelists and apostles, and that it is most expedient for us to be governed and ordered by our Supreme Head, under God, the king's most noble grace, with our mutual assent and consent, submit ourselves, and every one of us, to the most benign mercy of the king's majesty; and by these presents do surrender, &c.

*The Surrender follows in common form, signed by the Abbot, Sub-prior, and 9 Monks, 25 Septemb. Regni 30.*

There are others to the same purpose signed by the guardian and seven Franciscans at Alisbury, the 1st of October. By the Franciscans at Bedford the 3d of October. The Franciscans in Coventry the 5th of October. And the Franciscans in Stamford the 8th of October. And the Carmelites in Stamford on the same day, which I shall also insert, the former four agreeing to it.

Forasmuch as we the prior and friars of this house of Carmelites in Stamford, commonly called the white friars in Stamford, in the county of Lincoln, do profoundly consider that the perfection of Christian living doth not consist in some ceremonies, wearing of a white coat, disguising ourselves after strange fashions, dockying and becking, wearing scapulars and hoods, and other like papistical ceremonies, wherein we have been most principally practised and noseled in times past; but the very true way to please God, and to live a true Christian man, without all hypocrisy and feigned dissimulation, is sincerely declared to us by our master Christ, his evangelists, and apostles: being minded hereafter to follow the same, conforming ourself to the will and pleasure of our Supreme Head, under God, on earth, the king's majesty; and not to follow henceforth the superstitious traditions of any forinsecal potentate or power, with mutual assent and consent, do submit ourselves unto the mercy of our said sovereign lord, and with the like mutual assent and consent do surrender, &c. Signed by the prior and 6 friers.

Sect. V.—*Of the manner of suppressing the Monasteries after they were surrendered.*

THE reader will best understand this by the following account of the suppression of the monastery of Tewksbury, copied from a book that is in the Augmentation-office, which begins thus:—

The certificate of Robert Southwell, esquire, William Petre, Edward Kairne, and John London, doctors of law; John Aprice, John Kingsman, Richard Paulet, and William Bernars, esquires, commissioners assigned by the king's majesty, to take the surrenders of divers monasteries, by force of his grace's commission to them, 6, 5, 4, or 3 of them, in that behalf directed; bearing date at his highness's palace of Westminster, the 7th day of November in the 31 year of the reign of our most dread sovereign lord Henry VIII, by the grace of God, king of England, and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth immediately under Christ supreme head of the church of England, of all and singular their proceedings, as well in and of these monasteries by his majesty appointed to be altered, as of others to be dissolved, according to the tenour, purport, and effect of his grace's said commission; with instructions to them likewise delivered, as hereafter ensueth.

COM. GLOCESTER.

*Teuksbury late Monastery.*

Surrendered to the use of the king's majesty, and of his heirs and successors for ever made; bearing date under the covent-seal of the same late monastery, the 9th day of January, in the thirty-first year of the reign of our most dread victorious sovereign lord, king Henry VIII.: and the said day and year clearly dissolved and suppressed.

*The clear yearly value of all the Possessions belonging to said late Monastery.*

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| As well spiritual as temporal, over and besides 136*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* in fees, annuities and custodies, granted to divers persons by letters patents under the covent-seal of the said late monastery for the term of their lives . . | 1595 | 15 | 6 |

*Pensions assigned to the late Religious dispatched: that is to say, to*

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| John Witch late abbot there | 266 | 13 | 4 |
| John Beley late prior there | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Bromesgrove late prior of Delebarst . . | 13 | 6 | 8 |
| Robert Circester prior of St. James . . . | 13 | 6 | 8 |
| Will. Didcote prior of Cranborne | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Cheltenhem B. D. . | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Two monks 8*l.* a piece . | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| One monk . . . | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| 27 monks 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each . | 180 | 0 | 0 |
| | 551 | 6 | 8 |
| And so remains clear | 1044 | 8 | 10 |

*Records and Evidences belonging to the late Monastery.*

Remains in the treasury there under the custody of John Whittington, knight, the keys whereof being delivered to Richard Paulet, receiver.

*Houses and Buildings assigned to remain undefaced.*

The lodging called the Newark, leading from the gate to the late abbot's lodging, with buttery, pantry, cellar, kitching, larder, and pastry thereto adjoining. The late abbot's lodging, the hostery, the great gate entering into the court, with the lodging over the same; the abbot's stable, bakehouse, brewhouse and slaughter-house, the almry, barn, dairyhouse, the great barn next Aven, the maltinghouse, with the garnees in the same, the oxhouse in the Barton, the Barton-gate, and the lodging over the same.

Committed to the custody of John Whittington, knight.

*Decayed and superfluous.*

The church, with chappels, cloister, chapter-house, misericord, the two dormitories, the infirmary, with chappels and lodgings within the same; the work-hay, with another house adjoining to the same, the covent-kitching, the library, the old hosteory, the chamberers lodging, the new-hall, the old parlour adjoining to the abbot's lodging; the cellarers lodging, the poultry-house, the gardener, the almary, and all other houses and lodgings not above reserved.

Committed as above said.

*Leads remaining thereon.*

The quire, iles, and chappels annext the cloister chapter-houser, frater, Saint Michaels chappel, halls, fermory, and gate-house, esteemed to . 180 foder.

*Bells remaining.*

In the steeple there are eight poize by estimation . . . 14600 weight.

*Jewels reserved to the use of the Kings Majesty.*

Miters garnished with gilt, rugged pearls, and counterfeit stones . 2

*Plate of silver reserved to the same use.*

Silver gilt 329 oz.—silver parrel gilt 605—silver white 497——1431 oz.

*Ornaments reserved to the said use.*

One cope of silver tissue, with one clesible, and one tunicle of the same; one cope of gold tissue, with one cles. and two tunicles of the same.

*Sum of all the Ornaments, Goods, and Chattels belonging to the said late Monastery.*

Sold by the said commissioners, as in a particular book of sales thereof made ready to be shewed, as more at large may appear . . £194 8*s.* 0*d.*

*Payments to the late Religious and Servants dispatcht.*

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To 38 late religious persons of the said late monastery of the king's mat. reward | 80 | 13 | 4 |
| To an 144 late servants of the said late monastery, for their wages and liveries . | 75 | 10 | 0 |
| *Payments for Debts owing by the said late Monastery.* | | | |
| To divers persons for victuals and necessaries of them had to the use of the said monastery, with 10*l.* paied to the late abbot there, for and in full payment of 124*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* by him to be paid to certain creditors of the said late monastery, by covenants made with the aforesaid commissioners . . | 18 | 12 | 0 |
| | 174 | 15 | 4 |
| And so remains clear | 19 | 12 | 8 |

*Then follows a List of some small Debts owing to and by the said Monastery.*

*Then follows a List of the Livings in their Gift.*

Com. Glocest. Four parsonages and ten vicarages.
Com. Wigorn. Two parsonages and two vicarages.
Com. Warwic. Two parsonages.
Com. Will. Bristol. Five parsonages and one vicarage.
Com. Wilts. Two vicarages.
Com. Oxon. One parsonage and two vicarages.
Com. Dors. Four parsonages and two vicarages.
Com. Sommers. Three parsonages.
Com. Devon. One vicarage.
Com. Corub. Two vicarages.
Com. Glamorg. and Morgan. Five vicarages.
In all twenty-one parsonages and twenty-seven vicarages.

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IV.—*Queen Ann Boleyn's last Letter to King Henry.*

[Cotton. Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

SIR,

Your grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy. I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Ann Boleyn, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God, and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me, from a low estate, to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife and the infant-princess your daughter: try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see, either mine innocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection, already settled, on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto: your grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness; then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burthen of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Ann Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble your grace any further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower this 6th of May,

Your most loyal and ever faithful wife,

ANN BOLEYN.

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V.—*The Judgment of the Convocation concerning General-Councils. Published by the L. Herbert from the Original.*

As concerning general councils, like as we (taught by long experience) do perfectly know that there never was, nor is, anything devised, invented, or instituted by our forefathers more expedient or more necessary for the establishment of our faith, for the extirpation of heresies, and the abolishing of sects and schisms; and finally, for the reducing of Christ's people unto one perfect unity and concord in his religion, than by the having of general councils. So that the same be lawfully had and congregated in *Spiritu Sancto*, and be also conform and agreeable, as well concerning the surety and indifferency of the places, as all other points requisite and necessary for the same, unto that wholesome and godly institution and usage, for the which they were at first devised and used in the primitive church. Even so on the other side, taught by like experience, we esteem, repute, and judge, that there is, ne can be, anything in the world more pestilent and pernicious to the common-weal of Christendom, or whereby the truth of God's word hath in times past, or hereafter may be sooner defaced or subverted, or whereof hath and may ensue more contention, more discord and other devilish effects, than when such general councils have or shall be assembled, not christianly nor charitably, but for and upon private malice and ambition, or other worldly and carnal respects and considerations, according to the saying of Gregory Nazianzenus, in his epistle to one Procopius, wherein he writeth this sentence following; *Sic sentio, si verum scribendum est, omnes Conventus Episcoporum fugiendos esse, quia nullius Synodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem magis solutionem malorum, quam incrementum: Nam cupiditates contentionum, et gloria (sed ne putes me odiosum ista scribentem) vincunt rationem.* That is to say, "I think this, if I should write truly, that all general councils be to be eschewed, for I never saw that they produced any good end or effect, nor that any provision or remedy, but rather increase of mischiefs proceeded of them. For the desire of maintenance of men's opinions and ambition of glory (but reckon not that I write this of malice) hath always in them overcomed reason." Wherefore we think that Christian princes, especially and above all things, ought and must, with all their wills, power, and diligence, foresee and provide; *Ne Sanctissima hac in parte majorum Instituta, ad improbissimos ambitionis aut malitiæ effectus explendos, diversissimo suo fine et sceleratissimo pervertantur: Neve ad alium prætextum possint valere, et longe diversum effectum orbi producere quam Sanctissima rei facies præ se ferat.* That is to say, "Lest the most noble wholesome institutions of our elders in this behalf be perverted to a most contrary and most wicked end and effect; that is to say, to fulfil and satisfy the wicked affections of men's ambition and malice; or, lest they might prevail for any other colour, or bring forth any other effect than their most virtuous and laudable countenance doth outwardly to the world show or pretend." And first of all, we think that they ought principally to consider who hath the authority to call together a general council. Secondly, whether the causes alleged be so weighty and so urgent, that necessarily they require a general council, nor can otherwise be remedied. Thirdly, who ought to be judges in the general council. Fourthly, what order of proceeding is to be observed in the same, and how the opinions or judgments of the fathers are to be consulted or asked. Fifthly, what doctrines are to be allowed or defended, with divers other things which in general councils ought of reason and equity to be observed. And as unto the first point, we think that neither the bishop of Rome, nor any one prince, of what estate, degree, or pre-eminence soever he be, may by his own authority, call, indict, or summon any general council without the express consent, assent, and agreement of the residue of Christian princes, and especially such as have within their own realms and seigniories, *Imperium merum*, that is to say, of such as have the whole, entire, and supreme government and authority over all their subjects, without knowledging or recognising of any other supreme power or authority. And this to be true, we be induced to think, by many and sundry, as well examples as great reasons and authority. The which, forasmuch as it should be over-long and tedious to express here particularly, we have thought good to omit the same for this present. And in witness that this is our plain and determinate sentence, opinion, and judgment, touching the premises, we the prelates and clergy under-written, being congregate together in the convocation of the province of Canterbury, and representing the whole clergy of the same, have to these presents subscribed our names the 20th of July, in the year of our Lord 1536, 28 Hen. 8.

Signed by THOMAS CROMWEL, THOMAS CANTUARIENSIS, JOHANNES LONDON, with thirteen bishops and of abbots, priors, archdeacons, deans, proctors, clerks, and other ministers, forty-nine.

*There were then but seventeen bishops in the province of Canterbury, and Rochester being vacant of the other sixteen, fourteen did sign this.*

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VI.—*Instructions for the King's Commissioners, for a new Survey and an Inventory to be made of all the Demesnes, Lands, Goods, and Chattels, appertaining to any House of Religion of Monks, Canons, and Nuns, within their Commission, according to the Articles hereafter following. The number of which Houses in every County limited in their Commission, being annexed to the said Commission. An Original.*

[Ex MSS. Nob. D. G. Pierpoint.]

HENRY R.

FIRST, After the division made, one auditor, one particular receiver, one clerk of the register of the last visitation, with three other discreet persons to be named by the king in every county where any such houses be; after their repair to such house, shall declare to the governor and religious persons of the same

the statute of dissolution, the commission, and the cause and purpose of their repair for that time.

*Item*, That after the declaration made, the said commissioners shall swear the governors of the houses, or such other the officers of the same house, or other, as ye shall think can best declare the state and plight of the same, to make declaration and answer to the articles there under-written.

*Item*, Of what order, rule, or religion, the same house is, and whether it be a cell or not; and if it be a cell, then the commissioners to deliver to the governors of the house a privy seal, and also to enjoin him, in the king's name, under a great pain, to appear without delay before the chancellor of the augmentations of the revenues of the king's crown and the council; and in the mean time not to meddle with the same cell, till the king's pleasure be further known.

*Item*, What number of persons of religion be in the same, and the conversation of their lives, and how many of them be priests, and how many of them will go to other houses of that religion; or how many will take capacities; and how many servants or hinds the same house keepeth commonly, and what other persons have their living in the same house.

*Item*, To survey the quantity or value of the lead and bells of the same house, as near as they can, with the ruin, decay, state, and plight of the same.

*Item*, Incontinently to call for the covent-seal, with all writings and charters, evidences and muniments, concerning any of the possessions to be delivered to them, and put the same in sure keeping, and to take a just inventory betwixt them and the governor, or other head officer, by indenture, of the ornaments, plate, jewels, chattels, ready money, stuff of household, coin, as well signed as not signed, stock and store in the farmer's hands, and the value thereof, as near as they can, which were appertaining to the same houses the first day of March last past; and what debts the house doth owe, and to what person; and what debts be owing to them, and by whom.

*Item*, After, to cause the covent, or common-seal, the plate, jewels, and ready money, to be put in safe keeping, and the residue of the particulars specified in the inventory, to be left in the keeping of the governor or some other head officer, without wasting or consumption of the same, unless it be for necessary expense of the house.

*Item*, That they command the governor, or other receiver of the same house, to receive no rents of their farms until they know further of the king's pleasure, except such rents as must needs be had for their necessary food or sustenance, or for payment of their servants' wages.

*Item*, To survey discreetly the demesnes of the same house; that is to say, such as have not been commonly used to be letten out, and to certify the clear yearly value thereof.

*Item*, To examine the true yearly value of all the farms of the same house, deducting thereof rents reserved, pensions and portions paid out of the same, synodals, and proxies; bailiffs, receivers, stewards, and auditors' fees, and the names of them to whom they be paid and due, and to none other.

*Item*, What leases hath been made to any farmer, of the farms pertaining to the same house; and what rent they reserved, and to whom, and for how many years, and a copy of the indenture if they can get it, or else the counterpane.

*Item*. To search and inquire what woods, parks, forests, commons, or other profit belonging to any of the possessions of the same houses, the number of the acres, the age and value, as near as they can.

*Item*, What grants, bargains, sales, gifts, alienations, leases of any lands, tenements, woods, or offices, hath been made by any the said governors, of any of the said houses, within one year next before the 4th day of February last past, and of what things, or to what value, and to whom, and for what estate.

*Item*, If there be any house of the religion aforesaid omitted and not certified in the exchequer, then the said commissioners to survey the same, and to make certificate accordingly.

*Item*, That they straitly command every governor of every such house limited in their commission, to sow and till their grounds as they have done before, till the king's pleasure be further known.

*Item*, If there be any house given by the king to any person, in any of the said several limits of the said commission, the names whereof shall be declared to the said commissioners, then the said commissioners shall immediately take the covent from the governor, and take an inventory indented of the lead, bells, debts, goods, chattels, plate, jewels, ornaments, stock and store, to the king's use; and to make sale of the goods, chattels, and other implements, plate and jewels only excepted.

*Item*, The said commissioners in every such house, to send such of the religious persons that will remain in the same religion, to some other great house of that religion, by their discretion, with a letter to a governor for the receipt of them; and the residue of them that will go to the world, to send them to my lord of Canterbury and the lord chancellor for their capacities, with the letter of the same commissioners.

*Item*, The said commissioners to give the said persons that will have capacities, some reasonable rewards, according to the distance of the place, by their discretions to be appointed.

*Item*, The said commissioners to command the governor to resort to the chancellor of the augmentation for his yearly stipend and pension.

*Item*, If there be any house dissolved or given up to the king by their deed, then the commissioners shall order themselves in every point and purpose, as the houses given by the king to any other person in form aforesaid.

*Item*, Every of the said commissioners having in charge to survey more than one shire within the limits of their commission, immediately after they have perused one shire, parcel of their charge, in form aforesaid, shall send to the chancellor of the court for the augmentation of the revenues of the king's crown, a brief certificate of all these comperts, according to the instructions aforesaid, what they have done in the premises, and in every county so surveyed, then to proceed further to another county; and so as they pass the said counties to make like certificate, and so forth, till their limits be surveyed, and there to remain till they know further of the king's pleasure.

*Item*. If the said commissioners have but one county in charge, then to certify the said chancellor in form aforesaid, and there to remain till they know further of the king's pleasure.

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### VII.—*Injunctions given by the Authority of the King's Highness to the Clergy of this Realm.*

[Register, Cranm. fol. 47.]

In the name of God, amen. In the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred thirty-six, and of the most noble reign of our sovereign lord, Henry the Eighth, king of England and France, the twenty-eighth year, and the day of I Thomas Cromwell knight, lord Cromwell, keeper of the privy seal of our said sovereign lord the king, and vicegerent unto the



same, for and concerning all his jurisdictions ecclesiastical within the realm, visiting by the king's highness's supreme authority ecclesiastical, the people and clergy of this deanery of by my trusty commissary lawfully deputed and constitute for this part, have, to the glory of Almighty God, to the king's highness's honour, the public weal of this his realm, and increase of virtue in the same, appointed and assigned these injunctions ensuing to be kept and observed, of the dean, parsons, vicars, curates, and stipendiaries, resiant or having cure of soul, or any other spiritual administrations within this deanery, under the pains hereafter limited and appointed.

The first is, that the dean, parsons, vicars, and other, having cure of soul anywhere within this deanery, shall faithfully keep and observe, and, as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be observed and kept of other, all and singular laws and statutes of this realm, made for the abolishing and extirpation of the bishop of Rome's pretensed and usurped power and jurisdiction within this realm. And for the establishment and confirmation of the king's authority and jurisdiction of the same, as of the supreme head of the church of England; and shall, to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, for the space of one quarter of a year next ensuing once every Sunday, and after that at the least-wise twice every quarter, in their sermons and other collations, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction, having no establishment nor ground by the law of God, was of most just causes taken away and abolished; and therefore they owe unto him no manner of obedience or subjection; and that the king's power is within his dominion the highest power and potentate, under God, to whom all men within the same dominions, by God's commandment, owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other powers and potentates in earth.

*Item*, Whereas certain articles were lately devised and put forth by the king's highness's authority, and condescended upon by the prelates and clergy of this his realm in convocation, whereof part are necessary to be holden and believed for our salvation, and the other part do concern and teach certain laudable ceremonies, rites, and usages of the church, meet and convenient to be kept and used for a decent and politic order in the same; the said dean, parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall so open and declare in their said sermons, and other collations, the said articles unto them that be under their cure, that they may plainly know and discern which of them be necessary to be believed and observed for their salvation, and which be not necessary, but only do concern the decent and politic order of the said church: according to such commandment and admonition as hath been given unto them heretofore, by authority of the king's highness in that behalf.

Moreover, that they shall declare unto all such as be under their cure, the articles likewise devised, put forth, and authorised of late, for and concerning the abrogation of certain superfluous holy-days, according to the effect and purport of the same articles: and persuade their parishioners to keep and observe the same inviolable, as things honestly provided, decreed, and established, by common consent and public authority, for the weal, commodity, and profit of all this realm.

Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy crept into divers men's hearts may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre: nor allure the people by any enticements to the pilgrimages of any saint otherwise than is permitted in the articles lately put forth by the authority of the king's majesty, and condescended upon by the prelates and clergy of this his realm in convocation; as though it were proper or peculiar to that saint to give this commodity or that: seeing all goodness, health, and grace, ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very author of the same, and of none other, for without him it cannot be given: but they shall exhort, as well their parishioners as other pilgrims, that they do rather apply themselves to the keeping of God's commandments, and fulfilling of his works of charity: persuading them that they shall please God more by the true exercising of their bodily labour, travail, or occupation, and providing for their families, than if they went about to the said pilgrimages; and that it shall profit more their souls' health if they do bestow that on the poor and needy which they would have bestowed upon the said images or relics.

Also in the same their sermons and other collations, the parsons, vicars, and other curates, aforesaid, shall diligently admonish the fathers and mothers, masters and governors of youth, being within their cure, to teach or cause to be taught their children and servants, even from their infancy, their *pater noster*, the articles of our faith, and the ten commandments, in their mother tongue: and the same so taught, shall cause the said youth oft to repeat and understand. And to the intent that this may be the more easily done, the said curates shall in their sermons deliberately and plainly recite of the said *pater noster* the articles of our faith, and the ten commandments, one clause or article one day, and another another day, till those be taught and learned by little; and shall deliver the same in writing, or show where printed books containing the same be to be sold to them that can read or will desire the same. And thereto that the said fathers and mothers, masters and governors, do bestow their children and servants, even from their childhood, either to learning or some other honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry: exhorting, counselling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their said sermons and collations as otherwise, persuading the said fathers, mothers, masters, and other governors, being under their cure and charge, diligently to provide and foresee that the said youth be in no manner-wise kept or brought up in idleness, lest at any time afterwards they be driven, for lack of some mystery or occupation to live by, to fall to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness; forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness, divers valiant men fall, some to begging, and some to theft and murder; which, after brought to calamity and misery, impute a great part thereof to their friends and governors which suffered them to be brought up so idly in their youth; where if they had been well educated and brought up in some good literature, occupation, or mystery, they should, being rulers of their own family, have profited as well themselves as divers other persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the common-weal.

Also, that the said parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall diligently provide that the sacraments and sacramentals be duly and reverently ministered in their parishes; and if at any time it happened them, either in any of the cases expressed in the statutes of this realm, or of special licence given by the king's majesty to be absent from their benefices, they shall leave their cure, not to a rude and unlearned person, but to an honest, well-learned, and expert curate, that may teach the rude and unlearned of their cure wholesome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way that do err; and always let them see, that neither they nor

their vicars do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the souls that they have under their cure or the glory of God.

*Item*, That every parson or proprietory of any parish church within this realm, shall on this side the feast St. Peter *ad vincula* next coming, provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin and also in English, and lay the same in the quire, for every man that will to read and look therein, and shall discourage no man from the reading any part of the Bible, either in Latin or in English; but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read the same as the very word of God, and the spiritual food of man's soul, whereby they may the better know the duties to God, to their sovereign lord the king, and their neighbour: ever gently and charitably exhorting that, using a sober and a modest haviour in the reading and inquisition of the true sense of the same, they do in no wise stiffly or eagerly contend or strive one with another about the same, but refer the declaration of those places that be in controversy to the judgment of them that be better learned.

Also, the said dean, parsons, vicars, curates, and other priests, shall in no wise, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any taverns or ale-houses; and after their dinner and supper, they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly, by day or by night, at tables or cards-playing, or any other unlawful game; but at such times as they shall have such leisure, they shall read or hear somewhat of Holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest exercise; and that they alway do those things which appertain to good congruence and honesty, with profit of the common-weal, having always in mind, that they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be examples to all other to live well and christianly.

Furthermore; because the goods of the church are called the goods of the poor, and in these days nothing is less seen than the poor to be sustained with the same; all parsons, vicars, pensionaries, prebendaries, and other beneficed men within the deanery, not being resident upon their benefices which may dispend yearly 20*l.* or above within this deanery, or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter yearly amongst their poor parishioners, or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the church-wardens, or some other honest men of the parish, the fortieth part of the fruits and revenues of the said benefices: lest they be worthily noted of ingratitude, which reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof amongst the poor people of that parish that is so fruitful and profitable unto them.

And to the intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more for the execution of the premises, every parson, vicar, clerk, or beneficed man within this deanery, having yearly to dispend in benefices and other promotions of the church, an 100*l.* shall give competent exhibition to one scholar; and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispend to so many scholars more, shall give like exhibition in the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar school; which after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their patron's cure and charge as well in preaching as otherwise in the execution of their offices; or may, when need shall be, otherwise profit the common-wealth with their counsel and wisdom.

Also, that all parsons, vicars, and clerks, having churches, chapels, or mansions within this deanery, shall bestow yearly hereafter upon the same mansions, or chancels of their churches being in decay, the fifth part of their benefices till they be fully repaired; and the same so repaired shall always keep and maintain in good state.

All which and singular injunctions shall be inviolably observed of the said dean, parsons, vicars, curates, stipendiaries, and other clerks and beneficed men, under the pain of suspension and sequestration of the fruits of their benefices, until they have done their duty according to these injunctions.

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### VIII.—*Cromwell's Letter to Sharton, bishop of Sarum, taken from a copy writ by Morison, his Secretary.*

[Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.]

My lord, after hearty commendations I cannot but both much marvel that you whom I have taken as my trusty friend should judge me, as I perceive by your letters you do, and also be glad that ye so frankly utter your stomach to me. I would thank you for your plain writing and free monitions, saving that you seem fuller of suspicion than it becometh a prelate of your sort to be: and (to say that maketh me more sorry) much worse persuaded of me than I thought any of your learning and judgment could have been. I took a matter out of your hands to mine; if upon considerations mine office bind me to do so, what cause have ye to complain? if I had done this either upon affection, or intending prejudice to your estimation, you might have expostulated with me; and yet if ye then had done it after a gentler sort, I should both sooner have amended that I did amiss, and also have had better cause to judge your writing to me to be of a friendly heart towards me. If ye be offended with my sharp letters, how can your testy words (I had almost given them another name) delight me? I required you to use no extremity in your office, *durus est hic sermo*, ye call it; and when ye have done, ye begin again, even as though all being said all were still behind. If ye have used none extremity, I am, I ensure you, as glad of it as I ought to be: and though ye do not, yet upon a complaint my office bindeth me to succour him that saith he is over-matched, and is compelled to sustain wrong. I was thus informed, and by persons to whom I gave more credit than I intend to do hereafter, if they have abused me as ye would make me believe they have. They thus complaining, could I do less than grant unto them such remedies as the king's highness and his laws give indifferently to all his subjects? Might I not also somewhat gather, that ye proceeded the sorer against the reader, Roger London, when I had seen how much you desired the preferment of your servant to that revenue? My lord, you had showed yourself of much more patience, I will not say of much more prudence, if ye had contented yourself with their lawful appeal, and my lawful injunctions; and rather have written somewhat fully to instruct us in this matter, than thus to desire to conquer me by shrewd words, to vanquish me by sharp threp of Scripture, which as I know to use travel, so I trust to God as great a clerk as ye be is done already. Thus out of their place it becometh me not, neither yet I am wont to vaunt myself of well-doing, I know who worketh all that is well wrought by me; and whereas he is the whole doer, I intend not to offer him this wrong to labour, and I to take the thanks; yet as I do not cease to give thanks that it hath pleased his goodness to use me as an instrument, and to work somewhat by me, so I trust I am as ready to serve him in my calling to my little power, as ye are pressed to write worse of me than ye ought to think. My prayer is, that God give me no longer life than I shall be glad to use mine office *in edificationem*, and not *in destructionem*, as ye bear me in hand I do. God, ye say, will judge such using of authority, meaning flatly, that I do abuse such power as hath pleased God and the king's highness to set me in; God, I say, will judge such judges as ye are, and charge all such thoughts as ye misuse: ye do not so well as I would ye should do, if ye so think of me as your letters make me think ye do. The crime that ye charge me withal, is greater than I may or ought to bear, untruer, I trust, than they that would fainest, shall be able to prove. It is a strange thing, you say, that I neither would write nor send you word by mouth, what ye should do with the popish monks of Abington; and that the abbot of Reading could get straightway my letters to inhibit your just doings: that was not my mind which I wrote, I did not intend to let your just doings, but rather to require you to do justly; neither I was swift in granting my letters to him, albeit I am much readier to help him that complains of wrong, than prest to further on him that desireth punishment of a person whom I am not sure hath offended. I made you no answer, a strange thing! my lord, I thought ye had better known my business than for such a matter to esteem me not your friend; you might have better judged that I was too much cumbered with other affairs, that those which sued for the abbot could better espy their time than you could. Some man will think it rather utter displeasure conceived before, than that ye have any urgent occasion here to misjudge my mind towards you. As concerning your manor you must use your privileges as things lent unto you, so long as ye shall occupy them well, that is according to the mind and pleasure of them that gave you them. I took neither the monk's cause, nor any other, into my hands to be a bearer of any such whom their upright dealings is not able to bear. No, you know I think that I love such readers of Scripture as little as ye do: would God men of your sort were as diligent to see that in all their dioceses good were made, as I am glad to remove things when I know them; if ye had taken even then but half the pains to send up such things against him as ye now send, neither you should have had cause, no nor occasion thus easily to divine of my good or evil will towards you, nor I have been cumbered with this answer. My lord, I pray you, while I am your friend, take me to be so; for if I were not, or if I knew any cause why I ought not, I would not be afraid to show you what had alienated my mind from you; so you should well perceive that my displeasure should last no longer than there were cause. I pass over your *Nemo læditur nisi a seipso*, I pray with you this first part, Our Lord have pity upon me; the other part is not in my prayers, That God should turn my heart, for he is my judge, I may err in my doings for want of knowledge, but I willingly bear no misdoers, I willingly hurt none whom honesty and the king's laws do not refuse. Undo not you yourself, I intend nothing less than to work you any displeasure. If hitherto I have showed you any pleasure, I am glad of it: I showed it to your qualities and not to you; if they tarry with you, my good-will cannot depart from you, except your prayer be heard, that is, My heart be turned. I assure you I am right glad ye are in the place ye are in, and will do what shall lie in me to aid you in your office to maintain your reputation, to give you credit among your flock, and elsewhere; as long as I shall see you faithful to your duty, according to your calling. I will not become your good lord, as your desire is; I am and have been your friend, and take you to be mine; cast out vain suspicion, let rash judgment rule men of less wit and discretion; wilfulness becometh all men better than a bishop, which should always teach us to lack gladly our own will, because you may not have your own will. Here is *Christus paup. facit et ditat, cum Dominus dedit et Dominus abstulit*, to what purpose? *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*, can never lack his place, it becometh alwise in season; or else as great a divine as ye are, I would say, it were not the best placed here, except you wist better, you had rather lose all than any part of your will. I pray you teach patience better in your deeds, or else speak as little of it as ye can. My lord, you might have provoked an other in my place, that would have used less patience with you, finding so little in you; but I can take your writings, and this heat off your stomach, even as well as I can, I trust, beware of flatterers. As for the abbot of Redding, and his monk, if I find them as ye say they are, I will order them as I shall think good; ye shall do well to do your duty; if you so do, ye have no cause to mistrust my friendship; if ye do not, I must tell it you, and that somewhat after the plainest sort: to take a cause out of your hands into mine, I do but mine office, you meddle further than your office will bear you thus roughly to handle me for using of mine. If ye do so no more, I let pass all that is past, and offer you such kindness as ye shall lawfully desire at my hands. Thus fare you well.

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### IX.—*The Sentence given out by Pope Paul the Third against King Henry.*

*Damnatio et Excommunicatio Henrici VIII. Regis Angliæ, ejusque Fautorum et Complicum, cum aliarum pœnarum adjectione.*

[Cherubini Bullarium, Tom. 2. pag. 704.]

Paulus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Ejus qui immobilis permanens sua providentia ordine mirabili dat cuncta moveri, disponente clementia, vices, licet immeriti gerentes in terris, et in sede justitiæ constituti, juxta prophetæ quoque Hieremiæ vaticinium dicentis: Ecce te constitui super gentes et Regna, ut evellas et destruas, ædifices, plantes, præcipuum super omnes Reges Universæ Terræ cunctosq; populos obtinentes principatum: ac illum qui pius et misericors est, et vindictam ei qui illam prævenit paratam temperat, nec quos impœnitentes videt severa ultione castigat, quin prius comminetur, in assidue autem peccantes et in peccatis perseverantes, cum excessus misericordiæ fines prætereunt, ut saltem metu pœnæ ad cor reverti cogantur, justitiæ vires exercet, imitantes: ex incumbenti nobis Apostolicæ sollicitudinis studio per-urgemur, ut cunctarum personarum nostræ curæ cælitus commissarum salubri statui solertius intendamus, ac erroribus et scandalis, quæ Hostis antiqui versutia imminere conspicimus, propensius obviemus, excessusq; et enormia ac scandalosa crimina congrua severitate coerceamus, et juxta Apostolum inobedientiam ovium promptius ulciscendo, illorum perpetratores debita correctione sic compescamus, quod eos Dei iram provocasse pœniteat, et ex hoc aliis exemplum cautelæ salutaris accedat.

Sane cum superioribus diebus nobis relatum fuisset, quod Henricus Angliæ Rex, licet tempore Pontificatus fæl. record. Leonis Papæ X. Prædecessoris nostri diversorum hæreticorum errores, sæpe ab Apostolica Sede et Sacris Conciliis præteritis temporibus damnatos, et novissime nostra ætate per perditionis alumnum Martinum Lutherum suscitatos et innovatos, zelo Catholicæ Fidei, et erga dictam Sedem devotionis fervore inductus, non minus docte quam pie, per quendam librum per eum desuper compositum, et eidem Leoni Prædecessori ut eum examinaret et approbaret obla-

tum, confutasset, ob quod ad eodem Leone Prædecessore ultra dicti libri, cum magna ipsius Henrici Regis laude et commendatione, approbationem, titulum Defensoris Fidei reportaverit, a recta Fide et Apostolico tramite devians, ac propriæ salutis, famæ, et honoris immemor, postquam Charissima in Christo Filia nostra Catharina Angliæ Regina illustri sua progenie conjuge, cum qua publice in facie Ecclesiæ Matrimonium contraxerat, et per plures annos continuaverat, ac ex qua, dicto constante Matrimonio, prolem pluries suscepe-rat; nulla legitima subsistente causa, et contra Ecclesiæ prohibitionem dimissa, cum quadam Anna Bolena, Muliere Anglica, dicta Catharina adhuc vivente, de facto Matrimonium contraxerat, ad deteriora prosiliens, quasdam leges ceu generales Constitutiones edere non erubuit, per quas subditos suos ad quosdam hæreticos et schismaticos Articulos tenendos, inter quos et hoc erat quod Romanus Pontifex Caput Ecclesiæ, et Christi Vicarius non erat, et quod ipse in Anglica Ecclesia supremum Caput existebat, sub gravibus etiam mortis pœnis cogebat. Et his non contentus, Diabolo sacrilegii crimen suadente, quamplures Prælatos, etiam Episcopos, aliasq; personas Ecclesiasticas, etiam Regulares, necnon Sæculares, sibi ut hæretico et schismatico adhærere, ac Articulos prædictos Sanctorum Patrum decretis et Sacrorum Conciliorum Statutis, imo etiam ipsi Evangelicæ veritati contrarios, tanquam tales alios damnatos approbare, et sequi nolentes, et intrepide recusantes, capi et carceribus mancipari. Hisq; similiter non contentus, mala malis accumulando, bonæ memoriæ Jo. H. S. Vitalis Presbyt. Cardinal. Roffen. quem ob fidei constantiam et vitæ Sanctimoniam ad Cardinalatus dignitatem promoveramus, cum dictis hæresibus et erroribus consentire nollet, horenda immanitate et detestanda sævitia, publice miserabili supplicio tradi et decollari mandaverat, et fecerat, Excommunicationis, et Anathematis, aliasq; gravissimas sententias, censuras, et pœnas in literis et constitutionibus recolendæ mem. Bonifacii VIII. Honorii III. Roman. Pontificum prædecessorum nostrorum desuper editis contentas, et alias in tales a jure latas damnabiliter incurrendo, ac Regno Angliæ, et dominiis quæ tenebat, necnon regalis fastigii celsitudine ac præfati tituli prærogativa, et honore se indignum reddendo.

2. Nos licet ex eo, quod prout non ignorabamus, idem Henricus Rex certis censuris Ecclesiasticis, quibus a piæ memoriæ Clemente Papa VII. etiam prædecessore nostro, postquam humanissimis literis et paternis exhortationibus, multisq: nunciis et mediis, primo et postremo etiam judicialiter, ut præfatam Annam a se dimitteret, et ad prædictæ Catharinæ suæ veræ Conjugis consortium rediret, frustra monitus fuerat, innodatus extiterat, Pharaonis duritiam imitando, per longum tempus in clavium contemptum insorduerat, et insordescebat, quod ad cor rediret, vix sperare posse videremus, ob paternam tamen Charitatem, qua in minoribus constituti donec in obedientia, et reverentia Sedis prædictæ permansit, eum prosecuti fueramus, utq; clarius videre possemus, an clamor qui ad nos delatus fuerat, (quem certe etiam ipsius Henrici Regis respectu falsum esse desideramus) verus esset, statuimus ab ulteriori contra ipsum Henricum Regem processu ad tempus abstinendo, hujus rei veritatem diligentius indagare.

3. Cum autem debitis diligentiis desuper factis clamorem ad nos, ut præfertur, delatum, verum esse, simulque, quod dolenter referimus, dictum Henricum Regem ita in profundum malorum descendisse, ut de ejus resipiscentia nulla penitus videatur spes haberi posse, repererimus: Nos attendentes vetere lege, crimen adulterii notatum lapidari mandatum, ac auctores Schismatis halitu terræ absorptos, eorumq; sequaces cœlesti igne consumptos, Elimamq; Magum viis Domini resistentem per Apostolum æterna severitate damnatum fuisse, volentesq; ne in districto examine ipsius Henrici Regis et subditorum suorum, quos secum in perditionem trahere videmus, animarum ratio a nobis exposcatur, quantum nobis ex alto conceditur, providere contra Henricum Regem, ejusque complices, fautores, adhærentes, et sequaces, et in præmissis quomodolibet culpabiles, contra quod ex eo quod excessus, et delicta prædicta adeo manifesta sunt et notoria, ut nulla possint tergiversatione celari, absq; ulteriori mora ad executionem procedere possemus, benignius agendo, decrevimus infrascripto modo procedere.

4. Habita itaq; super his cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus deliberatione matura, et de illorum consilio et assensu, præfatum Henricum Regem, ejusq; complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores et sequaces, ac quoscunq; alios in præmissis, ceu eorum aliquo quoque modo culpabiles, tam laicos quam clericos, etiam regulares cujuscunq; dignitatis, status, gradus, ordinis, conditionis, præeminentiæ, et excellentiæ existant, (quorum nomina et cognomina, perinde ac si præsentibus insererentur, pro sufficienter expressis haberi volumus) per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri hortamur, et requirimus in Domino, quatenus Henricus Rex a prædictis erroribus prorsus abstineat, et constitutiones, seu leges prædictas, sicut de facto eas fecit, revocet, casset, et annullet, et coactione subditorum suorum ad eas servandas, necnon carceratione, captura, et punitione illorum, qui ipsis constitutionibus seu legibus adhærere, aut eas servare nolucrint, et ab aliis erroribus prædictis penitus, et omnino abstineat, et si quos præmissorum occasione captivos habeas, relaxet.

5. Complices vero, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, et sequaces dicti Henrici Regis in præmissis, et circa ea ipsi Henrico Regi super his de cætero non adsistant, nec adhæreant, vel faveant, nec ei consilium, auxilium, vel favorem, desuper præstent.

6. Alias si Henricus Rex, ac fautores, adhærentes, consultores, et sequaces, hortationibus et requisitionibus hujusmodi non annuerint cum effectu, Henricum Regem, fautores, adhærentes, consultores et sequaces, ac alios culpabiles prædictos, auctoritate Apostolica, ac ex certa nostra scientia, et de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, tenore præsentium, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, ac sub majoris Excommunicationis lata sententia, a qua etiam prætextu cujuscunq; privilegii, vel facultatis, etiam in forma confessionalis, cum quibuscunq; efficacissimis clausulis nobis et Sede prædicta quomodolibet concessis, et etiam iteratis vicibus innovatis, ab alio quam a Romano Pontifice, præterquam in mortis Articulo constituti, ita tamen, quod si aliquem absolvi contingat, qui postmodum convaluerit, nisi post convalescentiam, monitioni et mandatis nostris hujusmodi paruerit cum effectu, in eandem Excommunicationis sententiam reincidat, absolvi non possint.

7. Necnon rebellionis, et quoad Henricum Regem, etiam perditionis Regni, et Dominiorum prædictorum, et tam quoad eum, quam quod alios monitos supradictos supra et infrascriptis pœnis, quas si dictis monitioni et mandatis, ut præfertur, non paruerint, eos, et eorum singulos, ipso facto respective incurrere volumus, per præsentes monemus; eisq; et eorum cuilibet districte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus Henricus Rex per se, vel procuratorem legitimum et sufficienti mandato suffultum, infra nonaginta, complices vero, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, et sequaces, ac alii in præmissis quomodolibet culpabiles supradicti, Sæculares et Ecclesiastici etiam regulares, personaliter infra sexaginta dies compareant coram nobis, ad se super præmissis legitime excusandum et defendendum; alias videndum et audiendum contra eos et eorum singulos,



etiam nominatim, quos sic monemus, quatenus expediat, ad omnes et singulos, actus, etiam sententiam definitivam, declaratoriam, condemnatoriam, et privatoriam, ac mandatum executivum procedi. Quod si Henricus Rex, et alii moniti prædicti intra dictos terminos eis ut præfertur, respective præfixos non comparuerint, et prædictam Excommunicationis sententiam per tres dies, post lapsum dictorum terminorum animo, quod absit, sustinuerint indurato, censuras ipsas aggravamus, et successive reaggravamus, Henricumq; ipsum, privationis Regni et Dominiorum prædictorum, et tam eum quam alios monitos prædictos, et eorum singulos, omnes et singulas alias pœnas prædictas incurrisse, ab omnibusq; Christi fidelibus, cum eorum bonis perpetuo diffidatos esse. Et si interim ab humanis decedat, Ecclesiastica debere carere sepultura, auctoritate et potestatis plenitudine prædictis decernimus, et declaramus, eosq; anathematis, maledictionis, et damnationis æternæ mucrone percutimus.

8. Necnon quæ præfatus Henricus Rex quomodolibet, et ex quavis causa tenet, habet, aut possidet, Quamdiu Henricus Rex, et alii moniti prædicti, et eorum singuli in aliis per dictum Henricum Regem non tentis, habitis, aut possessis permanserint, et triduo post eorum inde recessum, et alia quæcunq; ad quæ Henricum Regem, et alios monitos prædictos, post lapsum dictorum terminorum declinare contigerit, Dominia, civitates, terras, castra, villas, oppida, Metrapolitanasque, et alias Cathedrales, cæterasq; inferiores Ecclesias, necnon Monasteria, Prioratus, Domos, Conventus, et loca religiosa, vel pia cujuscunque, etiam S. Benedict. Cluniacen. Cistercien. Præmonstraten. ac Prædicatorum, Minorum, Eremitarum S. Augustini Carmelitarum, et aliorum Ordinum, ac Congregationum, et Militiarum quaruncunq; in ipsis Dominiis, Civitatibus, terris, castris, villis, oppidis, et locis existentia, Ecclesiastico supponimus Interdicto, ita ut illo durante in iis etiam prætextu cujuscunque Apostolici indulti, Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, Prioratibus, Domibus, Conventibus, locis, ordinibus, aut personis, etiam quacunq; dignitate fulgentibus concessi, præterquam in casibus a jure permissis, ac etiam in illis alias quam clausis januis, et Excommunicatis et interdictis exclusis, nequeant Missæ, aut alia divina officia celebrari.

9. Et Henrici Regis, complicumque, fautorum, adhærentium, consultorum, sequacium, et culpabilium prædictorum filii, pœnarum, ut hic in hoc casu par est, participes sint, omnes et singulos ejusdem Henrici Regis ex dicta Anna, ac singulorum aliorum prædictorum filios natos, et nascituros, aliosq; descendentes, usq; in eum gradum, ad quem jura pœnas in casibus hujusmodi extendunt (nemine excepto, nullaq; minoris ætatis, aut sexus, vel ignorantiæ, vel alterius cujusvis causæ habita ratione) dignitatibus, et honoribus in quibus quomodolibet constituti existunt, seu quibus gaudent, utuntur, potiuntur, aut muniti sunt, necnon privilegiis, concessionibus, gratiis, indulgentiis, immunitatibus, remissionibus, libertatibus, et indultis, ac dominiis, civitatibus, castris, terris, villis, oppidis, et locis, etiam Commendatis, vel in Gubernium concessis, et quæ in feudum, emphyteusim, vel alias a Romanis, vel aliis Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, et locis Ecclesiasticis, ac secularibus Principibus, Dominiis, Potentatibus, etiam Regibus et Imperatoribus, aut aliis privatis, vel publicis personis quomodolibet habent, tenent, aut possident, cæterisq; omnibus bonis, mobilibus et immobilibus, juribus et actionibus, eis quomodolibet competentibus privatos, dictaq; bona feudalia, vel emphyteutica, et alia quæcunq; ab aliis quomodolibet obtenta, ad directos dominos, ita ut de illis libere disponere possint, respective devoluta, et eos qui Ecclesiastici fuerint, etiamsi religiosi existant, Ecclesiis etiam Cathedralibus, et Metropolitanis, necnon Monasteriis et Prioratibus, præposituris, præpositatibus, dignitatibus, personatibus, Officiis, Canonicatibus et Præbendis, aliisq; beneficiis Ecclesiasticis per eos quomodolibet obtentis privatos, et ad illa ac alia in posterum obtinenda inhabiles esse, similiter decernimus et declaramus; eosq; sic respective privatos ad illa, et alia quæcunq; similia, ac dignitates, honores, administrationes, et officia, jura, ac feuda in posterum obtinenda, auctoritate et scientia, ac plenitudine similibus inhabilitamus.

10. Ipsiusq; Henrici Regis, ac Regni omniumq; aliorum dominiorum, civitatum, terrarum, castrorum, villarum, fortalitiorum, arcium, oppidorum, et locorum suorum, etiam de facto obtentorum Magistratus, judices, Castellanos, Custódes et Officiales quoscunque, necnon Communitates, Universitates, Collegia, Feudatarios, vassallos, subditos, cives, incolas, et habitatores etiam forenses, dicto Regi de facto obedientes, tam sæculares, quam si qui rationis alicujus temporalitatis ipsum Henricum Regem in superiorem recognoscant, etiam Ecclesiasticos, a præfato rege, seu ejus complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consultoribus, et sequacibus supradictis deputatis, a juramento fidelitatis, jure vassallitico, et omni erga Regem, et alios prædictos subjectione absolvimus, ac penitus liberamus. His nihilominus sub Excommunicationis pœna mandantes, ut ab ejusdem Henrici Regis, suorumq; officialium, judicum, et magistratuum quorumcunq; obedientia pœnitus et omnino recedant, nec illos in superiores recognoscant, neque illorum mandatis obtemperent.

11. Et ut alii eorum exemplo perterriti discant ab hujusmodi excessibus abstinere, eisdem auctoritate, scientia, et plenitudine, volumus, ac decernimus, quod Henricus Rex et complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, sequaces, et alii in præmissis culpabiles, postquam alias pœnas prædictas, ut præfertur, respective incurrerint, necnon præfati descendentes, ex tunc infames existant, et ad testimonium non admittantur, testamenta, et codicillos, aut alias dispositiones, etiam inter vivos concedere, et facere non possint, et ad alicujus successionem ex testamento, vel ab intestato, necnon ad jurisdictionem, seu judicandi potestatem, et ad Notoriatus Officium, omnesq; actus legitimos quoscunq; ita ut eorum processus, sive instrumenta atq; alii actus quicunque, nullius sint roboris vel momenti, inhabiles existant, et nulli ipsis, sed ipsi aliis super quocunque debito et negotio, tam civili, quam criminali, de jure respondere teneantur.

12. Et nihilominus omnes, et singulos Christi fideles, sub Excommunicationis, et aliis infrascriptis pœnis, monemus, ut monitos, Excommunicatos, aggravatos, interdictos, privatos, maledictos, et damnatos prædictos evitent, et quantum in eis est, et ab aliis evitari faciant, nec cum eisdem, seu præfati Regis Civitatum, Dominiorum, Terrarum, Castrorum, Comitatuum, Villarum, Fortalitiorum, Oppidorum, et locorum prædictorum civibus, incolis, vel habitatoribus aut subditis et vassalis, emendo, vendendo, permutando, aut quamcunque mercaturam, seu negotium exercendo, commercium, seu aliquam conversationem, seu communionem habeant: aut vinum, granum, sal, seu alia victualia, arma, pannos, merces vel quasvis alias mercantias, vel res per mare in eorum navibus, triremibus, aut aliis navigiis, sive per terram cum mulis, vel aliis animalibus, deferre aut conducere, seu deferri aut conduci facere, vel delata per illos recipere, publice vel occulte, aut talia facientibus auxiliū, consiliu, favorem publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis quæsito colore, per se, vel alium, seu alios quoquo modo præstare præsumant. Quod si fecérint, ultra Excommunicationis prædictæ, etiam nullitatis

contractuum quos inirent, necnon perditionis mercium, victualium, et bonorum omnium delatorum, quæ capientium fiant, pœnas similiter eo ipso incurrant.

13. Cæterum quia convenire non videtur, ut cum his qui Ecclesiam contemnunt, dum præsertim ex eorum pertinacia spes corrigibilitatis non habetur, hi qui divinis obsequiis vacant, conversentur, quod etiam illos tuto facere non posse dubitandum est, omnium et singularum Metropolitanarum et aliarum Cathedralium, cæterarumq; inferiorum Ecclesiarum et Monasteriorum, domorum et locorum Religiosorum, et piorum quorumcumque, etiam S. Augustini, S. Benedicti, Cluniacen. Cistercien. Præmonstraten. ac Prædicatorum, Minorum, Carmelitarum, aliorumque quorumcumq; ordinum, et militiarum, etiam Hospitalis Hierosolymitani, Prælatis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Præceptoribus, Præpositis, Ministris, Custodibus, Guardianis, Conventibus, Monachis et Canonicis, necnon Parochialium Ecclesiarum Rectoribus, aliisq; quibuscunq: personis Ecclesiasticis in Regno et Dominiis prædictis commorantibus, sub Excommunicationis ac privationis Administrationum et regiminum Monasteriorum, dignitatum, personatuum, administrationum, ac officiorum, Canonicatuumque, et Præbendarum, Parochialium Ecclesiarum, et aliorum beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum quorumcumq; quomodolibet qualificatorum, per eos quomodolibet obtentorum, pœnis mandamus, quatenus infra quinq; dies, post omnes et singulos terminos prædictos elapsos, de ipsis Regno, et Dominiis, dimissis tamen aliquibus Presbyteris in Ecclesiis quarum curam habuerint, pro administrando baptismate parvulis, et in pœnitentia decedentibus, ac aliis Sacramentis Ecclesiasticis, quæ tempore Interdicti ministrari permittuntur, exeant et discedant, neque ad Regnum, et Dominia prædicta revertantur: donec moniti, et Excommunicati, aggravati, reaggravati, privati, maledicti, et damnati prædictis monitionibus, et mandatis nostris hujusmodi obtemperaverint, meruerint a censuris hujusmodi absolutionis beneficium obtinere, seu Interdictum in Regno, et Dominiis prædictis, fuerit sublatum.

14. Præterea si præmissis non obstantibus, Henricus Rex, complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, et sequaces prædicti in eorum pertinacia perseveraverint, nec conscientiæ stimulus eos ad cor reduxerit, in eorum forte potentia, et armis confidentes, omnes et singulos Duces, Marchiones, Comites, et alios quoscunq; tam Seculares, quam Ecclesiasticos etiam forenses, de facto dicto Henrico Regi obedientes, sub ejusdem Excommunicationis, ac perditionis bonorum suorum (quæ, ut infra dicitur, similiter capientium fiant) pœnis, requirimus et monemus, quatenus omni mora, et excusatione postposita, eos, et eorum singulos, ac ipsorum milites et stipendiarios, tam equestres quam pedestres, aliosq; quoscumque, qui eis cum armis faverint, de Regno et Dominiis prædictis, etiam vi armorum, si opus fuerit, expellant: ac quod Henricus Rex, et ejus complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, et sequaces, mandatis nostris non obtemperantes prædicti, de Civitatibus, Terris, Castris, Villis, Oppidis, Fortalitiis, aut aliis locis Regni et Dominii prædictorum se non intromittant, procurent: eis sub omnibus et singulis pœnis prædictis inhibentes, ne in favorem Henrici, ejusque complicum, fautorum, adhærentium, consultorum, et sequacium aliorumq; monitorum prædictorum, mandatis nostris non obtemperantium, arma cujuslibet generis, offensiva vel defensiva, machinas quoq; bellicas, seu tormenta (artellarias nuncupata) sumant aut teneant, seu illis utantur, aut armatos aliquos præter consuetam familiam parent, aut ab Henrico Rege, complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consultoribus, et sequacibus, vel aliis in Regis ipsius favorem paratos, quomodolibet, quavis occasione vel causa, per se vel alium seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte teneant, vel receptent, aut dicto Henrico Regi, seu illius complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consultoribus, et sequacibus prædictis, consilium, auxilium, vel quomodolibet ex quavis causa, vel quovis quæsito colore sive ingenio, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, per se vel alium seu alios præmissis, vel aliquo præmissorum præstent, seu præstari faciant quoquomodo.

15. Præterea ad dictum Henricum Regem facilius ad sanitatem, et præfatæ Sedis obedientiam reducendum, omnes et singulos Christianos Principes, quacumq; etiam Imperiali et Regali dignitate fulgentes, per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri (cujus causa agitur) hortamur et in Domino requirimus, eis nihilominus, qui Imperatore et Rege inferiores fuerint, quos propter excellentiam dignitatis a censuris excipimus, sub Excommunicationis pœna mandantes, ne Henrico Regi ejusq; complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consultoribus, et sequacibus, vel eorum alicui, per se vel alium seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, etiam sub prætextu confœderationum aut obligationum quocumq; etiam juramento, aut quavis alia firmitate roboratarum, et sæpius geminatarum, a quibus quidem obligationibus et juramentis omnibus, nos eos et eorum singulos eisdem auctoritate et scientia ac plenitudine per præsentes absolvimus, ipsasq; confœderationes et obligationes tam factas, quam in posterum faciendas, quas tamen (in quantum Henricus Rex et complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, et sequaces prædicti circa præmissa, vel eorum aliquod se directe vel indirecte juvare possent) sub eadem pœna fieri prohibemus, nullius roboris vel momenti, nullasque, irritas, cassas, inanes, ac pro infectis habendas fore decernimus et declaramus, consilium, auxilium, vel favorem quomodolibet præstent, quinimo si qui illis, aut eorum alicui ad præsens quomodolibet assistant, ab ipsis omnino et cum affectu recedant. Quod si non fecerint postquam præsentes publicatæ et executioni demandatæ fuerint, et dicti termini lapsi fuerint, omnes et singulas civitates, terras, oppida, castra, villas, et alia loca eis subjecta, simili Ecclesiastico Interdicto supponimus, volentes ipsum Interdictum donec ipsi Principes a Consilio, auxilio, et favore Henrico Regi et complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consultoribus et sequacibus prædictis præstando destiterint, perdurare.

16. Insuper tam Principes prædictos, quam quoscumq; alios, etiam ad stipendia quorumcumq; Christi fidelium militantes, et alias quascumq; personas, tam per mare, quam per terras, armigeros habentes, similiter hortamur et requirimus, et nihilominus eis in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ mandantes, quatenus contra Henricum Regem, complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, et sequaces prædictos, dum in erroribus prædictis, ac adversus Sedem prædictam, rebellione permanserint, armis insurgant, eosq; et eorum singulos persequantur, ac ad unitatem Ecclesiæ, et obedientiam dictæ Sedis redire cogant et compellant; et tam eos quam ipsorum subditos et vassallos, ac civitatum, terrarum, castrorum, oppidorum, villarum, et locorum suorum incolas, et habitatores, aliosque omnes et singulas personas supradictis mandatis nostris, ut præfertur, non obtemperantes, et quæ præfatum Henricum Regem, postquam censuras, et pœnas prædictas incurrerit, in Dominum quomodolibet, etiam de facto recognoverint, vel ei quovis modo obtemperare præsumpserint, aut qui eum, ac complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, sequaces, ac alios non obtemperantes prædictos, ex Regno et Dominiis prædictis, ut præfertur, expellere noluerint, ubicunq; eos invenerint, eorumque bona, mobilia et immobilia



mercantias, pecunias, navigia, credita, res, et animalia, etiam extra territorium dicti Henrici Regis ubilibet consistentia, capiant.

17. Nos enim eis bona, mercantias, pecunias, navigia, res, et animalia prædicta sic capta, in proprios eorum usus convertendi, eisdem auctoritate, scientia, et potestatis plenitudine, plenariam licentiam, facultatem et auctoritatem concedimus, illa omnia ad eosdem capientes plenarie pertinere, et spectare, et personas ex Regno et Dominiis prædictis originem trahentes, seu in illis domicilium habentes, aut quomodolibet habitantes, mandatis nostris prædictis non obtemperantes, ubicunq; eos capi contigerit, capientium servos fieri decernentes: præsentesq; literas quoad hoc ad omnes alios cujuscunq; dignitatis, gradus, status, ordinis, vel conditionis fuerint, qui ipsi Henrico Regi, vel ejus complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consultoribus, et sequacibus, aut aliis monitionibus, et mandatis nostris hujusmodi quod commercium non obtemperantibus, vel eorum alicui victualia, arma, vel pecunias subministrare, aut cum eis commercium habere, seu auxilium, consilium, vel favorem, per se vel alium, seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis modo contra tenorem præsentium præstare præsumpserint, extendentes.

18. Et ut præmissa facilius iis quos concernunt innotescant, universis et singulis Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, et Patriarchalium Metropolitan. et aliarum Cathedralium, et Collegiatarum Ecclesiarum Prælatis, Capitulis, aliisq; personis Ecclesiasticis, Sæcularibus ac quorumvis ordinum Regularibus, necnon omnibus et singulis, etiam mendicantium ordinum Professoribus, exemptis et non exemptis, ubilibet constitutis, per easdem præsentes sub Excommunicationis et privationis Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, ac aliorum Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, graduum quoq; et officiorum, necnon privilegiorum, et indultorum quorumcumq: etiam a Sede prædicta quomodolibet emanatorum pœnis ipso facto incurrendis, præcipimus et mandamus, quatenus ipsi ac eorum singuli, si, et postquam vigore præsentium desuper requisiti fuerint, infra tres dies immediate sequentes, præfatum Henricum Regem, omnesq; alios et singulos, qui supradictas censuras et pœnas incurrerint, in eorum Ecclesiis, Dominicis et aliis festivis diebus, dum major inibi populi multitudo ad divina convenerit, cum Crucis vexillo, pulsatis campanis, et accensis, ac demum extinctis, et in terram projectis, et conculcatis candelis, et aliis in similibus servari solitis cæremoniis servatis, Excommunicatos publice nuncient, et ab aliis nuntiari, ac ab omnibus arctius evitari faciant et mandent, necnon sub supradictis censuris et pœnis, presentes literas, vel earum transumptum, sub forma infrascripta confectum, infra terminum trium dierum, postquam, ut præfertur, requisiti fuerint, in Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, Conventibus, et aliis eorum locis, publicari et affigi faciant.

19. Volentes, omnes et singulos cujuscumq; status, gradus, conditionis, præeminentiæ, dignitatis, aut excellentiæ fuerint, qui quo minus præsentes literæ, vel earum transumpta, copiæ, seu exemplaria, in suis civitatibus, terris, castris, oppidis, villis, et locis legi et affigi, ac publicari possint, per se, vel alium, seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte impediverint, easdem censuras et pœnas, ipso facto incurrere. Et cum fraus et dolus nemini debeant patrocinari, ne quisquam ex his, qui alicui regimini et administrationi deputati sunt, infra tempus sui regiminis seu administrationis prædictas sententias, censuras et pœnas sustineat, quasi post dictum tempus sententiis, censuris et pœnis prædictis amplius ligatus non existat, quemcunq; qui dum in regimine, et administratione existens, monitioni et mandato nostris, quoad præmissa vel aliquid eorum obtemperare noluerit, etiam deposito regimine, et administratione hujusmodi, nisi paruerit, eisdem censuris et pœnis subjacere decernimus.

20. Et ne Henricus Rex ejusq; complices, et fautores, adhærentes, consultores, et sequaces, aliiq; quos præmissa concernunt, ignorantiam earundem præsentium literarum, et in eis contentorum prætendere valeant, literas ipsas (in quibus omnes et singulos, tam juris, quam facti, etiam solemnitatum, et processuum, citationumq; omissarum defectus, etiam si tales sint, de quibus specialis, et expressa mentio facienda esset, propter notorietatem facti, auctoritate, scientia, et potestatis plenitudine similibus, supplemus) in Basilicæ Principis Apostolorum, et Cancellariæ Apostolicæ de urbe, et in partibus in Collegiatæ B. Mariæ Burgen. Tornacen. et Parochialis de Dunikerke oppidorum Morinensis diœcesis, Ecclesiarum valvis affigi, et publicari mandamus: Decernentes quod earundem literarum publicatio sic facta, Henricum Regem, ejusq; complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, et sequaces, omnesq; alios, et singulos quos literæ ipsæ quomodolibet concernunt, perinde eos arctent, ac si literæ ipsæ eis personaliter lectæ, et intimatæ fuissent, cum non sit verisimile, quod ea, quæ tam patenter fiunt, debeant apud eos incognita remanere.

21. Cæterum quia difficile foret præsentes literas ad singula quæque loca, ad quæ necessarium esset deferri, singula volumus et dicta auctoritate decernimus, quod earum transumptis manu publici Notarii confectis, vel in alma urbe impressis, ac sigillo alicujus personæ in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutæ munitis, ubiq; eadem fides adhibeatur, quæ originalibus adhiberetur, si essent exhibitæ vel ostensæ.

22. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ monitionis, aggravationis, reaggravationis, declarationis, percussionis, suppositionis, inhibitionis, absolutionis, liberationis, requisitionis, inhibitionis, hortationis, exceptionis, prohibitionis, concessionis, extensionis, suppletionis, mandatorum, voluntatis, et decretorum, infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum. Anno Incarnationis Domini 1535. 3 Kal. Sept. Pont. nostri Anno I.

*Sequitur suspensio Executionis dictæ Bullæ, et tandem ejus revocatio, et Executio.*

Paulus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Cum Redemptor noster ideo illum qui ipsum negaverat, Petrum, viz. Universæ Ecclesiæ præficere voluerit, ut in sua culpa disceret aliis esse miserendum, non immerito Romanus Pontifex qui ipsius Petri in dignitate Successor existit, debet etiam in Officio exercendæ misericordiæ ipsius esse Successor. Sed cum in eum dirigitur misericordia, qui ex hoc sit insolentior, et obstinatior, aliosq; secum trahit in perditionem, debet ipse Romanus Pontifex, postposita in eum misericordia, omnem severitatem adhibere, quo membrum illud putridum ita a corpore separetur, ut reliqua membra absq; metu contagionis salva remaneant, præsertim cum pluribus curis adhibitis, et multo tempore in hoc consumpto morbum quotidie magis invalescere, ipsa experientia comprobat.

1. Alias cum nobis relatum fuisset, quod Henricus Angliæ Rex, præter ea quæ Matrimonium de facto, et contra prohibitionem Ecclesiæ temerarie contractum concernebant, quasdam leges, seu generales constitutiones subditos suos ad hæresim, et schisma trahentes ediderat, et bonæ memoriæ Joann. tit. Sancti Vitalis Presbyterum Cardinalem Roffen. publice damnari et capite puniri, ac alios quamplures Prælatos necnon

alias personas Ecclesiast. Hæresi et Schismati hujusmodi adhærere nolentes, carceribus mancipari fecerat; Nos, licet illi qui talia nobis retulerant tales essent, ut nullo modo de veritate suorum dictorum ambigendum esset, cupientes tamen respectu ipsius Henrici Regis, quem antequam in has insanias incideret, peculiari quadam charitate prosequebamur, prædicta falsa reperiri, de eis informationem ulteriorem habere procuravimus, et invenientes clamorem ad nos delatum verum esse, ne nostro Officio deessemus, contra eum procedere decrevimus, juxta formam quarundum literarum nostrarum, quarum tenor sequitur. Et est talis, &c.

*Omittitur insertio, quia bulla ipsa est quæ præcedit.*

2. Dum autem postea ad dictarum literarum executionem deveniendum esse statuissemus, cum nobis per nonnullos principes, et alias insignes personas persuaderetur, ut ab executione hujusmodi per aliquantum temporis supersederemus, spe nobis data, quod interim ipse Henricus Rex ad cor rediret et resipisceret; nos qui, ut hominum natura fert, facile credebamus quod desiderabamus, dictam executionem suspendimus, sperantes (ut spes nobis data erat) ex ipsa suspensione, correctionem et resipiscentiam, non autem pertinaciam et obstinationem, ac majorem delirationem, ut rei effectus edocuit, proventuram.

3. Cum itaq; resipiscentia et Correctio hujusmodi quam tribus fere annis expectavimus, non solum postea sequuta non sit, sed ipse Henricus Rex quotidie magis se in sua feritate, ac temeritate confirmans, in nova etiam scelera proruperit, quippe cum non contentus vivorum Prælatorum et sacerdotum crudelissima trucidatione, etiam in mortuos, et eos quidem quos in sanctorum numerum relatos Universalis Ecclesia pluribus sæculis venerata est, feritatem exercere non expavit, Divi enim Thomæ Cantuarien. Archiepiscopi, cujus ossa, quæ in dicto Regno Angliæ potissimum, ob innumera ab omnipotenti Deo illic perpetrata miracula, summa cum veneratione in arca aurea in Civitate Cantuarien. servabantur, postquam ipsum Divum Thomam, ad majorem Religionis contemptum, in judicium vocari, et tanquam contumacem damnari ac proditorem declarari fecerat, exhumari, et comburi, ac cineres in ventum spargi jussit, omnem plane cunctarum gentium crudelitatem superans, cum ne in bello quidem hostes victores sævire in mortuorum cadavera soliti sunt; adhæc omnia ex diversorum Regum etiam Anglorum, et aliorum Principum liberalitate donaria, ipsi arcæ appensa, quæ multa, et maximi pretii erant, sibi usurpavit, nec putans ex hoc satis injuriæ religionis intulisse, Monasterium Divo illi Augustino, a quo Christianam fidem Angli acceperunt, in dicta civitate dicatum, omnibus Thesauris, qui etiam multi et magni erant, spoliavit, et sicut se in belluam transmutavit, ita etiam belluas quasi socias suas honorare voluit, feras videlicet in dicto Monasterio, expulsis Monachis, intromittendo, genus quidem sceleris non modo Christi fidelibus, sed etiam Turcis inauditum et abominandum.

4. Cum itaq; morbus iste a nullo quantumvis peritissimo medico alia cura sanari possit, quam putridi membri abscissione, nec valeret cura hujusmodi, absq; eo, quod nos apud Deum causam hanc nostram efficiamus, ulterius retardari, ad dictarum literarum (quas ad hoc ut Henricus Rex, ejusq; complices, fautores, adhærentes, consultores, et sequaces, etiam super excessibus per eum novissime, ut præfertur, perpetratos, intra terminum eis, quoad alia, per alias nostras literas prædictas respective præfixas, se excusare, alias pœnis ipsis literis contentas incurrant, extendimus et ampliamus) publicationem, et deinde, Deo duce, ad executionem procedere omnino statuimus. Et quia a fide dignis accepimus, quod si ipsarum et præsentium literarum publicatio Diep Rothomagen. vel Bolonіæ Ambianen. Diœc. Oppidis in Franciæ, aut Civitate Sancti Andreæ, seu in Oppido Callistren. Sancti Andreæ Diœc. in Scotiæ Regnis, vel in Thuamien. et Antiferten. Civitatibus, vel Diœc. Dominii Hiberniæ fiat, non solum tam facile, ut si in locis in dictis literis expressis fieret, sed facilius ipsarum literarum tenor, ad Henrici, et aliorum quos concernunt, præsertim Anglorum, notitiam deveniret: Nos volentes in hoc opportune providere, motu, scientia, et potestatis plenitudine prædictis decernimus, quod publicatio literarum superius insertarum, quarum insertioni superius factæ, ac ipsis Originalibus quoad validitatem publicationis, seu executionis præsentium, fidem adhiberi volumus, in duobus ex locis præsentibus literis expressis, alias juxta supra insertarum, et præsentium literarum tenore facta, etiam si in locis extra Romanam Curiam in dictis præinsertis literis specificatis, hujusmodi publicatio non fiat, perinde Henricum Regem, et alios quos concernunt præsertim Anglos afficiat, ac si Henrico Regi et aliis prædictis præsertim Anglis personaliter intimatæ fuissent.

5. Quodq; præsentium transumptis, juxta modum in præinsertis literis expressum factis, tam in judicio quam extra, eadem fides adhibeatur, quæ Originalibus adhiberetur, si forent exhibitæ, vel ostensæ.

6. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostilicis, necnon omnibus illis, quæ in dictis literis voluimus non obstare, cæterisq; contrariis quibuscunque.

7. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostri Decreti, et voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum.

Dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1538. decimo sexto Kal. Januarii, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

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### X.—*The Judgment of some Bishops concerning the King's Supremacy. An Original.*

[Ex MSS. D. Stillingfleet.]

The words of St. John in his 20th chapter, *Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos, &c.* hath no respect to a king's or a prince's power, but only to show how that the ministers of the word of God, chosen and sent for that intent, are the messengers of Christ, to teach the truth of his gospel, and to loose and bind sin, &c. as Christ was the messenger of his Father. The words also of St. Paul, in the 20th chap. of the Acts; *Attendite vobis et universo gregi, in qua vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei*, were spoken to the bishops and priests, to be diligent pastors of the people, both to teach them diligently, and also to be circumspect that false preachers should not seduce the people, as followeth immediately after in the same place. Other places of Scripture declare the highness and excellency of Christian princes' authority and power; the which of a truth is most high, for he hath power and charge generally over all, as well bishops as priests as other. The bishops and priests have charge of souls within their own cures, power to minister sacraments and to teach the word of God; to the which word of God Christian princes knowledge themselves subject; and in case the bishops be negligent, it is the Christian prince's office to see them do their duty.

T. Cantuarien.; Joannes London.; Cuthbertus Dunelmen.; Jo. Batwellen.; Thomas Elien.; Nicolaus Sarisburien.; Hugo Wygorn.; J. Roffen.



### XI.—*Injunctions to the Clergy made by Cromwell.*

[Regist. Cranmer.]

In the name of God, Amen. By the authority and commission of the excellent prince Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defensor of the faith, lord of Ireland; and in earth supreme head, under Christ, of the church of England. I, Thomas lord Cromwel, privy seal, and vicegerent to the king's said highness, for all his jurisdiction ecclesiastical within this realm, do, for the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, increase of virtue, and discharge of the king's majesty, give and exhibit unto you these injunctions following, to be kept, observed, and fulfilled, upon the pains hereafter declared.

*First*, That ye shall truly observe and keep all and singular the king's highness' injunctions, given unto you heretofore in my name, by his grace's authority; not only upon the pains therein expressed, but also in your default after this second monition continued, upon further punishment to be straitly extended towards you by the king's highness' arbitriment, or his vicegerent aforesaid.

*Item*, That ye shall provide on this side the feast of next coming, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that ye have cure of, whereas your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it; the charge of which book shall be ratably borne between you the parson and the parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by you, and the other half by them.

*Item*, That you shall discourage no man privily or apertly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every Christian man is bound to embrace, believe and follow, if he look to be saved; admonishing them nevertheless to avoid all contention, altercation therein, and to use an honest sobriety in the inquisition of the true sense of the same, and refer the explication of the obscure places to men of higher judgment in Scripture.

*Item*, That ye shall every Sunday and holy-day through the year, openly and plainly recite to your parishioners, twice or thrice together, or oftener if need require, one particle or sentence of the *Pater Noster* or Creed, in English, to the intent they may learn the same by heart; and so from day to day, to give them one little lesson or sentence of the same, till they have learned the whole *Pater Noster* and Creed in English by rote. And as they be taught every sentence of the same by rote, ye shall expound and declare the understanding of the same unto them, exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound in conscience to do. And that done, ye shall declare unto them the ten commandments one by one, every Sunday and holiday, till they be likewise perfect in the same.

*Item*, That ye shall in confessions every Lent examine every person that cometh to confession unto you, whether they can recite the articles of our faith, and the *Pater Noster* in English, and hear them say the same particularly; wherein if they be not perfect, ye shall declare to the same, that every Christian person ought to know the same before they should receive the blessed sacrament of the altar; and monish them to learn the same more perfectly by the next year following, or else, like as they ought not to presume to come to God's board without perfect knowledge of the same, and if they do, it is to the great peril of their souls; so ye shall declare unto them, that ye look for other injunctions from the king's highness by that time, to stay and repel all such from God's board as shall be found ignorant in the premises; whereof ye do thus admonish them, to the intent they should both eschew the peril of their souls, and also the worldly rebuke that they might incur after by the same.

*Item*, That ye shall make, or cause to be made, in the said church, and every other cure ye have, one sermon every quarter of the year at least, wherein ye shall purely and sincerely declare the very gospel of Christ, and in the same exhort your hearers to the works of charity, mercy, and faith, especially prescribed and commanded in Scripture, and not to repose their trust or affiance in any other works devised by men's fantasies besides Scripture: as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers, to images, or relics; of kissing or licking the same over, saying over a number of beads, not understanded or minded on, or in such like superstition: for the doing whereof, ye not only have no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrariwise great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offences God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminisheth most his honour and glory.

*Item*, That such feigned images as ye know in any of your cures to be so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of anything made thereunto ye shall, for avoiding of that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down, and without delay; and shall suffer from henceforth no candles, tapers, or images of wax to be set afore any image or picture, but only the light that commonly goeth across the church by the rood-loft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulchre; which for the adorning of the church, and divine service, ye shall suffer to remain: still admonishing your parishioners, that images serve for none other purpose, but as to be books of unlearned men, that ken no letters, whereby they might be otherwise admonished of the lives and conversation of them that the said images do represent; which images if they abuse for any other intent than for such remembrances, they commit idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their souls; and therefore the king's highness graciously tendering the weal of his subjects' souls, hath to part already, and more will hereafter, travail for the abolishing of such images as might be an occasion of so great an offence to God, and so great a danger to the souls of his loving subjects.

*Item*, That all in such benefices, or cures, as ye have, whereupon ye be not yourself resident, ye shall appoint such curates in your stead, as can both by their ability, and will also promptly, execute these injunctions, and do their duty, otherwise that ye are bounden in every behalf accordingly, and may profit them, no less with good examples of living, than with declaration of the word of God, or else their lack and defaults shall be imputed unto you, who shall straightly answer for the same if they do otherwise.

*Item*, That ye shall admit no man to preach within any your benefices or cures, but such as shall appear unto you to be sufficiently licensed thereunto by the king's highness, or his grace's authority, by the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of this diocese; and such as shall be so licensed ye shall gladly receive to declare the word of God, without any resistance or contradiction.

*Item*, If ye have heretofore declared to your parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth of pilgrimages, feigned relics, or images, or any such superstitions, that you shall now openly afore the same recant and reprove the same, showing them (as the truth is) that ye did the same upon no ground of

Scripture, but as one led and seduced by a common error and abuse crept into the church, through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same.

*Item*, If ye do or shall know any man within your parish, or elsewhere, that is a letter of the word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these injunctions; or a favourer of the bishop of Rome's pretensed power, now by the laws of this realm justly rejected and extirped; ye shall detect and present the same to the king's highness, or his honourable counsel, or to his vicegerent aforesaid, or the justice of peace next adjoining.

*Item*, That you, and every parson, vicar, or curate within this diocese, shall for every church keep one book or register, wherein he shall write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burying, made within your parish for your time, and so every man succeeding you likewise; and also there insert every person's name that shall be so wedded, christened, and buried; and for the safe keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide of their common charges, one sure coffer with two locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with you, and the other with the wardens of every such parish wherein the said book shall be laid up; which book ye shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the said wardens, or one of them, write and record in the same, all the weddings, christenings, and buryings, made the whole week afore; and that done, to lay up the book in the said coffer, as afore: and for every time that the same shall be omitted, the party that shall be in the fault thereof shall forfeit to the said church 3*s.* 4*d.* to be employed on the reparation of the said church.

*Item*, That ye shall every quarter of a year read these and the other former injunctions, given unto you by the authority of the king's highness, openly and deliberately before all your parishioners, to the intent that both you may be the better admonished of your duty, and your said parishioners the more incited to ensue the same for their part.

*Item*, Forasmuch as by a law established, every man is bound to pay the tithes; no man shall, by colour of duty omitted by their curates, detain their tithes, and so redouble one wrong with another, or be his own judge, but shall truly pay the same, as hath been accustomed, to their parsons and curates, without any restraint or diminution; and such lack or default as they can justly find in their parsons and curates to call for reformation thereof at their ordinaries and other superiors' hands, who, upon complaint, and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly.

*Item*, That no person shall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any fasting-day that is commanded and indicted by the church, nor of any prayer, or of divine service, otherwise than is specified in the said injunctions, until such time as the same shall be so ordered and transported by the king's highness's authority; the eves of such saints, whose holy-days be abrogated be only excepted, which shall be declared henceforth to be no fasting-days: excepted also the commemoration of Thomas Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, which shall be clean omitted, and in the stead thereof the ferial service used.

*Item*, That the knolling of the avies after service, and certain other times, which hath been brought in and begun by the pretence of the bishop of Rome's pardon, henceforth be left and omitted, lest the people do hereafter trust to have pardon for the saying of their avies, between the said knolling, as they have done in times past.

*Item*, Where in times past men have used in divers places, in their processions, to sing *Ora pro nobis* to so many saints, that they had no time to sing the good suffrages following, as *Parce nobis Domine*, and *Libera nos Domine*, it must be taught and preached, that better it were to omit *Ora pro nobis*, and to sing the other suffrages.

All which and singular injunctions I minister unto you and your successors, by the king's highness's authority to me committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the same authority to observe and keep upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of your fruits, or such other coercion as to the king's highness, or his vicegerent for the time being, shall seem convenient.

*There are also in the Bishop of London's Register, fol.* 29, 30, *with Bonner's Mandate to his Archdeacons for observing them,* 30*th Sept.* 1541. *Anno Regn.* 32.

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XII.—*Injunctions given by Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Parsons, Vicars, and other Curates in his Visitation, kept (sede vacante) within the Diocese of Hereford, Anno Domino* 1538.

I.

First, That ye, and every one of you, shall, with all your diligence and faithful obedience, observe, and cause to be observed, all and singular the king's highness's injunctions, by his grace's commissaries given in such places as they in times past have visited.

II.

*Item*, That ye, and every one of you, shall have, by the first day of August next coming, as well a whole Bible in Latin and English, or at the least a New Testament of both the same language, as the copies of the king's highness's injunctions.

III.

*Item*, That ye shall every day study one chapter of the said Bible, or New Testament, conferring the Latin and English together, and to begin at the first part of the book, and so to continue until the end of the same.

IV.

*Item*, That ye, or none of you, shall discourage any layman from the reading of the Bible in English or Latin, but encourage them to that, admonishing them that they so read it, for reformation of their own life, and knowledge of their duty; and that they be not bold or presumptuous in judging of matters afore they have perfect knowledge.

V.

*Item*, That ye, both in your preaching and secret confession, and all other works and doings, shall excite and move your parishioners unto such works as are commanded expressly of God, for the which God shall demand of them a strict reckoning; and all other works which men do of their own will or devotion, to teach your parishioners that they are not to be so highly esteemed as the other; and that for the not doing of them God will not ask any account.

VI.

*Item*, That ye, nor none of you, suffer no friar, or religious man, to have any cure or service within your churches or cures, except they be lawfully dispensed withal, or licensed by the ordinary.

VII.

*Item*, That ye, and every one of you, do not admit any young man or woman to receive the sacrament of the altar which never received it before, until that he or she openly in the church, after mass, or evening song, upon the holy-day, do recite, in the vulgar tongue, the *Pater Noster*, the *Creed*, and the *Ten Commandments*.



VIII.

*Item*, That ye, and every one of you, shall two times in a quarter declare to your parishioners the band of matrimony, and what great danger it is to all men that useth their bodies but with such persons as they lawfully may by the law of God. And to exhort in the said times your parishioners, that they make no privy contracts, as they will avoid the extreme pain of the laws used within the king's realm, by his grace's authority.

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XIII.—*A Letter of Cromwell's to the Bishop of Landaff, directing him how to proceed in the Reformation. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.]

After my right hearty commendations to your lordship, ye shall herewith receive the king's highness' letters addressed unto you, to put you in remembrance of his highness' travels, and your duty touching order to be taken for preaching, to the intent the people may be taught the truth, and yet not charged at the beginning with over-many novelties; the publication whereof, unless the same be tempered and qualified with much wisdom, do rather breed contention, division, and contrariety in opinion in the unlearned multitude, than either edify, or remove from them, and out of their hearts, such abuses as by the corrupt and unsavoury teaching of the bishop of Rome and his disciples have crept in the same. The effect of which letters albeit I doubt not, but as well for the honesty of the matter, as for your own discharge, ye will so consider and put in execution, as shall be to his grace's satisfaction in that behalf: yet forasmuch as it hath pleased his majesty to appoint and constitute me in the room and place of his supreme and principal minister, in all matters that may touch anything his clergy, or their doings, I thought it also my part, for the exoneration of my duty towards his highness, and the rather to answer to his grace's expectation, opinion, and trust conceived in me, and in that amongst other committed to my fidelity, to desire and pray you, in such substantial sort and manner, to travel in the execution of the contents of his grace's said letters; namely, for avoiding of contrariety in preaching, of the pronunciation of novelties, without wise and discreet qualification, and the repression of the temerity of those, that either privily, or apertly, directly or indirectly, would advance the pretended authority of the bishop of Rome; as I be not for my discharge enforced to complain further, and to declare what I have now written unto you for that purpose, and so to charge you with your own fault, and to devise such remedy for the same as shall appertain: desiring your lordship to accept my meaning herein, tending only to an honest, friendly, and Christian reformation, for avoidage of further inconvenience, and to think none unkindness, though in this matter, wherein it is almost more than time to speak, I write frankly, compelled and enforced thereunto, both in respect of my private duty, and otherwise, for my discharge; forasmuch as it pleaseth his majesty to use me in the lieu of a counsellor, whose office is as an eye to the prince, to foresee, and in time to provide remedy for such abuses, enormities, and inconveniences, as might else with a little sufferance engender more evil in his public weal than could be after recovered, with much labour, study, diligence, and travails. And thus most heartily fare you well. From the Rolls, the 7th of January. Your lordship's friend,

Thomas Cromwell.

XIV.—*The Commission by which Bonner held his Bishoprick of the King.*

*Licentia Regia concessa Domino Episcopo ad exercendam Jurisdictionem Episcopalem.*

[Regist. Bonner. fol. primo.]

Henricus Octavus, Dei Gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hiberniæ, et in Terra Supremum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo Caput, Reverendo in Christo Patri Edmundo Londonensi Episcopo Salutem. Quandoquidem omnis jurisdicendi Autoritas, atq; etiam jurisdictio omnimoda, tam illa quæ Ecclesiastica dicitur quam Sæcularis, a Regia Potestate velut a Supremo Capite, et omnium infra Regnum nostrum Magistratuum fonte et scaturigine, primitus emanavit, sane illos qui jurisdictionem hujusmodi antehac non nisi præcario fungebantur, beneficium hujusmodi sic eis ex liberalitate Regia indultum gratis animis agnoscere, idq; Regiæ Munificentiæ solummodo acceptum referre, eique, quotiens ejus Majestati videbitur, libenter concedere convenit. Quum itaq; nos per dilectum Commissarium nostrum Thomam Cromwell Nobilis Ordinis Garterii Militem, Dominum Cromwell et de Wymolden nostri privati Sigilli Custodem, nostrumq; ad quascunq; causas Ecclesiasticas nostra Authoritate, uti Supremi Capitis dictæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, quomodolibet tractand. sive ventiland. vicem gerentem, Vicarium Generalem et Officialem Principalem, per alias Literas Patentes sigillo nostro Majori communitas, constituerimus et præfecerimus. Quia tamen ipse Thomas Cromwell nostris et hujus Regni Angliæ tot et tam arduis negotiis adeo præpeditus existit, quod ad omnem jurisdictionem nobis, uti Supremo Capiti hujusmodi competentem, ubiq; locorum infra hoc Regnum nostrum præfatum, in his quæ moram commode non patiuntur, aut sine nostrorum subditorum injuria differri non possunt, in sua persona expediend. non sufficiet. Nos tuis in hac parte supplicationibus humilibus inclinati, et nostrorum subditorum commodis consulere cupientes, Tibi vices nostras sub modo et forma inferius descriptis committendas fore, Teq; licentiandum esse decernimus, ad ordinandum igitur quoscunq; infra Dioc. tuam London. ubicunq; oriundos, quos moribus et literatura prævio diligenti et rigoroso examine idoneos fore compereris, ad omnes etiam Sacros et Presbyteratus ordines promovendum, præsentatosq; ad beneficia Ecclesiastica quæcunq; infra Dioc. tuam London. constituta, si ad curam beneficiis hujusmodi imminentem sustinend. habiles reperti fuerunt et idonei, admittendum ac in et de iisdem instituendum et investigandum; Ac etiam si res ita exigat destituendum, beneficiaq; Ecclesiastica quæcunq; ad tuam collationem sive dispositionem spectantia et pertinentia personis idoneis conferendum, atq; approbandum testamenta et ultimas voluntates quorumcunq; tuæ Diocæseos, bona, jura, sive credita non ultra summam centum librarum in bonis suis vitæ et mortis suarum temporibus habend. necnon administrationes quorumcunq; subditorum nostrorum tuæ Dioc. ab intestato decedend. quorum bona, jura, sive credita non ultra summam prædictam vitæ et mortis suarum temporibus sese extendent, quatenus hujusmodi testatorum approbatio atq; administrationis commissio sive concessio per prædecessores tuos aut eorum alicujus respective Commissarios retroactis temporibus fiebat ac fieri et committi potuit, et non aliter committendum, Calculumq; ratiocinium et alia in ea parte expedienda, causasq; lites et negotia coram te aut tuis deputatis pendend. indecis. necnon alias sive alia, quascunq; sive quæcunq; ad forum Ecclesiasticum pertinentia ad te aut tuos deputatos sive deputand per viam querelæ aut appellationis sive ex officio devolvend. sive deducend. quæ extra legum nostrarū et statutorū Regni nostri

offens. coram te aut tuis Deputatis agitari, aut ad tuam sive alicujus Commissariorū per te vigore hujus Commissionis nostræ deputandorum cognitionem devolvi aut deduci valeant et possint, examinand. et decidend. Ad visitandum insuper Capitulum Ecclesiæ tuæ Cathedral. London. civitatemq; London. necnon omnia et singula Monasteria, Abbatias et Prioratus, Collegia et alia loca pia, tam Religiosa quam Hospitalia, quæcunq; clerumq; et populum dict. Dioc. London. quatenus Ecclesiæ, Monasterii, Abbatiæ, per te sive Prædecessores tuos London. Episcopos visitatio hujusmodi temporibus retroactis exerceri potuit, ac per te sive per eosdem de legibus et statutis ac juribus Regni nostri exerceri potuit et potest, et non aliter: Necnon ad inquirendū per te, vel alium seu alios ad id per te deputandū sive deputandos, tam ex officio mero mixto quam promoto super quorumcunq; excessibus, criminibus seu delictis quibuscunq; ad forum Ecclesiasticum spectantibus infra Dioc. London. ac dilinquentes sive criminosos, juxta comperta per te in ea parte per Licita Juris remedia pro modo culpæ, prout natura et qualitas delicti poposcerit, coercendum et puniendum, cæteraq; omnia et singula in Præmissis ceu aliquo præmissorum, aut circa ea necessaria seu quomodolibet opportuna, ac alia quæcunq; Autoritatem et Jurisdictionem Episcopalem quovismodo respiciend. et concernend. præter et ultra ea quæ tibi ex Sacris Literis divinitus commissa esse dignoscantur, vice, nomine, et Autoritate nostris exequendum, Tibi, de cujus sana doctrina, conscientiæ puritate, vitæq; et morum integritate, ac in rebus gerendis fide et industria plurimum confidimus, vices nostras cum potestate alium vel alios, Commissarium vel Commissarios, ad præmissa seu eorum aliqua surrogandi et substituendi, eosdemq; ad placitum revocand. tenore præsentium committimus, ac liberam facultatem concedimus; Teq; licentiam per præsentes ad nostri beneplaciti duntaxat duraturas, cum cujuslibet congruæ et Ecclesiasticæ coercionis potestate quacunq; inhibitione in te datam præsentium emanata in aliquo non obstante Tuam Conscientiam coram Deo strictissime onerantes, et ut summo omnium judici aliquando rationem reddere, et coram nobis tuo cum periculo corporali respondere intendis: te admonentes ut interim tuum officium juxta Evangelii normam pie et sancte exercere studeas, et ne quem ullo tempore unquam vel ad sacros ordines promoveas, vel ad curam animarum gerend. quovis modo admittas, nisi eos duntaxat quos ad tanti et tam venerabilis Officii functionem vitæ et morum integritas certissimis testimoniis approbata, literarum scientiæ et aliæ qualitates requisitæ ad hoc habiles et idoneos clare et luculenter ostenderint et declaraverint; Nam ut maxime compertum cognitumq; habemus morum omnium, et Maxime Christianæ Religionis corruptelam a malis Pastoribus in populum emanasse, sic ut veram Christi Religionem, vitæq; et morum emendationem a bonis Pastoribus iterum delectis et assumptis in integrum restitutum iri haud dubie speramus. In cujus rei testimonium præsentes Literas nostras inde fieri, et Sigilli nostri quo ad Causas Ecclesiasticas utimur appensione jussimus Communiri. Dat. 12. die mensis Novemb. Anno Dom. 1539. et Regni nostri Anno 31.

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### XV.—*The King's Letters Patents for printing the Bible in English.*

[Rot. Pat. 31, Hen. 8.]

Henry the Eighth, &c. To all and singular printers and sellers of books within this our realm, and all other officers, ministers, and subjects, these our letters hearing or seeing, greeting. We let you wit, that being desirous to have our people, at all times convenient, give themselves to the attaining the knowledge of God's word, whereby they will the better honour him, and observe and keep his commandments; and also do their duties better to us, being their prince and sovereign lord: and considering that this our zeal and desire cannot by any mean take so good effect, as by the granting to them the free and liberal use of the bible in our own natural English tongue: so unless it be foreseen that the same pass at the beginning by one translation to be perused and considered; the frailty of men is such, that the diversity thereof may breed and bring forth manifold inconveniences; as when wilful and heady folk shall confer upon the diversity of the said translations. We have therefore appointed our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, the lord Cromwell, keeper of our privy-seal, to take for us, and in our name, special care and charge, that no manner of person, or persons, within this our realm, shall enterprise, attempt, or set in hand to print any bible in the English tongue of any manner of volume, during the space of five years next ensuing after the date hereof, but only all such as shall be deputed, assigned, and admitted by the said lord Cromwell.

The 13 *Novemb. Tricesimo primo Regni.*

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### XVI.—*The Attainder of Thomas Cromwell.*

[Parliament Rolls, Act 60, An. Reg. 32.]

*Item quædam alia petitio, formam cujusdam actus attincturæ in se continens, exhibita est suæ Regiæ Majestati in Parliamento prædicto, cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba.*

In their most humble-wise showing to your most royal majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, and all your most loving and obedient subjects, the commons in this your most high court of parliament assembled; that where your most royal majesty, our natural sovereign lord, is justly, lawfully, and really entituled to be our sole supreme head and governor, of this your realm of England, and of the dominions of the same; to whom, and to none other under God, the kingly direction, order, and governance of your most loving and obedient subjects, and people of this your realm, only appertaineth and belongeth. And the which your most loving and obedient subjects, your highness prudently and quietly, without any manner of disturbance, by a long time most graciously hath preserved, sustained, and defended: and your highness, for the quietness, wealth, and tranquillity of your said humble and obedient subjects, hath made and ordained divers and many most godly, virtuous, and wholesome laws; and for due execution of the same, hath not desisted to travel in your own most royal person, to support and maintain, as well the laws of Almighty God, as the laws by your highness made and ordained, by due and condign execution of the same laws upon the transgressors offending contrary to the same: and your majesty hath always most virtuously studied and laboured, by all ways, and all means, to and for the setting forth thereof, in such wise as it might be most to the honour, glory, and pleasure of Almighty God; and for the common accord and wealth of this your realm, and other your dominions: and for the true execution of the same, hath elected, chosen, and made divers, as well of your nobles, as others, to be of your most honourable council, as to the honour of a noble prince appertaineth. And where your majesty hath had a special trust and confidence in your said most trusty counsellors, that the same your counsellors, and every of them, had minded and intended, and finally purposed to have followed and pursued your most godly and princely purpose, as of truth the more number



hath most faithfully done; yet nevertheless Thomas Cromwell, now earl of Essex, whom your majesty took and received into your trusty service, the same Thomas then being a man of very base and low degree, and for singular favour, trust, and confidence, which your majesty bare and had in him, did not only erect and advance the same Thomas unto the state of an earl, and enriched him with manifold gifts, as well of goods, as of lands and offices, but also him, the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, did erect and make one of your most trusty counsellors, as well concerning your grace's supreme jurisdictions ecclesiastical, as your most high secret affairs temporal. Nevertheless your majesty now of late hath found, and tried, by a large number of witnesses, being your faithful subjects and personages of great honour, worship, and discretion, the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, contrary to the singular trust and confidence which your majesty had in him, to be the most false and corrupt traitor, deceiver, and circumventor against your most royal person, and the imperial crown of this your realm, that hath been known, seen, or heard of in all the time of your most noble reign: insomuch that it is manifestly proved and declared, by the depositions of the witnesses aforesaid, that the same Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, usurping upon your kingly estate, power, authority, and office, without your grace's commandment or assent, hath taken upon him to set at liberty divers persons, being convicted and attainted of misprision of high treason; and divers other being apprehended, and in prison, for suspection of high treason; and over that, divers and many times, at sundry places, in this your realm, for manifold sums of money to him given, most traitorously hath taken upon him, by several writings, to give and grant, as well unto aliens, as to your subjects, a great number of licenses for conveying and carrying of money, corn, grain, beans, beer, leather, tallow, bells, metals, horses, and other commodities of this your realm, contrary to your highness's most godly and gracious proclamations made for the commonwealth of your people of this your realm in that behalf, and in derogation of your crown and dignity. And the same Thomas Cromwell, elated, and full of pride, contrary to his most bounden duty, of his own authority and power, not regarding your majesty royal; and further, taking upon him your power, sovereign lord, in that behalf, divers and many times most traitorously hath constituted, deputed, and assigned, many singular persons of your subjects to be commissioners in many your great, urgent, and weighty causes and affairs, executed and done in this your realm, without the assent, knowledge, or consent of your highness. And further also, being a person of as poor and low degree, as few be within this your realm; pretending to have so great a stroke about you, our, and his natural sovereign liege lord, that he letted not to say publicly, and declare, that he was sure of you; which is detestable, and to be abhorred amongst all good subjects in any Christian realm, that any subject should enterprise or take upon him so to speak of his sovereign liege lord and king. And also of his own authority and power, without your highness's consent, hath made, and granted, as well to strangers as to your own subjects, divers and many passports, to pass over the seas, with horses, and great sums of money, without any search. And over that, most gracious sovereign lord, amongst divers other his treasons, deceits, and falsehoods, the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, being a detestable heretic, and being in himself utterly disposed to set and sow common sedition and variance among your true and loving subjects, hath secretly set forth and dispersed into all shires, and other territories of this your realm, and other your dominions, great numbers of false erroneous books, whereof many were printed and made beyond the seas, and divers other within this realm, comprising and declaring, amongst many other evils and errors, manifest matters to induce and lead your subjects to diffidence, and refusal of the true and sincere faith and belief, which Christian religion bindeth all Christian people to have, in the most holy and blessed sacrament of the altar, and other articles of Christian religion, most graciously declared by your majesty, by authority of parliament: and certain matters comprised in some of the said books, hath caused to be translated into our maternal and English tongue: and, upon report made unto him by the translator thereof, that the matter so translated hath expressly been against the said most blessed and holy sacrament; yet the same Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, after he had read the same translation, most heretically hath affirmed the same material heresy so translated, to be good; and further hath said, that he found no fault therein; and over that, hath openly and obstinately holden opinion, and said, that it was as lawful for every Christian man to be a minister of the said sacrament as well as a priest. And where also your most royal majesty, being a prince of virtue, learning, and justice, of singular confidence and trust, did constitute and make the same Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, your highness's vicegerent within this your realm of England; and, by the same, gave unto him authority and power, not only to redress and reform all, and all manner of errors and erroneous opinions, insurging and growing among your loving and obedient subjects of this your realm, and of the dominions of the same, but also to order and direct all ecclesiastical and spiritual causes within your said realm and dominions; the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, not regarding his duty to Almighty God and to your highness, under the seal of your vicegerent, hath, without your grace's assent or knowledge, licensed and authorised divers persons, detected and suspected of heresies, openly to teach and preach amongst your most loving and obedient subjects, within this your realm of England. And, under the pretence and colour of the said great authorities and cures, which your majesty hath committed unto him in the premises, hath not only, of his corrupt and damnable will and mind, actually, at some time, by his own deed and commandment, and at many other times by his letters, expressly written to divers worshipful persons, being sheriffs, in sundry shires of this your realm, falsely suggesting thereby your grace's pleasure so to have been, caused to be set at large many false heretics, some being there indicted, and some other being thereof apprehended, and in ward: and commonly, upon complaints made by credible persons unto the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, of great and most detestable heresies committed and sprung in many places of this your realm, with declaration of the specialities of the same heresies, and the names of the offenders therein, the same Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, by his crafty and subtile means and inventions, hath not only defended the same heretics from punishment and reformation; but, being a fautor, maintainer, and supporter of heretics, divers times hath terribly rebuked divers of the said credible persons being their accusers, and some others of them hath persecuted and vexed by imprisonment and otherwise. So that thereby many of your grace's true and loving subjects have been in much dread and fear to detect or accuse such detestable known heretics; the particularities and specialities of which said abominable heresies, errors, and offences,

committed and done by the said Thomas Cromwell, being over-tedious, long, and of too great number here to be expressed, declared, or written. And to the intent to have those damnable errors and heresies, to be inculcated, impressed, and infixed in the hearts of your subjects, as well contrary to God's laws as to your laws and ordinances. Most gracious sovereign lord, the same Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, hath allured and drawn unto him, by retainers, many of your subjects sunderly inhabiting in every of your said shires and territories, as well erroneously persuading and declaring to them the contents of the false erroneous books, above-written, to be good, true, and best standing with the most Holy Word and pleasure of God; as other his false and heretical opinions and errors; whereby, and by his confederacies therein, he hath caused many of your faithful subjects to be greatly infected with heresies, and other errors, contrary to the right laws and pleasure of Almighty God. And the same Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, by the false and traitorous means above-written, supposing himself to be fully able, by force and strength, to maintain and defend his said abominable treasons, heresies, and errors, not regarding his most bounden duty to Almighty God and his laws, nor the natural duty of allegiance to your majesty, in the last day of March, in the thirtieth year of your most gracious reign, in the parish of St. Peter the Poor, within our city of London, upon demonstration and declaration then and there made unto him, that there were certain new preachers, as Robert Barnes, clerk, and other, whereof part been now committed to the Tower of London for preaching and teaching of lewd learning against your highness's proclamations; the same Thomas affirming the same preaching to be good, most detestably, arrogantly, erroneously, wilfully, maliciously, and traitorously, expressly against your laws and statutes; then and there did not let to declare, and say, these most traitorous and detestable words ensuing, amongst other words of like matter and effect; that is to say, that "if the king would turn from it, yet I would not turn; and if the king did turn, and all his people, I would fight in the field in mine own person, with my sword in my hand, against him and all others;" and then and there most traitorously pulled out his dagger, and held it on high, saying these words, "Or else this dagger thrust me to the heart, if I would not die in that quarrel against them all: and I trust, if I live one year or two, it shall not lie in the king's power to resist or let it if he would." And further, then and there, swearing by a great oath, traitorously affirmed the same his traitorous saying and pronunciation of words, saying, "I will do so indeed," extending up his arm, as though he had had a sword in his hand; to the most perilous, grievous, and wicked example of all other your loving, faithful, and obedient subjects in this your realm, and to the peril of your most royal person. And, moreover, our most gracious sovereign lord, the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, hath acquired and obtained into his possession, by oppression, bribery, extort, power, and false promises made by him, to your subjects of your realm, innumerable sums of money and treasure; and, being so enriched, hath had your nobles of your realm in great disdain, derision, and detestation, as by express words by him most opprobriously spoken hath appeared. And, being put in remembrance of others, of his estate, which your highness hath called him unto, offending in like treasons, the last day of January, in the thirty-first year of your most noble reign, at the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Field, in the county of Middlesex, most arrogantly, willingly, maliciously, and traitorously, said, published, and declared, that "if the lords would handle him so, that he would give them such a breakfast as never was made in England, and that the proudest of them should know;" to the great peril and danger as well of your majesty as of your heirs and successors: for the which his most detestable and abominable heresies and treasons, and many other his like offences and treasons, overlong here to be rehearsed and declared. Be it enacted, ordained, and established by your majesty, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, for his abominable and detestable heresies and treasons, by him most abominably, heretically, and traitorously practised, committed, and done, as well against Almighty God as against your majesty, and this your said realm, shall be, and stand, by authority of this present parliament, convicted and attainted of heresy and high-treason, and be adjudged an abominable and detestable heretic and traitor; and shall have and suffer such pains of death, losses, and forfeitures of goods, debts, and chattels, as in cases of heresy and high-treason, or as in cases of either of them, at the pleasure of your most royal majesty. And that the same Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, shall, by authority abovesaid, lose, and forfeit to your highness, and to your heirs and successors, all such his castles, lordships, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, remainders, services, possessions, offices, rights, conditions, and all other his hereditaments, of what names, natures, or qualities soever they be, which he the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, or any other to his use had, or ought to have had, of any estate of inheritance, in fee-simple or fee-tail, in reversion or possession, at the said last day of March, in the said thirtieth year of your most gracious reign, or at any time sith or after, as in cases of high-treason. And that all the said castles, lordships, manors, lands, messuages, tenements, rents, reversions, remainders, services, possessions, offices, and all other the premises forfeited, as is abovesaid, shall be deemed invested and adjudged in the lawful, real, and actual possession of your highness, your heirs, and successors for ever in the same, and such estate, manner, and form, as if the said castles, lordships, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, remainders, services, possessions, offices, and other the premises, with their appurtenances, and every of them, were specially or particularly founden, by office or offices, inquisition or inquisitions, to be taken by any escheator or escheators, or any other commissioner or commissioners, by virtue of any commission or commissions to them, or any of them, to be directed in any county or counties, shire or shires, within this your realm of England, where the said castles, and other the premises, or any of them, been, or do lay, and returned into any of your majesty's courts. Saving to all and singular person and persons, bodies politic and corporate, their heirs and successors, and their successors and assignees of every of them, other than the said Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, and his heirs, and all and every other person and persons, claiming by the same Thomas Cromwell, and to his use, all such right, title, entry, possession, interest, reversions, remainders, lease, leases, conditions, fees, offices, rents, annuities, commons, and all other commodities, profits, and hereditaments, whatsoever they or any of them might, should, or ought to have had, if this act had never been had nor made. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act of attainder, ne any offence, ne other thing therein



contained, extend not unto the deanery of Wells, in the county of Somerset; nor to any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments thereunto belonging; nor be in anywise prejudical or hurtful unto the bishop of Bath and Wells, nor to the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of St. Andrew of Wells, nor to any of them, nor to any of their successors; but that the said bishop, dean, and chapters, and their successors, and every of them, shall and may have, hold, use, occupy, and enjoy, all and singular their titles, rights, manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, and services, and all and singular other their hereditaments, commodities, and profits, of what nature, kind, or quality, or condition soever they be, in as ample and large manner and form, as though this act of attainder, or any offence therein mentioned, had never been had, committed, nor made; and that from henceforth the dean, and his successors, deans of the said cathedral church that hereafter shall be prefected, elected, and admitted to the same, shall, by the authority aforesaid, be dean of the said cathedral church, fully and wholly incorporated with the chapter of the same, in as ample, large, and like manner and form, to all intents and purposes, as the deans before this time hath been and used to be, with the said chapter of the said cathedral church of Wells. And that the same dean and chapter, and their successors, shall have, occupy, and enjoy, all and singular their such possessions, manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, and services, and all and singular their hereditaments, of what nature, kind, name or names they be called or known. And shall be adjudged and deemed in actual and real possession and season of, and in the same premises, to all intents and purposes, according to their old corporation, as though this act of attainder, or anything, clause, or matter therein contained had never been had, committed, nor made. This said act of attainder, or any other act, provision, or anything heretofore had or made to the contrary notwithstanding. *Cui quidem petitioni cum provisione prædict. prælect. et intellect. per dictum Dominum Regem ex authoritate et consensu Parliamenti prædicti sic Responsum est,*

*Soit faict come il est desiré.*

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XVII.—*Cromwell's Letter to the King concerning his Marriage with Ann of Cleves. An Original.*

[Cott. Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

To the King, my most Gracious Sovereign Lord his Royal Majesty.

Most merciful king, and most gracious sovereign lord, may it please the same to be advertised, that the last time it pleased your benign goodness to send unto me the right honourable lord chancellor, the right honourable duke of Norff. and the lord admiral, to examine, and also to declare unto me divers things from your majesty; among the which, one special thing they moved, and thereupon they charged me, as I would answer before God at the dreadful day of judgment, and also upon the extreme danger and damnation of my soul and conscience, to say what I knew in the marriage, and concerning the marriage, between your highness and the queen. To the which I answered as I knew, declaring unto them the particulars as nigh as I then could call to remembrance. Which when they had heard, they, in your majesty's name, and upon like charge as they had given me before, commanded me to write to your highness the truth, as much as I knew in that matter; which now I do, and the very truth, as God shall save me, to the uttermost of my knowledge. First; after your majesty heard of the lady Ann of Cleves, arrival at Dover, and that her journies were appointed toward Greenwich, and that she should be at Rochester on New-year's even at night, your highness declared to me that you would privily visit her at Rochester, upon New-year's-day, adding these words, "to nourish love;" which accordingly your grace did upon New-year's-day, as is above said. And the next day, being Friday, your grace returned to Greenwich, where I spake with your grace, and demanded of your majesty how ye liked the lady Ann: your highness answered as methought heavily, and not pleasantly, "Nothing so well as she was spoken of;" saying further, "that if your highness had known as much before as ye then knew, she should not have come within this realm;" saying, as by the way of lamentation, "what remedy?" unto the which I answered and said, I know none, but was very sorry therefore; and so God knoweth I was, for I thought it a hard beginning. The next day after the receipt of the said lady, and her entry made into Greenwich, and after your highness had brought her to her chamber, I then waited upon your highness into your privy chamber; and being there, your grace called me unto you, saying to me these words, or the like, "My lord, is it not as I told you? say what they will, she is nothing so fair as she hath been reported; howbeit she is well and seemly." Whereunto I answered and said, By my faith, sir, ye say truth; adding thereunto, that I thought she had a queenly manner; and nevertheless was sorry that your grace was no better content: and thereupon your grace commanded me to call together your council, which were these by name,—the archbishop of Canterbury, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, my lord admiral, and my lord of Duresme, and myself,—to commune of these matters, and to know what commissions the agents of Cleves had brought, as well touching the performance of the covenants sent before from hence to Dr. Wotton, to have been concluded in Cleves, as also in the declaration how the matters stood for the covenants of marriage between the duke of Lorrain's son and the said lady Ann. Whereupon Olisleger and Hogeston were called, and the matters purposed; whereby it plainly appeared that they were much astonished and abashed, and desired that they might make answer in the next morning, which was Sunday: and upon the Sunday in the morning your said counsellors and they met together early, and there eftsoons were proposed unto them, as well touching the commision for the performance of the treaty and articles sent to Mr. Wotton, as also touching the contracts and covenants of marriage between the duke of Lorrain's son and the lady Ann, and what terms they stood in. To which things so proposed, they answered as men much perplexed, that as touching commission, they had none to treat concerning the articles sent to Mr. Wotton. And as to the contract and covenants of marriage they could say nothing, but that a revocation was made and that they were but spousals. And finally, after much reasoning, they offered themselves to remain prisoners, until such time as they should have sent unto them from Cleves the first articles ratified under the duke their master's sign and seal, and also the copy of the revocation made between the duke of Lorrain's son and the lady Ann. Upon the which answers I was sent to your highness by my lords of your council to declare to your highness their answer; and came to you by the privy way into your privy chamber, and declared unto the same all the circumstances, wherewith your grace was very much displeased, saying "I am

not well handled;" insomuch that I might well perceive that your highness was fully determined not to have gone through with the marriage at that time, saying unto me these words, or the like in effect; "that if it were not that she is come so far unto my realm, and the great preparations that my states and people have made for her, and for fear of making a ruffle in the world; that is, to mean to drive her brother into the hands of the emperor and the French king's hands, being now together I would never have ne married her." So that I might well perceive your grace was neither content with the person ne yet with the proceedings of the agents; and at after-dinner, the said Sunday, your grace sent for all your said counsellors in, repeating how your highness was handled, as well touching the said articles, as also the said matter of the duke of Lorrain's son. It might, and I doubt not, did appear unto them how loth your highness was to have married at that time. And thereupon, and upon the considerations aforesaid, your grace thought that it should be well done that she should make a protestation before your said counsellors and notaries to be present, that she was free from all contracts, which was done accordingly. And thereupon I repairing to your highness, declared how that she had made her protestation. Whereunto your grace answered in effect these words, or much like: "Is there none other remedy but that I must needs, against my will, put my neck in the yoke?" and so departed, leaving your highness in a study or pensiveness. And yet your grace determined the next morning to go through; and in the morning, which was Monday, your Majesty preparing yourself towards the ceremonies, there was one question, who should lead to the church? And it was appointed that the earl of Essex deceased, and an earl that came with her, should lead her to the church. And thereupon one came to your highness and said to you, that the earl of Essex was not come; whereupon your grace appointed me to be one that should lead her: and so I went into her chamber, to the intent to have done your commandment; and shortly after I came into her chamber, the earl of Essex was come: whereupon I repaired back again into your grace's privy chamber, and showed your highness how he was come; and thereupon your majesty advanced towards the gallery out of your privy chamber; and your grace being in and about the midst of your chamber of presence, called me unto you, saying these words, or the like in sentence; "My lord, if it were not to satisfy the world, and my realm, I would not do that I must do this day for none earthly thing;" and therewith one brought your grace word that she was coming; and thereupon your grace repaired into the gallery towards the closet and there paused for her coming, being nothing content that she so long tarried as I judged then. And so consequently she came, and your grace afterward proceeded to the ceremonies; and they being finished, travelled the day as appertained, and the night after the custom. And in the morning on Tuesday, I repairing to your majesty into your privy chamber, finding your grace not so pleasant as I trusted to have done, I was so bold to ask your grace how you liked the queen? Whereunto your grace soberly answered, saying, "that I was not all men, surely, as ye know, I liked her before not well, but now I like her much worse; for," quoth your highness, "I have felt her belly and her breasts, and thereby, as I can judge, she should be no maid; which strook me so to the heart when I felt them, that I had neither will nor courage to proceed any further in other matters;" saying, "I have left her as good a maid as I found her:" which methought then ye spake displeasantly, which made me very sorry to hear; your highness also after Candlemass, and before Showstie, once or twice said, that "ye were in the same case with her as ye were afore, and that your heart could never consent to meddle with her carnally." Notwithstanding your highness alleged, that ye for the most part used to lay nightly, or every second night, by her, and yet your majesty ever said, "that she was as good a maid for you, as ever her mother bare her, for anything ye had ministered to her." Your highness showed to me also in Lent last passed, at such time as your grace had some communication with her of my lady Mary, how that she began to wax stubborn and wilful, ever lamenting your fate, and ever verifying that ye never had any carnal knowledge with her: and also after Easter, your grace likewise, at divers times, and in the Whitsun week, in your grace's privy chamber at Greenwich, exceedingly lamented your fate, and that your greatest grief was, that "ye should surely never have any more children for the comfort of this realm, if ye should so continue;" assuring me, "that before God ye thought she was never your lawful wife." At which time your grace knoweth what answer I made; which was, that I would for my part do my utmost to comfort and deliver your grace of your afflictions; and how sorry I was both to see and hear your grace, God knoweth. Your grace divers times sithen Whitsuntide, ever alleging one thing, and also saying, "that ye had as much to do to move the consent of your heart and mind as ever did man, and that you took God to witness; but ever, you said, the obstacle could never out of your mind." And, gracious prince, after that you had first seen her at Rochester, I never thought in my heart that ye were or would be contented with that marriage. And, sir, I know now in what case I stand, in which is only the mercy of God and your grace; if I have not to the uttermost of my remembrance said the truth, and the whole truth in this matter, God never help me. I am sure there is, as I think, no man in this your realm that knew more in this than I did, your highness only excepted. And I am sure, my lord admiral calling to his remembrance, can show your highness, and be my witness what I said unto him after your grace came from Rochester, yea, and after your grace's marriage: and also now of late, sithence Whitsuntide, and I doubt not but many and divers of my lords of your council, both before your marriage and sithence, have right-well perceived that your majesty hath not been well pleased with your marriage. And as I shall answer to God, I never thought your grace content, after you had once seen her at Rochester. And this is all that I know, most gracious and most merciful sovereign lord, beseeching Almighty God, who ever hath in all your causes counselled, preserved, opened, maintained, relieved, and defended your highness;—so he will now vouchsafe to counsel you, preserve you, maintain you, remedy you, relieve and defend you, as may be most to your honour, with prosperity, health, and comfort of your heart's desire. For the which, and for the long life, and prosperous reign of your most royal majesty, I shall, during my life, and whiles I am here, pray to Almighty God, that he of his most abundant goodness will help, aid, and comfort you, after your continuance of Nestor's years: that that most noble imp, the prince's grace, your most dear son, may succeed you to reign long, prosperously, and felicitously to God's pleasure: beseeching most humbly your grace to pardon this my rude writing, and to consider that I a most woful prisoner, ready to take the death, when it shall please God and your majesty: and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually to call to your grace for mercy and grace for mine offences; and thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you.



Written at the Tower this Wednesday, the last of June, with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your highness's most heavy and most miserable prisoner and poor slave,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy.

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XVIII.—*The King's own Declaration concerning it. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

FIRST; I depose and declare, that this hereafter written is merely the verity intended, upon none sinister affection, nor yet upon none hatred nor displeasure, and herein I take God to witness. Now to the matter I say and affirm, that when the first communication was had with me for the marriage of the lady Ann of Cleves, I was glad to hearken to it, trusting to have some assured friend by it; I much doubting that time, both the emperor, France, and the bishop of Rome; and also because I heard so much, both of her excellent beauty and virtuous conditions. But when I saw her at Rochester, the first time that ever I saw her, it rejoiced my heart that I had kept me free from making any pact or bond before with her till I saw her myself; for then I adsure you I liked her so ill, and so far contrary to that she was praised, that I was woe that ever she came into England; and deliberated with myself, that if it were possible to find means to break off, I would never enter yoke with her. Of which misliking both the great master, the admiral that now is, and the master of the horses, can and will bear record. Then after my repair to Greenwich, the next day after I think, and doubt not, but that the lord of Essex well examined, can, and will, or hath declared what I then said to him in that case; not doubting, but since he is a person which knoweth himself condemned to die by act of parliament, will not damn his soul, but truly declare the truth, not only at that time spoken by me, but also continually till the day of marriage; and also many times after, whereby my lack of consent, I doubt not, doth or shall well appear; and also lack enough of the will and power to consummate the same; wherein both he, my physicians, the lord privy seal that now is, Hennage and Denny can, and I doubt not will testify according to truth, which is, that I never for love to the woman consented to marry; nor yet if she brought maidenhead with her, took any from her by true carnal copulation. This is my brief, true, and perfect declaration. H. R.

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XIX.—*The Judgment of the Convocation for annulling of the Marriage with Ann of Cleves.*

[Regist. Cranmer.]

TENOR vero Literarum Testimonialum hujusmodi sequitur, et est talis. Excellentissimo in Christo Principi, &c. Thomas Cantuarien. et Edwardus Eboracen. Archiepiscopi, cæteriq; Episcopi et reliquus vestri Regni Angliæ clerus, Autoritate Literarum Commissionalium Vestræ Majestatis, Congregati ac Synodum universalem repræsentantes, cum obsequio, reverentia et honore debitis, salutem et fœlicitatem. Cum nos humillimi et Majestatis Vestræ devotissimi subditi, Convocati et Congregati sumus virtute Commissionis Vestræ magno sigillo Vestro sigillat. dat. 6 Julii Anno fœlicissimi Regni Vestri tricesimo secundo, quam accepimus in hæc quæ sequitur verba.

Henricus Octavus Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. Archiepiscopis Cantuarien. et Eborac. ac cæteris Regni nostri Angliæ Episcopis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, et universo Clero, salu em. Egerunt apud nos Regni nostri proceres et populus, ut cum nuper quædam emerserint, quæ ut illi putant ad nos Regniq; nostri successionem pertineant, inter quæ præcipua est, causa et conditio Matrimonii quod cum Illustri et Nobili Fœmina Domina Anna Clevensi propter externam quidem conjugii speciem, perplexum alioqui etiam multis ac variis modis ambiguum videtur; Nos ad ejusdem Matrimonii disquisitionem ita procedere dignaremur ut opinionem Vestram qui in Ecclesia nostra Anglicana scientiam Verbi Dei et Doctrinam profitemini exquiramus, vobisq; discutiendum Autoritatem ita demandemus, ut si animis Vestris fuerit persuasum Matrimonium cum præfata Domina Anna minime consistere aut cohærere debere; nos ad Matrimonium contrahend. cum alia liberos esse, Vestro, Patrum ac reliquæ deinde Ecclesiæ suffragio pronuncietur et confirmetur. Nos autem qui Vestrum in reliquis Ecclesiæ hujus Anglicanæ negotiis gravioribus quæ Ecclesiasticam Oeconomiam et Religionem spectant judicium amplecti solemus, ad veritatis explicandæ testimonium omnino necessarium rati sumus Causæ hujusmodi Matrimonialis seriem et circumstantias vobis exponi et communicari curare, ut quod vos per Dei Leges licere decreveritis id demum totius Ecclesiæ nostræ Autoritate innixi licite facere et exequi audeamus. Vos itaq; Convocari et in Synodum Universalem nostra Autoritate convenire volentes, vobis conjunctim et divisim committimus atq; mandamus, ut inspecta hujus negotii veritate, ac solum Deum præ oculis habentes, quod verum, quod justum, quod honestum, quod sanctum est, id nobis de communi Concilio scripto annuncio renuncietis, et de communi consensu licere definiatis: Nempe hoc unum a vobis nostro jure postulamus, ut tanquam fida et proba Ecclesiæ membra causæ huic Ecclesiasticæ, quæ maxima est, in justitia et veritate adesse velitis, et eam maturime juxta Commissionem vobis in hac parte factam absolvere et expedire. In cujus rei Testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teste meipso apud Westmon. sexto die Juliii Anno Regni nostri tricesimo secundo. Nos tenorem et effectum Vestræ Commissionis per omnia sequentes, postquam matura deliberatione perpendimus et consideravimus omnes Matrimonii prætensi inter Vestram Majestatem Illustrissimam et Nobilem fœminam Dominam Annam Clevensem circumstantias, nobis multis modis expositas, cognitas et perspectas, tandem ad definitionem et determinationem sequentem, quam communi omnium consensu justorumq; animorum nostrorum judicio ac recto conscientiæ dictaminæ protulimus, processimus, in hunc modum et (quod tenor Vestræ Commissionis exigit) Vestræ Nobilissimæ Majestati in hoc præsenti scripto referend. duximus, et significamus prout sequitur.

Primum itaq; comperimus et consideravimus Matrimonium inter Majestatem Vestram et Nobilem fœminam Dominam Annam Clevensem prætensam præcontracto quodam sive sponsaliorum, sive Matrimonii, inter dictam Dominam Annam et Marchionem Lotharingiæ concluso ambiguum, plane impeditum et perplexum reddi; Animadvertimus enim quod quamvis Vestra Majestas in prima hujus Matrimonii prætensi tractatione præcontractus prædicti, et de quo tum sermo multus habebatur, discussionem et declarationem ante solemnizandum cum dicta Domina Anna Matrimonium tanta instantia exegerit, ut pro conditione contrahendi deinde Matrimonii fuisse merito existimari possit, qua conditione defecta nihil ageretur; atq; hæc cum ita se haberent tamen neque ante solemnizationem illa de præcontractu ambiguitas expedita et declarata est, cum idipsum tum temporis Majestas Vestra denuo exposceret et efflagitaret, cui clara jam et expedita esse omnia falso renunciabatur, neq; postea quicquam efficax ut promissum ab Oratoribus fuerat,

huc transmissum est, quo scrupulus ille ex præcontractu natus eximeretur, tolleretur aut amoveretur, adeo quidem ut prætensum Matrimonium inter Majestatem Vestram et Dominam Annam prædictam non modo ex conditionis defectu corruerit, sed si nulla conditio hujusmodi omnino fuisset, certe quidem Matrimonium hujusmodi prætensum ex sola præcontractus hujusmodi causa non explicata in suspenso manserit, in eum etiam casum nullius vigoris omnino ac valoris pronunciandum, quo præcontractum illum verbis de præsenti factum fuisse constiterit, id quod multis de causis est verisimilius et merito suspectum haberi potest.

Consideravimus præterea ex his quæ allegata, affirmata et probata nobis fuerunt, quod prætensum Matrimonium inter Majestatem vestram et Dominam Annam prædictam internum, purum, perfectum et integrum consensum non habuit: Imo contra quemadmodum inter ipsa tractationis initia, cum de hoc Matrimonio ageretur, plurimus illecebrarum fucus adhibitus est, et magnus laudationum acervus supra fidem cumulatus, ut hic perduceretur et obtruderetur ignota, ita solemnizationis actus qui instabat a Majestate Vestra animo reluctante et dissentiente exortus est, causis maximis et gravissimis urgentibus et prementibus quæ animum invitum et alienum perpellere merito possent.

Consideravimus etiam carnalem Copulam inter Majestatem Vestram et prædictam Dominam Annam minime secutam esse, nec cum ea justo impedimento intercedente consequi deinde posse. Quæ omnia ex his quas audivimus probationibus vera et certa esse existimamus. Postremo illud quoq; Consideramus, quod et nobis ab aliis propositum etiam nos verum esse fatemur, agnoscimus et approbamus, viz. ut si Majestas Vestra (modo ne fiat divinæ jussioni præjudicium) in libertate contrahendi Matrimonii cum alia esse declaretur, maxime totius Regni beneficio id futurum. Cum quidem Regni fœlicitas omnis et conservatio, tum in Regia Vestra persona ad Dei honorem et divinarum legum executionem conservandam consistit, tum in vitandis etiam sinistris omnibus opinionibus et scandalis quæ de Majestatis Vestræ progenie post natam nobis ex prætenso Matrimonio sobolem suborirentur, si præcontractus ille de quo diximus, et cujus delaratio nulla secuta est, prædictæ Dominæ Annæ objiceretur. His itaq; de causis et considerationibus aliisq; multis non necessariis quæ exprimantur, cum separatim singulis, tum conjunctim omnibus consideratis et perpensis, Nos Archiepiscopi et Episcopi, cum Decanis, Archiadiaconis, et reliquo hujus Regni Clero nunc congregato, circumstantias facti ejusq; veritatem ut antedictum est considerantes, tum vero quid Ecclesia in hujusmodi casibus et possit facere et sæpenumero antehac fecerit perpendentes, tenore præsentium declaramus et definimus, Majestatem Vestram prædicto Matrimonio prætenso, utpote nullo et invalido, non alligari, sed alio desuper judicio non expectato Ecclesiæ suæ Autoritate fretam posse arbitrio suo ad contrahend. et consummand. Matrimonium cum quavis fœmina, divino jure vobiscum contrahere non prohibita, procedere, prætenso illo cum Domina Anna prædicta Matrimonio non obstante.

Similiter Dominam Annam prædictam non obstante Matrimonio prætenso cum Majestate Vestra, quod nullo pacto obstare debere Decernimus, posse arbitrio suo cum quavis alia persona divino jure non prohibita Matrimonium contrahere. Hæc nos Clerum et doctam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ partem repræsentantes, tum vera, justa, honesta et sancta esse Affirmamus, tum eisdem qui perfectissime, integerrime et efficacissime ad omnem intentionem, propositum et effectum a nobis exigi potest, Consentimus et Assentimur per præsentes. In quorum omnium et singulorum testimonium hæc scripta manuum nostrarum subscriptione, communimus, utriusq; etiam Archiepiscopi sigillo apposito. Dat. Westmon. nono die mensis Julii Anno Dom. 1540.

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### XX.—*Ann of Cleves' Letter* to her Brother.*

[Cotton. Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

Brother,—Because I had rather ye knew the truth by mine advertisement, than for want thereof ye should be deceived by vain reports, I write these present letters unto you, by which ye shall understand, that being advertised how the nobles and commons of this realm desired the king's highness here to commit the examination of the matter of marriage, between me and his majesty, to the determination of the clergy: I did the more willingly consent thereunto, and since the determination made, have also allowed, approved, and agreed unto the same, wherein I have more respect, as becometh me, to truth and good pleasure, than any worldly affection that might move me to the contrary. I account God pleased with that is done, and know myself to have suffered no wrong or injury; but being my body preserved in the integrity which I brought into this realm, and I truly discharged from all band of consent, I find the king's highness, whom I cannot justly have as my husband, to be nevertheless as a most kind, loving, and friendly father and brother, and to use me as honourably, and with as much humanity and liberality as you, I myself, or any of our kin or allies, could wish or desire; wherewith I am, for mine own part, so well content and satisfied, that I much desire my mother, you, and other mine allies so to understand it, accept, and take it; and so to use yourself towards this noble and virtuous prince, as he may have cause to continue his friendship towards you, which on his behalf shall nothing be impaired or altered for this matter; for so hath it pleased his highness to signify unto me, that like as he will show me always a most fatherly and brotherly kindness, and has so provided for me; so will he remain with you and other according to such terms as have passed in the same knot of amity which between you hath been concluded, this matter notwithstanding, in such wise as neither I, ne you, or any of our friends shall have just cause of miscontentment. Thus much I have thought necessary to write unto you, lest for want of true knowledge ye might otherwise take this matter than ye ought, and in other sort care for me than ye should have cause. Only I require this of you, that ye so use yourself, as for your untowardness in this matter, I fare not the worse; whereunto I trust you will have regard.

* This letter was drawn by Gardiner; but it is not certain that it was sent.—Strype's Corrections.

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### XXI.—*The Resolutions of several Bishops and Divines, of some Questions concerning the Sacraments; by which it will appear with what maturity and care they proceeded in the Reformation. Taken from the Originals, under their own hands: only in copying them, I judged it might be more acceptable to the reader to see every Man's Answer set down after every question; and therefore they are published in this method.*

Ex MSS. D. Stillingfleet.

The First Question.

*What a Sacrament is by the Scripture.*

The Scripture showeth not what a sacrament is; nevertheless where in the Latin text we have *Sacramentum*, there in the Greek we have *Mysterium*; and so by the Scripture, *Sacramentum* may be called *Mysterium*, id est, *res occulta sive arcana.—Canterbury.*

To the first; in Scripture we neither find definition nor description of a sacrament.—*York.*

Without prejudice to the truth, and saving always more better judgment, *Cum facultate etiam melius deliberandi in hac parte.*

To the first question; I think that the Scriptures do use this word Sacrament in divers places, according to the matter it treateth upon, Tobi. 12; Rev. 1; Wisd. ii. 6, 12; Dan. ii; Ephes. i. 3, 5; Col. i; 1 Tim. 10; Rev. xvii; as also it doth divers other words: yet what a sacrament is by definition, or description of Scripture, I cannot find it explicated openly. Likewise as I cannot find the definition or description of the Trinity, nor yet such-like things. Mary what other men can find, being daily and of long season exercised in Scripture, I cannot tell, referring therefore this thing to their better knowledge.—*London.*

I think that where this word, *Sacramentum*, is found in the Scripture in the Latin translation, there in the Greek is found this word μυστήριον, that is to say, a mystery, or a secret thing.—*Rochester.*

What the word Sacrament betokeneth, or what is the definition, description, or notification thereof, I have found no such plainly set out by Scripture. But this I find, that it should appear by the same Scripture, that the Latin word *Sacramentum*, and the Greek word *Mysterium*, be in manner always used for one thing; as much to say as, *Absconditum*, *Occultatum*, vel *in occulto.—Carlisle.*

*Thomas Robertson.* Ad Quæstiones:

Ad primam respondeo, vocem Sacramenti, mihi in Sacris Literis non reperiri in hac significatione, nisi quatenus ad Matrimonium applicatur a Paulo, ubi tamen Græce habetur Mysterium: et proinde ex meris Scripturis expresse definiri non posse.—*Dr. Robertson.*

I find not in Scripture, the definition of a Sacrament, nor what a Sacrament is.—*Dr. Cox.*

I find no definition in Scripture of this word *Sacramentum*; howbeit wheresoever it is found in Scripture, the same is in the Greek Mysterium, which signifieth a secret or hid thing.—*Dr. Day.*

Non habetur in Scripturis, quid Sacramentum proprie sit, nisi quod subinde Mysterium dicitur: varia enim. et in Scripturis, et in Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus reperitur ejus nominis significatio; ideoq; definiri non potest.—*Dr. Oglethorp.*

I find no definition of this word Sacrament, in the Scripture; nor likewise of this word *Gratia*, or *Lex*, with innumerable more; and yet what they signify, it is known; so the signification of this word Sacrament is plain, it is nothing else but a secret hid thing, or any mystery.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

Like as *Angelus*, *Cœlum*, *Terra*, be spoken of in Scripture, yet none of them defined: so although *Sacramentum* be spoken of in Scripture, yet it hath no definition there, but is taken divers ways, and in divers significations.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

This word Sacrament in Scripture is not defined.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I say this word Sacrament, taken in his common signification, betokeneth a mystery, and hid or secret thing: but if ye understand it, in his proper signification, as we use to apply it only to the seven Sacraments, the Scripture showeth not what a Sacrament is. And yet lest any man might be offended, thinking, that because the Scripture showeth not what a Sacrament is, therefore the same is a light thing, or little to be esteemed; here may be remembered that there are some weighty and godly things, being also of our belief, which the Scripture showeth not expressly what they are. As for example; we believe the Son is consubstantial to the Father: Item, that the Father is unbegotten, yet the Scripture showeth not what is consubstantial, nor what is unbegotten, neither maketh any mention of the words. Likewise it is true, baptism is a Sacrament, penance is a Sacrament, &c. yet the Scripture showeth not what a Sacrament is.—*Dr. Tresham.*

*Edwardus Leyghton.*

Responsions unto the Questions.

To the first question, I say; that in Holy Scripture I never found, and I think there is no man that will find, a definition or description of this word *Sacramentum*; which is as much to say in English, as, a mystery, a secret, or a hid thing.—*Dr. Leyghton.*

I do read no definition of this word, *Sacramentum*, in Scripture; but sometimes it is used in Scripture, to signify a thing secret or hid.—*Dr. Coren.*

*Conveniunt.*—In primo articulo conveniunt omnes, non satis constare ex Scriptura, quid sit Sacramentum; Pleriq; tamen dicunt Græce appellari, Mysterium, *i. e.* a secret, or a hid thing.

*Agreement*.*—In the answer unto the first question, they do all agree, that it is not evident by Scripture what a Sacrament is, but Mysterium, that is, a secret or a hid thing.

2. Question.

*What a Sacrament is by the Ancient Authors.*

*Answers.*

The ancient doctors call a Sacrament, *Sacræ rei Signum, viz. visibile Verbum, Symbolum, atque pactio qua sumus constricti.—Canterbury.*

To the second; of St. Augustin's words, this description following of a Sacrament may be gathered; *Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ, visibilis forma.* And this thing, that is such visible form or sign of invisible grace in sacraments, we find in Scripture, although we find not the word sacrament, saving only in the sacrament of matrimony.—*York.*

To the second; I find in authors this declaration, *Sacramentum est Sacræ rei signum.* Also, *Invisibilis Gratiæ Visibilis Forma.* Also, *Visibilis Forma Invisibilis Gratiæ imaginem gerens et causa existens.* And of the verity and goodness of this description or declaration, I refer me to the divines, better acquainted with this matter than I am.—*London.*

I think that this word sacrament, as it is taken of the old authors, hath divers and sundry significations; for sometimes it is extended to all holy signs, sometimes to all mysteries, sometimes to all allegories, &c. —*Rochester.*

Thomas Waldensis, who writeth a solemn work *de Sacramentis*, causeth me to say, that this word, *Sacramentum in Communi*, is defined of the ancient authors; who after that he had showed how that Wycliff, and before him Berengarius, hath said, that Augustin defineth *Sacramentum* thus: *Sacramentum est sacrum Signum*; and *Signum* in this wise *Signum, est res præter speciem quam sensibus ingerit aliquid aliud ex se faciens in cogitationem venire*†. He himself, with ancient authors, as he saith, defineth it thus: *Sacramentum est invisibilis Gratiæ visibilis Forma, vel, Sacramentum est Sacræ rei Signum:* both these descriptions (saith he) be of the ancient fathers.—*Carlisle.*

Sacramentum a vetustioribus, quemadmodum fert Hugo de S. Victore, et Thomas Aquinas, nondum reperiri definitum, nisi quod Augustinus interdum

* The agreement at the end of these Questions, is in Cranmer's hand.—Cott. Lib. 2. Cleop. E 5.

† De Doctrina Christiana.

vocet Sacramenta, Sacra signa aut signacula, interdum similitudines earum rerum, quarum sunt Sacramenta. Et Rabanus, Sacramentum dicitur, quod sub tegumento rerum corporalium, virtus Divina secretius salutem eorundem Sacramentorum operatur, unde et a secretis virtutibus vel Sacris, Sacramenta dicuntur.—*Dr. Robertson.*

The ancient authors commonly say, that a sacrament is *Sacræ rei Signum*, or *Sacrosanctum Signaculum*; but they do not utterly and properly define what it is.—*Dr. Cox.*

The ancient doctors take this word, *Sacramentum*, diversely, and apply it to many things.—*Dr. Day.*

Ex Augustino et aliis colligitur, Sacramentum posse dici, Sacræ rei Signum, vel, invisibilis gratiæ visibilis Forma, quanquam hæc posterior definitio non conveniat omnibus Sacramentis, sciz. tantum septem istis usitatis; sed nec his quoq; ex æquo, cum non æqualem conferant gratiam.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

Generally it is taken to signify every secret mystery, and *Sacramenta* be called, *Sacrarum rerum signa*, or, *Sacra signacula*: and as this word sacrament particularly is attributed to the chief sacraments of the church, this definition of a sacrament may be gathered of St. August. *Invisibilis Gratiæ visibilis Forma.* And also that a sacrament is a mystical or secret work, which consisteth *ex Verbo et elemento.* And Cyprian saith, *Verborum solemnitas et sacri invocatio nominis, et signa institutionibus Apostolicis Sacerdotum Ministeriis Attributa, visibile celebrant Sacramentum, rem vero ipsam Spiritus Sanctus format et efficit.*—*Dr. Redmayn.*

By the ancient authors, *Sacramentum* hath many significations; sometimes it is called a secret counsel, Tob. 12. *Sacramentum Regis abscondere bonum est.* Nebuchadnezzar's dream was called *Sacramentum*, Dan. 2. The mystery of Christ's incarnation, and of our redemption, is so called, Ephes. 3. and 1 Tim. 3. So that every secret thing, having some privy sense or signification, is called *Sacramentum*, generally extending the vocable: notwithstanding in one signification, *Sacramentum* accordeth properly to them that be commonly called the seven sacraments; and hath this definition taken of St. August. and others, *Invisibilis gratiæ visibilis Forma, ut ipsius imaginem gerat et quodammodo causa existat.*—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

The ancient authors of divinity use this word sacrament in divers significations, for they call it *Mysterium*; and so the Scripture useth it in many places, as 1 Tim. 3; Tobie 12; Wisd. 2; Dan. 2; Eph. 1. and 3. The word sacrament is also used for a figure or a sign of the old testament, signifying Christ, as the Paschal Lamb, and the Brazen Serpent, and divers other holy signs. It is also taken of the holy authors, to be an holy sign, which maketh to the sanctification of the soul, given of God against sin for our salvation, as it may be gathered of them; for this word sacrament is called by them, *Sacrum Signum*; but I have not read any express definition common to all sacraments.—*Dr. Symmons.*

This word sacrament, in the ancient authors, is oftimes used in this general signification, and so (as is before said) it is a mystery, or secret thing: and sometimes the same word is used as applicable only unto the seven sacraments; and is thus described, a visible form of an invisible grace: and thus also, a thing by the which, under the covering of visible things, the godly power doth work our health.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the second, I say; that Hugo de Sancto Victore is one of the most ancient authors that I ever could perceive, took upon him to define or describe a sacrament: howbeit, I suppose, that this common description which the schoolmen use, after the Master of the Sentences, viz. *Sacramentum est invisibilis Gratiæ visibilis seu sensibilis Forma*, may be gathered of St. Austin, and divers other ancient authors' words in many places of their works.—*Dr. Leyghton.*

I do find no definition plainly set forth in old authors, notwithstanding this definition, *Invisibilis Gratiæ visibilis Forma*, may be gathered out of St. Augustine.—*Dr. Coren.*

*Conveniunt.*—In secundo Articulo conveniunt omnes, Sacramentum esse sacræ rei signum. Tresham, Oglethorpus, et Edgworth, dicunt hanc definitionem, Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ visibilis Forma, his septem convenire. Thurlebeus ait, non convenire omnibus septem, et æque pluribus posse attribui atq; septem.

*Agreement.*—In the second they put many descriptions of a sacrament, as the sign of a holy thing, a visible word, &c. But upon this one definition, a sacrament is a visible form of invisible grace, they do not all agree: for Doctors Edgworth, Tresham, and Oglethorpe say, that "it is applicable only and properly unto the word sacrament, as it signifieth the seven sacraments usually received." My lord elect of Westminister saith, that "it agreeth not unto all the seven, nor yet more specially unto the seven, than unto any other."

3. Question.

*How many Sacraments there be by the Scripture?*

*Answers.*

The Scripture showeth not how many sacraments there be, but *Incarnatio Christi* and *Matrimonium*, be called in the Scripture *Mysteria*, and therefore we may call them by the Scripture *Sacramenta*. But one *Sacramentum* the Scripture maketh mention of, which is hard to be revealed fully, as would to God it were, and that is *Mysterium Iniquitatis*, or *Mysterium Meretricis magnæ et Bestiæ.*—*Canterbury.*

To the third; in Scripture we find no precise number of sacraments.—*York.*

To the third; I find not set forth the express number, with express declaration of this many and no more; nor yet of these expressly by Scripture which we use, especially under the name of Sacraments, saving only of matrimony.—*London.*

I think that in the Scripture be innumerable sacraments, for all mysteries, all ceremonies, all the facts of Christ, the whole story of the Jews, and the revelations of the Apocalypse, may be named sacraments.—*Rochester.*

The certain number of sacraments, or mysteries, contained within Scripture, cannot be well expressed or assigned; for Scripture containeth more than infallibly may be rehearsed.—*Carlisle.*

De istis septem, quæ usitate vocamus Sacramenta, nullum invenio nomine Sacramenti appellari, nisi Matrimonium. Matrimonium esse Sacramentum, probat Eckius, Homi. 73. et conferre gratiam, ibid.—*Dr. Robertson.*

There be divers sacraments by the Scripture, as in Tobie, 12. *Sacramentum Regis*, the king's secret. Also Nebuchadnezzar's dream, Dan. 2, is called, *Sacramentum. Incarnatio Christi, Sacramentum*, Ephes. 3. *Matrimonium, Sacramentum.*—*Dr. Cox.*

Taking for sacraments anything that this word *Sacramentum* doth signify, there be in Scripture a great number of sacraments more than seven.—*Dr. Day.*

Non habetur determinatus Sacramentorum numerus in Scripturis, sunt enim innumera fere illic, quæ passim vocantur Sacramenta; cum omnis allegoria, omneq; Mysterium, dicatur Sacramentum. Quin et somnia, ac secreta, subinde Sacramenta vocantur. Tobiæ 2. Sacramentum Regis abscondere bonum est; et Dan. 2. Imploremus misericordias Dei Cœli super Sacramento isto, et somnio. Paulus etiam Epist. 2. vocat Mysterium Incarnationis Christi Sacramentum: Et in Apoc. 1. vocat Sacramentum septem Stellarum. Ac hoc præcipue observandum venit, nullum a septem Sacramentis receptis, hoc nomine appellari, præter solum matrimonium.—*Dr. Oglethorp.*



As many as there be mysteries, which be innumerable; but by Scripture, I think, the seven which be named sacraments, may principally bear the name.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

Speaking of sacraments generally, they be innumerable spoken of in Scripture; but properly to speak of sacraments, there be but seven that may be so called, of which matrimony is expressly called *Sacramentum*, Ephes. 5, and, as I think, in the germane and proper signification of a sacrament; so that the indivisible knot of the man and his wife in one body, by the sacrament of matrimony, is the matter of this sacrament; upon which, as on the literal verity, the apostle foundeth this allegorical saying, *Ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia*; for the mystical sense presupposeth a verity in the letter on which that is taken. Six more there be to which the definition doth agree, as manifestly doth appear by the Scriptures with the exposition of the ancient authors.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

In the Scripture there is no certain number of sacraments.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I find no more of the seven, called expressly sacraments, but only matrimony; but, extending the name of sacrament in his most general acception, there are in Scripture a great number of sacraments, whereof the apostle saith, *Si noverint Mysteria omnia, &c.*—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the third; I say, that I find not in Scripture any of these seven which we commonly call sacraments, called *Sacramentum*, but only *Matrimonium.* But I find divers and many other things called sacraments in Scripture, as in the 21st of Tobie, *Sacramentum Regis abscondere bonum est.* Item, Apoc. 17. *Dicamus tibi Sacramentum.* Item, 1 Tim. 3. *Magnum est pietatis sacramentum, &c.*—*Dr. Leyghton.*

I cannot tell how many sacraments be, by Scripture, for they be above one hundred.—*Dr. Coren.*

*Conveniunt.*—In tertio conveniunt satis: non esse certum numerum Sacramentorum per Scripturas. Redmaynus addit, *But by Scripture I think the seven which be named sacraments, may principally bear the name.* Idem sentit Edgworth, et septem tantum. Matrimonium in Scripturis haberi sub nomine Sacramenti pleriq; dicunt.

*Agreement.*—In the third they do agree, that there is no certain number of sacraments by Scripture, but even as many as there be mysteries; and none of these seven called sacraments, but only matrimony in Scripture.

4. Question.

*How many Sacraments there be by the Ancient Authors?*

*Answers.*

By the ancient authors there be many sacraments more than seven, for all the figures which signify Christ to come, or testify that he is come, be called sacraments, as all the figures of the old law, and in the new law; *Eucharistia, Baptismus, Pascha, Dies Dominicus, lotio pedum, signum Crucis, Chrisma, Matrimonium, Ordo, Sabbatum, Impositio manuum, Oleum, Consecratio Olei, Lac, Mel, Aqua, Vinum, Sal, Ignis, Cinis, adapertio Aurium, vestis candida*, and all the parables of Christ, with the prophesies of the Apocalypse and such others, be called by the doctors, *Sacramenta.*—*Canterbury.*

To the fourth; There is no precise number of sacraments mentioned by the ancient authors, taking the word sacrament in his most general signification.—*York.*

To the fourth; I find that St. Austin speaketh *de Baptismo, de Eucharistia, de Matrimonio, de Ordinatione clericorum, de Sacramento Chrismatis et Unctionis*: also I find in the said St. Austin, that in the old law there were many sacraments, and in the new law few.—*London.*

I think that in the doctors be found many more sacraments than seven, viz. *Panis Catechumenorum, signum Crucis, Oleum, Lac, Sal, Mel, &c.*—*Rochester.*

That Scripture containeth, by the same Holy Ghost which is author thereof, the holy doctors, and ancient fathers expoundeth; so that where in Scripture the number of sacraments is uncertain, it cannot be among them certain.—*Carlisle.*

Apud Augustinum lego Sacramentum Nuptiarum, Sacramentum Baptismi, Sacramentum Eucharistiæ, quod et altaris sive panis vocat; Sacramentum Ordinationis; Sacramentum Chrismatis, quod datur per manus impositionem Baptizatis; Sacramentum Unctionis.—*Dr. Robertson.*

I find in the ancient authors, that baptism is called *Sacramentum, Eucharistia Sacramentum, Matrimonium Sacramentum, Ordo Sacramentum, Chrisma Sacramentum, Impositio Manuum per Baptismum Sacramentum, Dilectio Sacramentum, Lotio pedum Sacramentum, Oleum, Mel, Lac, Sacramenta*; and many others.—*Dr. Cox.*

There be a great sort of sacraments found in the doctors, after the acception above-said, more than seven.—*Dr. Day.*

Apud Scriptores Ecclesiasticos reperiuntur multo plura Sacramenta quam hæc septem.—*Dr. Oglethorp.*

Taking this word sacrament universally for mysteries, or all secret tokens, there be more sacraments than can be reckoned; but the seven by old authors may specially obtain the name. *Lotio pedum* is spoken of in old authors as a special sacrament used then in the church, and as it appeareth, having a great ground in the Scripture; and I think it were better to renew that again, and so to have eight sacraments, rather than to diminish the number of the seven now used.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

Even like as to the next question before.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

The ancient authors acknowledge many more than seven; for they call in their writings all rites and ceremonies, sacraments.—*Dr. Symmons.*

Generally, as many as mysteries, specially seven, and no more of like nature to them; for although I find not express mention where penance is called a sacrament, yet I think it may be deduced and proved by Cyprian, in his sermon *de Passione Christi*, in these words. *Deniq; quicunq; fiunt Sacramentorum Ministri, per operationem authoritas in figura Crucis omnibus Sacramentis largitur effectum, et cuncta peragit nobis quod omnibus nominibus eminet a Sacramentorum vicariis invocatum: At licet indigni sint qui accipiunt, Sacramentorum tamen reverentia et propinquiorem ad Deum parat accessum, et ubi redierint ad cor constat ablutionis donum, et redit effectus munerum, nec alias quæri aut repeti necesse est salutiferum Sacramentum*; in these words, *redit effectus munerum*; and *nec alias repeti necesse est salutiferum Sacramentum*, must needs be understood penance, and also that penance is a sacrament: for as our first access to God is by the sacrament baptism, which Cyprian

there following called *Ablutionem primam;* so if we fall by deadly sin, we cannot *repetere* God again, but by penance; which repeating, *i. e.* penance, Cyprian calleth *Salutiferum Sacramentum.*—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the fourth, I say: that I find in ancienter authors every one of these seven, which we call commonly sacraments, called *Sacramentum;* as in Austin every one of them is called *Sacramentum* but only penance, which Cyprian calleth *Sacramentum.* Also I find in the ancienter authors divers other things (besides the seven) called sacraments, as *Lotio pedum* in Cyprian, &c.—*Dr. Leyghton.*

More sacraments be found in old authors than seven. —*Dr. Coren.*

*Conveniunt.*—In quarto conveniunt, plura esse Sacramenta quam septem apud Authores: Redman addit; *But the seven, by old authors, may specially obtain the name.* Idem putat *Edgworth and Tresham.* Lotio pedum, *he thinketh were better to be renewed, and so made eight sacraments, than the number of the seven to be diminished.* Treshamus citat Cyprianum in Serm. de Passione Christi pro pœnitentia, quod dicatur Sacramentum, cum alii fere omnes nusquam appellari aiunt Sacramentum apud Authores, et hic locus aperte agit de Baptismo, quod vocat donum ablutionis, et Sacramentum Salutiferum.

*Agreement.*—In the fourth they agree, that there is no determinate number of sacraments spoken of in the old authors; but that my lord of York, and Edgworth, Tresham, Redman, Crayford, and Simmons, say, that those seven, by old authors, may specially obtain the name of sacraments. The bishop of St. David's saith, that there be but four sacraments in the old doctors most chiefly spoken of, and they be baptism, the sacrament of the altar, matrimony, and penance.

5. Question.

*Whether this word Sacrament be and ought to be attributed to the seven only? and whether the seven Sacraments be found in any of the old Authors?*

*Answers.*

I know no cause why this word sacrament should be attributed to the seven only; for the old authors never prescribed any certain number of sacraments, nor in all their books I never read these two words joined together, viz. *septem Sacramenta.*—*Canterbury.*

To the fifth; to the first part of this question, this word sacrament is used and applied in Scripture to some things that be none of the seven sacraments. To the second part; the seven sacraments be found in some of the ancient authors.—*York.*

To the fifth, I answer; that this word sacrament in our language commonly hath been attributed to the seven customably called sacraments, not for that yet, that the word sacrament cannot be applied to any more, but for that the seven have been specially of very long and ancient season received, continued, and taken for things of such sort.—*London.*

I think that the name of a sacrament is and may be attributed to more than seven, and that all the seven sacraments be found in the old authors, though all peradventure be not found in one author. But I have not read penance called by the name of a sacrament in any of them.—*Rochester.*

Certain it is, that this word sacrament neither is nor ought to be attributed to seven only, for both Scripture and ancient authors otherwise applieth it, but yet nothing letteth, but that this word sacrament may most especially, and in a certain due pre-eminence, be applied to the seven sacraments, of most ancient name and usage among Christian men. And that the ancient authors have so used and applied it, affirmeth the said Thomas Walden., convincing Wycliffe and Berengarius, who enforced the contrary, from Cyprian, and also Augustin, with other holy doctors, they may so well be gathered.—*Carlisle.*

Vocabulum, Sacramenti, in Sacris Literis, nulli Sacramentorum quod sciam tribuitur, nisi Matrimonio: a vetustis Scriptoribus tribuitur Ceremoniis et umbris legis, Incarnationi Christi, figuris, allegoriis, et festivitatibus: apud Paulum legitur divinitatis, voluntatis divinæ, et pietatis Sacramentum. Cæterum loquendo de Sacramentis his, quæ sunt invisibilis gratiæ collatæ in Ecclesia Christi visibilia signa, opinor non plura quam septem inveniri, hisq; magis proprie quam reliquis, sub hac ratione, tribui nomen Sacramenti.—*Dr. Robertson.*

This word sacrament is not, nor ought not to be attributed to these seven only. Those that we call seven sacraments be found in old authors, although some of them be seldom found called by this name sacrament.—*Dr. Cox.*

This word *Sacramentum* neither is nor ought to be so attributed unto these seven, but that it is and may be attributed to many more things, and so the ancienter doctors use it. The seven sacraments be found in ancient doctors under the name of sacrament, saving that I remember not that I have read in them penance called a sacrament.—*Dr. Day.*

Nomen commune est multis aliis rebus, quam septem istis usitatis Sacramentis. Septem Sacramenta, seorsim et sparsim reperiuntur in veterum monumentis. —*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

To the seven specially and principally, and in general to innumerable more. But I cannot tell whether in any old author might be found these two words, seven sacraments, or this number limited; but every one of the seven sacraments, one by one, be found in the old authors.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

*Sacramentum,* in his proper signification, is and ought to be attributed to the seven only; and they be all seven found in the authors.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

This word sacrament is not only to be attributed to the seven, but that the seven sacraments especially conferreth grace, the old authors especially accounteth them by the number of seven; and these seven are found in authors and scriptures, although they be not found by the name of seven.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I say, this word sacrament is attributed to the seven; and that the seven sacraments are found in the ancient authors.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the fifth I say, first (as before), that this word *Sacramentum* is not applied or attributed in holy Scripture to any of the seven, but only to matrimony. But it is attributed in Scripture and ancient authors to many other things besides these: howbeit, taking this word *Sacramentum* for a sensible sign of the invisible grace of God given unto Christian people, as the schoolmen and many late writers take it; I think that these seven commonly called sacraments, are to be called only and most properly sacraments.—*Dr. Leyghton.*

This word sacrament may well be attributed to the seven; and so it is found in old authors, saving that I do not read expressly in old doctors, penance to be under the name of a sacrament, unless it be in Chrysostom, in the exposition *ad Hebræ. Homil.* 20. sect. 1. cap. 10. *in principio.*—*Dr. Coren.*

*Non. Con.*—In quinto præter Herfordens. Roffens. Dayium, Oglethorpum, Menevens. et Coxum, putant omnes nomen Sacramenti præcipue his septem convenire. Symons addit, *The seven sacraments specially confer grace:* Eboracens. Curren, Tresham, Symons, aiunt septem Sacramenta inveniri apud veteres, quanquam Curren et Symons mox videntur iterum negare.



*Dissent.*—In the fifth; the bishops of Hereford and St. David, Dr. Day, Dr. Cox, say, that this word sacrament, in the old authors, is not attributed unto the seven only, and ought not to be attributed; the bishop of Carlisle alleging Waldensis, Doctors Curren, Edgworth, Symons, Tresham say, that it is and may be attributed. And Dr. Curren and Mr. Symmons seem to vary against themselves each in their own answers; for Dr. Curren saith, that this word sacrament is attributed unto the seven in the old doctors, and yet he cannot find that it is attributed unto penance. Dr. Symons saith, that the old authors account them by the number of seven; and yet he saith, that they be not found there by the name of Seven.

6. Question.

*Whether the determinate number of seven Sacraments be a Doctrine, either of the Scripture, or of the old Authors, and so to be taught?*

*Answers.*

The determinate number of seven sacraments is no doctrine of the Scripture, nor of the old authors.—*Canterbury.*

To the sixth; the Scripture maketh no mention of the sacraments determined to seven precisely; but the Scripture maketh mention of seven sacraments, which be used in Christ's church, and grounded partly in Scripture; and no more be in use of the said church but seven so grounded; and some of the ancient doctors make mention of seven, and of no more than seven, as used in Christ's church so grounded; wherefore a doctrine may be had of seven sacraments precisely used in Christ's church, and grounded in Scripture.—*York.*

To the sixth; I think it be a doctrine set forth by the ancient fathers, one from another, taking their matter and ground out of Scripture, as they understood it; though Scripture for all that doth not give unto all the seven, the special names by which now they are called, nor yet openly call them by the name of Sacrament, except only (as is before said) the sacrament of matrimony.—*London.*

Albeit the seven sacraments be in effect found both in the Scripture and in the old authors, and may therefore be so taught; yet I have not read this precise and determinate number of seven sacraments, neither in the Scripture, nor in the ancient writers.—*Rochester.*

By what is here before said, I think it doth well appear, that both the Scripture of God, and holy expositors of the same, would have the seven sacraments both taught, and in due form exhibited to all Christian people, as it shall also better appear by what followeth. —*Carlisle.*

In Scriptura tantum unum ex istis septem Sacramentum vocari invenio, nimirum Matrimonium: apud veteres reperiuntur omnia hæc septem, a nullo tamen, quod sciam, nomine 7. Sacramentorum celebrari, nisi quod Eras. ait 7. a veteribus recenseri: August. loquens de Sacramentis ad Januarium Ep. 118. ait numerum septenarium tribui Ecclesiæ proprie instar universitatis; Item objectum fuisse Husso in Concilio Constantienti quod infideliter senserit de 7 Sacramentis. De perfectione Num. Septenarii, vide August. lib. 1. de Civ. cap. 31.—*Dr. Robertson.*

This determinate number of seven sacraments is no doctrine of Scripture, nor of the old authors, nor ought not to be taught as such a determinate number by Scripture and old authors.—*Dr. Cox.*

Neither the Scripture nor the ancient authors do recite the determinate number of the seven sacraments; but the doctrine of the seven sacraments is grounded in Scripture, and taught by the ancient authors, albeit not altogether.—*Dr. Day.*

Septenarius Sacramentorum numerus, Doctrina est recentium Theologorum; quam illi partim ex Scriptura, partim ex veterum scriptis, argute in sacrum hunc (ut aiunt) numerum, collegerunt.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

I think, as I find by old authors, the ancient church used all these seven sacraments; and so I think it good to be taught.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

The determinate number of seven sacraments is not taught in any one process of the Scripture, nor of any one of the old authors of purpose speaking of them altogether, or in one process, as far as I can remember; albeit they all seven be there, and there spoken of in Scripture manifestly, and so have the old authors left them in sundry places of their writings; and so it ought to be taught.—*Dr. Edgworth.*

Forasmuch as the Scripture teacheth these seven, and showeth special graces given by the same, the which are not so given by others, called sacraments, the old authors perceiving the special graces, have accounted them in a certain number, and so have been used by doctors to be called Seven, and without inconvenience may so be taught.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I say, the determinate number of seven is not expressly mentioned in the Scripture, like as the determinate number of the seven petitions of the prayer is not expressly mentioned; and as I think the seven petitions to have their ground in Scripture, even so do I think of the seven sacraments, to be grounded in Scripture.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the sixth I say as before, that the old authors call each of these seven sacraments; but be it, I cannot remember that ever I read the determinate, precise, and express number of seven sacraments in any of the ancient authors, nor in Scripture. Howbeit we may find in Scripture, and the old authors, also mention made, and the doctrine of each of these seven, commonly called sacraments.—*Dr. Leyghton.*

The determinate number of seven is a doctrine to be taught, for every one of them be contained in Scripture, though they have not the number of seven set forth there, no more than the petitions of the *Pater Noster* be called seven, nor the articles of the creed be called twelve.—*Dr. Coren.*

*Conveniunt.*—Priori parti Quæstiones negative Respondent. Herfordens. Menevens. Roffens. Dayus, Dunelmens. Oglethorpus, Thurleby: Posteriori parti, quod sit Doctrina conveniens respondent affirmative, Eboracen. Roffen. Carliolen. Londinen. Dayus, Edgworth, Redmayn, Symmons, Curren: Londinen. et Redmanus non respondent priori parti Quæstionis, nec Oglethorpus, Tresham, Robinsonus Posteriori. Eboracen. Londin. Symmons, Curren, volunt è Scripturis peti Doctrinam Septem. Sacramentorum.

*Agreement.*—In the sixth, touching the determinate number of the seven sacraments, the bishop of Duresme, Hereford, St. David, and Rochester, the elect of Westminster, Dr. Day, and Dr. Oglethorpe, say, "this prescribed number of sacraments is not found in the old authors." The bishop of York, Drs. Curren, Tresham, and Symmons, say the contrary. Concerning the second part, Whether it be a doctrine to be taught? the bishops of Hereford, St. David's, and Dr. Cox, "think it ought not to be so taught as such a determinate number by Scripture." The bishops of York, London, Carlisle; Drs. Day, Curren, Tresham, Symmons, Crayford, "think it a doctrine meet to be taught:" and some of them say, that "it is founded on Scripture."

7. Question.

*What is found in Scripture of the matter, nature, effect, and virtue of such as we call the seven Sacraments; so as although the name be not there, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no, and in what wise spoken of?*

*Answers.*

I find not in the Scripture, the matter, nature, and effect of all these which we call the seven sacraments, but only of certain of them, as of baptism, in which we be regenerated and pardoned of our sin by the blood of Christ: of Eucharistia, in which we be concorporated unto Christ, and made lively members of his body, nourished and fed to the everlasting life, if we receive it as we ought to do, and else it is to us rather death than life. Of penance, also, I find in the Scripture, whereby sinners after baptism returning wholly unto God, be accepted again unto God's favour and mercy. But the Scripture speaketh not of penance, as we call it a sacrament, consisting in three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction; but the Scripture taketh penance for a pure conversion of a sinner in heart and mind from his sins unto God, making no mention of private confession of all deadly sins to a priest, nor of ecclesiastical satisfaction to be enjoined by him. Of matrimony, also, I find very much in Scripture; and among other things, that it is a mean whereby God doth use the infirmity of our concupiscence to the setting forth of his glory and increase of the world, thereby sanctifying the act of carnal commixtion between the man and the wife to that use—yea, although one party be an infidel: and in this matrimony is also a promise of salvation, if the parents bring up their children in the faith, love, and fear of God. Of the matter, nature, and effect of the other three, that is to say, confirmation, order, and extreme unction, I read nothing in the Scripture as they be taken for sacraments.—*Canterbury.*

To the seventh: Of baptism, we find in Scripture the institution by the word of Christ; we find also that the matter of baptism is water, the effect and virtue is remission of sins. Of confirmation, we find that the apostles did confirm those that were baptized, by laying their hands upon them, and that the effect then was the coming of the Holy Ghost into them, upon whom the apostles laid their hands, in a visible sign of the gift of divers languages, and therewith of ghostly strength to confess Christ, following upon the same. Of the sacrament of the altar, we find the institution by Christ, and the matter thereof, bread and wine, the effect, increase of grace. Of the sacrament of penance, we find the institution in the gospel, the effect, reconciliation of the sinner, and the union of him to the mystical body of Christ. Of the sacrament of matrimony, we find the institution both in the Old and New Testament, and the effect thereof, remedy against concupiscence and discharge of sin, which otherwise should be in the office of generation. Of the sacrament of order, we find, that our Saviour gave to his apostles power to baptize, to bind and to loose sinners, to remit sins, and to retain them, to teach and preach his word, and to consecrate his most precious body and blood, which be the highest offices of order; and the effect thereof grace, we find in Scripture. Of extreme unction, we find in the Epistle of the holy apostle St. James, and of the effects of the same.—*York.*

To the seventh, I find, that St. Austin is of this sentence, that "where the sacraments of the old law did promise grace and comfort, the sacraments of the new law do give it indeed." And moreover he saith, that "the sacraments of the new law are, *factu faciliora, pauciora, salubriora, et fæliciora*, more easier, more fewer, more wholesomer, and more happy."—*London.*

The Scripture teacheth of baptism, the sacrament of the altar, matrimony, and penance manifestly: there be also in the Scripture manifest examples of confirmation, viz., that it was done after baptism by the apostles, *per manuum Impositionem.* The Scripture teacheth also of order, that it was done, *per manuum Impositionem cum oratione et jejunio.* Of the unction of sick men, the Epistle of St. James teacheth manifestly.—*Rochester.*

I think verily, that of the substance, effect, and virtue of these seven usual sacraments, that are to be taken and esteemed above others, we have plainly and expressly by holy Scripture. Of baptism, that whosoever believeth in Christ, and is christened, shall be saved; and except that one be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot come within the kingdom of God. Of matrimony, we have in Scripture, both by name and in effect, in the Old and New Testament, both by Christ and his apostle Paul. Of the sacrament of the altar, I find plainly, expressly, both in the holy gospels and other places of Scripture. Of penance in like manner. Of confirmation, we have in Scripture, that when the Samaritans, by the preaching of Philip, had received the word of God and were christened, the apostles, hearing of the same, sent Peter and John unto them; who, when they came thither, they prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost: then they laid their hands upon them, and so they received the Holy Ghost; "This," saith Bede, "is the office and duty only of bishops." "And this manner and form" (saith St. Hierom,) "as it is written in the Acts, the church hath kept, that the bishop should go abroad to call for the grace of the Holy Ghost, and lay his hands upon them, who had been christened by priests and deacons." Of the sacrament of orders, we have, that Christ made his apostles the teachers of his law, and ministers of his sacraments, that they should duly do it, and make and ordain others likewise to do it after them. And so the apostles ordained Matthias to be one of their number; St. Paul made and ordained Timothy and Titus, with others likewise. Of the sacrament of extreme unction, we have manifestly in the Gospel of Mark, and Epistle of St. James.—*Carlisle.*

Materia Sacramentorum est Verbum et Elementum, virtus quam Deus per illa digne sumentibus conferat gratiam, juxta suam promissionem, nimirum quod sint Sacra Signacula, non tantum signantia sed etiam sanctificantia. Unde opinor constare hanc Sacramentorum vim esse in Sacris Literis.—*Dr. Robertson.*

I find in Scripture, of such things as we use to call sacraments; First, of baptism manifestly. Of Eucharistia manifestly. Of penance manifestly. Of matrimony manifestly. Of ordering, *per manus Impositionem et Orationem* manifestly. It is also manifest that the apostles laid their hands upon them that were christened. Of the unction of the sick, with prayer, manifestly—*Dr. Cox.*

Albeit the seven sacraments be not found in Scripture expressed by name, yet the thing itself, that is, the matter, nature, effect, and virtue of them, is found there. Of baptism in divers places; of the most holy communion; of matrimony; of absolution; of bishops, priests, and deacons, how they were ordained *per manuum Impositionem cum Oratione;* of laying the apostles' hands on them that were christened, which is a part of confirmation; of unction of them that were sick, with prayer joined withal.—*Dr. Day.*

Natura, vis, effectus, ac uniuscujusq; Sacramenti proprietas, seorsim in Scriptura reperitur, ut veteres eam interpretati sunt.—*Dr. Oglethorp.*

As it appeareth in the articles which be drawn of the said seven sacraments.—*Dr. Redmayn.*



In Scripture we find of the form of the sacraments, as the words sacramental; and the matter, as the element, oil, chrism; and the patient receiving the sacrament; and of grace and increase of virtue given by them as the effects.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

The things are contained in Scripture, as baptism, confirmation, *Eucharistia, Pœnitentia, Extrema Unctio, Ordo,* although they have not there this name *Sacramentum,* as matrimony hath; and every one of them hath his matter, nature, effect, and virtue.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I think the thing, the matter, the nature, the effect, and virtue of them all be in the Scripture, and all there institute by God's authority, for I think that no one man, neither the whole church, hath power to institute a sacrament, but that such institution pertaineth only to God.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the seventh, I say, that we may evidently find in Scripture the substance of every one of the seven Sacraments, the nature, effect, and virtue of the same; as of baptism, confirmation, penance, matrimony, and so forth of the rest.—*Dr. Leyghton.*

Of the matter, nature, virtue, and effect of such as we call sacraments, Scripture maketh mention: of baptism manifestly, of the most holy communion manifestly, of absolution manifestly, of matrimony manifestly: of bishops, priests, and deacons, Scripture speaketh manifestly; for they were ordered, *per Impositiones manuum Presbyterii cum Oratione et jejunio.*—*Dr. Coren.*

*Conveniunt.*—Conveniunt præter Menevens. naturam septem Sacramentorum nobis tradi in Scripturis. Eboracens. effectus singulorum enumerat, item Carliolens.

Londinens. non Respondet Quæstioni. Treshamus ait ideo è Scripturis tradi nobis Sacramenta, quoniam tota Ecclesia non habet Authoritatem Instituendi Sacramenta.

*Agreement.*—In the seventh they do agree, saving this, that the bishop of St. David says, that the nature, effect, and virtue of these seven sacraments, only baptism, the sacrament of the altar, matrimony, penance, are contained in the Scripture. The other say, that the nature and the virtue of all the seven be contained in the Scripture.

8. Question.

*Whether Confirmation, cum Chrismate, of them that be baptized be found in Scripture.*

*Answers.*

Of confirmation with chrism, without which it is counted no sacrament, there is no mention in the Scripture.—*Canterbury.*

To the eighth; We find confirmation, *cum Impositione manuum,* in Scripture, as before; *cum Chrismate* we find not in the Scripture, but yet we find chrismation with oil used even from the time of the apostles, and so taken as a tradition apostolic.—*York.*

To the eighth; I find in Scripture, in many places, *de Impositione manuum,* which I think (considering the usage commonly and so long withal used) to be confirmation; and that with chrism, to supply the visible appearance of the Holy Ghost, which Holy Ghost was so visibly seen in the primitive church;—nevertheless, for the perfect declaration of the verity hereof, I refer it to the judgment of men of higher knowledge in this faculty.—*London.*

Although confirmation be found in the Scripture, by example, as I said before, yet there is nothing written *de Chrismate.*—*Rochester.*

The imposition of hands, the holy doctors take for the same which we call confirmation, done upon them which were christened before, whereof is written in the Acts. And as for *Chrisma,* it should seem by Cyprian, both as touching the confection and usage thereof, that it hath a great ground to be derived out of Scripture, though it be not manifestly therein spoken of.—*Carlisle.*

Res et Effectus Confirmationis continentur in Scriptura, nempe, Impositio manuum per Apostolos Baptizatis, per quam dabatur Spiritus Sanctus. De Chrismate nihil illic legimus, quia per id tempus Spiritus Sanctus signo visibili descenderit in Baptizatos. Quod ubi fieri desierit, Ecclesia Chrismate signi externi loco uti cœpit.—*Dr. Robertson.*

I find not in Scripture that the apostles laying their hands upon them that were baptized, did anoint them *Chrismate.*—*Dr. Cox.*

Confirmation *cum Chrismate* I read not in Scripture, but *Impositionem manuum super Baptizatos* I find there is, which ancient authors call confirmation; and inunction with *Chrisma* hath been used from the primitive church.—*Dr. Day.*

De Impositione manuum cum Oratione, expressa mentio est in Scripturis, quæ nunc usitato nomine, a Doctoribus dicitur, Confirmatio. Sacrum Chrisma, traditio est Apostolica, ut ex veteribus liquet.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

The question is not simple, but as if it were asked, Whether *Eucharistia in infermentato* be in the Scripture, or *Baptismus cum sale.* Imposition of the apostles' hands, in which was conferred the Holy Ghost for confirmation of them who were baptized, is found in Scripture. Chrisma is a tradition deduced from the apostles, as may be gathered by Scripture, and by the old authors, and the mystery thereof is not to be despised.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

This sacrament is one, *unitate integritatis,* as some others be: therefore it hath two parts, of which one, that is, *Impositio manuum,* is taken Heb. vi. and Act. viii. The other part, that is, *Chrisme,* is taken of the tradition of the fathers, and so used from the primitive church. *Vide Cyp. Epist.* lib. i. ep. 12.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

Confirmation is found in Scripture, and confirmation *cum Chrismate* is gathered from the old authors.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I say confirmation is found in Scripture, but this additament, *cum Chrismate,* is not of the Scripture, yet is it a very ancient tradition, as appeareth by *Cyp. de Unct. Chrism.*—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the eighth question I say, that confirmation of them that be baptized is found in Scripture; but *cum Chrismate* it is not found in Scripture, but it was used *cum Chrismate* in the church soon after the apostles' time, as it may evidently appear by the cited authors.—*Dr. Leyghton.*

The laying of the bishop's hands upon them that be christened, which is a part of confirmation, is plainly in Scripture; and the unction with *Chrisme,* which is another part, hath been observed from the primitive church, and is called of St. Austin, *Sacramentum Chrismatis.* Unction of the sick with oil and the prayer is grounded expressly in Scripture.—*Dr. Coren.*

*Conveniunt.*—Conveniunt omnes Confirmationem cum Chrismate non haberi in Scripturis. Eboracens. Tresham, Coren, Day, Oglethorpe, Edgworth, Leighton, Symmons, Redman, Robinsonus, Confirmationem in Scripturis esse contendunt; cæterum Chrisma esse traditionem Apostolicam: addit Robertsonus, et ubi fieri desierat miraculum Consecrandi Spiritus Sancti, Ecclesia Chrismate signi externi loco uti cœpit; Convenit illi Londinens.

Carliolens. putat usum Chrismatis ex Scripturis peti posse; Putant omnes tum in hoc Articulo, tum superiori, Impositionem manuum esse Confirmationem.

*Agreement.*—In the eighth they do agree all, except it be the bishop of Carlisle, that *confirmatio cum chrismate* is not found in Scripture, but only *confirmatio cum manuum impositione*. And that also my lord of St. David's denieth to be in Scripture, as we call it a sacrament. My lord of Carlisle saith, that "*chrisma*, as touching the confection and usage thereof, hath a ground to be derived out of Scripture." The other say, "that it is but a tradition."

9. Question.

*Whether the Apostles, lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian king among them, made bishops by that necessity, or by authority given by God?*

*Answers.*

All Christian princes have committed unto them immediately of God the whole cure of all their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's word, for the cure of souls, as concerning the ministration of things political and civil governance: and in both these ministrations, they must have sundry ministers under them to supply that which is appointed to their several offices. The civil ministers under the king's majesty, in this realm of England, be those whom it shall please his highness for the time to put in authority under him; as for example, the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, lord great master, lord privy seal, lord admiral, majors, sheriffs, &c. The ministers of God's word, under his majesty, be the bishops, parsons, vicars, and such other priests as be appointed by his highness to that ministration; as for example, the bishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Durham, the bishop of Winchester, the parson of Winwick, &c. All the said officers and ministers, as well of that sort as the other, be appointed, assigned, and elected, and in every place, by the laws and orders of kings and princes. In the admission of many of these officers be divers comely ceremonies and solemnities used, which be not of necessity, but only for a good order and seemly fashion; for if such offices and ministrations were committed without such solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed; and there is no more promise of God, that grace is given in the committing of the ecclesiastical office, than it is in the committing of the civil office. In the apostles' time, when there was no Christian princes, by whose authority ministers of God's word might be appointed, nor sins by the sword corrected, there was no remedy then for the correction of vice, or appointing of ministers, but only the consent of Christian multitude among themselves, by an uniform consent, to follow the advice and persuasion of such persons whom God had most endued with the spirit of counsel and wisdom; and at that time, forasmuch as the Christian people had no sword nor governor amongst them, they were constrained of necessity to take such curates and priests, as either they knew themselves to be meet thereunto, or else as were commended unto them by others, that were so replete with the Spirit of God, with such knowledge in the profession of Christ, such wisdom, such conversation and counsel, that they ought even of very conscience to give credit unto them, and to accept such as by them were presented: and so sometimes the apostles and others, unto whom God had given abundantly his Spirit, sent or appointed ministers of God's word; sometimes the people did choose such as they thought meet thereunto; and when any were appointed or sent by the apostles or others, the people of their own voluntary will with thanks did accept them: nor for the supremity, empire, or dominion, that the apostles had over them to command, as their princes and masters, but as good people ready to obey the advice of good counsellors, and to accept anything that was necessary for their edification and benefit.—*Canterbury.*

To the ninth, We find in Scripture that the apostles used the power to make bishops, priests, and deacons; which power may be grounded upon these words:—*Sicut misit me vivens Pater, sic ego mitto vos*, &c. And we verily think that they durst not have used so high power unless they had had authority from Christ; but that their power to ordain bishops, priests, or deacons, by imposition of hands, requireth any other authority than authority of God, we neither read in Scripture nor out of Scripture.—*York.*

To the ninth, I think the apostles made bishops by the law of God; because, Acts xxii., it is said, *In quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit.* Nevertheless, I think if Christian princes had been then, they should have named by right, and appointed the said bishops to their rooms and places.—*London.*

I think that the apostles made bishops by authority given them from God.—*Rochester.*

That Christ made his apostles priests and bishops; and that he gave them power to make others like, it seemeth to be the very trade of Scripture.—*Carlisle.*

Opinor Apostolos Authoritate Divina creasse Episcopos et Presbyteros, ubi Publicus Magistratus permittit.—*Dr. Robertson.*

Although the apostles had no authority to force any man to be priest, yet (they moved by the Holy Ghost) had authority of God to exhort and induce men to set forth God's honour, and so to make them priests.—*Dr. Cox.*

The apostles made, that is to say, ordained, bishops by authority given them by God; Joh. xx., *Sicut misit me vivens Pater, ita et ego mitto vos.* Item, Joan. ult. et Act. xx. and 1 Tim. iv., *Paulus ordinavit Timotheum et Titum, et præscribit quales illi debeant ordinare.* 1 Tim. i., Tit. i.—*Dr. Day.*

Apostoli autoritate et mandato Dei, ordinabant ac instituebant Episcopos, petita ac obtenta prius facultate a Principe ac Magistratu (ut opinor) qui tum præerat.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

Christ gave his apostles authority to make other bishops and ministers in his church, as he had received authority of the Father to make them bishops; but if any Christian prince had then been, the apostles had been, and ought to have been, obedient subjects, and would nothing have attempted but under the permission and assent of their earthly governors: yet was it meet that they which were special and most elect servants of our Saviour Christ, and were sent by him to convert the world, and having most abundantly the Holy Ghost in them, should have special ordering of such ministry as pertained to the planting and increasing of the faith; whereunto I doubt not but a Christian prince, of his godly mind, would most lovingly have condescended. And it is to be considered, that in this question, with other like, this word, making of a bishop or priest, may be taken two ways: for understanding the word, to ordain or consecrate, so it is a thing which pertaineth to the apostles and their successors only; but if by this word (making) be understood the appointing or naming to the office, so it pertaineth specially to the supreme heads and governors of the church, which be princes.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

The apostles made bishops and priests by authority given them of God, and not for lack of any higher power. Notwithstanding, where there is a christened king or prince, the election, deputation, and assignation of them that shall be priests or bishops, belongeth



to the king or prince, so that he may forbid any bishop within his kingdom, that he give no orders, for considerations moving him, and may assign him a time when he shall give orders, and to whom: example of king David, 1 Chron. xxiv., dividing the Levites into twenty-four orders, deputing over every order one chief bishop, prescribing an ordinal and rule how they should do their duties, their courses; and what sacrifices, rites, and ceremonies they should use every day, as the day and time required. And his son, king Solomon, diligently executed, and commanded the same usages to be observed in the temple after he had erected and finished it, 2 Chron. viii.—*Dr. Edgworth.*

The apostles made bishops and priests, by authority given them of God.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I say, that the apostles had authority of God to make bishops; yet if there had been a Christian king in any place where they made bishops, they would and ought to have desired authority also of him for the executing of such their godly acts which no Christian king would have denied.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the ninth, I say, that the apostles (as I suppose) made bishops by authority given unto them of Christ: howbeit, I think they would and should, required the Christian princes' consent and license thereto, if there had been any Christian kings or princes.—*Dr. Leyghton.*

The apostles made bishops and priests by authority given them of God: notwithstanding if there had been a Christian king at that time, it had been their duties to have had his license and permission to do the same.—*Dr. Coren.*

*Conveniunt.*—Omnes Conveniunt Apostolos Divinitus accepisse Potestatem creandi Episcopos; Eboracens. addit, non opus fuisse alia authoritate Apostolis quam divina: Sic Thirleby et Edgworth, Redmanus distinguit de Institutione Presbyteri, Ordinationem et Consecrationem tribuit tantum Apostolis et eorum Successoribus, nominationem et electionem Magistratibus: Sic Londinens. Leightonus, Redman, Tresham, Curren, aiunt petendam fuisse Potestatem a Magistratu Christiano, si tum fuisset. Robertsonus non respondet Quæstioni, concedit enim datam esse Apostolis Potestatem creandi Episcopos ubi Magistratus permittit. Oglethorpus putat eos impetrasse potestatem a principibus: Carliolens. Roffens. Dayus, non respondent ultimæ Parti.

*Agreement.*—In the ninth, touching the authority of the apostles in making priests, the bishop of York, the elect of Westminster, Dr. Edgeworth, say, that "the apostles made priests by their own power, given them by God, and that they had no need of any other power." The bishop of St. David saith, that "because they lacked a Christian prince, by that necessity they ordained other bishops." Dr. Leighton, Curren, Tresham, and Redmayn suppose, that "they ought to have asked license of their Christian governors, if then there had been any."

10. Question.

*Whether Bishops or Priests were first? and if the Priests were first, then the Priest made the Bishop.*

*Answers.*

The bishops and priests were at one time, and were no two things, but both one office in the beginning of Christ's religion.—*Canterbury.*

To the tenth; We think that the apostles were priests before they were bishops; and that the divine power which made them priests, made them also bishops; and although their ordination was not by all such course as the church now useth, yet that they had both visible and invisible sanctification, we may gather of the gospel, where it is written, *Sicut misit me Pater vivens, et ego mitto vos: et cum hæc dixit, insufflavit in eos et dixit, Accipite Spiritum Sanctum: quorum remiseritis, &c.* And we may well think, that then they were made bishops, when they had not only a flock, but also shepherds appointed to them to overlook, and a governance committed to them by the Holy Ghost to oversee both; for the name of a bishop is not properly a name of order, but a name of office, signifying an overseer. And although the inferior shepherds have also cure to oversee their flock, yet forsomuch as the bishop's charge is also to oversee the shepherds, the name of overseer is given to the bishops, and not to the other; and as they be in degree higher, so in their consecration we find difference even from the primitive church.—*York.*

To the tenth: I think the bishops were first, and yet I think it is not of importance, whether the priest then made the bishop, or else the bishop the priest; considering (after the sentence of St. Jerome) that in the beginning of the church there was none (or if it were, very small) difference, between a bishop and a priest, especially touching the signification.—*London.*

I find in Scripture, that Christ being both a priest and a bishop, ordained his apostles, who were both priests and bishops; and the same apostles did afterwards ordain bishops, and commanded them to ordain others.—*Rochester.*

Christ made his apostles exorcists, as it appeareth in the 10th Matthew; deacons, priests, and bishops, as partly there, and after, in the 20th of St. John, *Quorum Remiseritis, &c.* and where he said, *Hoc facite in meam Commemorationem.* In the Acts, *Cæterorum nemo audebat se conjungere illis.* So that they were all these together; and so being according to the ordinance of Christ, who had made after them seventy-two other priests, as it appeareth in the 10th of St. Luke, they made and ordained also others the seven principal deacons, as it is showed in the 6th of the Acts; where it is said, that they praying laid their hands upon them. In the 13th of the Acts, certain there named at the commandment of the Holy Ghost severed Saul and Barnabas to that God had taken them, fasting, praying, and laying their hands upon them; the which Saul, Ananias the disciple had baptized, laying his hand upon him, that he might be replenished with the Holy Ghost. And Paul so made, ordained Timothy and Tite, willing them to do likewise as he had done, and appointed to be done from city to city. James was ordained the bishop of Jerusalem by Peter, John, and James, So that example otherwise we read not.—*Carlisle.*

Incertus sum utri fuere priores, at si Apostoli in prima profectione Ordinati erant, apparet Episcopos fuisse priores, nempe Apostolos, nam postea designavit Christus alios septuaginta duos. Nec opinor absurdum esse, ut Sacerdos Episcopum Consecret, si Episcopus haberi non potest.—*Dr. Robertson.*

Although by Scripture (as St. Hierome saith) priests and bishops be one, and therefore the one not before the other; yet bishops, as they be now, were after priests, and therefore made of priests.—*Dr. Cox.*

The apostles were both bishops and priests, and they made bishops; and bishops, as Titus and Timotheus, made priests. *Episcopatum ejus accipiat alter,* Act i. *Presbyteros qui in vobis sunt, obsecro et ego Compresbyter,* 1 Pet. v. And in the beginning of the church, as well that word *Episcopus* as *Presbyter* was common and attributed both to bishops and priests.—*Dr. Day.*

Utrique primi a Deo facti, Apostoli, Episcopi;

Septuaginta discipuli (ut conjectura ducor) Sacerdotes. Unde verisimile est Episcopos præcessisse, Apostoli enim prius vocati erant.—*Dr. Oglethorp.*

They be of like beginning, and at the beginning were both one, as St. Hierome and other old authors show by the Scripture, wherefore one made another indifferently.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

Christ, our chief priest and bishop, made his apostles priests and bishops all at once; and they did likewise make others, some priests and some bishops: and that the priests in the primitive church made bishops, I think no inconvenience; (as Jerome saith) in an *Epist. ad Euagrium.* Even like as soldiers should choose one among themselves to be their captain, so did priests choose one of themselves to be their bishop, for consideration of his learning, gravity, and good living, &c. and also for to avoid schisms among themselves by them, that some might not draw the people one way, and others another way, if they lacked one head among them.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

Christ was and is the great high bishop, and made all his apostles bishops; and they made bishops and priests after him, and so hath it evermore continued hitherto.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I say, Christ made the apostles first priests, and then bishops, and they by this authority made both priests and bishops; but where there had been a Christian prince, they would have desired his authority to the same.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the tenth.—*Dr. Leyghton.*

The apostles were made of Christ, bishops and priests, both at the first; and after them, *Septuaginta duo Discipuli*, were made priests.—*Dr. Coren.*

*Conveniunt.* — Menevens. Therleby, Redmanus, Coxus, asserunt in initio eosdem fuisse Episcopos et Presbyteros. Londinens. Carliolens. Symons, putant Apostolos fuisse institutos Episcopos a Christo, et eos postea instituisse alios Episcopos et Presbyteros, et 72 Presbyteros postea fuisse Ordinatos: Sic Oglethorpus, Eboracens. et Tresham aiunt Apostolos primo fuisse Presbyteros, deinde Episcopos, cum aliorum Presbyterorum eredita esset illis cura. Robertsonus incertus est utri fuere priores, non absurdum tamen esse opinatur, ut Sacerdos consecret Episcopum, si Episcopus haberi non potest. Sic Londinens. Edgworth, Dayus, putant etiam Episcopos, ut vulgo de Episcopis loquimur, fuisse ante Presbyteros. Leightonus nihil respondet.

*Agreement.*—In the tenth; where it is asked, whether bishops or priests were first? The bishop of St. David, my lord elect of Westminster, Dr. Cox, Dr. Redmayn, say, that "at the beginning they were all one." The bishops of York, London, Rochester, Carlisle; Drs. Day, Tresham, Symmons, Oglethorp, be in other contrary opinions. The bishop of York and doctor Tresham think, "that the apostles first were priests, and after were made bishops, when the overseeing of other priests was committed to them." My lords of Durham, London, Carlisle, Rochester, Drs. Symmons and Crayford, think, "that the apostles first were bishops, and they after made other bishops and priests." Drs. Coren and Oglethorp say, "that the apostles were made bishops, and the 72 were after made priests." Dr. Day thinks, "that bishops, as they be now-a-days called, were before priests." My lord of London, Drs. Edgworth and Robertson, "think it no inconvenience, if a priest made a bishop in that time."

11. Question.

*Whether a Bishop hath Authority to make a Priest by the Scripture, or no? And whether any other but only a Bishop may make a Priest?*

*Answers.*

A bishop may make a priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the people also by their election; for as we read that bishops have done it, so Christian emperors and princes usually have done it, and the people before Christian princes were, commonly did elect their bishops and priests.—*Canterbury.*

To the eleventh; That a bishop may make a priest, may be deduced of Scripture; for so much as they have all authority necessary for the ordering of Christ's church, derived from the apostles, who made bishops and priests, and not without authority, as we have said before to the ninth question; and that any other than bishops or priests may make a priest, we neither find in Scripture nor out of Scripture.—*York.*

To the eleventh; I think, that a bishop duly appointed hath authority, by Scripture, to make a bishop, and also a priest: because Christ being a bishop did so make himself; and because alive, his apostles did the like.—*London.*

The Scripture showeth by example, that a bishop hath authority to make a priest; albeit no bishop being subject to a Christian prince, may either give orders or excommunicate, or use any manner of jurisdiction, or any part of his authority, without commission from the king, who is supreme head of that church whereof he is a member; but that any other man may do it besides a bishop, I find no example, either in Scripture, or in doctors.—*Rochester.*

By what is said before, it appeareth, that a bishop by Scripture may make deacons and priests, and that we have none example otherwise.—*Carlisle.*

Opinor Episcopum habere Authoritatem creandi Sacerdotem, modo id Magistratus publici permissu fiat. An vero ab alio quam Episcopo id rite fieri possit, haud scio, quamvis ab alio factum non memini me legisse. Ordin. conferr. gratiam. vid. Eck. homil. 60.—*Dr. Robertson.*

Bishops have authority, as is aforesaid, of the apostles, in the tenth question, to make priests, except in cases of great necessity.—*Dr. Cox.*

Bishops have authority by Scripture to ordain bishops and priests; Joh. xx. *Hujus rei gratia reliqui te Cretæ ut constituas oppidatim Presbyteros,* Tit. i., Act. xiv.—*Dr. Day.*

Autoritas ordinandi Presbyteros data est Episcopis per verbum, multisq; aliis quos lego.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

To the first part, I answer, yea; for so it appeareth Tit. i., and 1 Tim. v.; with other places of Scripture. But whether any other but only a bishop may make a priest, I have not read, but by singular privilege of God; as when Moses (whom divers authors say was not a priest) made Aaron a priest. Truth it is, that the office of a godly prince is to oversee the church, and the ministers thereof; and to cause them do their duty, and also to appoint them special charges and offices in the church, as may be most for the glory of God, and edifying of the people: and thus we read of the good kings in the Old Testament, David, Joas, Ezekias, Josias. But as for making, that is to say, ordaining and consecrating of priests, I think it specially belongeth to the office of a bishop, as far as can be showed by Scripture, or any example, as I suppose from the beginning.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

A bishop hath authority by Scripture to make a priest, and that any other ever made a priest since



Christ's time I read not. Albeit Moses, who was not anointed priest, made Aaron priest and bishop, by a special commission or revelation from God, without which he would never so have done.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

A bishop placed by the higher powers, and admitted to minister, may make a priest; and I have not read of any other that ever made priests.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I say, a bishop hath authority by Scripture to make a priest, and other than a bishop hath not power therein, but only in case of necessity.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the eleventh; I suppose that a bishop hath authority of God, as his minister, by Scripture to make a priest; but he ought not to admit any man to be priest, and consecrate him, or to appoint him unto any ministry in the church, without the prince's license and consent, in a Christian region. And that any other man hath authority to make a priest by Scripture, I have not read, nor any example thereof. —*Dr. Leyghton.*

A bishop being licensed by his prince and supreme governor, hath authority to make a priest by the law of God. I do not read that any priest hath been ordered by any other than a bishop.—*Dr. Coren.*

*Conveniunt.*—Ad primam partem Quæstionis respondent omnes, et convenit omnibus præter Menevens. Episcopum habere autoritatem instituendi Presbyteros. Roffens. Leighton, Curren, Robertsonus, addunt, Modo Magistratus id permittat. Ad secundam partem Respondent Coxus et Tresham in necessitate concedi potestatem Ordinandi aliis. Eboracen. videtur omnino denegare aliis hanc autoritatem. Redmayn, Symmons, Robertson, Leighton, Thirleby, Curren, Roffen. Edgworth, Oglethorp, Carliolen. nusquam legerunt alios usos fuisse hac Potestate, quanquam (privilegio quodam) data sit Moysi, ut Redmanus arbitratur et Edgeworth. Nihil respondent ad secundam partem Quæstionis Londinensis et Dayus.

*Agreement.*—In the eleventh; To the former part of the question, the bishop of St. David's doth answer, "that bishops have no authority to make priests, without they be authorised of the Christian prince." The others all of them do say, "that they be authorised of God." Yet some of them, as the bishop of Rochester, Dr. Curren, Leighton, Robertson, add, "that they cannot use this authority without their Christian prince doth permit them." To the second part, the answer of the bishop of St. David's is, "that laymen have other whiles made priests." So doth Dr. Edgworth and Redman say, "that Moses, by a privilege given him of God, made Aaron his brother priest." Drs. Tresham, Crayford, and Cox say, "that laymen may make priests in time of necessity." The bishops of York, Durham, Rochester, Carlisle, elect of Westminister, Drs. Curren, Leighton, Symmons, seem to deny this thing; for they say, "they find not, nor read not any such example."

12. Question.

*Whether in the New Testament be required any Consecration of a Bishop and Priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient.*

*Answers.*

In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop, or a priest, needeth no consecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient.—*Canterbury.*

To the twelfth question; The apostles ordained priests by imposition of the hand with fasting and prayer; and so following their steps, we must needs think that all the foresaid things be necessarily to be used by their successors: and therefore we do also think, that appointment only, without visible consecration and invocation for the assistance and power of the Holy Ghost, is neither convenient nor sufficient; for without the said invocation, it beseemeth no man to appoint to our Lord ministers, as of his own authority: whereof we have example in the Acts of the Apostles; where we find, that when they were gathered to choose one in the place of Judas, they appointed two of the disciples, and commended the election to our Lord, that he would choose which of them it pleased him, saying and praying, "Lord, thou that knowest the hearts of all men, show whether of these two thou dost choose to succeed in the place of Judas." And to this purpose in the Acts we read, *Dixit Spiritus Sanctus segregate mihi Barnabam,* &c. And again, *Quos posuit Spiritus Sanctus regere Ecclesiam Dei.* And it appeareth also that in the Old Testament, in the ordering of priests, there was both visible and invisible sanctification; and therefore in the New Testament, where the priesthood is above comparison higher than in the Old, we may not think that only appointment sufficeth, without sanctification, either visible or invisible.—*York.*

To the twelfth; I think consecration of a bishop and priest be required, for that in the old law (being yet but a shadow and figure of the new) the consecration was required, as appears Levit. viii.; yet the truth of this I leave to those of higher judgments.—*London.*

The Scripture speaketh, *de Impositione manus et de Oratione:* and of other manner of consecrations, I find no mention in the New Testament expressly; but the old authors make mention also of inunctions.—*Rochester.*

Upon this text of Paul to Timothy; *Noli negligere gratiam quæ in te est, quæ data est tibi per propheticam cum Impositione manuum Presbyterii;* St. Anselm saith this grace "to be the gift of the bishop's office, to the which God of his mere goodness had called and preferred him. The prophecy (he saith) was the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, by the which he knew what he had to do therein. The imposition of the hands is that by the which he was ordained and received that office: 'And therefore (saith St. Paul) God is my witness, that I have discharged myself, showing you as I ought to have done. Now look you well upon it whom that ye take to orders, lest ye lose yourself thereby.' Let bishops, therefore, who (as saith St. Hierome) hath power to make priests, consider well under what law the order of ecclesiastical constitution is bounden; and let them not think those words of the apostle to be his, but rather the words of Christ himself."—*Carlisle.*

Opinor requiri Consecrationem quandam, hoc est, impositionem manuum, Orationem, jejunium, &c., tamen nusquam hoc munere fungi posse, nisi ubi Magistratus invitet, jubeat, aut permittat.—*Dr. Robertson.*

By Scripture there is no consecration of bishops and priests required, but only the appointing to the office of a priest, *cum Impositione manuum.*—*Dr. Cox.*

Consecration of bishops and priests I read not in the New Testament, but *Ordinatio per manuum Impositionem cum Oratione* is read there, as in the places above; and the only appointment, as I think, is not sufficient.—*Dr. Day.*

Præter vocationem, ceu designationem externam, quæ vel a Principe fit, vel a populo per electionem et suffragia, requiritur Ordinatio alia per manuum impositionem, idque per Verbum Dei.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

Besides the appointing to the office, it appeareth that, in the primitive church, the apostles used certain consecration of the ministers of the church, by imposition of hands and prayer, Acts vi.; and, with fasting,

Acts xiv., &c. The office of priesthood is too dangerous to set upon, when one is but appointed only: therefore, for the confirmation of their faith, who take in hand such charge, and for the obtaining of farther grace requisite in the same, consecration was ordained by the Holy Ghost, and hath been always used from the beginning.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

Deputation to the office is not sufficient to make a priest or a bishop, as appeareth by David and Solomon, who deputed the 24 abovementioned to their offices, yet they made none of them priests, nor any other.—*Dr. Edgworth.*

The appointing to the office *per manuum Impositionem* is in Scripture, and the consecration of them hath of long time continued in the church.—*Dr. Symmons.*

There is a certain kind of consecration required, which is imposition of the bishop's hands, with prayer, and the appointing only is not sufficient.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the twelfth; I suppose that there is a consecration required, as by imposition of hands; for so we be taught by the ensample of the apostles.—*Dr. Leyghton.*

In the New Testament is required to the making of a bishop, *Impositio manuum cum Oratione*, which I take for consecration, and appointment unto the office is not sufficient; for king David, 1 Chron. xxiv., did appoint 24 to be bishops, who after were consecrated; so that both the appointment and the consecration be requisite.—*Dr. Coren.*

*Conveniunt.*—Respondent Eboracens. Londinens. Carliolens. Leighton, Tresham, Robertsonus, Edgeworth, Curren, Dayus, Oglethorp, Consecrationem esse requisitam. Redmanus ait eam receptam esse ab Apostolis, atque a Spiritu Sancto institutam ad conferendam gratiam. Dayus, Roffens. Symmons, aiunt Sacerdotium conferri per manuum impositionem, idq; è Scripturis; Consecrationem vero diu receptam in Ecclesia: Coxus Institutionem cum manuum impositione sufficere, neq; per Scripturam requiri Consecrationem. Robertsonus addit supra alios nusquam hoc munere fungi posse quempiam, nisi ubi Magistratus invitet, jubeat aut permittat.

*Agreement.*—In the twelfth question, where it is asked, Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop, or only appointing to the office be sufficient? the bishop of St. David's saith, "that only the appointing;" Dr. Cox, "that only appointing, *cum manuum Impositione*, is sufficient without consecration." The bishops of York, London, Durham, Carlisle, Drs. Day, Curren, Leighton, Tresham, Edgworth, Oglethorp, say, "that consecration is requisite." Dr. Redmayn saith, "that consecration hath been received from the apostles' time, and institute of the Holy Ghost to confer grace." My lord of Rochester, Drs. Day and Symmons, say, "that priesthood is given *per manuum Impositionem*, and that by Scripture; and that consecration hath of long time been received in the church."

13. Question.

*Whether (if it fortuned a Christian Prince learned, to conquer certain dominions of Infidels, having none but temporal learned men with him) if it be defended by God's law, that he and they should preach and teach the word of God there, or no? And also make and constitute Priests, or no?*

*Answers.*

It is not against God's law, but contrary they ought indeed so to do; and there be histories that witnesseth, that some Christian princes, and other laymen unconsecrate, have done the same.—*Canterbury.*

To the thirteenth; To the first part of this question, touching teaching and preaching the word of God in case of such need; we think that laymen not ordered not only may, but must preach Christ and his faith to infidels, as they shall see opportunity to do the same, and must endeavour themselves to win the miscreants to the kingdom of God, if that they can; for as the wise man saith, "God hath given charge to every man of his neighbour;" and the Scripture of God chargeth "every man to do all the good that he can to all men." And surely this is the highest alms to draw men from the devil, the usurper, and bring them to God the very owner: wherefore in this case every man and woman may be an Evangelist, and of this also we have example. But touching the second part, for case of necessity: as we neither find Scripture, nor example, that will bear, that any man, being himself no priest, may make, that is to say, may give the order of priesthood to another, and authority therewith to minister in the said order, and to use such powers and offices as appertaineth to priesthood grounded in the gospel; so we find in such case of need, what hath been done in one of the ancient writers; although this authority to ordain, after form afore-mentioned, be not to laymen expressly prohibited in Scripture; yet such a prohibition is implied, in that there is no such authority given to them, either in Scripture or otherways; for so much as no man may use this or any other authority which cometh from the Holy Ghost, unless he hath either commission grounded in Scripture, or else authority by tradition, and ancient use of Christ's church universally received over all.—*York.*

To the thirteenth and fourteenth following; I think that necessity herein might either be a sufficient rule and warrant to determine and order such cases, considering that "tempore necessitatis mulier baptizat, et laicus idem facit, et audit confessionem;" or else that God would inspire in the prince's heart to provide the best and most handsome remedy therein: and hard were it peradventure to find such great necessity, but either in the train of the said prince, or in the regions adjoining thereunto, there might be had some priests for the said purposes; or finally, that the prince himself, godlily inspired in that behalf, might, for so good purposes and intents, set forth the act indeed, referring yet this thing to the better judgment of others.—*London.*

To the thirteenth and fourteenth following; I never read these cases, neither in Scripture, nor in the doctors, and therefore I cannot answer unto them by learning, but think this to be a good answer for all such questions, viz. *Necessitas non habet Legem*—*Rochester.*

It is to be thought, that Christ may call, as it pleaseth him, inwardly, outwardly, or by both together: so that if no priest might be had, it cannot be thought, but that a Christian prince, with others learned, inwardly moved and called, might most charitably and godlily prosecute that same their calling in the most acceptable work, which is to bring people from the devil to God, from infidelity to true faith, by whatsoever means God shall inspire.—*Carlisle.*

In hoc casu existimarem accersendos verbi et Sacramentorum Ministros, si qui forent vicini; quin si nulli invenirentur, Principem illum Christianum haberemus pro Apostolo, tanquam missum a Deo, licet externo Sacramento non esset commendatus, quum Deus Sacramentis suis non sit alligatus.—*Dr. Robertson.*

To the thirteenth and fourteenth following; It is not against God's law that the prince, and his learned temporal men, may preach and teach, and in these cases of extreme necessity make and institute ministers.—*Dr. Cox.*



In this case (as I think) the prince, and other temporal learned men with him, may, by God's law, teach and preach the word of God, and baptize; and also (the same necessity standing) elect and appoint men to those offices.—*Dr. Day.*

In summa necessitate baptizare et prædicare possunt et debent, hæc etenim duo, necessaria sunt media ad salutem; at ordinare (ut conjectura ducor) non debent, sed aliunde Sacrificos accersire, quos si habere nequeant, Deus ipse (cujus negotium agitur) vel oraculo admonebit, quid faciendum erit, vel necessitas ipsa (quæ sibiipsi est Lex) modum Ordinandi suggeret ac suppeditabit.—*Dr. Oglethorp.*

I think they might, in such case of necessity; for in this case the laymen made the whole church there, and the authority of preaching and ministering the sacraments is given immediately to the church; and the church may appoint ministers, as is thought convenient. There be two stories good to be considered for this question, which be written in the tenth book of the History Ecclesiastic; the one of Frumentius, who preached in India, and was after made priest and bishop by Athanasius. And the other story is of the king of the Iberians, of whom Ruffine, the writer of the story, saith thus: "Et nondum initiatus Sacris fit suæ gentis Apostolus." Yet nevertheless it is written there, that "an ambassade was sent to Constantine, the emperor, that he would send them priests for the further establishment of the faith there."—*Dr. Redmayn.*

The prince and his temporal learned men might and ought, in that necessity, to instruct the people in the faith of Christ, and to baptize them, *ut idem rex fit, et suæ gentis Apostolus*, and these be sufficient for the salvation of his subjects. But as concerning other Sacraments, he ought to abide and look for a special commission from Almighty God, as Moses had, or else to send unto other regions where priests or bishops may be had, and else not to meddle. Examples in *Eccles. Hist.* lib. 10. cap. 1. *de Frumentio.* et cap 2. *de Ancilla captiva quæ convertit gentem Hiberorum cujus captivæ monitis ad Imperatorem Constantinum totius gentis legatio mittitur, res gesta exponitur, Sacerdotes mittere exorantur qui cœptum erga se Dei munus implerent*, &c.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

I think that in such a necessity, a learned Christian prince, and also temporal men learned, be bound to preach and minister either Sacraments, so that the same ministers be orderly assigned by the high power and the congregation.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I say, to the first part, that such a king, and his temporal learned men, not only might, but were also bound to preach God's word in this case. And as to the second part, I say, that if there could no bishop be had to institute, the prince might in that of necessity do it.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the thirteenth; I suppose the affirmative thereof to be true; *Quamvis potestas clavium resident præcipue in Ecclesia.*—*Dr. Leyghton.*

In such a case, I do believe that God would illuminate the prince; so that either he himself should be made a bishop, by internal working of God (as Paul was) or some of his subjects, or else God would send him bishops from other parts. And as for preaching of the word of God, the prince might do it himself, and other of his learned subjects, although they were no priests.—*Dr. Coren.*

*Conveniunt.*—In prima parte Quæstionis Conveniunt omnes, etiam laicos, tali rerum statu, non solum posse sed debere docere. Menevens. Thirlet.ens, Leightonus, Coxus, Symmons, Tresham, Redmanus, Robertsonus, etiam potestatem Ministrandi Sacramenta, et Ordinandi Ministros, concedunt illis. Eborascens. hanc prorsus potestatem denegat, Coren credit Principem Divinitus illuminandum et consecrandum fore in Episcopum interne, aut aliquem ex suis, Pauli exemplo. Simile habet Herefordensis et Carliolensis. Dayus nihil respondet de Ordinandis Presbyteris in hac necessitate.

*Agreement.*—In the thirteenth; Concerning the first part, whether laymen may preach and teach God's word? they do all agree, in such a case, that not only they may, but they ought to teach. But in the second part, touching the constituting of priests of laymen, my lord of York and doctor Edgworth doth not agree with the other; they say, that laymen in no wise can make priests, or have such authority. The bishops of Durham, St. David's, Westminster, Drs. Tresham, Cox, Leighton, Crayford, Symmons, Redmayn, Robertson, say that laymen in such case have authority to minister the sacraments and to make priests. My lords of London, Carlisle, and Hereford, and Dr. Coren, think that God in such a case would give the prince authority, call him inwardly, and illuminate him or some of his, as he did St. Paul.

14. Question.

*Whether it be forfended by God's Law, that (if it so fortune that all the Bishops and Priests of a region were dead, and that the Word of God should remain there unpreached, and the Sacrament of Baptism and others unministered) that the King of that region should make Bishops and Priests to supply the same, or no?*

*Answers.*

It is not forbidden by God's law.—*Canterbury.*

To the fourteenth; In this case, as we have said in the next article afore, teaching of the word of God may be used by any that can and would use it, to the glory of God; and in this case also the sacrament of baptism may be ministered by those that be no priests; which things although we have not of Scripture, yet the universal tradition and practice of the church doth teach us: and peradventure contract of matrimony might also be made, the solemnization thereof being only ordained by law positive, and not by any ground, either of Scripture, or of tradition; although for very urgent causes, the said solemnization is to be observed when it may be observed; but that the princes may not make, that is, may not order priests nor bishops not before ordered to minister the other sacraments, the ministry whereof in Scripture is committed only to the apostles, and from them derived to their successors, even from the primitive church hitherto, and by none other used, we have answered in the thirteenth article.—*York.*

*Ut supra*, quæst. 13.—*London.*

*Ut supra*, quæst. 13.—*Rochester.*

Not only it is given of God to supreme governors, kings and princes immediate under them, to see, cause, and compel all their subjects, bishops, priests, with all others, to do truly and uprightly their bounded duties to God, and to them, each one according to his calling; but also if it were so that anywhere such lacked to do and fulfil that God would have done, right well they might, by the inward moving and calling of God, supply the same.—*Carlisle.*

Huic Quæstioni idem Respondendum, quod priori, arbitror.—*Dr. Robertson.*

*Ut supra*, Quæst. 13.—*Dr. Cox.*

To this case, as to the first, I answer, that if there could no bishops be had to order new priests there by the prince's assignation and appointment, then the prince himself might ordain and constitute, with the consent of the congregation, both priests and ministers,

to preach and baptize, and to do other functions in the church.—*Dr. Day.*

Si ab aliis Regionibus Sacerdotes haberi non poterint, opinor ipsum Principem deputare posse etiam Laicos ad hoc Sacrum Officium; sed omnia prius tentanda essent, ut supra.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

To this, I think, may be answered, as to the last question before; howbeit the surest way, I think, were to send for some ministers of the church dwelling in the next regions, if they might be conveniently had.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

Likewise as to the next question afore.—*Dr. Edgworth.*

If the king be also a bishop, as it is possible, he may appoint bishops and priests to minister to his people: but hitherto I have not read that ever any Christian king made bishop or priest.—*Dr. Symmons.*

I make the same answer as to the thirteenth question is made.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the fourteenth; I suppose the affirmative to be true, in case that there can no bishops nor priests be had forth of other countries, conveniently.—*Dr. Leyghton.*

In this case I make answer as before, that God will never suffer his servants to lack that thing that is necessary: for there should, either from other parts, priests and bishops be called thither, or else God would call inwardly some of them that be in that region to be bishops and priests.—*Dr. Coren.*

*Conveniunt.*—Fatentur ut prius omnes, Laicos posse Docere. Eboracens. Symmons, Oglethorp negant posse Ordinare Presbyteros, tamen concedit Eboracens. baptizare et contrahere Matrimonia, Edgworth tantum baptizare posse; nam sufficere dicit ad salutem. Alii omnes eandem potestatem concedunt, quam prius. Roffens. non aliud respondet his duabus Quæstionibus, quam quod necessitas non habeat Legem.

*Agreement.*—In the fourteenth they agree for the most part as they did before, "that laymen in this case may teach and minister the sacraments." My lord of York, Dr. Symmons, and Oglethorp say, "they can make no priests;" although Symmons said "they might minister all sacraments, in the question before." Yet my lord of York and Edgworth do grant, "that they may christen." The bishops of London, Rochester, and Dr. Crayford say, "that in such a case, *Necessitas non habet Legem.*

15. Question.

*Whether a man be bound by authority of this Scripture (Quorum Remiseritis), and such like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, if he may have him or no?*

*Answers.*

A man is not bound, by the authority of this Scripture, *Quorum Remiseritis*, and such like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, although he may have him.—*Canterbury.*

To the fifteenth; This Scripture is indifferent to secret and open sins; nor the authority given in the same is appointed or limited, either to the one or to the other, but is given commonly to both: and therefore seeing that the sinner is in no other place of Scripture discharged of the confession of his secret sins, we think, that this place chargeth him to confess the secret sins, as well as the open.—*York.*

To the fifteenth; I think that as the sinner is bound by this authority to confess his open sins, so also is he bound to confess his secret sins, because the special end, to wit, *Absolutionem a peccato cujus fecit se servum*, is all one in both cases: and that all sins as touching God are open, and in nowise secret or hid.—*London.*

I think that confession of secret deadly sins is necessary for to attain absolution of them; but whether every man that hath secretly committed deadly sin, is bound by these words to ask absolution of the priest therefor, it is a hard question, and of much controversy amongst learned men, and I am not able to define betwixt them; but I think it is the surest way to say that a man is bound to confess, &c.—*Rochester.*

I think that by the mind of most ancient authors and most holy expositors, this text, *Quorum Remiseritis peccata*, &c. with other like, serveth well to this intent; that Christian folk should confess their secret deadly sins to a priest there to be assoiled, without which mean there can be none other like assurance.—*Carlisle.*

Opinor obligare, modo aliter conscientiæ illius satisfieri nequeat.—*Dr. Robertson.*

I cannot find that a man is bound by Scripture to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, unless he be so troubled in his conscience that he cannot be quieted without godly instruction.—*Dr. Cox.*

The matter being in controversy among learned men, and very doubtful, yet I think rather the truth is, that by authority of this Scripture, *Quorum Remiseritis*, &c., and such like, a man is bound to confess his secret deadly sins, which grieve his conscience, to a priest, if he may conveniently have him. Forasmuch as it is an ordinary way ordained by Christ in the gospel, by absolution to remit sins; which absolution I never read to be given, *sine confessione præviâ.*—*Dr. Day.*

Confitenda sunt opinor, etiam peccata abdita ac secreta propter Absolutionem ac conscientiæ tranquillitatem, et præcipue pro vitanda desperatione, ad quam plerumq; adiguntur multi in extremis, dum sibi ipsis de remissione peccatorum nimium blandiuntur, nullius (dum sani sunt) censuram subeuntes nisi propriam.—*Dr. Oglethorpe.*

I think, that although in these words confession of privy sins is not expressly commanded, yet it is insinuated and showed in these words, as a necessary medicine or remedy, which all men that fall into deadly sin ought, for the quieting of their consciences, seek, if they may conveniently have such a priest as is meet to hear their confession.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

Where there be two ways to obtain remission of sin, and to recover grace, a man is bound by the law of nature to take the surer way, or else he should seem to contemn his own health, which is unnatural. Also because we be bound to love God above all things, we ought by the same bond to labour for his grace and favour: so that because we be bound to love God, and to love ourselves in an order to God, we be bound to seek the best and surest remedy to recover grace for ourselves. Contrition is one way; but because a man cannot be well assured whether his contrition, attrition, or displeasure for his sin be sufficient to satisfy or content Almighty God, and able or worthy to get his grace, therefore it is necessary to take that way that will not fail, and by which thou mayest be sure, and that is absolution of the priest, which by Christ's promise will not deceive thee, so that thou put no step or bar in the way; as, if thou do not then actually sin inwardly nor outwardly, but intend to receive that the church intendeth to give thee by that absolution, having the efficacity of Christ's promise, *Quorum Remiseritis*, &c. Now the priest can give thee no absolution from that sin that he knoweth not: therefore thou art bound, for the causes aforesaid, to confess thy sin.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

This Scripture, as ancient doctors expound it, bindeth all men to confess their secret deadly sins.—*Dr. Symmons.*



I say, that such confession is a thing most consonant to the law of God, and it is a wise point, and a wholesome thing so for to do, and God provoketh and allureth us thereto, in giving the active power to priests to assoil in the words, *Quorum Remiseritis.* It is also a safer way for salvation to confess, if we may have a priest: yet I think that confession is not necessarily deduced of Scripture, nor commanded as a necessary precept of Scripture, and yet is it much consonant to the law of God, as a thing willed, not commanded.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the fifteenth; I think that only such as have not the knowledge of the Scripture, whereby they may quiet their consciences, be bound to confess their secret deadly sins unto a priest: howbeit no man ought to contemn such auricular confession, for I suppose it to be a tradition apostolical, necessary for the unlearned multitude.—*Dr. Leyghton.*

A man whose conscience is grieved with mortal secret sins is bound by these words, *Quorum Remiseritis*, &c., to confess his sin to a priest, if he may have him conveniently.—*Dr. Coren.*

*Conveniunt.*—Eboracens. Londinens. Dayus, Oglethorpus, Coren, Redmayn, asserunt obligari. Coxus, Tresham, et Robertsonus dicunt non obligari, si aliter Conscientiæ illorum satisfieri queat; Menevens. nullo modo obligari. Carliolens. et Symmons aiunt, secundum veterum interpretationem, hac Scriptura quemvis obligari peccatorem. Roffens. Herefordens. et Thirleby non respondent, sed dubitant. Leightonus solum indoctos obligari ad Confessionem. Edgeworth tradit duplicem modum remissionis peccatorum, per Contritionem sive Attritionem, et per Absolutionem: et quia nemo potest certus esse, num attritio et dolor pro peccato sufficiat ad satisfaciendum Deo et obtinendam gratiam, ideo tutissimam viam deligendam, scilicet, Absolutionem a Sacerdote, quæ per promissionem Christi est certa; Absolvere non potest nisi cognoscat peccata; Ergo peccata per Confessionem sunt illi revelanda.

*Agreement.*—In the fifteenth; concerning confession of our secret deadly sins. The bishops of York, Durham, London, Drs. Day, Curren, Oglethorp, Redmayn, Crayford, say, "that men be bound to confess them of their secret sins." Drs. Cox, Tresham, Robertson, say, "they be not bound, if they may quiet their consciences otherwise." The bishop of St. David's also saith, "that this text bindeth no man." Dr. Leighton saith, that "it bindeth only such as have not the knowledge of Scripture." The bishop of Carlisle and Symmons say, that "by ancient doctors' exposition, men be bound, by this text, to confess their deadly sins."

16. Question.

*Whether a Bishop or a Priest may excommunicate, and for what crimes? And whether they only may excommunicate by God's Law?*

*Answers.*

A bishop or a priest by the Scripture is neither commanded nor forbidden to excommunicate; but where the laws of any region giveth him authority to excommunicate, there they ought to use the same in such crimes as the laws have such authority in; and where the laws of the region forbiddeth them, there they have no authority at all; and they that be no priests may also excommunicate if the law allow thereunto.—*Canterbury.*

To the sixteenth; The power to excommunicate, that is, to dissever the sinner from the communion of all Christian people, and so put them out of the unity of the mystical body for the time, *donec resipiscat*, is only given to the apostles and their successors in the gospel, but for what crimes, although in the gospel doth not appear, saving only for disobedience against the commandment of the church, yet we find example of excommunication used by the apostles in other cases: as of the fornicator by Paul, of Hymeneus and Alexander for their blasphemy by the same; and yet of other crimes mentioned in the epistle of the said Paul writing to the Corinthians. And again of them that were disobedient to his doctrine, 2 Thess. 3. We find also charge given to us by the apostle St. John, that we shall not commune with them, nor so much as salute him with Ave, that would not receive his doctrine. By which it may appear that excommunication may be used for many great crimes, and yet the church at this day doth not use it, but only for manifest disobedience. And this kind of excommunication, whereby man is put out of the church, and dissevered from the unity of Christ's mystical body, which excommunication toucheth also the soul, no man may use but they only to whom it is given by Christ.—*York.*

To the sixteenth; I think that a bishop may excommunicate, taking example of St. Paul with the Corinthian; and also of that he did to Alexander and Hymeneus. And with the lawyers it hath been a thing out of question, that to excommunicate solemnly appertaineth to a bishop, although otherwise both inferior prelates and other officers, yea and priests too in notorious crimes, after divers men's opinions, may excommunicate semblably, as all others that be appointed governors and rulers over any multitude or spiritual congregation.—*London.*

I answer affirmatively to the first part, in open and manifest crimes, meaning of such priests and bishops as be by the church authorised to use that power. To the second part, I answer, that it is a hard question, wherein I had rather hear other men speak than say my own sentence; for I find not in Scripture, nor in the old doctors, that any man hath given sentence of excommunication, save only priests; but yet I think, that it is not against the law of God that a layman should have authority to do it.—*Rochester.*

Divers texts of Scripture seemeth, by the interpretation of ancient authors, to show that a bishop or a priest may excommunicate open deadly sinners continuing in obstinacy with contempt. I have read in histories also, that a prince hath done the same.—*Carlisle.*

Opinior Episcopum aut Presbyterum Excommunicare posse, tanquam ministrum et os Ecclesiæ, ab eadem mandatum habens. Utrum vero id juris nulli nisi Sacerdotibus in mandatis dari possit, non satis scio. Excommunicandum esse opinor pro hujuscemodi criminibus, qualia recenset Paulus, 1 Cor. 5. si, is qui frater nominatur, est fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis serviens, aut maledicus, aut ebriosus, aut rapax, cum hujusmodi ne cibum sumere, &c.—*Dr. Robertson.*

A bishop or a priest, as a public person appointed to that office, may excommunicate for all public crimes: and yet it is not against God's law for others than bishops or priests to excommunicate.—*Dr. Cox.*

A bishop or a priest may excommunicate by God's law for manifest and open crimes: also others appointed by the church, though they be no priests, may exercise the power of excommunication.—*Dr. Day.*

Non solum Episcopus Excommunicare potest, sed etiam tota Congregatio, idq; pro lethalibus criminibus ac publicis, e quibus scandalum Ecclesiæ provenire potest. Non tamen pro re pecuniaria uti olim solebant.—*Dr. Oglethorp.*

They may excommunicate, as appeareth 1 Cor. v. 1 Tim. i., and that for open and great crimes, whereby

the church is offended; and for such crimes as the prince and governors determine and thinketh expedient, men to be excommunicate for, as appeareth *in novellis Constitutionibus Justiniani*. Whether any other may pronounce the sentence of excommunication but a bishop or a priest I am uncertain.—*Dr. Redmayn.*

A bishop, or a priest only, may excommunicate a notorious and grievous sinner, or obstinate person, from the communion of Christian people, because it pertaineth to the jurisdiction which is given to priests, Jo. xxvi. *Quorum Remiseritis*, &c. et *Quorum retinetis*, &c. There is one manner of excommunication spoken of, 1 Cor v. which private persons may use. *Si is qui frater nominatur inter vos est fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis serviens, &c. cum hujusmodi ne cibum quidem capiatis*; excluding filthy persons, covetous persons, brawlers and quarrellers, out of their company, and neither to eat nor drink with them.—*Dr. Edgeworth.*

Whosoever hath a place under the higher power, and is assigned by the same to execute his ministry given of God, he may excommunicate for any crime, as it shall be seen to the higher power if the same crime be public.—*Dr. Symmons.*

A bishop and priest may excommunicate by Scripture: as touching for what crimes; I say, for every open deadly sin and disobedience. And as touching, whether only the priest may excommunicate? I say, not he only, but such as the church authorises so to do.—*Dr. Tresham.*

To the sixteenth, I say, that a bishop or a priest having license and authority of the prince of the realm, may excommunicate every obstinate and inobedient person, for every notable and deadly sin. And further, I say, that not only bishops and priests may excommunicate, but any other man appointed by the church, or such as have authority to appoint men to that office, may excommunicate.—*Dr. Leyghton.*

A bishop or a priest may excommunicate an obstinate person for public sins. Forsomuch as the keys be given to the whole church, the whole congregation may excommunicate; which excommunication may be pronounced by such a one as the congregation does appoint, although he be neither bishop nor priest.—*Dr. Coren.*

*Conveniunt.*—Menevens. Herefordens. Thirleby, Dayus, Leightonus, Coxus, Symmons, Coren, concedunt authoritatem excommunicandi etiam Laicis, modo a Magistratu deputentur. Eboracens. et Edgworth prorsus negant datum Laicis, sed Apostolis et eorum successoribus tantum. Roffensis, Redmanus, et Robertsonus ambigunt, num detur Laicis. Londinens. non respondet Quæstioni: Oglethorpus et Thirleby aiunt, Ecclesiæ datam esse potestatem Excommunicandi; Idem Treshamus.

*Agreement.*—In the sixteenth, of excommunication, they do not agree. The bishops of York, Durham, and Dr. Edgworth say, that "laymen have not the authority to excommunicate, but that it was given only unto the apostles and their successors." The bishops of Hereford, St. David's, Westminster—Doctors Day, Coren, Leighton, Cox, Symmons, say, that "laymen may excommunicate, if they be appointed by the high ruler." My lord elect of Westminster, Dr. Tresham, and Dr. Oglethorp, say further, that the power of excommunication was given to the church, and to such as the church shall institute."

17. Question.

*Whether Unction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Venial Sins, as it is now used, be spoken of in the Scripture, or in any ancient Authors?*

*Answers.*

Unction of the sick with oil, to remit venial sins, as it is now used, is not spoken of in the Scripture, nor in any ancient authors.

*T. Cantuarien.** This is mine opinion and sentence at this present, which I do not temerariously define, but do remit the judgment thereof wholly unto your majesty.

To the seventeenth; Of unction of the sick with oil, and that sins thereby be remitted, St. James doth teach us; but of the holy prayers, and like ceremonies used in the time of the unction, we find no special mention in Scripture, albeit the said St. James maketh also mention of prayer to be used in the ministry of the same.—*Edward Ebor.*

To the seventeenth; I think that albeit it appeareth not clearly in Scripture, whether the usage in extreme unction now be all one with that which was in the beginning of the church: yet of the unction in time of sickness, and the oil also with prayers and ceremonies, the same is set forth in the Epistle of St. James, which place commonly is alleged, and so hath been received, to prove the sacrament of extreme unction.

Ita mihi *Edmundo Londinensi* Episcopo pro hoc tempore dicendum videtur, salvo judicio melius sentientis, cui me prompte et humiliter subjicio.

Inunction of them that be sick with oil, and praying for them for remission of sins, is plainly spoken of in the Epistle of St. James; but after what form or fashion the said inunction was then used, the Scripture telleth not.

Written on the back of the paper,

*The bishop of Rochester's book.*

Extreme unction is plainly set out by St. James; with the which maketh also that is written in the 6th of St. Mark, after the mind of right good ancient doctors.—*Robert Carliolen.*

De Unctione Infirmorum nihil reperio in Scripturis, præter id quod scribitur, Marc. vi. et Jacob. v.—*Thomas Robertson.*

T. Cantuarien.

Unction of the sick with oil consecrate, as it is now used, is not spoken of in Scripture.—*Richardus Cox.*

Unction of the sick with praying for them is found in Scripture.—*George Day.*

Opiniones non Assertiones.

De Unctione Infirmorum cum oleo, adjecta Oratione, expressa mentio est in Scripturis, quanquam nunc addantur alii ritus, honestatis gratiâ (ut in aliis Sacramentis) de quibus in Scripturis nulla mentio.—*Owinus Oglethorpus.*

Unction with oil, adjoined with prayer, and having promise of remission of sins, is spoken of in St. James and ancient authors; as for the use which now is, if anything be amiss, it would be amended.—*J. Redmayn.*

It is spoken of in Mark vi. and James v. Augustine, and other ancient doctors, speaketh of the same.—*Edgeworth.*

The unction of the sick with oil, to remit sins, is in Scripture, and also in ancient authors.—*Symon Matthew.*

* These are the subscriptions which are at the end of every man's paper.



Unction with oil is grounded in the Scripture, and expressly spoken of; but with this additament (as it is now used) it is not specified in Scripture, for the ceremonies now used in unction I think mere traditions of man.—*William Tresham.*

To the seventeenth, I say, that unction of the sick with oil, and prayer to remit sins, is manifestly spoken of in St. James's Epistle and ancient authors, but not with all the rites and ceremonies as be now commonly used.

T. Cantuarien. Per me *Edwardum Leyghton.*

Unction with oil to remit sins is spoken of in Scripture.—*Richard Coren.*

*Conveniunt.*—Menevens. et Coxus negant Unctionem Olei (ut jam est recepta) ad remittenda peccata contineri in Scripturis. Eboracens. Carliolens. Edgworth, Coren, Redmayn, Symmons, Leightonus, Oglethorp aiunt, haberi in Scripturis. Roffens. Thirleby, Robertsonus, præterquam illud Jacobi v. et Marci vi. nihil proferunt. Herefordensis ambigit. Tresham vult Unctionem Olei tradi nobis è Scripturis, sed Unctionis Cæremonias traditiones esse humanas.

*Agreement.*—In the last, the bishop of St. David's and Dr. Cox say, that "unction of the sick with oil consecrate, as it is now used to remit sin, is not spoken of in Scripture." My lords of York, Durham, Carlisle, Drs. Coren, Edgworth, Redmayn, Symmons, Leyghton, and Oglethorp, say, that it is found in Scripture.

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## XXII.—*Dr. Barnes's Renunciation of some Articles informed against him*

Be it known to all men, that I, Robert Barnes, doctor of divinity, have, as well in writing as in preaching, overshot myself and been deceived, by trusting too much to mine own heady sentence, and giving judgment in and touching the articles hereafter ensuing; whereas being convented, and called before the person of my most gracious sovereign lord king Henry VIII. of England and of France, defensor of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme head immediately under God of the church of England; it pleased his highness, of his great clemency and goodness, being assisted with sundry of his most discreet and learned clergy, to enter such disputation and argument with me upon the points of my oversight, as by the same was fully and perfectly confuted by Scriptures, and enforced only for truth's sake, and for want of defence of Scriptures to serve for the maintenance of my part, to yield, confess, and knowledge my ignorance, and with my most humble submission, do promise for ever from henceforth to abstain and beware of such rashness: and for my further declaration therein, not only to abide such order for my doings passed as his grace shall appoint and assign unto me, but also with my heart to advance and set forth the said articles ensuing, which I knowledge and confess to be most catholic, and Christian, and necessary to be received, observed, and followed of all good Christian people. Though it so be, that Christ, by the will of his Father, is he only which hath suffered passion and death for redemption of all such as will and shall come unto him by perfect faith and baptism; and that also he hath taken upon him gratis the burden of all their sins, which as afore will, hath, or shall come to him, paying sufficient ransom for all their sins, and so is become their only Redeemer and Justifier; of the which number I trust and doubt not but that many of us now-a-days be of: yet I in heart do confess, that after, by the foresaid means, we become right Christian folks, yet then, by not following our Master's commandments and laws, we do lose the benefits and fruition of the same, which in this case is irrecuperable but by true penance, the only remedy left unto us by our Saviour for the same; wherefore I think it more than convenient and necessary, that whensoever justification shall be preached of, that this deed be joined with all the fore part, to the intent that it may teach all true Christian people a right knowledge of their justification. By me Robert Barnes.

Also I confess with my heart, that Almighty God is in nowise author, causer of sin, or any evil; and therefore, whereas Scripture saith, *Induravit Dominus Cor Pharaonis*, &c., and such other texts of like sense, they ought to understand them, *quod Dominus permisit eum indurari*, and not otherwise; which doth accord with many of the ancient interpreters also. By me Robert Barnes.

For I do confess with my heart, that whensoever I have offended my neighbours, I must first reconcile myself unto him ere I shall get remission of my sins; and in case he offend me, I must forgive him ere that I can be forgiven; for this doth the *Pater Noster*, and other places of Scripture, teach me. By me Robert Barnes.

I do also confess, with my heart, that good works limited by Scripture, and done by a penitent and true reconciled Christian man, be profitable and allowable unto him, as allowed of God for his benefit, and helping to his salvation. By me Robert Barnes.

Also do confess with my heart, that laws and ordinances made by Christian rulers ought to be obeyed by the inferiors and subjects, not only for fear, but also for conscience; for whoso breaketh them, breaketh God's commandments. By me Robert Barnes.

All and singular the which articles before written, I the foresaid Robert Barnes do approve and confess to be most true and catholic, and promise, with my heart, by God's grace, hereafter to maintain, preach, and set forth the same to the people, to the uttermost of my power, wit, and cunning.

By me Robert Barnes.
By me William Jerome.
By me Thomas Gerarde.

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## XXIII.—*The Foundation of the Bishopric of Westminster.*

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem. Cum nuper cænobium quoddam sive Monasterium, quod (dum extitit) Monasterium Sancti Petri Westmon. vulgariter vocabatur, omnia et singula ejus Maneria, Dominia, Mesuagia, Terræ, Tenementa, Hæreditamenta, Dotationes et Possessiones, certis de causis specialibus et urgentibus, per Willielmum ipsius nuper Cænobii sive Monasterii Abbatem, et ejusdem loci Conventum, nobis et hæredibus nostris in perpetuum jamdudum data fuerunt et concessa, prout per ipsorum nuper Abbatis et Conventus cartam sigillo suo communi sive conventuali sigillatam et in Cancellar. nostram irrotulat. manifeste liquet; quorum prætextu nos de ejusdem nuper Cænobii sive Monasterii situ, septu et præcinctu, ac de omnibus et singulis prædict. nuper Abbatis et Conventus Maneriis, Dominiis et Mesuagiis, Terris, Tenementis, Hæreditamentis, Dotationibus et Possessionibus, ad præsens pleno jure seisiti sumus in dominico nostro, ut de feodo. Nos utiq; sic de eisdem seisiti existen. divinaq; nos clementia inspirante nihil magis ex animo affectantes, quam ut vera religio verusq; Dei cultus inibi non modo aboleatur sed in integrum potius restituatur, et ad primitivam sive genuinæ sinceritatis normam reformetur, correctis enormitatibus in quas monachorum vita et professio longo temporum lapsu deplorabiter exorbitaverit,

operam dedimus, quatenus humana perspicere potest infirmitas, ut imposterum ibidem sacrorum eloquiorum documenta et nostræ salutiferæ Redemptionis sacramenta pure administrentur, bonorum morum disciplina sincere observetur, Juventus in literis liberaliter instituatur, senectus viribus defectis, eorum præsertim qui circa personam nostram, vel alioquin circa Regni nostri negotia publice bene et fideliter nobis servierunt, rebus ad victum necessariis condigne foveatur, et deniq; eleemosinarum in pauperes Christi elargitiones, viarum pontiumque reparationes, et cætera omnis generis pietatis officia illinc exuberanter in omnia vicina loca longe lateq; dimaneant, ad Dei omnipotentis gloriam, et ad subditorum nostrorum communem utilitatem felicitatemque: Idcirco nos considerantes quod situs dicti nuper Monasterii Sancti Petri Westmon. in quo multa tum percharissimi patris nostri, tum aliorum Inclitorum, quondam Regum Angliæ, præclara monumenta conduntur, sit locus aptus, conveniens et necessarius instituendi, erigendi, ordinandi et stabiliendi sedem Episcopalem, et quandam Ecclesiam Cathedralem de uno Episcopo, de uno Decano Presbytero, et duodecim Præbendariis Presbyteris, ibidem, Omnipotenti Deo et in perpetuum servitium, ipsum situm dicti nuper Monast. Sancti Petri Westmon. ac locum et Ecclesiam ipsius in sedem Episcopalem ac in Ecclesiam Cathedral. creari, erigi, fundari et stabiliri decrevimus, prout per præsentes decernimus, et eandem Ecclesiam Cathedral. de uno Episcopo, de uno Decano Presbytero, et duodecim Præbendariis Presbyteris, tenore præsentium, realiter et ad plenum creamus, erigimus, fundamus, ordinamus facimus, constituimus et stabilimus, perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturam, et sic stabiliri ac in perpetuum inviolabiliter observari volumus et jubemus per præsentes. Volumus itaq; et per præsentes Ordinamus quod Ecclesia Cathedralis prædicta sit, et deinceps in perpetuum erit Ecclesia Cathedralis et Sedes Episcopalis, ac quod tota villa nostra Westmon. ex nunc et deinceps in perpetuum sit Civitas, ipsamq; civitatem Westm. vocari et nominari volumus et decernimus, ac ipsam Civitatem et totum Comit. nostrum Midd. prout per metas et limites dignoscitur, et limitatur, tota Parochia de Fulham in eodem Comit. de Midd. tantummodo except. ab omni Jurisdictione, Autoritate et Dioc. Episcopi London. et successorum suorum pro tempore existen. separamus, dividimus, eximimus, exoneramus, et omnino per præsentes liberamus: ac omnem jurisdictionem Episcopalem infra eandem Civitatem et Comit. Midd. exceptis præexceptis, Episcopo Westmon. a nobis per has Literas nostras Patentes nominand. et eligend. et Successoribus suis Episcopis Westm. ac prædict. Episcopat. Westm. adjungimus et unimus, ac ex dictis Civitate et Com. Diocesim facimus et Ordinamus per præsentes, illamq; Diocesim Westm. in perpetuum similiter vocari, appellari, nuncupari et nominari volumus et ordinamus. Et ut hæc nostra intentio debitum et uberiorem sortiatur effectum, Nos de scientia, moribus, probitate et virtute dilecti nostri Consiliarii Thomæ Thyrlebei Clerici, Decani Capellæ nostræ plurimum confidentes, eundem Thomam Thyrleby ad Episcopatum dictæ Sedis Westm. nominamus et eligimus, ac ipsum Thomam Episcopum Westm. per præsentes eligimus, nominamus, facimus, et creamus, et volumus; ac per præsentes Concedimus et Ordinamus, quod idem Episcopatus sit corpus corporatum in re et nomine, ipsumq; ex uno corpore declaramus et acceptamus, Ordinamus, facimus et constituimus in perpetuum, habeatq; successionem perpetuam, ac quod ipse et successores sui per nomen et sub nomine Episcopi Westm. nominabitur et vocabitur, nominabuntur et vocabuntur in perpetuum, et quod ipse et successores sui per idem nomen et sub eo nomine prosequi, clamare et placitare, ac placitari, defendere et defendi, respondere et responderi, in quibuscunq; Curiis et locis legum nostrarum, ac hæredum et successorum nostrorum, et alibi, in et super omnibus et singulis causis, actionibus, sectis, brevibus, demand. et querelis, realibus, personalibus et mixtis, tam temporalibus quam spiritualibus, ac in omnibus aliis rebus, causis et materiis quibuscunque, et per idem nomen Maneria, Dominia, Terræ, Tenementa, Rectorias, Pensiones, Portiones, et alia quæcunq; Hæreditamenta, Possessiones, proficua et emolumenta, tam spiritualia sive Ecclesiastica, quam temporalia, ac alia quæcunq; per Literas Patentes præfato Episcopo et Successoribus suis, per nos seu hæredes nostros debito modo fiend. vel per quamcunq; aliam personam seu quascunq; alias personas secundum leges nostras et hæredum sive successorum nostrorum dand. seu concedend. capere, recipere, gaudere et perquirere ac dare, alienare et dimittere possit et possint, valeat et valeant, et generaliter omnia alia et singula recipere, gaudere, et facere, prout et eisdem modo et forma quibus cæteri Episcopi infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ recipere aut facere possint, aut aliquis Episcopus infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ recipere aut facere possit, et non aliter nec ullo alio modo. Et ulterius volumus et ordinamus, quod Ecclesia Cathedralis prædicta sit, et deinceps in perpetuum erit Ecclesia Cathedralis et Sedes Episcopalis dicti Thomæ et successorum suorum Episcoporum Westm. ipsamq; Ecclesiam Cathedralem honoribus, dignitatibus, et insigniis Sedis Episcopalis per præsentes decoramus, eandemq; Sedem Episcopalem præfato Thomæ et successoribus suis Episcopis Westm. damus et concedimus per præsentes habend. et gaudend. eidem Thomæ et successoribus suis in perpetuum. Ac etiam volumus et ordinamus per præsentes, quod præfatus Thomas et successores sui Episcopi Westm. prædict. omnimodam jurisdictionem, potestatem et autoritatem ordinarias et Episcopales, infra Ecclesiam Cathedralem Westm. et prædict. Dioces. exercere, facere, et uti possit, et debeat, possint et debeant, in tam amplis modo et forma, prout Episcopus London. infra Dioces. London. secundum leges nostras exercere, facere, et uti solet, possit aut debet. Et quod dictus Thomas Episcopus Westm. et successores sui Episcopi Westm. deinceps in perpetuum habeat sigillum authenticum, seu sigilla authentica pro rebus et negotiis suis agendis servitur. ad omnem juris effectum simili modo et forma, et non aliter nec aliquo alio modo, prout Episcopus London. habet aut habere potest. Et ut Ecclesia Cathedralis prædict. de personis congruis in singulis locis et gradibus suis perimpleatur et decoretur, dilectum nobis Willielmum Benson Sacræ Theologiæ professorem primum et originalem, et modernum Decanum dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, ac Simonem Haynes Sacræ Theologiæ professorem primum, et præsent. Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Joannem Redman secundum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Edwardum Leyghton tertium Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Antonium Belasys quartum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Willielmum Britten quintum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Dionysium Dalyon sextum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Humphredū Perkins septimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Thomam Essex octavum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Thomam Ellforde nonum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Joannem Malvern decimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Willielmum Harvye undecimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Gerardum Carleton duodecimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, tenore præsentium facimus et ordinamus. Per præsentes volumus etiam et ordinamus, ac eisdem Decano et Præbendariis concedimus per præsentes, quod prædictus Decanus et duodecim Præbendarii dicti sint de



se in re et nomine unum corpus corporatum, habeantq; successionem perpetuam, et se gerent, exhibebunt, et occupabunt Sedem, ordinationem, regulas et statuta, eis per nos in quadam Indentura in posterum fiend. specificand. et declarand. Et quod idem Decanus et Præbendarii et successores sui, Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sancti Petri Westm. in perpetuum vocabuntur, appellabuntur; Et quod præfatus Decanus et Præbendarii Ecclesiæ Cathedralis prædictæ et successores sui sint et in perpetuum erunt Capitulum Episcopatus Westm. sitq; idem Capitulum præfat. Thomæ et successoribus suis Episcopis Westm. perpetuis futuris temporibus annexum, incorporatum et unitum, eisdem modo et forma quibus Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sancti Pauli in Civitate nostra London. Episcopo London. aut sedi Episcopali London. annexa, incorporata et unit. exist. ipsosq; Decanum et Præbendarios unum corpus corporatum in re et nomine facimus, creamus et stabilimus, et eos pro uno corpore facimus, declaramus, ordinamus et acceptamus, habeantq; successionem perpetuam; Et quod ipse Decanus et Capitulum eorumq; successores, per nomen Decani et capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Beati Petri Westm. prosequi, clamare, placitare possint et implacitare, defendere et defendi, respondere et responderi, in quibuscunq; tempore et Curiis legum nostrarum et alibi, in et super omnibus et singulis causis, actionibus Sectis, demand. brevibus et querelis, realibus, spiritualibus, personalibus et mixtis, et in omnibus aliis rebus, causis et materiis, prout Decanus et Capitulum Sancti Pauli London. agere aut facere possunt: Et per idem nomen Maneria, Dominia, Terræ, Tenementa, et cætera quæcunq; Hæreditamenta, possessiones, proficua, et emolumenta tam Spiritualia sive ecclesiastica quam temporalia, et alia quæcunq; per nos per literas nostras Patentes, hæredū vel successorū nostrorū, seu per aliquam personam vel personas quascunq; eis et successoribus suis vel aliter secundū leges nostras, vel hæredū seu successorū nostrorū, dand. seu concedend. capere, recipere, et perquirere, dare, alienare, et dimittere possint et valeant, et generaliter omnia alia et singula capere, recipere, perquirere, dare, alienare, et dimittere, ac facere, et exequi, prout et eisdem modo et forma, quibus Decanus et Capitulum prædict. Cathedralis Ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli in prædicta civitate nostra London. capere, recipere perquirere, dare, alienare, et dimittere, ac facere aut exequi possint, et non aliter, neq; aliquo alio modo: Et quod Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis beati Petri Westm. et successores sui in perpetuum habebunt commune Sigillum, ad omnimodas cartas, evidentias, et cætera scripta, vel facta sua fiend. eos vel Ecclesiam Cathedralem prædict. aliquo modo tangen. sive continend. sigilland. Et insuper volumus et per præsentes concedimus et ordinamus, quod prædict. Episcopus Westm. et quilibet successorum suorum pro tempore existen. et prædictus Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis beati Petri Westm. et quilibet successorum suorum habeant plenam potestatem et facultatem faciendi, recipiendi, dandi, alienandi, dimittendi, exequendi et agendi omnia et singula quæ Episcopus London. et Decanus et Capitulum Sancti Pauli London. conjunctim et divisim facere, recipere, dare, alienare, dimittere, exequi aut agere possint. Volumus etiam et ordinamus, ac per præsentes Statuimus, quod Archidiaconus Midd. qui nunc est et successores sui sint deinceps in perpetuum separati et exonerati et prorsus liberati a jurisdictione, potestate, jure et authoritate Episcopi London. et successorum suorum, ac ab Ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli London. ab omniq; jure, potestate et autoritate ejusdem ipsiusq; Archidiaconi, et successores suos per præsentes separamus, exoneramus, penitus in perpetuum liberamus, eundemq; Archidiaconum et successores suos decernimus, Statuimus, Ordinamus, ac stabilimus in simili Statu, modo, forma et jure esse, ac deinceps in perpetuum fore, in prædicta Ecclesia Cathedrali Westm. quibus ipse aut aliquis prædecessorum suorum unquam fuit in Ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli London. Statuimus etiam et ordinamus, ac per præsentes volumus et concedimus, quod prædictus Thomas Episcopus Westm. et successores sui Episcopi Westm. habeant, teneant et possideant, in omnibus et per omnia autoritatem, potestatem, jus et jurisdictionem, de et super Archidiaconatu Midd. et Archidiacono et successoribus suis, tam plene et integre ad omnem effectum quam Episcopus London. qui nunc est aut aliquis prædecessorum suorum habet aut habuit, aut habere debuit vel usus fuit. Volumus autem ac per præsentes concedimus, tam præfato Episcopo quam Decano et Capitulo, quod habeat et habebit, habeant et habebunt, has Literas nostras Patentes sub magno sigillo nostro Angliæ debito modo factas et sigillatas, absq; fine seu feod. magno vel parvo nobis in Hanaperio nostro seu alibi ad usum nostrorum, proinde quoquo modo reddend. solvend. vel faciend. eo quod expressa mentio, et cæt. In cujus rei, &c. Teste Rege apud Westm. decimo septimo die Decembris Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi trigesimo secundo.

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XXIV.—*A Proclamation ordained by the King's Majesty, with the advice of his Honourable Council, for the Bible of the largest and greatest volume to be had in every church; devised the sixth day of May, the thirty-third year of the King's most gracious reign.*

[Regist. Bonner. fol. 21.]

Whereby injunctions heretofore set forth by the authority of the king's royal majesty, supreme head of the church of this his realm of England, it was ordained and commanded, amongst other things, that in all and singular parish churches, there should be provided, by a certain day now expired, at the costs of the curates and parishioners, Bibles containing the Old and New Testament in the English tongue, to be fixed and set up openly in every of the said parish churches; the which godly commandment and injunction was to the only intent that every of the king's majesty's loving subjects, minding to read therein, might, by occasion thereof, not only consider and perceive the great and ineffable omnipotent power, promise, justice, mercy and goodness of Almighty God, but also to learn thereby to observe God's commandments, and to obey their sovereign lord and high powers, and to exercise godly charity, and to use themselves according to their vocations, in a pure and sincere Christian life without murmur or grudging: by the which injunctions, the king's royal majesty intended that his loving subjects should have and use the commodities of the reading of the said Bibles, for the purpose above rehearsed, humbly, meekly, reverently, and obediently, and not that any of them should read the said Bibles with high and loud voices, in time of the celebration of the holy mass, and other divine services used in the church; or that any his lay-subjects reading the same, should presume to take upon them any common disputation, argument, or exposition of the mysteries therein contained; but that every such layman should, humbly, meekly, and reverently, read the same for his own instruction, edification, and amendment of his life, according to God's holy word therein mentioned. And notwithstanding the king's said most godly and gracious commandment and injunction, in form as is aforesaid, his

royal majesty is informed, that divers and many towns and parishes within this his realm have neglected their duties in the accomplishment thereof; whereof his highness marvelleth not a little; and minding the execution of his said former most godly and gracious injunctions, doth straitly charge and command, that the curates and parishioners of every town and parish within this his realm of England, not having already Bibles provided within their parish churches, shall, on this side the feast of All Saints next coming, buy and provide Bibles of the largest and greatest volume, and cause the same to be set and fixed in every of the said parish churches, there to be used as is aforesaid, according to the said former injunctions, upon pain that the curate and inhabitants of the parishes and towns shall lose and forfeit to the king's majesty for every month that they shall lack and want the said Bibles, after the same feast of All Saints, 40*s.* the one half of the same forfeit to be to the king's majesty, and the other half to him or them which shall first find and present the same to the king's majesty's council. And finally, the king's royal majesty doth declare and signify to all and singular his loving subjects, that to the intent they may have the said Bibles of the greatest volume at equal and reasonable prices, his highness, by the advice of his council, hath ordained and taxed, that the sellers thereof shall not take for any of the said Bibles unbound, above the price of ten shillings; and for every of the said Bibles well and sufficiently bound, trimmed and clapsed, not above twelve shillings, upon pain the seller to lose, for every Bible sold contrary to his highness's proclamation, four shillings, the one moiety thereof to the king's majesty, and the other moiety to the finder and presenter of the defaulter as is aforesaid. And his highness straitly chargeth and commandeth, that all and singular ordinaries, having ecclesiastical jurisdiction within this his church and realm of England, and dominion of Wales, that they and every of them shall put their effectual endeavours that the curates and parishioners shall obey and accomplish this his majesty's proclamation and commandment, as they tender the advancement of the king's most gracious and godly purpose in that behalf, and as they will answer to his highness for the same.

God save the king.

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### XXV.—*An Admonition and Advertisement given by the Bishop of London to all Readers of this Bible in the English Tongue.*

[Regist. Bonner.]

To the intent that a good and wholesome thing, godly and virtuously, for honest intents and purposes, set forth for many, be not hindered or maligned at, for the abuse, default, and evil behaviour of a few, who for lack of discretion, and good advisement, commonly without respect of time, or other due circumstances, proceed rashly and unadvisedly therein; and by reason thereof, rather hinder than set forward the thing that is good of itself: it shall therefore be very expedient, that whosoever repaireth hither to read this book, or any such like, in any other place, he prepare himself chiefly and principally, with all devotion, humility, and quietness, to be edified and made the better thereby; adjoining thereto his perfect and most bounden duty of obedience to the king's majesty, our most gracious and dread sovereign lord and supreme head, especially in accomplishing his grace's most honourable injunctions and commandments given and made in that behalf. And right expedient, yea necessary it shall be also, that leaving behind him vainglory, hypocrisy, and all other carnal and corrupt affections, he bring with him discretion, honest intent, charity, reverence, and quiet behaviour, to and for the edification of his own soul, without the hindrance, let, or disturbance of any other his Christian brother; evermore foreseeing that no number of people be specially congregate therefore to make a multitude; and that no exposition be made thereupon otherwise than it is declared in the book itself, and that especially regard be had no reading thereof be used, allowed, and with noise in the time of any divine service or sermon; or that in the same be used any disputation, contention, or any other misdemeanour, or finally that any man justly may reckon himself be offended thereby, or take occasion to grudge or malign thereat.

God save the king.

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### XXVI.—*Injunctions given by Bonner, bishop of London, to his Clergy.*

[Regist. Bonner. fol. 38.]

Injunctions made by the consent and authority of me Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, in the year of our Lord God 1542, and in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of our sovereign lord Henry VIII. by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and supreme head here in earth, next under God, of the church of England and Ireland. All which and singular injunctions, by the authority given to me of God, and by our said sovereign lord the king's majesty, I exhort, require, and also command, all and singular parsons, vicars, curates, and chantry priests, with other of the clergy, whatsoever they be, of my diocese and jurisdiction of London, to observe, keep, and perform accordingly, as it concerneth every of them in virtue of their obedience, and also upon pains expressed in all such laws, statutes, and ordinances of this realm, as they may incur, and be objected against them, now, or at any time hereafter, for breaking and violating of the same, or any of them.

First; That you, and every of you, shall, with all diligence and faithful obedience, observe and keep, and cause to be observed and kept, to the uttermost of your powers, all and singular the contents of the king's highness' most gracious and godly ordinances and injunctions given and set forth by his grace's authority; and that ye, and every of you, for the better performance thereof, shall provide to have a copy of the same in writing, or imprinted, and so to declare them accordingly.

*Item;* That every parson, vicar, and curate shall read over and diligently study every day one chapter of the Bible, and that with the gloss ordinary, or some other doctor or expositor, approved and allowed in this church of England, proceeding from chapter to chapter, from the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew to the end of the New Testament, and the same so diligently studied to keep still and retain in memory, and to come to the rehearsal and recital thereof at all such time and times as they, or any of them, shall be commanded thereunto by me or any of my officers or deputies.

*Item;* That every of you do procure and provide of your own a book, called "The Institution of a Christian Man," otherwise called "The Bishop's Book;" and that ye, and every of you, do exercise yourselves in the same, according to such precepts as hath been given heretofore, or hereafter to be given.

*Item;* That ye being absent from your benefices, in cases lawfully permitted by the laws and statutes of this realm, do suffer no priest to keep your cure, unless he being first by you presented, and by me or my officers thereunto abled and admitted. And for the more and better assurance and performance thereof to be had, by these presents I warn and monish peremptorily all and singular beneficed parsons having benefices with cure, within my diocese and jurisdiction, that they and every of them shall either be personally resident upon their benefices and cures, before the feast of St. Michael the Archangel now next ensuing; or else present, before the said feast, to me the said bishop, my vicar-general, or other my officers deputed in that behalf, such curates as upon examination made by me, or my said officers, may be found able and sufficient to serve and discharge their cures in their absence; and also at the said feast, or before, shall bring in and exhibit before my said officers their sufficient dispensations authorised by the king's majesty as well for non-residence as for keeping of more benefices with cure than one.



*Item;* That every parson, vicar, and other curates, once in every quarter, shall openly in the pulpit exhort and charge his parishioners that they in nowise do make any privy or secret contract of matrimony between themselves, but that they utterly defer it until such time as they may conveniently have the father and mother, or some other kinsfolks or friends of the person that shall make such contract of matrimony; or else two or three honest persons to be present, and to hear and record the words and manner of their contract, as they will avoid the extreme pains of the law provided in that behalf, if they presumptuously do or attempt the contrary.

*Item;* That in the avoiding of divers and grievous offences and enormities, and specially the most detestable sin of adultery, which ofttimes hath happened by the negligence of curates in marrying persons together which had been married before, and making no due proof of the death of their other husbands and wives at the time of such marriages, I require and command you, and monish peremptorily by these presents all manner of parsons, vicars, and curates, with other priests, being of my diocese and jurisdiction, that they, nor any of them, from henceforth do presume to solemnise matrimony in their churches, chapels, or elsewhere, between any persons that have been married before, unless the said parson, vicar, curate, or priest, be first plainly, fully, and sufficiently informed and certified of the decease of the wife or husband of him or her, or of both, that he shall marry, and that in writing, under the ordinary's seal of the diocese, or place where he or she inhabited or dwelt before, under pain of excommunication, and otherwise to be punished for doing the contrary, according to the laws provided and made in that behalf.

*Item;* That ye, and every of you that be parsons, vicars, curates, and also chauntry-priests and stipendiaries, do instruct, teach, and bring up in learning the best ye can, all such children of your parishioners as shall come to you for the same; or at the least to teach them to read English, taking moderately therefor of their friends that be able to pay, so that they may thereby the better learn and know how to believe, how to pray, how to live to God's pleasure.

*Item;* That every curate do at all times his best diligence to stir, move, and reduce such as be at discord, to peace, concord, love, charity, and one to remit and forgive one another, as often and howsoever they shall be grieved or offended: and that the curate show and give example thereof, when and as often as any variance or discord shall happen to be between him and any of his cure.

*Item;* Where some froward persons, partly for malice, hatred, displeasure, and disdain, neglect, contemn, and despise their curates, and such as have the cure and charge of their souls, and partly to hide and cloak their lewd and naughty living, as they have used all the year before, use at length to be confessed of other priests which have not the cure of their souls: wherefore I will and require you to declare, and show to your parishioners, that no testimonials brought from any of them shall stand in any effect, nor that any such persons shall be admitted to God's board, or receive their communion, until they have submitted themselves to be confessed of their own curates (strangers only except), or else upon arduous and urgent causes and considerations they be otherwise dispensed with in that behalf, either by me or by my officers aforesaid.

*Item;* That whereupon a detestable and abominable practice universally reigning in your parishes, the young people and other ill-disposed persons doth use upon the Sundays and holidays, in time of divine service, and preaching the word of God, to resort unto ale-houses, and there exerciseth unlawful games, with great swearing, blasphemy, drunkenness, and other enormities, so that good and devout persons be much offended therewith: wherefore I require and command you to declare to such as keepeth ale-houses or taverns within your parishes, that at such times from henceforth, they shall not suffer in their houses any such unlawful and ungodly assemblies; neither receive such persons to bowling and drinking at such seasons into their houses, under pain of excommunication, and otherwise to be punished for their so doing, according to the laws in that behalf.

*Item;* That all curates shall declare openly in the pulpit, twice every quarter to their parishioners, the seven deadly sins, and the ten commandments, so that the people thereby may not only learn how to obey, honour, and serve God, their prince, superiors, and parents, but also to avoid and eschew sin and vice, and to live virtuously, following God's commandments and his laws.

*Item;* That where I am credibly informed, that certain priests of my diocese and jurisdiction doth use to go in an unseemly and unpriestly habit and apparel, with unlawful tonsures, carrying and having upon them also armour and weapons, contrary to all wholesome and godly laws and ordinances, more like persons of the lay than of the clergy; which may and doth minister occasion to light persons, and to persons unknown, where such persons come in place, to be more licentious both of their communication and also of their acts, to the great slander of the clergy: wherefore in the avoiding of such slander and obloquy hereafter, I admonish and command all and singular parsons, vicars, curates, and all other priests whatsoever they be, dwelling, or inhabiting, or who hereafter shall dwell and inhabit within my diocese and jurisdiction, that from henceforth they, and every of them, do use and wear meet, convenient, and decent apparel, with their trussures accordingly, whereby they may be known at all times from lay-people, and to be of the clergy, as they intend to avoid and eschew the penalty of the laws ordained in that behalf.

*Item;* That no parson, vicar, or other beneficed man, having cure within my diocese and jurisdiction, do suffer any priest to say mass, or to have any service within their cure, unless they first give knowledge, and present them with the letters of their orders to me as ordinary, or to my officers deputed in that behalf, and the said priest so presented shall be by me, or my said officers, found able and sufficient thereunto.

*Item;* That every curate, not only in his preachings, open sermons, and collations made to the people, but also at all other times necessary, do persuade, exhort, and monish the people being of his cure, whatsoever

they be, to beware and abstain from swearing and blaspheming of the holy name of God, or any part of Christ's most precious body or blood. And likewise to beware and abstain from cursing, banning, chiding, scolding, backbiting, slandering, and lying. And also from talking and jangling in the church, specially in time of divine service or sermon-time. And semblably to abstain from adultery, fornication, gluttony, and drunkenness: and if they or any of them be found notoriously faulty or infamed upon any of the said crimes and offences, then to detect them at every visitation, or sooner, as the case shall require, so that the said offenders may be corrected and reformed to the example of other.

*Item;* That no priest from henceforth do use any unlawful games, or frequently use any ale-houses, taverns, or any suspect place at any unlawful times, or any light company, but only for their necessaries, as they, and any of them, will avoid the danger that may ensue thereupon.

*Item;* That in the plague-time, no dead bodies or corpses be brought into the church, except it be brought straight to the grave, and immediately buried, whereby the people may the rather avoid infection.

*Item;* That no parsons, vicars, nor curates, permit or suffer any manner of common plays, games, or interludes, to be played, set forth, or declared within their churches or chapels, where the blessed sacrament of the altar is, or any other sacrament, ministered, or divine service said or sung; because they be places constitute and ordained to well-disposed people for godly prayer, and wholesome consolation. And if there be any of your parishioners, or any other person or persons, that will obstinately or violently inforce any such plays, interludes, or games to be declared, set forth, or played in your churches or chapels, contrary to this our forbidding and commandment; that then you, or either of you, in whose churches or chapels any such games, plays, or interludes shall be so used, shall immediately thereupon make relation of the names of the person or persons so obstinately and disobediently using themselves unto me, my chancellor, or other my officers, to the intent that they may be therefore reformed and punished according to the laws.

*Item;* That all priests shall take this order when they preach: first, they shall not rehearse no sermons made by other men within this two hundred or three hundred years; but when they shall preach, they shall take the gospel or epistle of the day, which they shall recite and declare to the people, plainly, distinctly, and sincerely, from the beginning to the end thereof, and then to desire the people to pray with them for grace, after the usage of the church of England now used: and that done, we will that every preacher shall declare the same gospel or epistle, or both even from the beginning, not after his own mind, but after the mind of some catholic doctor allowed in this church of England, and in nowise to affirm anything but that which he shall be ready always to show in some ancient writer; and in nowise to make rehearsal of any opinion not allowed for the intent to reprove the same, but to leave that for those that are and shall be admitted to preach by the king's majesty, or by me the bishop of London, your ordinary, or by mine authority. In the which epistle and gospel, ye shall note and consider diligently certain godly and devout places which may incense and stir the hearers to obedience of good works and prayers: and in case any notable ceremony used to be observed in the church shall happen that day when any preaching shall be appointed, it shall be meet and convenient that the preacher declare and set forth to the people the true meaning of the same, in such sort that the people may perceive thereby what is meant and signified by such ceremony, and also know how to use and accept it to their own edifying. Furthermore, that no preacher shall rage or rail in his sermon, but coldly, discreetly, and charitably, open, declare, and set forth the excellency of virtue, and to suppress the abomination of sin and vice; every preacher shall, if time and occasion will serve, instruct and teach his audience what prayer is used in the church that day, and for what the church prayeth, specially that day, to the intent that all the people may pray together with one heart for the same; and as occasion will serve, to show and declare to the people what the sacraments signifieth, what strength and efficacy they be of, how every man should use them reverently and devoutly at the receiving of them; and to declare wherefore the mass is so highly to be esteemed and honoured, with all the circumstances appertaining to the same. Let every preacher beware that he do not feed his audience with any fable, or other histories, other than he can avouch and justify to be written by some allowed writer. And when he hath done all that he will say and utter for that time, he shall then in few words recite again the pith and effect of his whole sermon, and add thereunto as he shall think good.

*Item;* That no parson, vicar, curate, or other priest, having cure of souls within my diocese and jurisdiction, shall from henceforth permit, suffer, or admit any manner of person, of whatsoever estate or condition he be, under the degree of a bishop, to preach, or make any sermon or collation openly to the people within their churches, chapels, or elsewhere within their cures, unless he that shall so preach have obtained before special license in that behalf, of our sovereign lord the king, or of me Edmund, bishop of London, your ordinary; and the same license so obtained shall then and there really bring forth in writing under seal, and show the same to the said parson, vicar, curate, or priest, before the beginning of his sermon, as they will avoid the extreme penalties of the laws, statutes, and ordinances provided and established in that behalf, if they presumptuously do or attempt anything to the contrary.

*Item;* I desire, require, exhort, and command you, and every of you, in the name of God, that ye firmly, faithfully, and diligently, to the uttermost of your powers, do observe, fulfil, and keep all and singular these mine injunctions. And that ye, and every of you, being priests, and having cure, or not cure, as well benefice as not beneficed, within my diocese and jurisdiction, do procure to have a copy of the same injunctions, to the intent ye may the better observe and cause to be observed the contents thereof.

*The names of Books prohibited, delivered to the Curates, Anno 1542, to the intent that they shall present them with the names of the Owners to their Ordinary, if they find any such within their Parishes.*

The Disputation between the Father and the Son.
The Supplication of Beggars; the author Fish.
The Revelation of Antichrist.
The Practice of Prelates, written by Tindall.
The Burying of the Mass, in English Rithme.
The Book of Friar Barnes, twice printed.
The Matrimony of Tindall.
The Exposition of Tindall, upon the 4th chap. to the Corinth.
The Exposition of Tindall upon the Epistles Canonick of St. John.
The New Testament of Tindall's translation, with his preface before the whole book, and before the Epistles of St. Paul and Rom.



The Preface made in the English Prymmers, by Marshall.
The Church of John Rastall.
The Table, Glosses, Marginal, and Preface before the Epistles of St. Paul and Romans, of Thomas Mathews' doing, and printed beyond the sea without priviledg, set in his Bible in English.
The A. B. C. against the Clergy.
The book made by Friar Roys against the Seven Sacraments.
The Wicked Mammon.
The Parable of the wicked Mammon.
The Liberty of a Christian Man.
*Ortulus Animæ*, in English.
The Supper of the Lord by G. Joye.
Frisk's Dispensation against Purgatory.
Tindall's Answer to Sir T. More's Defence of Purgatory.
The Prologue to Genesis, translated by Tindall.
The Prologues to the other four Books of Moses.
The Obedience of a Christian Man.
The book made by Sir John Oldcastle.
The Summ of Scripture.
The Preface before the Psalter in English.
The Dialogue between the Gentleman and the Ploughman.
The Book of Jonas in English.
The Dialogue of Goodale.
*Defensorium Paris;* out of Latin into English.
The Summ of Christianity.
The Mirror of them that be sick and in pain.
Treatise of the Supper of the Lord, by Calwyn.*
Every one of Calwyn's works.

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## XXVII.—*A Collection of Passages out of the Canon Law, made by Cranmer, to show the necessity of reforming it. An Original.*

[Ex MSS. D. Stillingfleet.]

Dist. 22. *Omnes de Major. et obedien. solit. Extra. De Majorit. et obedient. Unam Sanctam.*

He that knowledgeth not himself to be under the bishop of Rome, and that the bishop of Rome is ordained by God to have primacy over all the world, is an heretic, and cannot be saved, nor is not of the flock of Christ.

Dist. 10. *de Sententia Excommunicationis, Noverit.* 25. *q.* 11. *omne.*

Princes' laws, if they be against the canons and decrees of the bishop of Rome, be of no force nor strength.

Dist. 19, 20. 24. *q.* 1. *A recta memoria. Quotiens hæc est* 25. *q.* 1. *General. violatores.*

All the decrees of the bishop of Rome ought to be kept perpetually of every man, without any repugnancy, as God's word spoken by the mouth of Peter; and whosoever doth not receive them, neither availeth them the Catholic faith, nor the four evangelists, but they blaspheme the Holy Ghost, and shall have no forgiveness.

35. *q.* 1. *Generali.*

All kings, bishops, and noblemen, that believe or suffer the bishop of Rome's decrees in anything to be violate, be accursed, and for ever culpable before God, as transgressors of the Catholic faith.

Dist. 21. *Quamvis, et* 24. *q.* 1. *A recta memoria.*

The see of Rome hath neither spot nor wrinkle in it, nor cannot err.

35. *q.* 1. *Ideo de Senten. et re judicata, de jurejurando licet ad Apostolicæ li.* 6. *de jurejurando.*

The bishop of Rome is not bound to any decrees, but he may compel, as well the clergy as laymen, to receive his decrees and canon law.

9. *q* 3. *Ipsi cuncta. Nemo* 3. *q.* 6. *dudum aliorum.* 17. *q.* 4. *Si quis de Baptis. et ejus effectu majores.*

The bishop of Rome hath authority to judge all men, and specially to discern the articles of the faith, and that without any counsel, and may assoil them that the counsel hath damned; but no man hath authority to judge him, nor to meddle with anything that he hath judged, neither emperor, king, people, nor the clergy: and it is not lawful for any man to dispute of his power.

*gr. Duo sunt* 25. *q.* 6. *Alius Nos Sanctorum juratos in Clemen. de Hæreticis aut officium.*

The bishop of Rome may excommunicate emperors and princes, depose them from their states, and assoil their subjects from their oath and obedience to them, and so constrain them to rebellion.

*De Major. et obedien. solit. Clement. de Sententia et re judicata. Pastoral.*

The emperor is the bishop of Rome's subject, and the bishop of Rome may revoke the emperor's sentence in temporal causes.

*De Elect. et Electi potestate Venerabilem.*

It belongeth to the bishop of Rome to allow or disallow the emperor after he is elected; and he may translate the empire from one region to another.

*De suppienda Negligen. prælat. Grand. li.* 6.

The bishop of Rome may appoint coadjutors unto princes.

Dist. 17. *Sinodum Regula. Nec licuit multum. Concilia.* 96. *ubinam.*

There can be no council of bishops without the authority of the see of Rome; and the emperor ought not to be present at the council, except when matters of the faith be entreating, which belong universally to every man.

2. *q.* 6.

Nothing may be done against him that appealeth unto Rome.

1. *q.* 3. *Aliorum* Dist. 40. *Si Papa.* Dist. 96. *Satis.*

The bishop of Rome may be judged of none but of God only; for although he neither regard his own salvation nor no man's else, but draw down with himself innumerable people by heaps unto hell, yet may no mortal man in this world presume to reprehend him: forsomuch as he is called God, he may not be judged of man, for God may be judged of no man.

3. *z. q.* 5.

The bishop of Rome may open and shut heaven unto men.

Dist. 40. *Non nos.*

The see of Rome receiveth holy men, or else maketh them holy.

*De Pœnitentia.* Dist. 1. *Serpens.*

He that maketh a lie to the bishop of Rome committeth sacrilege.

*De Consecra.* Dist. 1. *De locorum præcepta. Ecclesia de Elect. et Electi potestate. Fundamenta.*

To be senator, capitane, patrician, governor, or officer of Rome, none shall be elected or pointed, without the express license and special consent of the see of Rome.

* Calvin.

*De Electione et Electi potestate. Venerabilem.*

It appertaineth to the bishop of Rome to judge which oaths ought to be kept, and which not.

*De Jurejurand. Si vero.* 15. *q.* 6. *Authoritatem.*

And he may absolve subjects from their oath of fidelity, and absolve from other oaths that ought to be kept.

*De Foro competent. Ex tenore. De donat. inter virum et Uxorem dependentia. Qui Filii sunt legitime per venerabilem. De Elect. et Electi potestate Fundamenta. Extravag. de Majorit. et Obedient. unam Sanctam. De judiciis Novit.*

The bishop of Rome is judge in temporal things, and hath two swords, spiritual and temporal.

*De Hæreticis multorum.*

The bishop of Rome may give authority to arrest men, and imprison them in manacles and fetters.

*Extrav. de Consuetudine super gentes.*

The bishop of Rome may compel princes to receive his legates.

*De Truga et Pace. Trugas.*

It belongeth also to him to appoint and command peace, and truce to be observed and kept, or not.

*De Præbend. et dig. dilectus et li.* 6. *licet.*

The collation of all spiritual promotions appertain to the bishop of Rome.

*De Excessibus Prælatorum. Sicut unire.*

The bishop of Rome may unite bishoprics together, and put one under another at his pleasure.

*Li.* 6. *de Pœnis Felicis.*

In the chapter *Felicis, li.* 6. *de pœnis*, is the most partial and unreasonable decree made by Bonifacius VIII. that ever was read or heard against them that be adversaries to any cardinal of Rome, or to any clerk, or religious man of the bishop of Rome's family.

Dist. 28. *Consulendum.* Dist. 96. *Si Imperator.* 11. *q.* 1. *Quod Clericus. Nemo nullus. Clericum, &c. et q.* 2. *Quod vero de sentent. Excommunication. Si judex q.* 2. *q.* 5. *Si quis de foro competent. Nullus. Si quis. Ex transmissa. de foro compet. in* 6 *Seculares.*

Laymen may not be judges to any of the clergy, nor compel them to pay their undoubted debts, but the bishops only must be their judges.

*De Foro Competent. Cum sit licet.*

Rectors of churches may convent such as do them wrong, whither they will, before a spiritual judge or a temporal.

*Idem ex parte Dilecti.*

A layman being spoiled, may convent his adversaries before a spiritual judge, whether the lords of the feod consent thereto or not.

*Ibidem Significasti, et* 11. *q.* 1. *placuit.*

A layman may commit his cause to a spiritual judge; but one of the clergy may not commit his cause to a temporal judge without the consent of the bishop.

*Ne Clerici vel Monachi. Secundum.*

Laymen may have no benefices to farm.

*De Sententia Excommunicationis. Noverit extra. de Pœnitentiis et Remiss. &c. etsi.*

All they that make or write any statutes contrary to the liberties of the church; and all princes, rulers, and counsellors, where such statutes be made, or such customs observed, and all the judges and others that put the same in execution; and where such statutes and customs have been made and observed of old time; all they that put them not out of their books, be excommunicate, and that so grievously, that they cannot be assoiled but only by the bishop of Rome.

*De Immunitate Ecclesiæ. Non minus adversus. Quia quum et in* 6. *Clericis.*

The clergy, to the relief of any common necessity, can nothing confer without the consent of the bishop of Rome; nor it is not lawful for any layman to lay any imposition of taxes, subsidies, or any charges upon the clergy.

Dist. 97. *Hoc capitulo et* 63. *Nullus et quæ sequuntur. Non aliæ cum Laic.*

Laymen may not meddle with elections of the clergy, nor with any other thing that belongeth unto them.

*De Jurejurando. Nimis.*

The clergy ought to give no oath of fidelity to their temporal governors, except they have temporalities of them.

Dist. 96. *Bene Quidem.* 12. *q.* 2. *Apostolicos. Quisquis.*

The goods of the church may in nowise be alienated, but whosoever receiveth or buyeth them is bound to restitution; and if the church have any ground which is little or nothing worth, yet it shall not be given to the prince; and if the prince will needs buy it, the sale shall be void and of no strength.

13. *q.* 2. *Non liceat.*

It is not lawful for the bishop of Rome to alienate or mortgage any lands of the church for every manner of necessity, except it be houses in cities which be very chargeable to support and maintain.

Dist. 96. *Quis nunquam,* 3. *q.* 6. *Accusatio* 11. *q.* 1. *Continua nullus Testimonium Relatum Experientiæ. Si quisquam. Si quæ. Sicut Statuimus, nullus de persona. Si quis.*

Princes ought to obey bishops and the decrees of the church, and to submit their heads unto the bishops, and not to be judge over the bishops; for the bishops ought to be forborne, and to be judged of no layman.

*De Major. et obedien. solite.*

Kings and princes ought not to set bishops beneath them, but reverently to rise against them, and to assign them an honourable seat by them.

11. *q.* 1. *Quæcunque. Relatum. Si qui omnes volumus. Placuit.*

All manner of causes, whatsoever they be, spiritual or temporal, ought to be determined and judged by the clergy.

*Ibidem Omnes.*

No judge ought to refuse the witness of one bishop, although he be but alone.

*De Hæreticis ad abolendam, et in Clementinis ut officium.*

Whosoever teacheth or thinketh of the sacraments otherwise than the see of Rome doth teach and observe, and all they that the same see doth judge heretics, be excommunicate.

And the bishop of Rome may compel by an oath all rulers and other people to observe, and cause to be observed, whatsoever the see of Rome shall ordain concerning heresy, and the fautors thereof; and who will not obey, he may deprive them of their dignities.

*Clement de reliq. et venerat. Sanctorum. Si Dominus extravag. de reliq. et venerat. Sanctorum. Cum pro excelsa: de pœnitent. et remiss. antiquorum, et Clemen. unigenitus. Quemadmodum.*

We obtain remission of sin by observing of certain feasts, and certain pilgrimages in the jubilee, and other prescribed times, by virtue of the bishop of Rome's pardons.



*De Pœnitentiis et Remissionibus extravag. ca.* 3. *Et si Dominici.*

Whosoever offendeth the liberties of the church, or doth violate any interdiction that cometh from Rome, or conspireth against the person or statute of the bishop or see of Rome; or by any ways offendeth, disobeyeth, or rebelleth against the said bishop or see, or that killeth a priest, or offendeth personally against a bishop or other prelate; or invadeth, spoileth, withholdeth, or wasteth lands belonging to the church of Rome, or to any other church immediately subject to the same; or whosoever invadeth any pilgrims that go to Rome, or any suitors to the court of Rome, or that let the devolution of causes unto that court, or that put any new charges or impositions, real or personal, upon any church or ecclesiastical person; and generally all other that offend in the cases contained in the bull, which is usually published by the bishops of Rome upon Maundy Thursday; all these can be assoiled by no priest, bishop, archbishop, nor by none other but only by the bishop of Rome, or by his express license.

2. 4. *q.* 2.

Robbing of the clergy, and poor men, appertaineth unto the judgment of the bishops.

23. 9. *q.*

He is no manslayer that slayeth a man which is excommunicate.

Dist. 63. *Tibi Domino de sententia Excommunicationis. Si judex.*

Here may be added the most tyrannical and abominal oaths which the bishops of Rome exact of the emperors; *in Clement. de jurejurando Romani dist.* 6. 3. *Tibi Domino.*

*De Consecra.* Dist. 1. *Sicut.*

It is better not to consecrate, than to consecrate in a place not hallowed.

*De Consecrat.* Dist. 5. *De his manus, ut jejuni.*

Confirmation, if it be ministered by any other than a bishop, is of no value, nor is no sacrament of the church; also confirmation is more to be had in reverence than baptism; and no man by baptism can be a christened man without confirmation.

*De Pœniten.* Dist. 1. *Multiplex.*

A penitent person can have no remission of his sin, but by supplication of the priests.

## XXVIII.—*A Mandate for publishing and using the Prayers in the English Tongue.*

[Regist. Bonner. fol. 48.]

Mandatum Domino Episcopo London. direct. pro publicatione Regiarum Injunctionum.

MOST reverend father in God, right trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well, and let you wit, that calling to our remembrance the miserable state of all Christendom, being at this present, besides all other troubles, so plagued with most cruel wars, hatred, and dissensions, as no place of the same almost (being the whole reduced to a very narrow corner) remaineth in good peace, agreement, and concord; the help and remedy whereof far exceeding the power of any man, must be called for of Him who only is able to grant our petitions, and never forsaketh nor repelleth any that firmly believe and faithfully call on him; unto whom also the example of Scripture encourageth us, in all these and other our troubles and necessities, to fly and to cry for aid and succour; being therefore resolved to have continually from henceforth general processions, in all cities, towns, churches, and parishes of this our realm, said and sung, with such reverence and devotion as appertaineth. Forasmuch as heretofore the people, partly for lack of good instruction and calling, and partly for that they understood no part of such prayers or suffrages as were used to be sung and said, have used to come very slackly to the procession, when the same have been commanded heretofore; we have set forth certain godly prayers and suffrages in our native English tongue, which we send you herewith, signifying unto you, that for the special trust and confidence we have of your godly mind, and earnest desire, to the setting forward of the glory of God, and the true worshipping of his most holy name, within that province committed by us unto you, we have sent unto you these suffrages, not to be for a month or two observed, and after slenderly considered, as other our injunctions have, to our no little marvel, been used; but to the intent that as well the same, as other our injunctions, may be earnestly set forth by preaching good exhortations and otherwise to the people, in such sort as they feeling the godly taste thereof, may godly and joyously, with thanks, receive, embrace, and frequent the same, as appertaineth. Wherefore we will and command you, as you will answer unto us for the contrary, not only to cause these prayers and suffrages aforesaid to be published, frequented, and openly used in all towns, churches, villages, and parishes of your own diocess, but also to signify this our pleasure unto all other bishops of your province, willing and commanding them in our name, and by virtue hereof, to do and execute the same accordingly. Unto whose proceedings, in the execution of this our commandment, we will that you have a special respect, and make report unto us, if any shall not with good dexterity accomplish the same; not failing, as our special trust is in you.

At St. James's, Junii—— Regni 26. Directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

## XXIX.—*The Articles acknowledged by Shaxton, late Bp. of Sarum.*

[Regist. Bonner. fol. 100.]

THE first; Almighty God, by the power of his word, pronounced by the priest at mass in the consecration, turneth the bread and wine into the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ; so that after the consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, but only the substance of Christ, God and man.

The second; The said blessed sacrament being once consecrate, is and remaineth still the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, although it be reserved, and not presently distributed.

The third; The same blessed sacrament being consecrate, is and ought to be worshipped and adored with godly honour wheresoever it is, forasmuch as it is the body of Christ inseparably united to the Deity.

The fourth; The church, by the ministration of the priest, offereth daily at the mass for a sacrifice to Almighty God, the self-same body and blood of our Saviour Christ, under the form of bread and wine, in the remembrance and representation of Christ's death and passion.

The fifth; The same body and blood which is offered in the mass, is the very propitiation and satisfaction for the sins of the world; forasmuch as it is the self-same in substance which was offered upon the cross for our redemption: and the oblation and action of the priest is also a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving unto God for his benefits, and not the satisfaction for

the sins of the world, for that is only to be attributed to Christ's passion.

The sixth; The said oblation, or sacrifice, so by the priest offered in the mass, is available and profitable, both for the quick and the dead, although it lieth not in the power of man to limit how much or in what measure the same doth avail.

The seventh; It is not a thing of necessity that the sacrament of the altar should be ministered unto the people under both kinds, of bread and wine: and it is none abuse that the same be ministered to the people under the one kind; forasmuch as in every of both the kinds, whole Christ, both body and blood, is contained.

The eighth: It is no derogation to the virtue of the mass, although the priest do receive the sacrament alone, and none other receive it with him.

The ninth; The mass used in this realm of England is agreeable to the institution of Christ; and we have in this church of England the very true sacrament, which is the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, under the form of bread and wine.

The tenth: The church of Christ hath, doth, and may lawfully order some priests to be ministers of the sacraments, although the same do not preach, nor be not admitted thereunto.

The eleventh: Priests being once dedicated unto God by the order of priesthood, and all such men and women as have advisedly made vows unto God of chastity or widowhood, may not lawfully marry, after their said orders received, or vows made.

The twelfth; Secret auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained, continued, and frequented in the church of Christ.

The thirteenth; The prescience and predestination of Almighty God, although in itself it be infallible, induceth no necessity to the action of man, but that he may freely use the power of his own will or choice, the said prescience or predestination notwithstanding.

I, Nicholas Shaxton, with my heart do believe, and with my mouth do confess all these articles above-written to be true in every part.

*Ne despicias hominem avertentem se a peccato, neque improperes ei: memento quoniam omnes in corruptione sumus*, Eccles. 8.

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XXX.—*A Letter written by Lethington the Secretary of Scotland, to Sir William Cecil, the Queen of England's Secretary, touching the title of the Queen of Scots to the Crown of England: by which it appears that King Henry's Will was not signed by him.*

[Ex MS. D. G. Petyt.]

I cannot be ignorant that some do object as to her majesty's foreign birth, and hereby think to make her incapable of the inheritance of England. To that you know for answer what may be said by an English patron of my mistress's cause, although I being a Scot will not affirm the same, that there ariseth amongst you a question, whether the realm of Scotland be forth of the homage and leageance of England; and therefore you have in sundry proclamations preceding your wars-making, and in sundry books at sundry times, laboured much to prove the homage and fealty of Scotland to England. Your stories also be not void of this intent. What the judgment of the fathers of your law is, and what commonly is thought in this matter, you know better than I, and may have better intelligence than I, the argument being fitter for your assertion than mine.

Another question there is also upon this objection of foreign birth; that is to say, whether princes inheritable to the crown, be in case of the crown exempted or concluded as private persons, being strangers born forth of the allegiance of England. You know in this case, as divers others, the state of the crown: the persons inheritable to the crown at the time of their capacity, have divers differences and prerogatives from other persons; many laws made for other persons take no hold in case of the prince, and they have such privileges as other persons enjoy not: as in cases of attainders and other penal laws: examples, Henry VII. who being a subject, was attainted; and Edward IV. and his father Richard Plantagenet were both attainted; all which notwithstanding their attainders had right to the crown, and two of them attained the same. Amongst may reasons to be showed, both for the differences, and that foreign birth doth not take place in the case of the crown as in common persons, the many experiences before the Conquest and since of your kings do plainly testify. 2. Of purpose I will name unto you, Henry II. Maud the empress's son, and Richard of Bordeaux, the Black Prince's son, the rather for that neither of the two was the king of England's son, and so not *Enfant du Roy*, if the word be taken in this strict signification. And for the better proof, that it was always the common law of your realm, that in the case of the crown foreign birth was no bar; you do remember the words of the Stat. 25 Edward III. where it is said, the law was ever so: whereupon if you can remember it, you and I fell out at a reasoning in my lord of Leicester's chamber, by the occasion of the abridgment of Rastal, wherein I did show you somewhat to this purpose; also these words, *infant* and *ancestors* be in *Prædicamento ad aliquid*, and so correlatives in such sort, as the meaning of the law was not to restrain the understanding of this word *infant*, so strict as only to the children of the king's body, but to others inheritable in remainder; and if some sophisters will needs cavil about the precise understanding of *infant* let them be answered with the scope of this word *ancestors* in all provisions, for *Filii*, *Nepotes* and *Liberi*, you may see there was no difference betwixt the first degree and these that come after by the civil law. *Liberorum appellatione comprehenduntur non solum Filii, verum etiam Nepotes, Pronepotes, Abnepotes*, &c. If you examine the reason why foreign birth is excluded, you may see that it was not so needful in princes' cases as in common persons. Moreover, I know that England hath oftentimes married with daughters, and married with the greatest foreign princes of Europe. And so I do also understand, that they all did repute the children of them, and of the daughters of England, inheritable in succession to that crown, notwithstanding the foreign birth of their issue; and in this case I do appeal to all chronicles, to their contracts of marriages, and to the opinion of all the princes of Christendom. For though England be a noble and puissant country, the respect of the alliance only and the dowry hath not moved the great princes to match so often in marriage, but the possibility of the crown in succession. I cannot be ignorant altogether in this matter, considering that I serve my sovereign in the room that you serve yours. The contract of marriage is extant betwixt the king, my mistress's grandfather, and queen Margaret, daughter to king Henry VII. by whose person the title is devolved on my sovereign; what her father's meaning was in bestowing of her, the world knoweth by that which is contained in the chronicles written by Polidorus Virgilius, before (as I think) either you or I was born; at least when it was little thought that this matter should come in question. There is another exception also laid against my sovereign, which seems at the first to be of some weight, grounded upon some



statutes made in king Henry VIII.'s time, (viz.) of the 28th and 35th of his reign, whereby full power and authority was given him the said king Henry, to give, dispose, appoint, assign, declare and limit, by his letters patents under his great seal, or else by his last will made in writing, and signed with his hand at his pleasure, from time to time thereafter the imperial crown of that realm, &c. Which imperial crown is by some alleged and constantly affirmed to have been limited and disposed, by the last will and testament of the said king Henry VIII. signed with his hand before his death, unto the children of the lady Francis, and Elenor, daughter to Mary the French queen, younger daughter of Henry VII. and of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk; so as it is thought the queen, my sovereign, and all others, by course of inheritance, be by these circumstances excluded and fore-closed: so as it does well become all subjects, such as I am, so my liking is, to speak of princes, of their reigns and proceedings, modestly and with respect; yet I cannot abstain to say, that the chronicles and histories of that age, and your own printed statutes, being extant, do contaminate and disgrace greatly the reign of that king in that time. But to come to our purpose, what equity and justice was that to disinherit a race of foreign princes of their possibility and maternal right, by a municipal law or statute made in that, which some would term abrupt time, and say, that that would rule the roast, yea, and to exclude the right heirs from their title, without calling them to answer, or any for them: well, it may be said, that the injury of the time, and the indirect dealing is not to be allowed; but since it is done, it cannot be avoided, unless some circumstances material do annihilate the said limitation and disposition of the crown.

Now let us examine the manner and circumstances how king Henry VIII. was by statute enabled to dispose the crown. There is a form in two sorts prescribed him, which he may not transgress, that is to say, either by his letters patents, sealed with his great seal, or by his last will, signed with his hand: for in this extraordinary case he was held to an ordinary and precise form; which being not observed, the letters patents, or will, cannot work the intent or effect supposed. And to disprove that the will was signed with his own hand: you know that long before his death he never used his own signing with his own hand; and in the time of his sickness, being divers times pressed to put his hand to the will written, he refused to do it. And it seemed God would not suffer him to proceed in an act so injurious and prejudicial to the right heir of the crown, being his niece. Then his death approaching, some as well known to you as to me, caused William Clarke, sometimes servant to Thomas Henneage, to sign the supposed will with a stamp (for otherwise signed it was never); and yet notwithstanding some, respecting more the satisfaction of their ambition, and others their private commodity, than just and upright dealing, procured divers honest gentlemen, attending in divers several rooms about the king's person, to testify with their handwritings the contents of the said pretended will, surmised to be signed with the king's own hand. To prove this dissembled and forged signed testament, I do refer you to such trials as be yet left. First, the attestation of the late lord Paget, published in the parliament in queen Mary's time, for the restitution of the duke of Norfolk. Next, I pray you, on my sovereign's behalf, that the depositions may be taken in this matter of the marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer of England, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Pembroke, sir William Petre, then one of king Henry's secretaries, sir Henry Nevill, sir Maurice Barkley, doctor Buts, Edmond Harman Baker, John Osborn, groom of the chamber, sir Anthony Dennis, if he be living, Terris the chirurgion, and such as have heard David Vincent and others speak in this case; and that their attestations may be enrolled in the chancery, and in the arches, *In perpetuam rei memoriam*.

Thirdly; I do refer you to the original will surmised to be signed with the king's own hand, that thereby it may most clearly and evidently appear, by some differences, how the same was not signed with the king's hand, but stamped as aforesaid: and albeit it is used both as an argument and calumniation against my sovereign to some, that the said original hath been embezzled in queen Mary's time, I trust God will and hath reserved the same to be an instrument to relieve the truth, and to confound false surmises, that thereby the right may take place, notwithstanding the many exemplifications and transcripts, which being sealed with the great seal, do run abroad in England, and do carry away many men's minds, as great presumptions of great verity and validity. But, sir, you know in cases of less importance, that the whole realm of England, transcripts and exemplifications be not of so great force in law to serve for the recovery of anything, either real or personal: and inasmuch as my sovereign's title in this case shall be little advanced, by taking exceptions to others' pretended and erased titles, considering her precedency, I will leave it to such as are to claim after the issue of Henry VII., to lay in bar the polygamy of Charles Brandon, the duke of Suffolk, and also the vitiated and clandestine contract (if it may be so called), having no witness nor solemnization of Christian matrimony, nor any lawful matching of the earl of Hertford and the lady Katharine. Lastly; the semblably compelling of Mr. Key and the lady Mary, sister to the lady Katharine.

And now, sir, I have to answer your desire, said somewhat briefly to the matter, which indeed is very little, where so much may be said; for, to speak truly, the cause speaketh for itself. I have so long forborne to deal in this matter, that I have almost forgotten many things which may be said for roboration of her right, which I can shortly reduce to my remembrance, being at Edinburgh, where my notes are; so that if you be not by this satisfied, upon knowledge from you of any other objection I hope to satisfy you unto all things may be said against her. In the meantime I pray you so counsel the queen your sovereign, as some effectual reparation may follow without delay, of the many and sundry traverses and disfavourings committed against the queen my sovereign: as the publishing of so many exemplifications of king Henry's supposed will, the secret embracing of John Halle's books, the books printed and not avowed the last summer, one of the which my mistress hath sent by Henry Killigrew to the queen your sovereign; the disputes and proceedings of Lincoln's Inn, where the case was ruled against the queen my sovereign; the speeches of sundry in this last session of parliament, tending all to my sovereign's derision, and nothing said to the contrary by any man, but the matter shut up with silence, most to her prejudice,—and by so much the more as every man is gone home settled and confirmed in his error. And, lastly, the queen your sovereign's resolution to defend now by proclamations all books and writings containing any discussion of titles, when the whole realm hath engendered by these fond proceedings and other favoured practices, a settled opinion against my sovereign's, to the advancement of my lady Katharine's title. I might also speak of another book lately printed and set abroad in this last session, containing many untruths and weak reasons, which Mr. Wailing desired might be answered before the

defence were made by proclamation. I trust you will so hold hand to the reformation of all these things, as the queen my sovereign may have effectual occasion to esteem you her friend; which doing, you shall never offend the queen your mistress, your country, nor conscience, but be a favourer of the truth against errors, and yet deserve well of a princess, who hath a good heart to recognize any good turn, when it is done her, and may hereafter have means to do you pleasure. For my particular, as I have always honoured you as my father, so do I still remain of the same mind as one whom in all things not touching the state you may direct, as your son Thomas Cecil, and with my hearty commendations to you and my lady, both, I take my leave. From Striveling, the 14th of January 1566.

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# AN APPENDIX

## CONCERNING SOME OF THE ERRORS AND FALSEHOODS IN SANDERS' BOOK OF THE ENGLISH SCHISM.

Those who intend to write romances or plays do commonly take their plot from some true piece of history; in which they fasten such characters to persons and things, and mix such circumstances and secret passages with those public transactions and changes that are in other histories, as may more artificially raise these passions and affections in their readers' minds, which they intend to move, than could possibly be done if the whole story were a mere fiction and contrivance: and though all men know those tender passages to flow only from the invention and fancy of the poet, yet, by I know not what charm, the greatest part that read or hear their poems are softened and sensibly touched.

Some such design Sanders seems to have had in his book, which he very wisely kept up as long as he lived: he intended to represent the Reformation in the foulest shape that was possible, to defame queen Elizabeth, to stain her blood, and thereby to bring her title to the crown in question; and to magnify the authority of the see of Rome, and celebrate monastic orders, with all the praises and high characters he could devise: and therefore after he had writ several books on these subjects, without any considerable success, they being all rather filled with foul calumnies and detracting malice than good arguments or strong sense, he resolved to try his skill another way; so he intended to tell a doleful tale, which should raise a detestation of heresy, an ill opinion of the queen, cast a stain on her blood, and disparage her title, and advance the honour of the papacy. A tragedy was fitter for these ends, since it left the deepest impressions on the graver and better affections of the mind; the scene must be laid in England, and king Henry VIII. and his three children, with the changes that were in their times, seemed to afford very plentiful matter for a man of wit and fancy, who knew where he could dexterously show his art, and had boldness enough to do it without shame, or the reverence due either to crowned heads or to persons that were dead. Yet because he knew not how he could hold up his face to the world after these discoveries were made, which he had reason to expect, this was concealed as long as he lived: and, after he had died for his faith (that is, in rebellion, which I shall show is the faith in his style), this work of his was published. The style is generally clean, and things are told in an easy and pleasant way; only he could not use his art so decently as to restrain that malice which boiled in his breast, and often fermented out too palpably in his pen.

The book served many ends well, and so was generally much cried up by men who had been long accustomed to commend anything that was useful to them, without troubling themselves with those impertinent questions, whether they were true or false: yet Rishton, and others since that time, took the pencil again in their hands, and, finding there were many touches wanting which would give much life to the whole piece, have so changed it, that it was afterwards reprinted, not only with a large continuation, that was writ by a much more unskilful poet, but with so many and great additions scattered through the whole work, whereby it seemed so changed in the vamping that it looked new.

If any will give themselves the trouble to compare his fable with the history that I have written, and the certain undoubted authorities I bring in confirmation of what I assert, with the slender and (for the most part) no authorities he brings, they will soon be able to discern where the truth lies: but because all people have not the leisure or opportunities for laying things so critically together, I was advised by those whose counsels directed me in this whole work, to sum up, in an appendix, the most considerable falsehoods and mistakes of that book, with the evidences upon which I rejected them. Therefore I have drawn out the following extraction, which consists of errors of two sorts. The one is of these in which there is indeed no malice, yet they show the writer had no true information of our own affairs, but commits many faults which, though they leave not such foul imputations on the author, yet tend very much to disparage and discredit his work. But the others are of an higher guilt, being designed forgeries, to serve partial ends; not only without any authority, but manifestly contrary to truth and to such records as (in spite of all the care they took in queen Mary's time by destroying them, to condemn posterity to ignorance in these matters) are yet reserved, and serve to discover the falsehood of those calumnies in which they have traded so long. I shall pursue these errors in the series in which they are delivered in Sanders' book, according to the impression at Colen 1628, which is that I have. I first set down his errors, and then a short confutation of them, referring the reader for fuller information to the foregoing history.

Page 2.—1. Sanders says; "that when prince Arthur and his princess were bedded, king Henry VII. ordered a grave matron to lie in the bed, that so they might not consummate their marriage."

This is the groundwork of the whole fable; and should have been some way or other proved. But, if



we do not take so small a circumstance upon his word, we treat him rudely; and who will write histories if they be bound to say nothing but truth! But little thought our author that there were three depositions upon record, point blank against this; for the duchess of Norfolk, the viscount of Fitswater, and his lady, deposed they saw them bedded together, and the bed blessed after they two were put in it; besides, that such an extravagant thing was never known done in any place.

Ibid.—2. Sanders says, "Prince Arthur was not then fifteen years of age, and was sick of a lingering disease."

The plot goes on but scurvily, when the next thing that is brought to confirm it is contradicted by records. Prince Arthur was born the 20th of September in the year 1486, and so was fifteen years old and two months past at the 14th of November 1501, in which he was married to the princess, and was then of a lively and good complexion, and did not begin to decay till the Shrovetide following, which was imputed to his excesses in the bed, as the witnesses deposed.

Ibid.—3. He says; "Upon the motion for the marrying of his brother Henry to the princess, it was agreed to by all, that the thing was lawful."

It was perhaps agreed on at Rome, where money and other political arts sway their counsels; but it was not agreed to in England: for which we have no meaner author than Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, who, when examined upon oath, deposed that himself then thought the marriage was not honourable nor well pleasing to God, and that he had thereupon opposed it much, and that the people murmured at it.

Page 3.—4. He says; "There was not one man in any nation under heaven, or in the whole church, that spake against it."

The common style of the Roman church, calling the see of Rome the Catholic church, must be applied to this, to bring off our author; otherwise I know not how to save his reputation. Therefore, by all the nations under heaven, must be understood only the divines at Rome; though when it came to be examined, they could scarce find any who would justify it: all the most famous universities, divines, and canonists condemned it, and Warham's testimony contradicts this plainly, besides the other great authorities that were brought against it, for which see lib. 2. from page 69 to page 78.

Page 4.—5. He says; "The king once said, he would not marry the queen."

Here is a pretty essay of our author's art, who would make us think it was only in a transient discourse, that the king said he would not marry queen Katharine; but this was more maturely done, by a solemn protestation, which he read himself before the bishop of Winchester, that he would never marry her, and that he revoked his consent given under age. This was done when he came to be of age, see page 36: it is also confessed by Sanders himself.

Ibid.—6. He says; "The queen bore him three sons and two daughters."

All the books of that time speak only of two sons, and one daughter; but this is a flourish of his pen, to represent her a fruitful mother.

Page 5.—7. He says; "The king had sometimes two, sometimes three concubines at once."

It does not appear he had ever any but Elizabeth Blunt; and if we judge of his life, by the letters the popes wrote to him, and many printed elogies that were published then, he was a prince of great piety and religion all that while.

Page 6.—8. He says; "The lady Mary was first desired in marriage by James V. of Scotland, then by Charles V. the emperor; and then Francis asked her, first for the Dolphin, then for the duke of Orleans, and last of all for himself."

But all this is wrong placed, for she was first contracted to the Dolphin, then to the emperor, and then treated about to the king of Scotland; after that it was left to Francis his choice, whether she should be married to himself, or his second son the duke of Orleans: so little did our poet know the public transactions of that time.

Ibid.—9. He says; "She was in the end contracted to the Dolphin: from whence he concludes that all foreign princes were satisfied with the lawfulness of the marriage."

She was first of all contracted to the Dolphin. Foreign princes were so little satisfied of the lawfulness of the marriage, that though she being heir to the crown of England, was a match of great advantage; yet their counsellors excepted to it, on that very account, that the marriage was not good. This was done in Spain, and she was rejected, as a writer who lived in that time informs us; and Sanders confesses it was done by the French ambassador.

Page 7.—10. He says; "Wolsey was first bishop of Lincoln, then of Durham, after that of Winchester, and last of all archbishop of York; after that he was made chancellor, then cardinal and legate."

The order of these preferments is quite reversed; for Wolsey soon after he was made bishop of Lincoln, upon cardinal Bembridge his death, was not only promoted to the see of York, but advanced to be a cardinal in the seventh year of the king's reign: and some months after that, he was made lord chancellor; and seven years after that, he got the bishopric of Durham, which six years after he exchanged for Winchester. He had heard perhaps that he enjoyed all these preferments; but knowing nothing of our affairs beyond hearsay, he resolved to make him rise as poets order their heroes, by degrees, and therefore ranks his advancement not according to truth, but in the method he liked best himself.

Page 8.—11. He says; "Wolsey first designed the divorce, and made Longland, that was the king's confessor, second his motion for it."

The king not only denied this in public, saying, that he himself had first moved it to Longland in confession; and that Wolsey had opposed it all he could: but in private discourse with Grinæus told him, he had laboured under these scruples for seven years; *septem perpetuis annis trepidatio*. Which reckoning from the year 1531, in which Grinæus wrote this to one of his friends, will fall back to the year 1524, long before Wolsey had any provocation to tempt him to it.

Page 9.—12. He says; "In the year 1526, in which the king was first made to doubt of his marriage, he was resolved then whom to marry when he was once divorced."

But by his other story, Ann Boleyn was then but fifteen years old, and went to France at that age, where she stayed a considerable time before she came to the court of England.

Ibid.—13. He says; "The king spent a year in a private search, to see what could be found, either in the Scriptures, or the pope's bull, to be made use of against his marriage; but they could find nothing."

In that time all the bishops of England, except Fisher, declared under their hands and seals, that they thought the marriage unlawful; for which see page 29: and upon what reasons this was grounded, has been clearly opened, page 74.

Ibid.—14. He says; "If there were any ambiguities in the pope's first letters (meaning the bull, for dispensing with the marriage), they were cleared by other

letters, which Ferdinand of Spain had afterwards procured."

These other letters (by which he means the breve) bear date the same day with the bull; and so were not procured afterwards. There were indeed violent presumptions of their being forged long after, even after the process had been almost a year in agitation. But though they helped the matter in some lesser particulars; yet in the main business, whether prince Arthur did know his princess, they did it a great prejudice; for whereas the bull bore, that by the queen's petition her former marriage was perhaps consummated, the breve bears that in her petition, the marriage was said to be consummated, without any perhaps.

Ibid.—15. He says; "The king having seen these second letters, both he and his council resolved to move no more in it."

The process was carried on, almost a year, before the breve was heard of: and the forgery of it soon appeared, so they went on notwithstanding it.

Page 16.—He says; "The bishop of Tarby being come from France, to conclude the match for the lady Mary, was set on by the king and the cardinal, to move the exception to the lawfulness of the marriage."

There is no reason to believe this; for that bishop, though afterwards made a cardinal, never published this: which both he ought to have done as a good catholic, and certainly would have done as a true cardinal, when he saw what followed upon it, and perceived that he was trepanned to be the first mover of a thing, which ended so fatally for the interests of Rome.

Page 11.—17. He says; "The bishop of Tarby, in a speech before the king in council, said, that not he alone, but almost all learned men, thought the king's marriage unlawful and null: so that he was freed from the bond of it, and that it was against the rules of the gospel; and that all foreign nations had ever spoken very freely of it, lamenting that the king was drawn into it in his youth."

It is not ordinary for ambassadors to make speeches in king's councils: but if this be true, it agrees ill with what this author delivers in his third page, that there was not a man in the whole church, nor under heaven, that spoke against it, otherwise the bishop of Tarby was both an impudent and a foolish man.

Page 13.—18. He says; "Upon the pope's captivity, Wolsey was sent over to France with 300,000 crowns to procure the pope's liberty."

Hall, Hollingshead, and Stow say, he carried over 240,000 pounds sterling, which is more than thrice that sum.

Ibid.—19. He says; "Two colleagues were sent in this ambassy with the cardinal."

His greatness was above that, and none are mentioned in the records.

Ibid.—20. He says; "Orders followed him to Calais, not to move anything about the king's marriage with the French king's sister, the king having then resolved to marry Ann Boleyn."

This agrees ill with what he said, page 9, that a year before the king was resolved whom to marry.

Ibid.—21. He says; "King Henry, that he might have freer access to sir Thomas Boleyn's lady, sent him to France; where after he had stayed two years, his lady was with child of Ann Boleyn by the king."

This story was already confuted, see page 31, 32. And in it there are more than one or two lies.

1. Sir Thomas Boleyn went not ambassador to France till the 7th year of the king's reign: and if two years after that, Ann was born, which was the 9th of his reign, she must then have been but ten years old at this time.

2. Though he had sent him upon his first coming to the crown, this could not be true; for two years after, admit her to be born, that is *anno* 1511, then a year before this, which was *anno* 1526, she was fifteen years old; in which age, Sanders says, she was corrupted in her father's house, and sent over to France, where she staid long. But all this is false: for,

3. She was born two years before the king came to the crown, in the year 1507; and if her father was sent to France two years before, it was in the year 1505.

4. The king being then prince, was but fourteen years old, for he was born the 28th of June, in the year 1491: in which age there is no reason to think he was so forward as to be corrupting other men's wives, for they will not allow his brother, when almost two years elder, to have known his own wife.

As for the other pieces of this story, that sir Thomas Boleyn did sue his lady in the spiritual court; that upon the king's sending him word that she was with child by him, he passed it over; that the king had also known her sister, and that she had owned it to the queen, that at the fifteenth year of Ann's age, she had prostituted herself both to her father's butler and chaplain; that then she was sent to France, where she was at first for some time concealed; then brought to court, where she was so notoriously lewd, that she was called an hackney; that she afterwards was kept by the French king; that when she came over into England, sir Thomas Wiat was admitted to base privacies with her, and offered to the king and his council, that he himself should with his own eyes see it: and in fine, that she was ugly, mishaped, and monstrous,—are such an heap of impudent lies, that none but a fool, as well as a knave, would venture on such a recital. And for all this, he cites no other authority but Rastal's Life of Sir Thomas More, a book that was seen by none but himself; and he gives no other evidence that there was any such book but his own authority. Nor is it likely that Rastal ever writ More's Life, since he did not set it out with his works, which he published in one volume, *anno* 1556. It is true, More's son-in-law, Roper, writ his life, which is since printed, but there is no such story in it. The whole is such a piece of lying, as if he who forged it had resolved to outdo all who had ever gone before him: for can it be so much as imagined, that a king could pursue a design for seven years together, of marrying a woman of so scandalous a life, and so disagreeable a person; and that he who was always in the other extreme of jealousy, did never try out these reports, and would not so much as see what Wiat informed? Nor were these things published in the libels that were printed at that time, either in the emperor's court, or at Rome. All which show that this was a desperate contrivance of malicious traitors, against their sovereign queen Elizabeth, to defame and disgrace her. And this I take to be the true reason, why none made any full answer to this book all her time. It was not thought for the queen's honour to let such stuff be so much considered as to merit an answer. So that the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th pages are one continued lie.

Page 16.—22. He says; "Sir Thomas Boleyn hearing the king intended to marry his supposed daughter, came over in all haste from France, to put him in mind that she was his own child; and that the king bade him hold his peace for a fool, for a hundred had lien with his wife as well as he, but whosesoever daughter she was, she should be his wife: and upon that sir Thomas instructed his daughter how she should hold the king in her toils."

Sir Thomas must have thought the king had an ill memory, if he had forgot such a story: but the one



part of this makes him afraid that the king should marry his daughter, and the other part makes him afraid they should miss their hopes in it: not to mention how little likely it is, that a king of such high vanity would have done that which the privatest person has an aversion to; I mean, the marrying the daughter of one whom they know to be a common prostitute.

Page 19.—23. He says; "Wolsey, before his return from France, sent Gambara to the pope, desiring him to name himself vicar of the papacy, during his captivity."

This was not done till almost a year after this: and the motion was sent by Staphileus dean of the Rota, for which see page 37.

Page 20.—24. He says; "None but ill men and ignorant persons wrote against the marriage, but all learned and good men wrote for it."

The whole doctors of the church, in all ages, were against it; and no doctor, ancienter than Cajetan, could ever be found to have writ for it.

Ibid.—25. He says; "That though great endeavours were used to persuade sir Tho. More of the unlawfulness of the marriage, all was in vain."

Is it probable that the king would have made him lord chancellor, when he was so earnest in this business, if he had not known that he would have gone along with him in it? By one of his letters to Cromwell out of the Tower, it appears that he approved the divorce, and had great hopes of success in it, as long as it was prosecuted at Rome, and founded on the defects in the bull. And in the 22d year of the king's reign, when the opinions of the universities, and the books of learned men were brought to England against the marriage, he carried them down to the house of commons, and made read them there; after which he desired they would report in their country what they had heard and seen; and then all men would openly perceive that the king had not attempted this matter of his will and pleasure, but only for the discharge of his conscience. More was a man of greater integrity than to have said this, if he had thought the marriage good; so that he has either afterwards changed his mind, or did at this time dissemble too artificially with the king.

Page 22.—26. After a long flourish about the king's secret fears and apprehensions, and the perplexities the cardinal was in, which must pass for a piece of his wit, that is to say, lying, for he knew none of their thoughts; he says, "that Gardiner and sir Francis Brian were sent to the pope together, Gardiner being then secretary of state."

In this there are only three gross mistakes. First, Gardiner was not sent with the first message to the pope; secretary Knight carried it.

2. Sir Francis Brian went never to Rome with Gardiner: it is true, a year after the commencing the suit, sir Francis Brian was sent to Rome, and about a month after him Gardiner was also sent; so though they were both together at Rome, yet they were not sent thither together.

3. Gardiner was not secretary of state, but was Wolsey's secretary, when he went first to Rome, and was made a privy counsellor when he was sent thither the second time; and was not secretary of state till some months after his return from his journey the last time.

Page 23.—27. He says; "They made the pope believe that the queen would willingly retire into a monastery."

This was on the contrary a contrivance of the pope's, who thought it the easiest way to bring the matter to a good issue; but in England they had no hopes of it, and so always diverted the motion when it was proposed by the pope.

Ibid.—28. He says; "The pope said he would consult with some cardinals and divines, and do all that he could lawfully do to give the king satisfaction."

Upon the first motion of it, the pope frankly granted the king's desire, and gave a bull with a commission upon it; and only consulted some cardinals about the methods of doing it. And did assure the king, that he would not only do everything that could be granted in law or justice, but whatsoever he could grant out of the fullness of his power. It is true, afterwards when the pope changed his measures, and resolved to agree with the emperor, he pretended he understood not these things himself, but would needs turn it over upon the cardinals and divines.

Page 24.—29. He says; "All the cardinals were of a mind that the marriage was good."

Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, by the force of that mighty argument of 4000 crowns, changed his mind. All the other cardinals were forward in granting the king's desires, for which he wrote them a letter of thanks.

Page 26.—30. He says; "The pope granted the commission to the two legates, not doubting but it was true that had been told him of the queen's readiness to go into a monastery."

The pope knew she would not yield to any such thing; but when he granted that commission, he sent with Campegio a decretal bull annulling the marriage; and sent afterwards a promise never to avocate the process, but to confirm what sentence the legates should give; though soon after he broke his promise most signally. And, since he had often dispensed with others for breaking their faith, he might think that it was hard to deny him the same privilege for himself.

Ibid.—31. He says; "The pope understanding that the queen did not consent to the propositions that were made, and that he had been abused, sent after Campegio, when he was on his journey, that he should not proceed to a sentence without a new order."

The pope sent Campana to England after Campegio, to assure the king he would do everything for him that he could do out of the fullness of his power: and ordered the same person to charge cardinal Campegio to burn the decretal bull which he had sent by him: in all which the pope, as appears by the original letters, was only governed by politic maxims, and considered nothing but the dangers himself was like to fall in; though Sanders would persuade us he was ready to run the hazard of all these.

Page 30.—32. He says; "The king, by his letters to the pope, did, at the same time that he was moving scruples about his own marriage, transact about a dispensation for a marriage betwixt his own natural son the duke of Richmond and his daughter the lady Mary."

Though the whole despatches at that time, both to and from Rome, be most happily preserved, there is not the least mention of any such design: and can anybody think that if any such motion had been made, the pope would not have taken great advantages from it, and that these letters would not have been afterwards published? But this Sanders thought was a pretty embellishment of his fable; and of a piece with this is his next.

Ibid.—33. He says; "The king did under his own hand confess he had known Anne Boleyn's sister Mary, and desired the pope would dispense with his marrying Anne notwithstanding that."

The falsehood of this appears from the recital of it: and how came it that these letters were not published?

Nor is there any mention of this in all the despatches I have seen. And it is not possible that in so many conferences which the English ambassadors had with the pope, these two things should never have been discoursed of. And can it be thought credible that at the same time when the king pretended such scruples and troubles of consciences, he could be guilty of so much folly and impudence as to put himself thus in the pope's mercy by two such demands? This was a forgery of cardinal Pole's, which Sanders greedily catched to dress up the scene.

Page 34.—34. From page 34 to 42 there is a trifling account given of the reasons brought against the marriage, which Sanders answers manfully, and fights courageously against the man of straw he had set up. But if that be compared with what has been opened in the history, it will appear how lame and defective his account is.

Page 42.—35. He says; "Clarke bishop of Bath and Wells, Tonstal bishop of London, and West bishop of Ely, writ for the lawfulness of the king's marriage."

All the bishops, except Fisher, had a year before this given it under their hands and seals that the king's marriage was unlawful: and, in all the memorials of that time, Fisher is the only bishop I find mentioned to have writ for it. Tonstal was also soon after translated to Durham, which none that have considered that king's temper will think could have been done, if he had interposed in so tender a point, against what the king so vehemently desired.

Ibid.—36. He says; "that Abel, Powel, Fetherston, and Ridley, also writ for the marriage."

This is not likely of the second and third, for they being afterwards attainted of treason, no such books were objected to them; but the crime charged on them was only that they said, the king's marriage with queen Katharine was good.

Page 43.—37. He says; "All things appeared clear in the trial before the legates, in behalf of the marriage, so that they could give no sentence against such full evidence as was brought for it."

This is said without any regard to truth; for all the matter of fact that had been alleged was clearly proved for the contrary side. It was proved that prince Arthur married the queen; violent presumptions appeared of his consummating the marriage: it was also proved that the king was under age when the bull was obtained, and that the petitions given in his name, upon which the bull was granted, were false: that the king had not desired it, but when he came of age he had protested against it: and that there was no hazard of a war between Spain and England, the preventing which was the chief reason set down in the bull that permitted it. So that all that had been informed at Rome, as to matter of fact, was fully proved before the legates, by clear instruments, and many and noble witnesses.

Ibid.—38. He puts a long bold speech in Campegio's mouth, who was far from assuming such freedom; but lived licentiously in England, in all manner of disorders, of which both he and his bastard son were guilty. And, by dissembling and other arts, persuaded the king to delay the process from day to day, giving him full assurances that in conclusion he should obtain what he desired: and by such means he gained time, and drew out the trial, till the pope had ended his treaty with the emperor; and then he served him an Italian trick, by adjourning the court.

Page 48.—39. He says; "Some doctors being corrupted with the king's money, declared for him; but those were none of the most learned."

The king ordered those he sent not to give or promise anything to any person, till they had delivered their opinion freely: upon which some of them wrote to him, that they would answer upon their heads, that they had followed his orders in that particular.

Ibid.—40. He says; These determinations were published in the names of the universities to deceive the world by a false representation of so great authorities."

Were the public seals of the universities put to their determinations, after a long debate, all being required to deliver their consciences upon oath, and done with the unanimous consent of the whole faculty in some places, false representations? This was done in Italy, in Padua, Bononia, Ferrara, and Milan, under the pope and the emperor's eye, and within their dominions.

Page 50.—41. He says; "Endeavours were used to corrupt the university of Colen and some others in Germany, for which great sums were offered, and that the king was at a vast expense in it."

Crook's accompts show that his expense in Italy was very inconsiderable. And who can imagine that when Paris, Padua, and Bononia had declared for the king, he would be much concerned for Colen or any other university in Germany? Those who will believe Sanders and such authors as he quotes, Cochleus, and an unknown bishop of Brasile, may if they will.

Page 51.—42. He says; "In Oxford the king not being able to obtain a satisfactory answer in that matter, eight students of the university broke into the place where the seal was laid, and put it to an answer, which passed for the determination of the university."

The lord Herbert says, there was an original instrument passed, which he saw; by which the university did appoint a committee of thirty-three doctors and bachelors of divinity to examine the questions proposed by the king, and to set the seal of the university to any answer that they should agree on; and these did afterwards give a resolution against the lawfulness of the marriage.

Page 52.—43. He tells a long story of "the king's endeavours to gain Reginald Pole, and that he came over to England; and being much pressed by his kindred to comply with the king, he went to him, fully purposed to have done it, but could not speak a word to him till he resolved to talk to him in another style; and then he found his tongue and spake very freely to the king, who put his hands sometimes to his poignard intending to have killed him, but was overcome with the simplicity and humility of his discourse, and so the king continued his pension to him, and gave him leave to go back to Padua."

This is another pretty adventure of one of the heroes of the romance, but has this misfortune in it, that it is all without any proof; for as none of the books of that time ever mention it, so neither did Pole himself pretend to have carried so in his book, though written with the most provoking insolence that was possible. In it he mentions his going over to England, but not one word of any such discourse with the king. And king Henry was not a man of such a temper as to permit one of Pole's quality to go out of England, and live among his enemies, and continue his pensions to him, if he had to his face opposed him in a matter he laid so much to heart.

Page 53.—44. He says, "Fisher of Rochester, and Holman bishop of Bristol, wrote for the marriage."

There was no bishopric, nor bishop of Bristol, at that time, nor thirteen years after.

Ibid.—45. "Many are reckoned up who wrote for the marriage in all nations."

These are neither to be compared in number nor authority to those who wrote against it; an hundred books were showed in parliament, written by divines and lawyers beyond sea, besides the determinations of twelve of the most celebrated universities in Europe. The emperor did indeed give so great rewards and such good benefices to those who wrote against the king, that it is a wonder there were not more writers of his side.



Page 56.—46. He says; "That upon Warham archbishop of Canterbury's death, the earl of Wiltshire told the king that he had a chaplain, who was at his house, that would certainly serve the king in the matter of his divorce; upon which Cranmer was promoted."

Cranmer was no stranger to the king at this time: he was first recommended by the king to the earl of Wiltshire, to be kept in his house; but was in Germany when Warham died, and made no haste over, but delayed his journey some months. It is true he was of the mind that the king ought to be divorced; but this was not out of servile compliance, for when the king pressed him in other things that were against his conscience, he expressed all the courage and constancy of mind which became so great a prelate.

Ibid.—47. He says; "That Cranmer being to swear the oath of obedience to the pope, before he was consecrated, did protest to a public notary, that he took it against his will, and that he had no mind to keep his faith to the pope, in prejudice to the king's authority."

He did not protest that he did it unwillingly, nor was it only to a notary, but twice at the high altar he repeated the protestation that he made; which was to this effect, that he intended not thereby to oblige himself to anything, contrary to the law of God, the king's prerogative, or the laws of the land; nor to be restrained from speaking, advising, or consenting to anything that should concern the reformation of the christian faith, the government of the church of England, and the prerogative of the crown and kingdom.

Page 57.—48. He says; "Cranmer did in all things so comply with the king's lusts, that the king was wont to say he was the only man that had never contradicted him in anything he had a mind to."

Cranmer was both a good subject and a modest and discreet man, and so would obey and submit as far as he might, without sin; yet when his conscience charged him to appear against anything that the king pressed him to, as in the matter of the six articles, he did it with much resolution and boldness.

Page 58.—49. He says; "The king going over to Calais, carried Ann Boleyn secretly with him."

He carried her over in great state, having made her marchioness of Pembroke; and in the public interview between him and Francis, she appeared with all possible splendour.

Page 59.—50. He says; "After the king's return from France, he brought the action of premunire against all the clergy."

This is an error of two years, for so long before this voyage to France was that action begun; and the clergy about eighteen months before had made their submission, and obtained their pardon in March 1531, which appears by the printed statutes, and the king went over to France in September 1532; so that it is clear Sanders never looked for any verification of what he wrote.

Ibid.—51. He says; "The king by an unheard-of tyranny, and a new calumny, brought this charge against the clergy."

These laws upon which the charge was founded, had been oft renewed: they were first made under Edward I., by reason of the papal encroachments that gave the rise to them; they were oft confirmed by Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., with the concurrence of their parliaments; so the charge was neither new nor tyrannical.

Ibid.—52. He says; "The clergy submitted to the king, being betrayed by their metropolitans, Cranmer and Lee."

The submission was made two years before Cranmer was archbishop, in March 1531, and Cranmer was consecrated in March 1533, but at that time Warham sate in Canterbury; as for Lee, he opposed it for some time.

Ibid.—53. He says; "The whole clergy petitioned the king to forgive their crime, according to that supreme power which he had over all the clergy and laity, within his kingdom; from whence the king's counsellors took occasion afterwards to call him supreme head."

The clergy did in the title of their submission call the king in formal terms, "Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England, as far as by the law of Christ is lawful;" to which Fisher, with the rest of the convocation, subscribed. And all this was done when More was chancellor.

Page 62.—54. He says; "When the king went to marry Ann Boleyn, he persuaded Rowland Lee, made soon after bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, to officiate in it, assuring him he had obtained a bull for it from Rome, which was then lying in his cabinet. Upon which Lee, giving credit to what he said, did marry them."

This is another trial of Sanders' wit to excuse Lee, who though at this time he complied absolutely with the king, yet did afterwards turn over to the popish party; therefore to make him look a little clean, this story must be forged. But at that time all the world saw that the pope and the emperor were so linked together, that Lee could not but know that no such thing was possible. And he was so obsequious to the king, that such arts were needless to persuade him to anything the king had a mind to.

Page 67.—55. For five pages he runs out in repetition of all those foul lies concerning Ann Boleyn, by which he designed both to disgrace the Reformers, who were supported by her, and to defame her daughter queen Elizabeth, which have been before confuted. After that he says, "Queen Katharine, with three maids and a small family, retired into the country."

She had both the respect of a princess dowager, and all the jointure contracted to her by prince Arthur; so she could not be driven to that straitness, but this must go for an ornament in the fable.

Page 71.—56. He says; "It was concluded that Cranmer might be more free to pass sentence, that there should be an oath imposed on the clergy for paying the same obedience to the king that they had paid the pope:" upon which he tells a long formal story, for two pages, that "it was resolved to draw Fisher into it, to swear obedience to the king in all ecclesiastical causes, with that exception, 'as far as is lawful, according to the word of God;' which he did, and persuaded others to do it; and upon this Cranmer taking the new oath, went and pronounced judgment for divorce."

There is not one tittle of this true, for there was no oath sworn about the king's supremacy at this time. The story of Fisher is that which was done by the convocation two years before Cranmer's preferment; nor was there any oath taken then, or at this time. It is true, two years after this, Gardiner, Stokesley, and many other bishops, did of their own accord take such an oath; but there was no law for it till the 28th year of the king's reign.

Page 72.—57. He says; "One Richard Risey (or

Rouse, according to the Records) was hired by Ann Boleyn to poison Fisher."

Rouse was boiled alive for poisoning the bishop's family, but did not discover any that set him on it: which none can think but he would have done, if the queen had hired him to it, and had then deserted him, to perish in so horrid a manner.

Page 73.—58. He says; "Cranmer being by authority of parliament freed from his oath to the pope, and bound by a new one to the king, went now confidently to pronounce sentence."

The parliament did not put down the pope's authority for eight months after this, and appointed no new oath till three years after; for Cranmer sat in judgment as primate of England, and legate of the apostolic see.

Ibid.—59. He says; "Cranmer carried some bishops with him, and having cited the queen, without hearing her, he gave sentence against the marriage."

Gardiner, Stokesly, Clark, and Longland, the bishops of Winchester, London, Bath, and Lincoln, went with him. He could not hear the queen, when she would not appear; but he examined all the instruments and evidences that had been brought in the whole process.

Page 75.—60. He says; "The pope would not proceed against the king till he met with the French king at Marseilles; but that the English ambassadors did there carry so insolently, that Francis was ashamed of their behaviour, and desired the pope to proceed against the king as he thought fit, and that he should never defend him more, but should be against him."

Here the romance goes on too grossly, for the pope and the French king agreed at Marseilles to bring this matter to an issue: the pope declared he thought the king's cause was just and right, and promised, if the king would send a full submission to Rome, he would give sentence in his favours: upon which the French king sent over the bishop of Paris, who prevailed with the king to do it; though this afterwards came to nothing. It is true, Bonner, who was always officious and forward when there was anything to be got by it, being sent to Marseilles by the king, to deliver an appeal in the king's name to the pope, to the next general council, and perhaps knowing nothing of the private transactions between the pope and the French king, it being a secret of too great importance to be communicated to such a hot-brained man, did deliver his message to the pope in such provoking language, that the pope talked of throwing him into a boiling cauldron; and he was fain to fly for it.

Page 76.—61. He says; "The pope returning to Italy, after he had again most carefully reviewed the whole cause, gave sentence."

This was so precipitated, that they would not stay six days beyond the time which they prefixed for the return of the messenger that was sent to England; but despatched that, which by the forms of their court should have been done in three consistories, all in one day.

Page 78.—62. He says; "Upon this sentence, the king being enraged, did command queen Katharine to be only called princess, and declared her daughter the lady Mary a bastard."

Both these were done five months before the pope's sentence, and soon after the sentence was pronounced by Cranmer. And these were the natural consequences of it; for the marriage being annulled, neither could she be longer a queen, nor her daughter princess any more.

Ibid.—63. He says; "The king imprisoned F. Forest, a Franciscan Observant, a most holy and learned man, for contradicting Latimer when he was inveighing against the pope's authority."

Concerning this Forest, I have seen an original letter of one List, a friar of the same house, a year after this, that says Forest was a great scandal to their house, and was very ignorant; and that though he had been much against the king in his marriage, yet he had then insinuated himself into his favour, of which many of the house, who were for the king's cause, had great apprehensions. In the same letter he writes how cruel they were against any of their brethren, who they thought discovered anything that was done among them; and that one Rainscroft, a brother, whom they suspected to have informed what passed among them, was cruelly used, and kept in prison till he died; which he chiefly imputes to Forest. This friar swore the king's supremacy, and yet at the same time was persuading others not to do it; and being questioned upon it, said, he took the oath only with his outward, but not with his inward man; and for that, and his denying the gospel, he was burnt as an obstinate heretic.

Page 79.—64. He says; "Abell, Powel, and Fetherston, were put in prison because they consulted with the Maid of Kent."

This is only charged upon the former of these, but the two latter are not accused of any such thing.

Ibid.—65. He says; "Elizabeth being born the 8th of September, but five months after the king had publicly married her mother, could not be the lawful issue of that marriage."

This is a malicious lie, for himself confessed that the king was married to her mother, the 14th of November the former year; between which and the 8th of September, there were ten months; nor was the king ever after that married publicly to the queen; for what he calls a public marriage, was only the showing her openly as queen. But the design of this lie is so visible that it needs not be opened.

Ibid.—66. He says; "The king's daughter Mary, who was then present, could never be induced to think she was the king's child."

In the former page he said Mary was sent to her mother; and now forgetting himself too soon, he says, she was present when Elizabeth was born. What Mary's thoughts were, none can tell; but she publicly acknowledged her to be her sister, though she did not use her as one.

Page 80.—67. He says; "Elizabeth Barton, who was famed for her sanctity, and six with her, who thought she was inspired by the Holy Ghost, were accused in parliament."

Those six knew that she was not inspired; and that all that was given out about her was a contrivance of theirs, who had instructed her to play such tricks, as was proved by their own confessions and other evidences.

Ibid.—68. He says; "They all died very constantly:" and on the margent calls them "seven martyrs."

The nun herself acknowledged the imposture at her death, and laid the heaviest weight of it on the priests that suffered with her, who had taught her the cheat: so that they died both for treason and imposture. And this being Sanders' faith, as appeared by his works, they were indeed martyrs for it.

Ibid.—69. He says; "More and Fisher having examined her, could see no ground to think she was acted by a fanatical spirit, as it was given out."

It was not given out that she was acted by a fanatical spirit, for that had been more honest; but her spirit was cheating and knavery. More cleared himself, and looked on her as a weak woman, and commonly called her the Silly Maid: but Fisher did disown her when the cheat was discovered, though he had given her too much encouragement before.

Page 81.—70. He says; "The thing she prophesied came to pass; which was, that Mary should be queen of England."



The thing for which she and her complices were attainted of treason was, that she said, if the king married Ann Boleyn, he should not be a king a month longer, and not an hour longer in the sight of God, and should die a villain's death. But it did not serve Sanders' ends to tell this.

Ibid.—71. He says; "The day she suffered, many of the nobility came and swore to the succession of the issue of the king's marriage with queen Ann, before the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and Cromwell."

Both houses of parliament did in the house of lords take that oath, on the day of their prorogation, which was the 30th of March, as appears by the second act of the next session: and the nun, with her complices, did not suffer till the 21st of April after.

Ibid.—72. He says; "The Franciscans of the Observance, chiefly two fathers in London, Elston and Payton, did, both in their sermons and public disputes, justify the king's marriage with queen Katharine."

Elston and Payton were not of London, but of Greenwich. They compared the king to Achab, and said, in the pulpit to his face, the dogs should lick his blood; with many other such virulent expressions. But to rail at a prince with the most spiteful reproaches that could be, was a part of Sanders' faith: and so no wonder those pass for confessors, when Elizabeth Barton and her complices are reckoned martyrs.

Page 82.—73. He says; "Tonstal bishop of Durham was ordered by the king's messengers not to come to the session of parliament 26 *regni*, in which the king's supremacy was established."

In this he is safer than in some other stories, for the journals of that session are lost, so the falsehood of this cannot be demonstrated: yet it is not at all likely, that he who justified all that was done in the former session, in which the pope's power was put down, the nomination of bishops annexed to the crown, a reformation of ecclesiastical laws appointed to be made, in defence of all which he wrote afterwards, was now so scrupulous as to be ordered to stay at home. But Tonstal suffering imprisonment in Edward the Sixth's time, it was fit to use some art to show that he was unwillingly brought to comply with the king.

Ibid.—74. He, to show God's judgments on the chief instruments that served the king, says, that "the duke of Norfolk was by the king condemned to perpetual imprisonment."

This bewrays palpable ignorance, since he was attainted of high treason, the very day before the king's death, and should have suffered the next day, if the king's death had not prevented it. But since he will descant on the providence of God, he should rather have concluded that his escaping so narrowly, was a sign of God's great care of him.

Ibid.—75. In the session of parliament that met the third of November (as he describes it, which was the 26th year of the king's reign) he says, "Mary the king's daughter was illegitimated, and all her honours were transferred on Elizabeth, and the pope's power put down."

This shows he never looked on our public statutes; otherwise he had seen that these acts passed in the former session.

Page 84.—76. He says; "When the king sent his ambassadors to the French court, Francis would not so much as hear them give a justification of the king's proceedings."

How true this can be, the world may judge, since these two kings continued in a firm alliance eight years after this. And Francis did often treat, both with him and the princes of Germany, about these things, and was inclined to do almost all that he did.

Ibid.—77. He says; "The Lutherans did so abominate the grounds of his separation from Rome, that they could never be induced to approve it;" for which he cites Cochleus, an author of his own kidney.

They did condemn the king's first marriage as unlawful, and thought the pope's dispensation had no force: and so far they approved it. But they had this singular opinion, that he should have continued unmarried as long as queen Katharine lived. Yet in that they were so modest that they only desired to be excused, as to the second marriage: which considering that queen Ann favoured their doctrine, and that by an absolute compliance with what the king had done, they might have secured his protection to themselves, whom otherwise they provoked highly, is an evidence of a strict adhering to what their consciences dictated, that cannot be sufficiently commended.

Page 85.—78. He says; "The king made many write apologies for what he did; which some did willingly, being tainted with heresy, others unwillingly, and for fear, as Gardiner and Tonstal."

In this he shows how little judgment he had of the nature of things, when he thinks to excuse their writing for the king, as extorted by force: to have done it through error and mistake, was much the softer excuse; but to make them men of such prostituted consciences, as not only to subscribe and swear, but to write with learning and zeal, and yet against their consciences, represents them guilty of unexpressible baseness. Indeed Gardiner was a man like enough to write anything that might please the king; but Tonstal was a man of greater probity than to have done so unworthy a thing upon any account whatsover. But since he mentioned writers, he should have named Longland bishop of Lincoln, Stokeley bishop of London, and above all Bonner, who did officiously thrust himself into the debate, by writing a preface to Gardiner's book, with the greatest vehemence that could be. But the blood he shed afterwards did so endear him to this author, that all past faults were forgiven and to be clean forgotten.

Page 86.—79. He says; "Five martyrs suffered because they would not swear the king's supremacy according to the law that was then passed."

There was no such law made at that time, nor could any such oath be then put to them. The only oath which the parliament had enacted, was the oath of the succession, and the refusing it was only misprision of treason, and was not punishable by death. But it was for denying the king's supremacy, and for writing and speaking both against it and his marriage, that they suffered according to law.

Page 87.—80. He says; "Cromwell threatened the jury, in the king's name, with certain death, if they did not bring them in guilty."

Everybody that knows the law of England, will soon conclude this to be a lie: for no such threatenings were ever made in trials in this nation. Nor was there any need at this time, for the law was so plain, and their facts so clearly proved, that the jury could not refuse to bring them in guilty.

Pages 88, 89.—81. He says; "The three Carthusians that suffered, were made stand upright and in one place fourteen days together, with irons about their necks, arms, and legs, before they died:" and then with great pomp he describes their death in all its parts, as if it had been a new-devised cruelty, it being the death which the law appoints for traitors. He tells, that Cromwell lamented that others of them had died in their cells, and so prevented his cruelty.

He also adds a long story of the severities against the Franciscans.

All this he drew from his learning in the Legend. The English nation knows none of these cruelties, in which the Spanish inquisitors are very expert. I find, by some original letters, that the Carthusians who were shut up in their cells, lived about a year after this; so if Cromwell had designed to take away their lives, he wanted not opportunities: but it appears from what More writ in his imprisonment, that Cromwell was not a cruel man, but, on the contrary, merciful and gentle. And for the Franciscans, though they had offended the king highly, two of them railing spitefully at him to his face, in his chapel at Greenwich; yet that was passed over with a reproof, from which it appears that he was not easily provoked against them. So all that relation which he gives, being without any authority, must pass for a part of the poem.

Page 91.—82. He says; "The bishop of Rochester was condemned, because he would not acknowledge the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters."

He was never pressed to acknowledge it, but was condemned for denying it, and speaking against it: for had he kept his opinion to himself, he could not have been questioned. But the denying the king's titles, of which his being supreme head was one, was by the law treason; so he was tried for speaking against it, and not for his not acknowledging it.

Page 93.—83. He runs out in an high commendation of Fisher, and among other things mentions his "episcopal and apostolical charity."

His charity was burning indeed. He was a merciless prosecutor of heretics, so that the rigour of the law, under which he fell, was the same measure that he had measured out to others.

Page 100.—84. Sanders will let the world see how carefully he had read the Legend, and how skilfully he could write after that copy, in a pretty fabulous story concerning More's death; to whom I will deny none of the praises due to his memory, for his great learning and singular probity: nor had he any blemish, but what flowed from the leaven of that cruel religion, which carried him to great severities against those that preached for a reformation. His daughter Roper was a woman of great virtue, and worthy of such a father, who needed none of Sanders' art to represent her well to the world. His story is; "that the morning her father died, she went about distributing all the money she had in alms to the poor: and at last was at her prayers in a church, when of a sudden she remembered that she had forgot to provide a winding-sheet for his body; but having no more money left, and not being well known in that place, she apprehended they would not give her credit: yet she went to a linen-draper's shop, and calling for so much cloth, she put her hand in her pocket, knowing she had nothing in it, but intending to make an excuse, and try if they would trust her. But by a miracle she found the price of the sheet, and neither more nor less was conveyed into her pocket." This is such a lively essay of the man's spirit that invented it, that I leave it without any further commentary.

Page 105.—85. He says; "Lee, that was not in orders, was sent to visit the monasteries, who solicited the chastity of the nuns."

He does not mention Leighton and London, the two chief visitors, for Leighton brought in Lee: but they were of the popish party, and Lee was Cranmer's friend, therefore all must be laid on him. He was in orders, and soon after was made dean of York. I have seen complaints of Dr. London's soliciting the nuns, yet I do not find Lee complained of. But since London was a persecutor of heretics, such a small kindness as the concealing his name, and the turning the blame over on Lee, was not to be stood on among friends, especially by a man of Sanders' ingenuity.

Page 107.—86. For the correspondence between queen Katharine and Father Forest, and the letters that passed; since Sanders tells us not a word how he came by them, we are to look on them as a piece of the romance.

Page 114.—87. He says; "Ann Boleyn bore a monstrous and misshaped lump of flesh, when the time of her bearing another child came."

She bore a dead child before the time, says Hall; but there was no great reproach in that, unless made up by Sanders' wit.

Page 115.—88. He lays out the business of Ann Boleyn with so much spite and malice, that we may easily see against whom he chiefly designed this part of his work. He says; "She was found guilty of adultery and incest."

There was no evidence against her, but only a hearsay from the lady Wingfield: we neither know the credit of that lady, nor of the person who related it in her name. It is true, Mark Smeton did confess his adultery with the queen, but it was generally thought he was drawn into it by some promises that were made to him, and so cheated out of his life; but for the queen, and the other four, they attested their innocency to the last: nor would any of those unfortunate persons redeem their lives at so ignominious a rate, as to charge the queen, whom they declared they knew to be innocent; so that all the evidence against her was an hearsay of a woman that was dead, the confession of a poor musician, and some idle words herself spake of the discourses that had passed between her and some of those gentlemen.

Page 116.—89. He says; "Foreigners did generally rejoice at her fall;" and to prove this, he cites Cochleus's words, that only show that author's ill opinion of her.

The Germans had so great a value of her, that all their correspondence with the king fell to the ground with her: but he may well cite Cochleus, an author of the same honesty with himself, from whose writings we may, with the like security, make a judgment of foreign matters, as we may upon Sanders' testimony believe the account he gives of English affairs.

Page 117.—90. He tells us, among other things done by the king, and picks it out as the only instance he mentions of the king's injunctions, "that the people should be taught in churches the Lord's Prayer, the Ave, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in English."

It seems this author thought the giving these elements of religion to the people in the vulgar tongue, a very heinous crime, when this is singled out from all the rest.

Ibid.—91. "That being done," he says, "there was next a book published, called Articles, appointed by the king's majesty, which were the Six Articles."

This shows that he either had no information of English affairs, or was sleeping when he wrote this: for the Six Articles were not published soon after the injunctions, as he makes it, by the same parliament and convocation, but three years after, by another parliament: they were never put in a book, nor published in the king's name; they were enacted in parliament, and are neither more nor less than twenty-five lines in the first impression of that act; so far short come they of a book.

Page 119.—92. He reckons up very defectively the differences between the church of Rome and the doctrine set forth by the king's authority: but in one point he shows his ordinary wit; for, in the sixth particular, he says, "He retained the sacrament of order, but appointed a new form of consecrating of bishops."

This he put in out of malice, that he might annul the ordinations of that time: but the thing is false, for except that the bishops, instead of their oaths of obedience to the pope, which they formerly swore, did now swear to the king, there was no other change made; and that, to be sure, is no part of the form of consecration.

Page 120.—93. He resolved once to speak what he thought was truth, though it be treasonable and impious; and says, "Upon these changes many in Lincolnshire, and the northern parts, did rise for religion and the faith of Christ."

This was indeed the motive by which their seditious priests misled them; yet he is mistaken in the time, for it was not after the Six Articles were published, but almost three years before it. Nor was it for the faith of Christ, which teaches us to be humble, subject, and obedient; but because the king was removing some of the corruptions of that faith, which their false teachers did impiously call the faith of Christ.

Ibid. 94. He says; "The king did promise most faithfully that all these things of which they complained should be amended."

This is so evidently false, that it is plain Sanders resolved dexterously to avoid the speaking of any sort of truth: for the king did fully and formally tell them, he would not be directed nor counselled by them in these points they complained of, and did only offer them an amnesty for what was past.

Page 121.—95. Then he reckons up "thirty-two that died for the defence of the faith."

They were attainted of treason, for being in actual rebellion against the king: and thus it appears that rebellion was the faith in his sense; and himself died for it, or rather in it, having been starved to death in a wood, to which he fled after one of his rebellious attempts on his sovereign, in which he was the pope's nuncio.

Page 122.—96. He says; "The king killed the earl of Kildare, and five of his uncles."

By this strange way of expressing a legal attainder, and the execution of a sentence for manifest treason and rebellion, he would insinuate on the reader a fancy, that one of Bonner's cruel fits had taken the king, and that he had killed those with his own hand. The lord Herbert has fully opened that part of the history from the records that he saw, and shows that a more resolved rebellion could not be than that was of which the earl of Kildare and his uncles were guilty. But because they sent to the pope and emperor for assistance, the earl desiring to hold the kingdom of Ireland of the pope, since the king by his heresy had fallen from his right to it, Sanders must needs have a great kindness for their memory, who thus suffered for his faith.

Ibid.—97. He says; "Queen Jane Seymour being in hard labour of Prince Edward, the king ordered her body to be so opened by surgeons, that she died soon after."

All this is false, for she had a good delivery, as many original letters written by her council (that have been since printed) do show, but she died two days after of a distemper incident to her sex.

Page 124.—98. He sets down some passages of cardinal Pole's heroical constancy; which being proved by no evidence, and not being told by any other writer (whom I ever saw), are to be looked on as the flourishes of the poet to set off his hero.

Page 125.—99. He would persuade the world, that the marquis of Exeter, the lord Montacute, and the rest that suffered at that time, died, because they were believed to dislike the king's wicked proceedings; and that the countess of Sarum was beheaded on this single account, that she was the mother of such a son, and was sincerely addicted to the Catholic faith; and that she was condemned because she wrote to her son, and for wearing in her breast the picture of the five wounds of Christ.

The marquis of Exeter pretended he was well satisfied with the king's proceedings, and was lord steward when the lords Darcy and Hussie were tried, and he gave judgment against them. But it being discovered that he and other persons approved of cardinal Pole's proceedings, who endeavoured to engage all Christian princes in a league against the king, pursuant to which they had expressed themselves, on several occasions, resolved, when a fit opportunity offered itself, to rebel; it was no wonder if the king proceeded against them according to law. And for the countess of Sarum, though the legality of that sentence passed against her cannot be defended, yet she had given great offence, not only by her correspondence with her son, but by the bulls she had received from Rome, and by her opposing the king's injunctions, hindering all her tenants to read the New Testament, or any other books set out by the king's order. And for the picture, which was found among her clothes, it having been the standard of the rebellion, and the arms of England being found on the other side of it, there was just ground to suspect an ill design in it.

Page 129.—100. He says; "The images which the king destroyed, were by many wonderful works of God recommended to the devotion of the nation."

All the wonder in these works, was the knavery of some juggling impostors, and the simplicity of a credulous multitude, of which see page 165, which being so openly discovered, nothing that had shame in it could speak of them as our author does.

Page 131.—101. He says; "Six-and-twenty carts drawn with oxen, were loaded with the riches taken from Thomas Becket's shrine;" whom he makes "a most glorious martyr, that died for the defence of the faith, and was honoured by many miracles after his death."

Other writers have sufficiently showed what a perfidious, ingrateful, and turbulent priest he was. All these were virtues in our author's opinion, and ingredients in his faith. But he has in this accompt of the riches of that shrine gone beyond himself, having, by a figure of speech very familiar to him (called lying), increased two chests (see page 179) to twenty-six cartloads.

Page 132.—102. He says; "The sentence which P. Paul gave out against the king, was affixed in some towns, both in France, Flanders, and Scotland;" from which he infers, that "both the emperor, the French, and the Scotch king, did consent to that sentence."

In this he designed an eminent piece of service to the apostolic see, to leave on record an evidence that three sovereign princes had acknowledged the Pope's power of deposing kings. But he did ill to name the proofs of his assertion, and had done better to have said simply that it was so, than to have founded it on so ill grounds: as if the affixing papal bulls in a place, were an evidence that the princes in whose dominions it was done consented to it. He might with the same reason have concluded, that queen Elizabeth consented to the sentence against herself; which it is very like will not be easily believed, though the bull was affixed in London. But all those very princes whom he names, continuing to keep up their correspondence with the king, as well after as before this sentence, is a much

clearer demonstration that they despised the Pope's sentence.

Page 134.—103. He says; "The king, by his own authority, threw all the begging orders out of their houses."

The falsehood of this has appeared already, for they resigned their houses to the king: and of these resignations, though many were destroyed, yet near an hundred are still extant.

Ibid.—104. He says; "The parliament, in the year 1539, gave the king all the great monasteries."

The parliament passed no such act; all that they did, was only to confirm the grants made, or to be made, by these houses to the king. It was their surrenders that clothed the king with the right to them. All the tragical stories he tells us that followed upon this, are founded on a false foundation.

Page 135.—105. He sets down a form of a resignation, which, he says, "all the abbots, and many religious persons, were made to sign and set their seals to it."

Among all the resignations which are yet extant, there is not one in this form, for which see page 175.

Page 136.—106. He says; "The king's commissioners, who went about getting hands to that form, made them believe, in every house, that all the rest had signed it; and so by that, and other persuasions, prevailed with many to set their hands to it."

If all the subscriptions had been procured about the same time, such arts might be suspected: but in a thing that was three years a-doing, these tricks could not have served their turn.

Ibid.—107. He says; "They told the monks, that though the king might, by virtue of the act of parliament, seize on their houses and rents, yet he desired rather to do it with their good-will."

In this there are two errors: first, most of these houses were resigned to the king before the act of parliament, see page 174; and next, the act of parliament only confirmed their deeds, but did not give their houses to the king.

Page 137.—108. He says; "The abbots of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Reading, suffered martyrdom, because they refused to set their hands to that writing."

There was no such writing ever offered to them; nor was there any law to force them to resign: so they could not suffer on that account, but they were martyrs for Sanders' faith, for they were attainted by a legal trial of high treason.

Page 138.—109. He tells a long story of Whitting abbot of Glastonbury being "brought up to London, to be prevailed with to set his hand to the surrender. Which he still refusing to do, was sent back; and though a book against the king's divorce was found among his papers, which was laid there by those who searched for it; yet that was past over in a chiding: but as he went home, hearing there was a meeting of the county at Wells, he went thither; and as he was going up to his place on the bench, he was called to the bar to answer some things that were to be objected to him: he was amazed at it, and asked what the matter was? but one told him, he needed fear nothing, for somewhat was only to be done for form, to terrify others: upon which he was condemned and sent away to his abbey, little thinking he was so near his end; but when he came near it, a priest was sent to him to take his confession, for they told him he must die immediately; he begged a day or two's respite, but in vain: so they hanged him up in his habit, on the top of the hill near his abbey, and quartered him; and all this was done in one day."

This book came out in foreign parts, and was printed at Rome, in the reign of Sixtus the Fifth, who took great pleasure in such executions, as he describes this to have been, which may fall oft out, where the lives of the subjects are wholly at the prince's mercy: but to tell such tales of England, which is so famed over the world for the safety and security the subjects enjoy, and for the regular and legal proceedings in all trials, especially of life and death, was a great error in the poet; for the decorum of the laws and customs of a place must be observed, when any nation is made the scene of a fable. But as nothing like this can be done by the law of England, so there was nothing of it in this case: the jury that sate on him were men of great credit in the country; when he died, he acknowledged his offences, and with appearance of repentance, begged God's pardon, and the king's: see page 176.

Page 145.—110. After many bitter invectives against Cromwell, for which I could never see good evidence, though I cannot disprove them by any convincing arguments; he says, "that he advised the king to make a law, that persons might be convented and condemned in absence, and without being heard: and that this law first of all fell upon himself."

There was no such law ever made, only the parliament by their supreme authority did attaint some in that manner, but no other court might do it. Nor was this first applied to Cromwell, for a year before his attainder, the countess of Sarum, with a great many more, were so attainted, though she did not suffer till a year after him.

Ibid.—111. He tells many reasons why the king had a mind to put away Ann of Cleves: but in this, as in other things, he betrays a profound ignorance of that time; for everybody knew, that the king, from the first time he saw her, disliked her, and that he never consummated the marriage.

This is a subject not fit to be long dwelt on: but if any will compare the account I give of this matter from the Records with Sanders' tale, they will see that he wrote at random, and did not so much as know public transactions.

Page 146.—112. He says; "The king had promised to the emperor, that he would no longer continue in the Smalcaldick league; but Cromwell counterfeited the king's hand, to a new confirmation of it; which coming to the emperor's knowledge, he challenged the king of it: and sent him over a copy of it; upon which the king disowned it, and cast it on Cromwell: and that this was the cause of his fall."

This I believe is one of Sanders' dreams: there is not one word of it in Cromwell's attainder; nor do I find the least shadow of this in some original letters which he wrote to the king for his pardon, in which he answers many of the things laid to his charge. Nor is it likely he would adventure on so bold a thing, with such a king; nor could the emperor have that writing in his power, as long as the king lived: for it is not to be imagined how he could come by it, till he had taken the duke of Saxony prisoner, which was after this king's death.

Page 148.—113. He says; "When Cromwell was put to death, the king proceeded to the divorce of Ann of Cleves."

The divorce was judged by the convocation eight days before Cromwell's death, and confirmed in parliament, which was dissolved before he suffered.

Ibid.—114. He says; "The king sent to her, to tell her, he had a mind to be separated from her; and though he could proceed more severely against her, since he knew she was an heretic; yet for her family's sake, he left it to herself to devise any reason for their divorce: upon which she came next day to the senate (which may be either the king's council, or the parliament), and confessed she had been married to another before she was married to the king; and thereupon, by the authority of parliament, he was divorced, and within eight days married Katharine Howard."



There are but six gross errors in this period. 1. The king sent not any message to her, nor came there any answer from her till the sentence of divorce was quite passed. 2. In the original letter which those he sent to her wrote to him from Richmond, it appears that they used no threatenings to her, but barely told her what was done; to which she acquiesced. 3. She never came from Richmond in all that process, and so made no such declaration in the senate. 4. She did not say that she was married to another, but only that she had been contracted to the prince of Lorraine when she was under age. 5. The parliament did not dissolve the marriage, but only confirmed the sentence of the convocation. 6. The king did not marry Katharine Howard before the 8th of August, and the divorce was judged the 10th of July, a month wanting two days.

Page 149.—115. He says; "The king had consummated the marriage for seven months together."

There were but six months between his marriage and the divorce; and in all that while, as they bedded but seldom, so there were very clear evidences brought, that it was not consummated.

Page 151.—116. He says; "The king sent the bishop of Winchester and Sir Henry Knevet to the diet of the empire; who were ordered to propose to the emperor, that the king might be again reconciled to the see of Rome; to which," he adds, "his conscience did drive him: but since the king would not confess his past crimes, nor do penance for them, nor restore the goods of the church, it came to nothing."

This is another ornament of the fable, to show the poet's wit; but is as void of truth as any passage in Plautus or Terence is. For the king was all his life so intractable in that point, that the popish party had no other way to maintain their interest with him, but to comply, not without affectation in that matter: and when an information was given against Gardiner, for his holding some correspondence with the pope's legate at the diet, he got the man who had innocently discovered it to be put in prison; and said, it was a plot against him to ruin him, which he needed not be so solicitous about, if his instructions from the king had allowed him to enter on such a treaty.

Page 153.—117. He runs out in a long digression, upon the king's assuming the title of King of Ireland; to show that the kings of England only hold Ireland by the pope's donation.

In this Sanders shows his art, he being to carry the standard of rebellion in that kingdom, to blast the king's right to it. He acknowledges the crown of England had the dominion of Ireland, with the title of Lord of Ireland, about 400 years: and certainly if so long a possession does not give a good title, and a prescription against all other pretenders, most of the royal families in Christendom will be to seek for their rights. But he says, it was given by the pope to king Henry II., and yet he confesses that he had conquered some parts of it before that grant was sent him by Hadrian IV. Certainly king Henry II. had as good a right to take it as pope Hadrian had to give it: nor was the king's accepting the pope's donation any prejudice to his title, for things extorted or allowed upon a public error can have no force when that is openly discovered. If then the superstition of those ages made that the pope's donation was a great help to any pretender, it was no wonder that kings made use of it; but it were a wonder indeed if they should acknowledge it, after the trick is known and seen by all.

Page 162.—118. After this, and a satire against queen Elizabeth for assuming the title Defender of the Faith, and a long enumeration of the exactions in the last years of this reign; in which, though there is matter enough for severe complaints, yet many of the particulars he mentions are without any proof, and must rest on the author's credit; which, by this time, the reader will acknowledge is not very great. Another long discourse of some length follows, of the misfortunes of the duke of Norfolk, and of all that served the king in his divorce, and in the following actions of his life; from which he infers, that these were effects of a curse from heaven upon all that he did, and on all those that assisted him: but as the inference is bad, so he forgot to mention those noble families that were raised in his time, and have continued since in great honour,—as the Seymours, from whom the dukes of Somerset are descended; the Paulets, from whom the marquis of Winchester derives; the Russels, Wriothslies, Herberts, Riches, and Cromwells, from whom the earls of Bedford, Southampton, Pembroke, Essex, and Ardglass have descended; and the Browns, the Petres, the Pagets, the Norths, and the Mountagues, from whom the vicecount Mountague, the barons Petre, Paget, North, and Mountague are descended. These families have now flourished in great wealth and honour an age and a half; and only one of them has, and that but very lately, determined in the male line: but the illustrious female branches of it are intermixed with other noble families. So that the observation is false, and the inference is weak.

Page 164.—119. He says; "When the king found his strength declining, he had again some thoughts of reconciling himself to the church of Rome; which when it was proposed to one of the bishops, he made a flattering answer. But Gardiner moved that a parliament might be called for doing it; and that the king, for the quiet of his own conscience, would vow to do it, of which God would accept in that extremity when more was not possible to be done. But some of his courtiers coming about him, who were very apprehensive of such a reconciliation, lest they should have been made restore the goods of the church, diverted the king from it:" and from this our author infers, that what the king had done was against his conscience, and that so he sinned the sin against the Holy Ghost.

I shall not examine this theological definition of the sin against the Holy Ghost, for my quarrel is not at present with his divinity, but with his history; though it were easy to show that he is alike at both. But for this story, it is a pure dream; for not only there is no evidence for it, nor did Gardiner in the reign of queen Mary ever own any such thing, though it had been then much for the credit of their cause, especially he being often upbraided with his compliances to this king, for which the mention of his repentance had furnished him with a good answer: but, as the tale is told, the fiction appears too plainly, for a parliament was actually sitting during the king's sickness, which was dissolved by his death, and no such proposition was made in it. The king, on the contrary, destroyed the chief hopes of the popish party, which were founded on the duke of Norfolk's greatness, by the attainder which was passed a day before he died. And yet Sanders makes this discourse to have been between the king and Gardiner after his fall, and his son's death, between which and the king's death there were only nine days: but besides all this, Gardiner had lost the king's favour a considerable time before his death.

Page 166.—120. He says; "The king, that he might not seem never to have done any good work in his whole life, as he was dying, founded Christ's Church Hospital in London; which was all the restitution he

ever made for the monasteries and churches he had robbed and spoiled."

If it had not already appeared, in many instances, that our author had as little shame as honesty, here is a sufficient proof of it. I will not undertake to justify the king, as if he had done what he ought to have done in his new foundations; but it is the height of impudence to deny things that all England knows. He founded six bishoprics; he endowed deans and prebendaries, with all the other offices belonging to a cathedral, in fourteen several sees:—Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Worcester, and Carlisle,—together with Westminster, Chester, Oxford, Gloucester, Peterborough, and Bristol, where he endowed bishoprics likewise. He founded many grammar-schools, as Burton, Canterbury, Coventry, Worcester, &c. He founded and endowed Trinity College in Cambridge, which is one of the noblest foundations in Christendom. He also founded professors in both universities for Greek, Hebrew, law, physic, and divinity. What censure then deserves our author for saying that the hospital of Christ's Church was all the restitution he ever made of the church lands?

Ibid.—121. He gives a character of the king which suits very well with his history, his malice in it being extravagantly ridiculous. Among other things, he says, "The king promoted always learned bishops, Cranmer only being excepted, whom he advanced to serve his lusts."

Cranmer was a man of greater learning than any that ever sate in that see before him, as appears in everything that he writ: Tonstal was a learned man, and Gardiner was much esteemed for learning; yet if any will compare Cranmer's books of the sacrament with those the other two writ on the same subject, there is so great a difference between the learning and solidity of the one and the other, that no man of common ingenuity can read them but he must confess it.

Page 170.—122. He says; "When the king found himself expiring, he called for a bowl of white wine, and said to one that was near him, 'We have lost all;' and was often heard repeating, 'Monks, monks;' and so he died."

This was to make the fable end as it had gone on, and it is forged without any authority or appearance of truth. The manner of his death was already told, so it needs not be repeated.

Page 172.—123. He says; "The king by his will appointed the crown to go to his righteous heirs after his three children, and commanded his son to be bred a true catholic: but his will was changed, and another was forged, by which the line of Scotland was excluded, and they bred his son an heretic."

There was no such will ever heard of: and in all the debates that were managed in queen Elizabeth's reign about the succession, those that pleaded for the Scottish line never alleged this; which, had it been true, did put an end to the whole controversy. It was indeed said, that the will which was given out as the king's will, was not signed by his hand, nor sealed by his order, but it was never pretended that there was any other will: so this is one of our author's forgeries.

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*The Conclusion.*

Thus I have traced him in this history, and hope I have said much more than was necessary to prove him a writer of no credit, and that his book ought to have no authority, since he was not only a stranger to the public transactions, printed statutes, and the other authentic registers of that time, but was a bold and impudent asserter of the grossest and most malicious lies that ever were contrived. I have not examined all the errors of his chronology, for there is scarce anything told in its right order and due place; nor have I insisted on all the passages he tells, without any proof, or appearance of truth; for as I could only deny these without any other evidence but what was negative, so there are so many of them, that I must have transcribed the greatest part of his book if I had considered them all. I have therefore only singled out these passages, which I had in the former history demonstrated to be false: and these are both so many and so important, that I am sure enough is said to destroy the credit of that author, and of his book, which has too long deceived the world. And what is performed in this first part will, I hope, dispossess the reader of any ill impressions the following parts of that work have made on him concerning the succeeding reigns, of which an account shall be given as soon as it possibly can be made ready.

I shall esteem my time to have been well employed, and my pains rightly placed, if my endeavours have so good an effect as to take off the unjust prejudices which some may have conceived at the changes that were then made in religion; or at the beginnings of them, which being represented by this author, and upon his testimony by many other writers, in such odious characters to the world, are generally so ill looked on.

The work itself was so good, done upon so much reason, managed with such care, directed by such wisdom, and tempered with so great moderation, that those who intended to blast it, did very wisely to load it with some such prejudices: for if without these, the thing itself be examined by men of a candid temper and solid judgment, the opposers of it know well where the truth lies; and on whose side, both the Scriptures and the best ages of the primitive church have declared. But it was not fit to put a question of such importance, on so doubtful and so dangerous an issue: therefore it was well considered by them, that some popular and easily understood calumnies, to disgrace the beginnings of it, and the persons that were most employed in it, were to be fastened on them: and if these could be once generally received, then men might be alienated from it by a shorter way, than could be done by the dull and unsuccessful methods of reason. Therefore as the cause of our church hath been often vindicated, by the learned books that have been published in it; and never with more success, and a clearer victory, than of late, in the elaborate writings (which are never to be mentioned but with honour) of the renowned Dr. Stillingfleet; so I judged it might not be an unuseful and unacceptable work (which though it be of a lower form, and so most suitable to my genius, yet will be of general use) to employ the leisure I enjoy, and the small talent committed to me, in examining and opening the transactions of those times: and if these who read it are dispossessed of their prejudices, and inclined to consider things as they are now set before them, in a truer light, I have gained my end in it.

The truths of religion need no support from the father of lies. A religion made up of falsehoods and impostures must be maintained by means suitable to itself: so Sanders' book might well serve the ends of that church, which has all along raised its greatness by public cheats and forgeries; such as the Donation of Constantine, and the Book of the Decretals; besides the vast number of miracles and visions that were for many ages made use of by them; of which even the most disingenuous of their own writers begin to be now ashamed. But the Reformation of religion was a work of light, and needs none of the arts of darkness to justify it by. A full and distinct narrative of what was then done, will be its apology, as well as its history. There is no need of artifice, but only of industry and sincerity, to gather together all the remains of that time, and put them in good order.

I am now beginning to look towards the next, and indeed the best part of this work: where in the first reign, we shall observe the active endeavours of those restorers of religion. The next reign affords a sadder prospect of that work laid in ruins, and the authors of it in ashes; but the fires that consumed them, did rather spread than extinguish that light which they had kindled. And what is fabled of the Phœnix, will be found true of our church, that she rose new out of these ashes, into which she seemed consumed.

Towards the perfecting this history, I hope all that love the subject of it, will contribute their endeavours, and furnish everything that is in their power, which may make it fuller or clearer: so I end with that desire which I made in the preface, that any who have in their hands any papers relating to these times, will be pleased to communicate them; and whatever assistance they give to it, shall be most thankfully owned and acknowledged.



END OF THE APPENDIX.

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# ADDENDA.

*Number I.—Articles about Religion, set out by the Convocation, and published by the King's Authority. An Original.*

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

HENRY VIII., by the grace of God king of England and of France, defender of the faith, and lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme head of the church of England, to all and singular our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, greeting. Amongst other cures committed unto this our princely office, whereunto it hath pleased God of his infinite mercy and goodness to call us, we have always esteemed and thought (as we also yet esteem and think) this to be most chief, most ponderous, and of most weight, that his holy word and commandments may sincerely, without let or hinderance, be of our subjects truly believed and reverently kept and observed; and that unity and concord in opinions, namely in such things as does concern our religion, may increase and go forthward, and all occasion of dissent and discord touching the same be repressed, and utterly extinguished; for the which cause we being of late to our great regret credibly advertised of such diversity in opinions, as have grown and sprongen in this our realm, as well concerning certain articles necessary to our salvation, as also touching certain honest and commendable ceremonies, rites, and usages in our said church, for an honest policy, and decent order heretofore of long time used and accustomed; minding to have that unity and agreement established through our said church concerning the premises; and being very desirous to eschew not only the dangers of souls, but also the outward inquietness which by occasion of the said diversity in opinions (if remedy had not been provided) might perchance have ensued, have not only in our own person many times taken great pain, study, labour, and travails, but also have caused our bishops and other, the most discreet and best learned men of our clergy of this our whole realm, to be assembled in our convocation, for the full debatement and quiet determination of the same; where after long and mature deliberation and disputations, had of and upon the premises, finally they have concluded and agreed upon the said matters, as well those which be commanded of God, and are necessary to our salvation, as also the other touching the honest ceremonies, and good and politic order, as is aforesaid; which their determination, debatement, and agreement, forasmuch as we think to have proceeded of a good, right, and true judgment, and to be agreeable to the laws and ordinances of God, and much profitable for the establishment of that charitable concord and unity in our church of England, which we most desire, we have caused the same to be published, willing, requiring, and commanding you to accept, repute, and take them accordingly; most heartily desiring and praying Almighty God, that it may please him so to illumine your hearts that you, and every of you, may have no less desire, zeal, and love to the said unity and concord, in reading, divulging, and following the same, than we have had and have, causing them to be thus devised, set forth, and published. And for because we would the said articles, and every of them, to be taken and understanden of you after such sort, order, and degree as appertaineth accordingly,—we have acaused, by the like assent and agreement of our said bishops and other learned men, the said articles to be divided into two sorts, that is to say, such as are commanded expressly by God, and are necessary to our salvation, and such other, as although they be not expressly commanded of God, nor necessary to our salvation, yet being of a long continuance for a decent order and honest policy, prudently instituted, are for that same purpose and end to be observed in like manner; which ye following, after such sort as we have prescribed unto you, shall not only attain that most charitable unity and loving concord, whereof shall ensue your incomparable commodity, profit and lucre, as well spiritual as other; but also ye conforming yourselves, and using these our said articles as is aforesaid, shall not a little encourage us to take further travel, pains and labours for your commodities in all such other matters as in time to come may happen to occur, and as it shall be most to the honour of God and ours, the profit, tranquillity, and quietness of all you our most loving subjects.

*The Articles of our Faith.*

First, As touching the chief and principal articles of our faith, sith it is thus agreed as hereafter followeth by the whole clergy of this our realm, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people, by us committed to their spiritual charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe and defend all those things to be true, which be comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible, and also in the three Creeds or symbols, whereof one was

made by the Apostles, and is the common creed which every man useth; the second was made in the holy council of Nice, and is said daily in the mass; and the third was made by Athanasius, and is comprehended in the psalm *Quicunque vult;* and that they ought and must take and interpret all the same things according to the self-same sentence and interpretation, which the words of the self-same creeds or symbols do purport, and the holy approved doctors of the church do entreat and defend the same.

*Item*, That they ought and must repute, hold, and take all the same things for the most holy, most sure, and most certain and infallible words of God, and such as neither ought ne can be altered or controlled by any contrary opinion or authority.

*Item*, That they ought and must believe, repute and take all the articles of our faith contained in the said creeds to be so necessary to be believed for man's salvation, that whosoever being taught will not believe them as is aforesaid, or will obstinately affirm the contrary of them, he or they cannot be the very members of Christ and his spouse the church, but be very infidels or heretics, and members of the devil, with whom they shall perpetually be damned.

*Item*, That they ought and must most reverently and religiously observe and keep the self-same words, according to the very same form and manner of speaking, as the articles of our faith be already conceived and expressed in the said creeds, without altering in any wise or varying from the same.

*Item*, That they ought and must utterly refuse and condemn all these opinions contrary to the said articles, which were of long time past condemned in the four holy councils, that is to say, in the council of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcidonense, and all other sith that time in any point consonant to the same.

*The Sacrament of Baptism.*

Secondly, As touching the holy sacrament of baptism, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must of necessity believe certainly all those things, which hath been always by the whole consent of the church approved, received and used in the sacrament of baptism; that is to say, that the sacrament of baptism was instituted and ordained in the New Testament by our Saviour Jesus Christ, as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life, according to the saying of Christ, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum cœlorum.*

*Item*, That it is offered unto all men, as well infants as such as have the use of reason, that by baptism they shall have remission of sins and the grace and favour of God, according to the saying of St. John, *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit.*

*Item*, That the promise of grace and everlasting life, which promise is adjoined unto the sacrament of baptism, pertaineth not only unto such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, innocents and children; and they ought therefore and must needs be baptised: and that by the sacrament of baptism they do also obtain remission of their sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God, insomuch as infants and children dying in their infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, or else not.

*Item*, That infants must needs be christened because they be born in original sin, which sin must needs be remitted; which cannot be done but by the sacrament of baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost which exerciseth his grace and efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purifieth them from sin by his most secret virtue and operation.

*Item*, That children or men once baptised, can, ne ought ever to be baptised again.

*Item*, That they ought to repute and take all the Anabaptists' and the Pelagians' opinions contrary to the premises, and every other man's opinion agreeable unto the said Anabaptists' or the Pelagians' opinions in this behalf, for detestable heresies, and utterly to be condemned.

*Item*, That men or children having the use of reason, and willing and desiring to be baptised, shall by the virtue of that holy sacrament obtain the grace and remission of all their sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant and contrite of all their sins before committed, and also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing all the articles of our faith, according as it was mentioned in the article before, or else not.

And finally, if they shall also have firm credence and trust in the promise of God adjoined to the said sacrament, that is to say, that in and by this said sacrament which they shall receive, God the father giveth unto them for his son Jesus Christ's sake, remission of all their sins, and the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated and made the very children of God, according to the saying of Christ and his apostle St. Peter, *Pœnitentiam agite et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti;* and according also to the saying of St. Paul ad Titum 3. *non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam, salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus Sancti, quem effudit in nos opulenter per Jesum Christum servatorem nostrum, ut justificati illius gratia hæredes efficiamur juxta spem vitæ æternæ.*

*The Sacrament of Penance.*

Thirdly, Concerning the sacrament of penance, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe, that that sacrament was instituted of Christ in the New Testament as a thing so necessary for man's salvation, that no man which after his baptism is fallen again and hath committed deadly sin, can without the same be saved or attain everlasting life.

*Item*, That like as such men which after baptism do fall again into sin, if they do not penance in this life, shall undoubtedly be damned; even so whensoever the same men shall convert themselves from the said naughty life, and do such penance for the same as Christ requireth of them, they shall without doubt attain remission of their sins and shall be saved.

*Item*, That this sacrament of perfect penance which Christ requireth of such manner of persons, consisteth of three parts, that is to say, contrition, confession, with the amendment of the former life, and a new obedient reconciliation unto the laws and will of God, that is to say, exterior acts in works of charity according as they be commanded of God, which be called in Scripture *fructus digni pœnitentia.*

Furthermore, as touching contrition, which is the first part, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that the said contrition consisteth in two special parts, which must always be conjoined together and cannot be dissevered; that is to say, the penitent and contrite man must first knowledge the filthiness and abomination of his own sin, whereunto he is brought by hearing and considering of the



will of God declared in his laws, and feeling and perceiving in his own conscience that God is angry and displeased with him for the same; he must also conceive not only great sorrow and inward shame that he hath so grievously offended God, but also great fear of God's displeasure towards him, considering he hath no works or merits of his own which he may worthily lay before God as sufficient satisfaction for his sins; which done, then afterwards with this fear shame and sorrow must needs succeed and be conjoined—the second part, viz. a certain faith, trust and confidence of the mercy and goodness of God, whereby the penitent must conceive certain hope and faith that God will forgive him his sins, and repute him justified and of the number of his elect children, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by the penitent, but for the only merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

*Item*, That this certain faith and hope is gotten and also confirmed, and made more strong by the applying of Christ's words and promises of his grace and favour contained in his gospel and the sacraments, instituted by him in the New Testament: and therefore to attain this certain faith, the second part of penance is necessary, that is to say, confession to a priest if it may be had; for the absolution given by the priest was institute of Christ to apply the promises of God's grace and favour to the penitent.

Wherefore as touching confession, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that they ought and must certainly believe that the words of absolution, pronounced by the priest, be spoken by the authority given to him by Christ in the gospel.

*Item*, That they ought and must give no less faith and credence to the same words of absolution so pronounced by the ministers of the church, than they would give unto the very words and voice of God himself if he should speak unto us out of heaven, according to the saying of Christ, *Quorum remiseritis peccata*, &c., *et qui vos audit me audit.*

*Item*, That in no ways they do contemn this auricular confession which is made unto the ministers of the church, but that they ought to repute the same a very expedient and necessary mean, whereby they may require and ask this absolution at the priest's hands, at such time as they shall find their consciences grieved with mortal sin, and have occasion so to do, to the intent they may thereby attain certain comfort and consolation of their consciences.

As touching the third part of penance, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that although Christ and his death be the sufficient oblation, sacrifice, satisfaction, and recompense, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all sinners not only their sin, but also eternal pain due for the same; yet all men truly penitent, contrite, and confessed, must needs also bring forth the fruits of penance, that is to say, prayer, fasting, almsdeeds, and must make restitution or satisfaction in will and deed to their neighbour, in such things as they have done them wrong and injury in, and also must do all other good works of mercy and charity, and express their obedient will in the executing and fulfilling of God's commandments outwardly, when time, power, and occasion shall be ministered unto them, or else they shall never be saved; for this is the express precept and commandment of God, *Agite fructus dignos pœnitentia;* and St. Paul saith, *Debitores sumus;* and in another place he saith, *Castigo corpus meum et in servitutem redigo.*

*Item*, That these precepts and works of charity be necessary works to our salvation; and God necessarily requireth that every penitent man shall perform the same, whensoever time, power, and occasion shall be ministered unto him so to do.

*Item*, That by penance and such good works of the same, we shall not only obtain everlasting life, but also we shall deserve remission or mitigation of these present pains and afflictions in this world, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Si nos ipsi judicaremus, non judicaremur a Domino; et* Zacharias, *Convertimini ad me et ego convertar ad vos;* Esaias 58. *frange esurienti panem tuum, &c, tunc eris velut hortus irriguus. Hæc sunt inculcanda ecclesiis et ut exercitentur ad bene operandum, et in his ipsis operibus exerceant et confirment fidem, petentes et expectantes a Deo mitigationem præsentium calamitatum.*

*The Sacrament of the Altar.*

Fourthly, As touching the sacrament of the altar, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must constantly believe, that under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by our outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption; and that under the same form and figure of bread and wine, the very self-same body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed and received of all them which receive the said sacrament; and that therefore the said sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour, and that every man ought first to prove and examine himself, and religiously to try and search his own conscience, before he shall receive the same, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Quisquis ederit panem hunc aut biberit de poculo Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini; probet autem seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat et de poculo illo bibat: nam qui edit aut bibit indigne judicium sibi ipsi manducat et bibit, non dijudicans corpus Domini.*

*Justification.*

Fifthly, As touching the order and cause of our justification, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that this word justification signifieth remission of our sins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.

*Item*, That sinners attain this justification by contrition and faith joined with charity, after such sort and manner as we before mentioned and declared; not as though our contrition, or faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said justification; for the only mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely unto us for his Son's sake Jesus Christ, and the merits of his blood and his passion, be the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof; and yet that notwithstanding to the attaining of the said justification, God requireth to be in us not only inward contrition, perfect faith, and charity, certain hope and confidence, with all other spiritual graces and motions, which as we said before must necessarily concur in remission of our sins, that is to say, our justification: but also he requireth and commandeth us, that after we be justified, we must also have good works of charity and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his laws and commandments; for although acceptation to ever-

lasting life be conjoined with justification, yet our good works be necessarily required to the attaining of everlasting life, and we being justified be necessarily bound, and it is our necessary duty to do good works; according to the saying of St. Paul, *Debitores sumus non carni ut secundum carnem vivamus, nam si secundum carnem vixerimus moriemur, sin autem spiritu facta corporis mortificaverimus, vivemus; etenim quicunque Spiritu Dei ducuntur hi sunt filii Dei:* and Christ saith, *Si vis ad vitam ingredi serva mandata:* and St. Paul saith, *De malis operibus, qui talia agunt regnum Dei non possidebunt*: Wherefore we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that God necessarily requireth of us to do good works commanded by him, and that not only outward and civil works, but also the inward spiritual motions and graces of the Holy Ghost; that is to say, to dread and fear God, to love God, to have firm confidence and trust in God, to invocate and call upon God, to have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and to have certain purpose and will not to sin again, and such other like motions and virtues; for Christ saith, *Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra plusquam scribarum et pharisæorum, non intrabitis in regnum cælorum;* that is to say, we must not only do outward civil good works, but also we must have these foresaid inward spiritual motions consenting and agreeable to the law of God.

*Of Images.*

As touching images, truth it is that the same have been used in the Old Testament, and also for the greater abuses of them sometime destroyed and put down, and in the New Testament they have been also allowed, as good authors do declare; wherefore we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, how they ought and may use them. And first, that this may be attributed unto them that thay be representers of virtue and good example, and that they also be by occasion the kindlers and firers of men's minds, and make men often remember and lament their sins and offences, especially the images of Christ and Our Lady; and that therefore it is meet that they should stand in the churches, and none otherwise to be esteemed: and to the intent the rude people should not from henceforth take such superstition, as in time past it is thought that the same hath used to do, we will that our bishops and preachers diligently shall teach them, and according to this doctrine reform their abuses; for else there might fortune idolatry to ensue, which God forbid. And as for censing of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshippings, although the same hath entered by devotion and fallen to custom; yet the people ought to be diligently taught, that they in no ways do it, nor think it meet to be done to the same images, but only to be done to God and in his honour, although it be done before the images, whether it be of Christ, of the cross, or of Our Lady, or of any other saint besides.

*Of Honouring of Saints.*

As touching the honouring of saints, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people, committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that saints now being with Christ in heaven be to be honoured of Christian people in earth; but not with that confidence and honour which are only due unto God, trusting to attain at their hands that which must be had only of God, but that they be thus to be honoured, because they be known the elect persons of Christ, because they be passed in godly life out of this transitory world, because they already do reign in glory with Christ; and most especially to laud and praise Christ in them for their excellent virtues which he planted in them, for example, of and by them to such as are yet in this world to live in virtue and goodness, and also not to fear to die for Christ and his cause as some of them did; and finally, to take them, in that they may, to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ. By these ways and such like be saints to be honoured and had in reverence, and by none other.

*Of Praying to Saints.*

As touching praying to saints, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that albeit grace, remission of sin, and salvation, cannot be obtained but of God only by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, which is only sufficient mediator for our sins; yet it is very laudable to pray to saints in heaven everlastingly living, whose charity is ever permanent, to be intercessors and to pray for us and with us unto Almighty God after this manner: "All holy angels and saints in heaven pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jesus Christ's sake, we may have grace of him and remission of our sins, with an earnest purpose, not wanting Ghostly strength, to observe and keep his holy commandments, and never to decline from the same again unto our lives' end." And, in this manner, we may pray to our Blessed Lady, to St. John Baptist, to all and every of the apostles, or any other saint particularly, as our devotion doth serve us; so that it be done without any vain superstition, as to think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ; or, that any saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same. And, likewise, we must keep holy-days unto God in memory of him and his saints, upon such days as the church hath ordained their memories to be celebrated; except they be mitigated and moderated by the assent or commandment of the supreme head, to the ordinaries, and then the subjects ought to obey it.

*Of Rites and Ceremonies.*

As concerning the rites and ceremonies of Christ's church, as to have such vestments in doing God service as be and have been most part used, as sprinkling of holy water to put us in remembrance of our baptism and the blood of Christ sprinkled for our redemption upon the cross; giving of holy bread to put us in remembrance of the sacrament of the altar, that all Christian men be one body mystical of Christ, as the bread is made of many grains and yet but one loaf, and to put us in remembrance of the receiving the holy sacrament and body of Christ, the which we ought to receive in right charity; which in the beginning of Christ's church men did more often receive than they use now-a-days to do; bearing of candles on Candlemas-day in memory of Christ the spiritual light, of whom Simeon did prophesy as is read in the church that day; giving of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, to put in remembrance every Christian man in the beginning of Lent and penance that he is but ashes and earth, and thereto shall return; which is right necessary to be uttered from henceforth in our mother-tongue always on the same day: bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday in memory of receiving of Christ into Jerusalem a little before his death, that we may have the same desire to receive him into our hearts; creeping to the cross and humbling ourselves to Christ on Good-Friday before the cross, and offering there unto Christ before the same, and kissing of it in memory of our redemption by Christ made upon the cross;



setting up the sepulture of Christ, whose body after his death was buried; the hallowing of the font, and other like exorcisms and benedictions by the ministers of Christ's church: and all other like laudable customs, rites, and ceremonies, be not to be contemned and cast away, but to be used and continued as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify, not suffering them to be forgotten, or to be put in oblivion, but renewing them in our memories from time to time; but none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven.

*Of Purgatory.*

Forasmuch as due order of charity requireth, and the book of Maccabees, and divers ancient doctors, plainly showing, that it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed, and forasmuch also as such usage hath continued in the church so many years even from the beginning, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that no man ought to be grieved with the continuance of the same, and that it standeth with the very due order of charity for a Christian man to pray for souls departed, and to commit them in our prayers to God's mercy; and also to cause others to pray for them in masses, and exequies, and to give alms to others to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain: but forasmuch as the place where they be, the name whereof and kind of pains there, also be to us uncertain by Scripture; therefore this with all other things we remit to God Almighty, unto whose mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them, trusting that God accepteth our prayers for them, referring the rest wholly to God, to whom is known their estate and condition; wherefore it is much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of purgatory hath been advanced as to make men believe that through the bishop of Rome's pardon souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory, and all the pains of it, or that masses said at *Scala cæli*, or otherwhere, in any place, or before any image, might likewise deliver them from all their pain, and send them straight to heaven, and other like abuses. (Signed)

Thomas Cromwell. T. Cantuarien. Edwardus Ebor. Joannes London. Cuthbertus Dunelmen. Joannes Lincoln. Joannes Lincoln. nomine procuratorio pro Dom. Joan. Exon. Hugo Wygornen. Joannes Roffen. Richardus Cicestren. Joannes Bathonien. Thomas Elien. Joannes Lincoln. nomine procuratorio pro Dom. Rowlando Coven. et Lichfielden. Joannes Bangoren. Nicholaus Sarisburien. Edwardus Hereforden. Willielmus Norwicen. Willielmus Meneven. Robertus Assaven. Robertus Abbas Sancti Albani. Willielmus Ab. Westmonaster. Joannes Ab. Burien. (A) Richardus Ab. Glasconiæ. (A) Hugo Ab. Redying. Robertus Ab. Malmesbur. Clemens Ab. Eveshamen. Johannes Ab. de Bello. Willielmus Ab. S. Petri Glocest. Richardus Ab. Winchelcombens. Joannes Ab. de Croyland. Robertus Ab. de Thorney. Robertus Ab. de Waltham. Joannes Ab. Cirencest. Joannes Ab. Teuxburen. Thomas Prior Coventr. Joannes Ab. de Osney. (B) Henricus Ab. de Corariis. Anthonius Ab. de Eyntham. Robertus Prior Elien. Robertus Prior sive Magister ordinis de Semperingham. Richardus Ab. de Notley. Hugo Prior de Huntingtoun. Willielmus Ab. de Stratford. Gabriel Ab. de Buckfestriæ. Henricus Ab. de Wardenor. Joannes Prior de Merton. Richardus Pr. de Walsingham. (B) Thomas Ab. de Gerendon. Thomas Ab. de Stanley. Richardus Ab. de Bytlesden. Richardus Pr. de Lanthony. Robertus Ab. de Thame. (B) Joannes Prior de Helvenham. Radulphus Prior de Kymme. (B) Richardus Ab. de Brueza. Robertus Ab. de Welhows. Bartholamaus Pr. de Overhey. Willielmus Pr. de Burgaveny. Thomas Ab. de Abendon.

*Inferior Domus.*

(C) R. Gwent Archidiaconus London. et Breck. Robertus Alridge Archid. Colecestr. et Procurator Cleri Coven. et Litchf. Thomas Bedyl Archid. Cornub. Richardus Street Archid. Derbiæ. David Pole Ar. Salop. Richardus Doke Archid. Sarum. Edmundus Bonner Archid. Leycestriæ. Thomas Baghe Archid. Surr. Richardus Rawson Archid. Essex. Edmundus Cranmer Archid. Cant. Polidorus Virgilius Archid. Wellen. Richardus Coren Archid. Oxon. Henricus Morgan Procurator Cleri Lincoln. Petrus Vannes Archid. Wygornen. Georgius Hennage Decanus Lincoln. Nilo Spencer Procurator Cleri Norwicen. Gulielmus Knight Archid. Cestriæ. Gamaliel Clyfton Decanus Hereford. et Proc. Capit. Joannes London. Decanus Wallingford. Richardus Layton Archid. Bucks. Hugo Coren Proc. Cleri Hereford. Richardus Sparaheford Proc. Cleri Hereford. Mauritius Griffith Proc. Cleri Roffen. Gulielmus Buckmastr. Procurator Cleri London. Richardus Shelton Mag. Colleg. de Melyngham. Per me Willielmum Glyn Archi. Anglessen. Robertus Evans Decan. Bangoren. Walterus Cretying Ar. Bathonien. Thomas Bagard Procurator Cleri Wygornen. Joannes Nase Proc. Cleri Bathon. et Wellen. Georgius Wyndham Archid. Norwicen. Nicolaus Metcalfe Archid. Roffen. Gulielmus Hedge Procurator Cleri Norwicen. Adam Traves Archid. Exon. Ricardus Woleman Dec. Wellen. Tho. Brerewood Archidiacan. Bar. Procur. Capituli et Cleri Exon. Georgius Carew Archid. Totten. Proc. Capituli et Cleri Exon. Thomas Bennet Proc. Cleri et Capit. Sarum. Richardus Arche Proc. Cleri et Capit. Sarum. Petrus Lighman Proc. Cleri Cant. Edmundus Stewart Proc. Cleri Winton. Joannes Rayne Proc. Cleri Lincoln. Leonardus Savile Proc. Cleri Archid. Lewen. Simon Mathew Proc. Cleri London. Linfrid Ogle Archid. Salop. Gulielmus Maye Proc. Cleri Elien. Rol. Philips Proc. Eccles. St. Pauli London. Joannes Bell Ar. Glocest. Joannes Chambers Dec. St. Stephani Archid. Bedford. Nicolaus Wilson.

*Some Observations on the former Subscriptions.*

(A) The abbots of Glastonbury and Reading subscribe with the rest; by which it appears that they complied in the changes that were made as readily as others did.

(B) The abbots writ generally so ill that it is very hard to read their subscriptions: some of them I could by no means know what to make of.

(C) There are fifty of the lower house of Convocation; of those there are twenty-five archdeacons, four deans of cathedrals, three deans of collegial churches, seventeen procurators for the clergy, and one master of a college.

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## II.—*Some Queries put by Cranmer in order to the correcting of several Abuses* *.

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

1.—What causes, reasons, or considerations hath or might move any man to desire to have the bishop

* Mr. Strype, in his corrections, remarks that this paper, and No. IV. *infra*, are not written by Cranmer or his secretary, and therefore concludes that they are not attributable to him. —Ed.

of Rome restored in any point to his pretended monarchy, or to repugn against the laws and statutes of this realm made for the setting forth of the king's title of supreme head?

2.—*Item*, Whether a man offending deadly after he is baptised, may obtain remission of his sins, by any other way than by contrition, through grace?

3.—*Item*, If the clergy know that the common sort of men have them in a higher estimation, because they are persuaded that it lieth in the will and power of priests to remit or not remit sins at their pleasure, whether in such case the said clergy offend if they wink at this, and voluntarily suffer the people to continue in this opinion?

4.—*Item*, Whether a sinner being sorry and contrite for his sins and forthwith dying, shall have as high a place in heaven, as if he had never offended?

5.—*Item*, Whether any, and what difference may be assigned betwixt two men, whereof the one being very sorry and contrite for his sins dieth without absolution of the priest, and the other which being contrite is also absolved by the priest and so dieth?

6.—*Item*, If it may appear that the common people have a greater affiance or trust in outward rites or ceremonies than they ought to have, and that they esteem more virtue in images and adorning of them, kissing their feet or offering candles unto them, than they should esteem, and that yet the curates knowing the same, and fearing the loss of their offerings, and such other temporal commodities, do rather encourage the people to continue after this sort, than teach them the truth in the premises according to Scripture; what the king's highness and his parliament may do, and what they are bound in conscience to do, in such case?

7.—*Item*, Whether now in time of the new law the tithes or tenth be due to curates by the laws of God, or of man; and if the same be due by the laws of man, what man's laws they be?

8.—*Item*, Whether the clergy only, and none but they, ought to have voices in general councils?

9.—*Item*, Whether the 19th canon in the council of Calcedon, wherein is contained that one clerk may not sue another before any secular judge, but only before his bishop, and such other canons of like effect, have been generally received or not? and whether the same be contrary to the king's prerogative and laws of this realm; and whether it be expedient that it were declared by the parliament that the said canons being at no time received, especially within this realm, be void and of none effect?

10.—*Item*, Of the 24th canon of the said council, wherein is contained that monasteries once consecrate by the bishop, may not after be made dwelling-houses for laymen, whether that canon have been received and observed, and whether the same be against the power of the king and authority of his parliament?

11.—*Item*, If it may appear that the bishops have not, ne yet do maturely examine and diligently inquire of the conversation and learning of such as be ordered or admitted to cures by them, but rather without examination or inquisition indistinctly admit persons unable, whereof ensueth great peril of souls, and innumerable inconveniences otherways, what the king's highness or his parliament ought to do, or may do, for reformation in the premises?

12.—*Item*, If such as have deaneries, archdeaconries, chanterships, and other offices or promotions of the clergy, use not themselves in their own persons after such sort as the primary institution of these offices or promotions require, and according to the wills of them that endowed the same, what the king and his parliament may do or ought to do in this case?

13.—*Item*, For what causes and to what ends and purposes such offices and promotions of the clergy were first instituted?

14.—*Item*, If curates having benefices with cure, for their more bodily ease, refuse to dwell upon any of their said cures, and remain in idleness continually in cathedral or collegial churches, upon their prebends, whether it be in this case expedient, that the king's highness or his parliament take any order for the redress of the same?

15.—*Item*, Of the sacraments of confirmation, order, matrimony, and extreme unction, what the external signs and inward graces be in every of the said sacraments, what promises be made to the receivers of them by God, and of what efficacy they be of and energy of themselves?

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III.—*Some Queries concerning Confirmation, with the Answers which were given to them by Cranmer, and Stokesley Bishop of London. An Original.*

[Written with Cranmer's hand. Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

Whether Confirmation be instituted by Christ?

Respon. There is no place in Scripture that declareth this sacrament to be instituted of Christ.

First, For the places alleged for the same be no institutions, but acts and deeds of the apostles.

Secondly, These acts were done by a special gift given to the apostles for the confirmation of God's word at that time.

Thirdly, The said special gift doth not now remain with the successors of the apostles.

What is the external sign?

The church useth chrisma for the exterior sign, but the Scripture maketh no mention thereof.

What is the efficacy of this sacrament?

The bishop in the name of the church doth invocate the Holy Ghost to give strength and constancy, with other spiritual gifts, unto the person confirmed: so that the efficacy of this sacrament is of such value, as is the prayer of the bishop made in the name of the church.

*Hæc respondeo, salvo semper eruditiorum et Ecclesiæ orthodoxæ judicio.*

*Stokesley's Paper.*

The first question, Whether the sacrament of confirmation be a sacrament of the New Testament institute by Christ?

To this I answer, that it is.

The second question, What is the outward sign and the invisible graces which be conferred in the same?

To this I answer, that the words *Signo te signo sanctæ crucis et confirmo te*, &c. with the consignation, with the cream, imposition of hands of the prelates, be the signs: and the increase of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and especially of fortitude, to speak, show, and defend the faith, and to suffer for the same in case need be.

The third question, What promises be made of the said graces?

I answer, that the facts and deeds that be expressed in the books of the apostles, with the effects ensuing, by the imposition of their hands upon them that before had received remission of their sins, joined with the promises of Christ, made to his church, and the continual belief of the university of the same Catholic church from the time of the apostles hitherto, without contradiction of any man (ignorance and suspects of heresy only excepted) maketh us, and in my opinion, without prejudice of other men's opinions, ought to suffice to make all men that hath promised to believe



the Catholic church, assuredly to think that God hath made the promises of the said grace.

*Ego* Joannes London. *sic respondeo, fretus Autoritate et Testimonio antiquissimorum, eorumque Doctissimorum pariter ac Sanctissimorum virorum, et præcipue sanctæ matris nostræ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, cui etiam in non expressis in sacra Scriptura, non multo minus quam scriptis, fides athibenda est; nisi tam de baptismo parvulorum, quam de perpetua Deiparæ virginis integritate, et id genus compluribus, quibus sine salutis periculo nemo discredit, licebit salva fide contradicere.*

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IV.—*Some Considerations offered to the King by Cranmer, to induce him to proceed to a further Reformation.*

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.]

Pleaseth it your highness graciously to consider, deeply to ponder and weigh by your high wisdom, these considerations following.

First, How no great thing is to be determined, principally matters of Christ's religion, without long, great, and mature deliberation.

Secondly, How evil it hath succeeded when in provincial, yea or yet in general councils, men have gone about to set forth anything as in the force of God's law, without the manifest word of God, or else without apparent reasons, infallibly deduced out of the word of God.

Thirdly, How all Christened regions are now full of learned men in the Scripture, which can well espy out and judge how things that be or shall be set forth are agreeable with Scripture or not.

Fourthly, Of what audacity men be of now-a-days, which will not spare to write against high princes, as well as against private persons, without any respect to their high estates, only weighing the equity or the iniquity of the cause.

Fifthly, How not only men of the new learning (as they be called), but also the very papistical authors, do allow that by the word of God, priests be not forbidden to marry, although they were not ignorant that many expounders of Scripture were of the contrary judgement.

Sixthly, How that it is not possible that all learned men should be of one mind, sentence, and opinion, as long as the cockle is mingled with the wheat, the godly with the ungodly, which certainly shall be as long as the world endureth.

Seventhly, How variety of opinions have been occasion of the opening of many verities heretofore taken for heresy, yea and yet so esteemed and taken of many, in other regions; as namely the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome hath by that occasion come into light, with the effusion of the blood not of a few, such as were the first stirrers up thereof.

Lastly, There be also other opinions not spoken of, which have made and yet will make as much variance in your grace's realm as any of them treated of, namely, whether the holy Scripture teacheth any purgatory to us after this life or not? whether the same Scripture teacheth the invocation of dead saints? Whether there be any unwritten verities necessary to be believed not written in Scripture, nor deducted by infallible arguments out of the open places of Scripture? Whether there be any satisfactions beside the satisfaction of Christ? Whether free will by its own strength may dispose itself to grace of a conveniency (as it is said) *de congruo?* Whether it be against Scripture to kiss the image of Christ in the honour of him? And generally whether images may be used any other way than your grace setteth forth in your injunctions?

Wherefore in consideration of the premises it may please your highness to suspend your judgment for a time, and not to determine the marriage of priests to be against Scripture, but rather to put both parts to silence, commanding them neither to preach, dispute, nor openly to talk thereof under pain of, &c. And in case these premises do not move your highness to stay, that then it may please the same to grant that the article of priests' marriage may be openly disputed in both universities, under indifferent judges, before it be determined. All the arguments of the contrary party first to be delivered in writing to the defenders twelve days before the disputation; to the intent they may the more maturely and deliberately make answer to the same; and they that shall enter as defenders into this disputation, to do it under this condition, that if their judges discern them to be overcome, they be right well contented to suffer death, therefore: and if their adversaries cannot prove their purpose, their desire is no more but that it may please your highness to leave your most humble subjects to the liberty that God's word permitteth them in that behalf; and your said humble subjects shall pray unto almighty God for the preservation of your most royal estate long to continue to God's glory and honour.

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V.—*A Declaration made of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests. An Original.*

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

As touching the sacrament of holy orders, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge,

First, How that Christ and his apostles did institute and ordain in the New Testament, that beside the civil powers and governance of kings and princes, which is called in Scripture, *potestas gladii*, the power of the sword, there should be also continually in the church militant, certain other ministers or officers, which should have spiritual power, authority and commission under Christ, to preach and teach the word of God, unto his people, and to dispense and administer the sacraments of God unto them; and by the same to confer and give the grace of the Holy Ghost, to consecrate the blessed body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, to loose and absoil from sin all persons which be duly penitent and sorry for the same; to bind and excommunicate such as be guilty in manifest crimes and sins, and will not amend their defaults; to order and consecrate others in the same room, order and office, whereunto they be called and admitted themselves; and finally, to feed Christ's people like good pastors, and rectors, as the apostles calleth them, with their wholesome doctrine, and by their continual exhortations and monitions to reduce them from sin and iniquity, so much as in them lieth, and to bring them unto the perfect knowledge, the perfect love and dread of God, and unto the perfect charity of their neighbours.

*Item*, That this office, this ministration, this power and authority is no tyrannical power, having no certain laws or limits, within the which it ought to be contained, nor yet none absolute power, but it is a moderate power, subject, determined, and restrained unto those certain limits and ends for the which the same was appointed by God's ordinance; which, as was said before, is only to administer and distribute unto the members of Christ's mystical body, spiritual and everlasting things; that is to say, the pure and heavenly doctrine of Christ's Gospel, and the graces conferred in his Sacraments: and therefore this said power and administration is called in some places of

Scripture, *donum et gratia*, a gift and a grace; in some places it is called *Claves sive potestas clavium*, that is to say, the keys or the power or the keys, whereby is signified a certain limited office restrained unto the execution of a special function or ministration, according to the saying of St. Paul in his first chap. of his Epistle to the Romans, and in the fourth chap. of his First Epistle to Timothy, and also in the fourth chap. of his Epistle to the Ephesians, where he writes in this sentence: *Quum ascendisset Christus in altum, captivam duxit captivitatem, et dedit dona hominibus, dedit autem, alios quidem apostolos, alios vero prophetas, alios vero evangelistas, alios autem pastores ac doctores, ad instaurationem sanctorum, in opus administrationis, in ædificationem corporis Christi, donec perveniamus omnes in unitatem fidei et agnitionis filii Dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram ætatis plene adultæ Christi.* That is to say, "When Christ ascended into heaven, he subdued and vanquished very captivity herself, and led or made her thrall and captive, and distributed and gave divers heavenly gifts and graces unto men here on earth; and among all he made some the apostles, some priests, some evangelists, some pastors and doctors, to the intent they should execute the work and office of their administration, to the instauration, instruction, and edifying of the members of Christ's mystical body: and that they should also not cease from the execution of their said office, until all the said members were not only reduced and brought unto unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God, but also that they were come unto a perfect state, and full age therein, that is to say, until they were so established and confirmed in the same that they could no more afterwards be wavering therein, and be led or carried like children into any contrary doctrine, or opinion, by the craft or subtile persuasion of the false pastors and teachers, which go about by craft to bring them into erroneous opinions, but that they should constantly follow the true doctrine of Christ's gospel, growing and increasing continually by charity unto a perfect member of that body, whereof Christ is the very head, in whom if the whole body, that is to say, if every part and member be grown and come unto his perfect estate, not all in like, but every one according to the gift and quality which is deputed unto it, and so to be compacted, united, and corporated together in the said body, no doubt but that whole body and every part thereof shall thereby be made the more perfect and the more strong, by reason of that natural love and charity, which one member so united in the body hath unto the other;" by which words it appeareth evidently not only that St. Paul accounted and numbered this said power and office of the pastors and doctors among the proper and special gifts of the Holy Ghost, but also it appeareth that the same was a limited power and office, ordained specially and only for the causes and purposes before rehearsed.

*Item*, That this power, office, and administration is necessary to be preserved here in earth for three special and principal causes. First, For that it is the commandment of God it should be so, as it appeareth in sundry places of Scripture. Secondly, For that God hath instituted and ordained none other ordinary mean or instrument, whereby he will make us partakers of the reconciliation which is by Christ, and confer and give the graces of his Holy Spirit unto us, and make us the right inheritors of everlasting life, there to reign with him for ever in glory, but only his words and sacraments; and therefore the office and power to minister the said word and sacraments may in nowise be suffered to perish, or to be abolished, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Quomodo credent in eum de quo non audierunt? quomodo autem audient sine prædicante? quomodo autem prædicabunt nisi missi fuerunt? sicut scriptum est, quam speciosi super montes pedes evangelizantium pacem, annunciantium bona!* Thirdly, Because the said power and office or function hath annexed unto it assured promises of excellent and inestimable things; for thereby is conferred and given the Holy Ghost with all his graces, and finally our justification and everlasting life, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Non me pudet Evangelii Jesu Christi, potentia siquidem est Dei ad salutem omni credenti*; that is to say, I am not ashamed of the room and office which I have given unto me by Christ, to preach his Gospel, for it is the power of God, that is to say, the elect organ or instrument ordained by God and endued with such virtue and efficacy, that it is able to give and minister effectually everlasting life unto all those that will believe and obey unto the same.

Item, That this office, this power and authority was committed and given by Christ and his apostles unto certain persons only,—that is to say, unto priests or bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto by their prayer and imposition of their hands.

Secondly, We will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed unto their spiritual charge, that the sacrament of order may worthily be called a sacrament, because it is a holy rite or ceremony instituted by Christ and his apostles in the New Testament, and doth consist of two parts, likeas the other sacraments of the church do.—that is to say, of a spiritual and an invisible grace, and also of an outward and a visible sign. The invisible gift or grace conferred in this sacrament is nothing else but the power, the office, and the authority before mentioned: the visible and outward sign is, the prayer and imposition of the bishop's hands upon the person which receiveth the said gift or grace. And to the intent the church of Christ should never be destituted of such ministers as should have and execute the said power of the keys, it was also ordained and commanded by the apostles, that the same sacrament should be applied and ministered by the bishop from time to time, unto such other persons as had the qualities, which the apostles very diligently describe, as it appeareth evidently in the third chap. of the first Epistle of St. Paul to Tim. and his Epistle unto Titus. And surely this is the whole virtue and efficacy, and the cause also of the institution of this sacrament, as it is found in the New Testament; for albeit the holy fathers of the church which succeeded the apostles, minding to beautify and ornate the church of Christ with all those things which were commendable in the temple of the Jews, did devise not only certain other ceremonies than be before rehearsed, as tonsures, rasures, unctions, and such other observances to be used in the administration of the said sacraments, but did also institute certain inferior orders or degrees, as janitors, lectors, exorcists, acolits, and subdeacons, and deputed to every one of those certain offices to execute in the church, wherein they followed undoubtedly the example and rites used in the Old Testament; yet the truth is, that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops; nor is there any word spoken of any other ceremony used in the conferring of this sacrament, but only of prayer, and the imposition of the bishop's hands.

Thomas Cromwell. T. Cantuarien. Edwardus Ebor. Joannes London. Cuthbertus Dunelmensis. Joannes Lincoln. Joannes Bathoniens. Thomas Elien. Joannes Bangor. Nicolaus Sarum. Edwardus Herefordén. Hugo Wygorn. Joannes Roffen. Rich. Cicestr. Richardus Wolman. Joannes Bell. Willielmus Clyffe. Robertus Aldridge. Gilfridus Downes. Joannes Skip. Cuthbertus Marshall. Marmaduke Waldeby. Robertus Oking. Nicolaus Heyth. Rodolphus Bradford. Richardus Smith. Simon Matthew. Joannes Prynn. Gulielmus Buckmastre. Willielmus Maye. Nicolaus Wotton. Ricardus Cox. Joannes Edmondes. Thomas Robertson. Thomas Baret. Joannes Nase. Joannes Barbar. (Some other hands there are, that cannot be read.)

*Sacræ Theologiæ, Juris Ecclesiastici, et Civilis Professores.*



## VI.—*A Letter of Melancthon's, to persuade the King to a further Reformation. An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

S. D. Serenissime et Inclyte Rex, Etsi audieramus Romanum Episcopum omnibus artificiis incendere Cæsaris Caroli et Regis Gallici animos adversus Britannos et Germanos, tamen quia spero Deum hæc pericula gubernaturum esse, et defensurum tranquillitatem tuam, scripsi in alteris literis de Ecclesiarum emendatione, quam si tempora sinent, rogo ut Regia Majestas tua suscipiat. Postea adjeci hanc Epistolam, non impudentia, sed optimo studio, et amore cum Ecclesiarum, cum Regiæ Majestatis tuæ incitatus: quare per Christum obtestor Regiam Majestatem tuam ut meam libertatem boni consulat. Sæpe cogito Britannicæ Ecclesiæ primordia, et cæteras laudes: hinc enim propagata est doctrina Christiana in magnam Germaniæ et Galliæ partem; imo Britannicæ Ecclesiæ beneficium fuit, quod primum Romanæ Provinciæ liberatæ sunt persecutione. Hæc primum nobis Imperatorem pium Constantinum dedit: magna hæc gloria est vestri nominis. Nunc quoque Regia Majestas tua, primum heroica magnitudine animi ostendit se veritati patrocinaturum esse, excussit Romani Episcopi tyrannidem, quare veterem puritatem Ecclesiæ vestræ maxime optarim restitui integram. Sed animadverto istic esse quosdam qui veteres abusus ortos aut confirmatos a Romano Episcopo adhuc mordicus tenent. Mirum est autem Autore abusuum ejecto ipsa tamen venena retineri; qua in re illud etiam periculi est, quod illi ipsi aut eorum imitatores aliquando revocaturi potestatem Romani Episcopi videntur, si populus hunc putavit esse Magistrum Ecclesiarum, incurrunt enim ritus in oculos et admonent de autore, ut Solonis memoria cum legibus Athenis et propagata et jucunda fuit.

Gaudebam igitur in Edicto recens istic proposito de Religione, promitti publicam deliberationem et emendationem de Ecclesiarum ritibus et legibus, eaque sententia mitigavit Decreti acerbitatem: quanquam enim laudo pietatem, quod errores prohibentur, qui pugnant cum doctrina Catholicæ Ecclesiæ quam et nos profitemur; tamen doleo ad eas causas adjectum esse articulum, in quo præcipitur omnium rituum usitatorum et cælibatus observatio. Primum enim multi transferent Edicti Autoritatem ad stabiliendos abusus Missæ. Deinde in universum confirmatur pertinacia eorum qui Doctrinæ nostræ sunt iniquiores, et debilitantur studia piorum. Augustinus queritur sua ætate jam duriorem fuisse servitutem Christianam quam Judaicam, quanto erit asperior servitus, si superstitiosiores ineptiæ, ut reptatio ad crucem aut res similes, munientur corporum suppliciis? Gerson scribit prodesse piis, qui tamen superstitiosius observant ritus, ut invitentur ad eos violandos, ut usu et exemplo dediscant superstitionem.

Sed munio tranquillitatem, dices, et nolo dissimilitudine rituum excitari discordias. Ego de piis et modestis loquor qui humanas traditiones sine tumultibus violant, non de his qui in cætu publico seditiose tranquillum populum aut concitant aut perturbant. Extant autem antea leges de seditiosis, nec statim violatio inepti et non necessarii ritus judicanda est seditiosia, attamen hac in re non solum tranquillitatis, sed etiam piarum conscientiarum ratio habenda est: est enim tenera res conscientia, facile languescit perculsa potentum judiciis.

Nec ignoro quosdam novo jam uti genere sapientiæ, excusant abusus, et leniunt eos astute affictis interpretationibus, ut habeant speciosam causam cur eos retineant; sicut nefarios abusus excusat Autor reformationis Coloniensis, ut campanarum consecrationem et similes imposturas. Quam multa sunt in fabulosis historiis sanctorum, ut Christophori, Georgii, quæ ut poemata continent venustissimas Allegorias; nec tamen propter has cogendæ sunt Ecclesiæ ut illas poeticas personas colant,

Erat in Egypto sacrum cum fici maturuissent, populus enim in templo edens recentes ficus, addebat canticum his verbis, Dulcis veritas. Huic ritui facile est bellam significationem addere, eumq; accommodare ad laudem Verbi Dei, nec tamen propterea hic mos in Ecclesias revocandus est; atqui hanc novam sophisticam exoriri passim videmus. Sic in Italia dicuntur abusibus patrocinari, Contarenus, Sadoletus, et Polus Cardinalis; nam hi præcipue susceperunt sibi jam has partes defendendæ Romanæ impietatis, et hanc ducunt esse magnam ingenii laudem fucos illinire vitiosis ritibus, putantq; se his ineptiis Dionysii Theologiam Mysticam renovare. Hæc Sophistica, nisi prudentes gubernatores Ecclesiarum obsistent, pariet horribilem confusionem religionum, et rursus obruet veritatem. Donec flagitantur humani ritus tanquam necessarii, confirmatur prava opinio de cultu: ideo Paulus tam vehementer non modo opinionem, sed ritus ipsos Leviticos insectatus est, prævidebat enim non excuti posse superstitionem, si ritus manerent, quare gravissime inquit, *si circumcidimini, Christus vobis nihil proderit.*

Retineatur ergo simplex et perspicua sententia de libertate in adiaphoris, et doceant concionatores quæ scandala vitanda sint; retineantur ritus divinitus instituti, et aliquæ humanæ traditiones utiles ad bonum ordinem, ut Paulus loquitur, et sit modus cæremoniarum quæ habeant conjunctam gravitatem et elegantiam; decet autem abesse ab Ecclesiis barbariem: Cæteri inutiles et inepti ritus non duriter flagitentur.

Deinde quantum periculi adfert conscientiis prohibitio conjugii, nec ignorat Regia Majestas tua, legem de cælibatu perpetuo tantum Romæ natam esse: extant Epistolæ Episcopi Tarraconensis defendentes conjugia Presbyterorum in Hispania contra Romanum Episcopum. In Germania ante annos quingentos adhuc Sacerdotes fuerunt mariti, adeoque ægre tulerunt sibi eripi hanc libertatem, ut in Episcopum Moguntinum recitantem edictum Romanum tumultuantes impetum fecerint, quare Episcopus fugere coactus recitationem omisit. Erat Autor Edicti Gregorius septimus qui cuilibet tyrannorum veterum audacia et impietate par fuit. Hic cum longo et funesto bello civili nostros Germanicos imperatores implicuisset, simul etiam Ecclesias Tyrannide oppressit. Audio et in Anglia Sacerdotes fuisse maritos: deniq; notæ sunt Historiæ, quæ exempla satis multa continent, quare miror in Edicto citari Epistolam ad Corinthios, cum hæc longe aliud tradat de conjugio, ac præcipiat conjugium iis qui non sunt idonei ad cælibatum.

Nec objicienda sunt vota quæ et expresse pugnant cum divinis mandatis, et trahunt secum multiplicem

superstitionem et morum corruptionem ; videmus enim qualis sit vita multorum Sacerdotum cælibum : itaq; non sine dolore aliquo legi in Edicto, quod hi qui Uxores duxerunt accusantur Levitatis, nam hoc convicio causa nostra prægravari videtur, quæ tamen Ecclesiæ necessaria est, ut conjugii dignitas clarius conspiciatur, ut superstitiosi cultus votorum reprehendantur, ut arceantur libidines. Non enim impurus cælibatus, sed honesta et pia conjugum consuetudo, est castitas Deo grata, sicut Christus sua voce divinam conjunctionem appellat connubium, inquiens, *Quos Deus conjunxit, &c.* Discamus Dei Ordinationem in natura magnifacere, eaque reverenter uti, non fingamus ipsi novos cultus sine Verbo Dei ; de quo genere Paulus nominatim concionatur, cum ad Timotheum scribens duriter reprehendit eos qui prohibent nuptias.

Propheta Daniel insignes notas addidit Antichristo duas, cum ait colet Deum Maosim argento et auro, et Deum patrum suorum non intelliget, et mulieres non curabit. Hæc quadrant maxime ad Romanos mores : Missarum abusus et Sanctorum cultus pepererunt immensas opes et Regiam potentiam. Nova numina confecta sunt, adorantur aureæ et argenteæ statuæ, et auro atque argento ornantur. Deinde accedit Lex de cælibatu, unde magna corruptio morum orta est. Hæ notæ cui genti, cui Regno usquam competunt nisi factioni Episcopi Romani ? qui cum sit Antichristus, pio et forti animo ipsius autoritati et legibus adversandum est.

Porro fæliciter cœpit Regia Majestas tua quædam emendare, sustulit aliqua idola quæ impie colebantur : Obtestor ergo Regiam Majestatem tuam, ut reliquam impietatem Romanam etiam ex Ecclesiis tollat. Exempla testantur ingentibus victoriis ornatos esse Reges qui sustulerunt Idololatriam, ac sæpe testatur Deus quantopere requirat hunc cultum, ut removeantur superstitiones, et pro hoc officio ingentia præmia pollicetur : quare Deus etiam defendet Regiam Majestatem tuam, si ut Ezechias et cæteri pii Reges impios ritus sustuleris. Audit Regia Majestas tua in Belgico et alibi immanem sævitiam exerceri adversus pios : et hæc Tyrannis gignit alia multa vitia, stabilit idololatriam, delet veram invocationem, extinguit penitus veram Religionem ; cumq; desint boni Doctores, multi in populo fiunt palam ἄθεοι· Constat enim pene Ethnicam licentiam esse in Belgico, alii superstitiosi natura, alii fanaticas opiniones Anabaptistarum amplectuntur. Talis est in Belgico status, quod quidem floret pace, otio, opibus ; adfluunt luxu ditiores, ita se beatos esse putant, nec interea prospiciunt quot pœnæ ipsis impendeant : Deus autem haud dubie tantam impietatem et crudelitatem atrociter puniet. Nollem igitur in Regno tuo renovari asperitatem adversus pios, quam ita prohibebit Regia Majestas tua si Edictum leniet et Ecclesias constituere perget. Deinde ut etiam ad posteritatem, animi abhorreant a Tyrannide Romani Episcopi, plurimum refert illas leges tolli, quæ sunt nervi autoritatis ipsius ; magna vero adminicula potentiæ Romanorum Episcoporum fuerunt, Missarum abusus, et Cœlibatus, quæ si durabunt aliquando poterunt præbere occasionem iis qui depravatæ sunt opinionis Romanæ Aulæ, ut ad eam rursus inclinationem faciant. Id caveri quantum referat, si doctrinæ puritas conservanda est, satis intelligit Regia Majestas tua. Verum adhuc est quod *Juvenalis* de Romana aula scripsit, *hic fiunt homines*, &c. imbuti eo loci malis artibus, contumaciam singularem adversus Reges inde referunt, ut multa exempla testantur. Hanc Epistolam loquaciorem ac liberiorem ut Regia Majestas tua boni consulat oro. Precor autem Deum et Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, ut Regiam Majestatem tuam servet et defendat, ac gubernet ad salutem Ecclesiæ. Bene et feliciter valeat Regia Majestas tua. Ex Francofordia, Cal. Aprilis 1539.

Regiæ Majestatis tuæ Addictissimus
PHILIPPUS MELANCTHON.

*Directed thus on the back :*

Serenissimo et Inclyto Angliæ et Franciæ Regi D. Henrico Octavo Walliæ et Cornubiæ Principi, Capiti Anglicæ Ecclesiæ post Christum Supremo, Principi Clementissimo.

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VII.—*A Letter written by the German Ambassadors to the King, against the taking away of the Chalice, and against private Masses, and the Celibat of the Clergy, &c. An Original.*

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. 5.]

SERENISSIME et Potentissime Rex, Domine Clementissime, Etsi Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem vestram maximorum negotiorum mole, tum ad Regnum ac Provincias propriας Majestatis Vestræ pertinentium, tum etiam exterorum Regum, Principum, et Potentatuum gravissimis causis, quæ ad Regiam Majestatem Vestram pene quotidie devolvuntur, obrui non ignoremus ; nosque pro nostra erga Regiam Majestatem Vestram debita observantia ut par est, nihil minus velimus aut cogitemus, quam Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram vel mittendis literis crebrioribus, vel ulla alia re interturbare et a Reipublicæ curis impedire, tamen certis quibusdam de causis, quas Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ probaturos nos speramus, duximus iterum ad Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram literas dandas esse, nihil dubitantes quin Vestra Serenissima Regia Majestas eas pro sua insigni bonitate, sapientia, doctrina, atque favore sincerioris Religionis, benigne acceptura sit. Cum enim ab Illustrissimis Principibus nostris nobis injuncta mandata Vestræ Serenissimæ Majestati jampridem exposuerimus, et præterea postulante Majestate Vestra cum quibusdam ejusdem Reverendissimis et eruditissimis Episcopus et Theologiæ Doctoribus, de articulis Religionis Christianæ per duos pene menses sermones contulerimus, ac Dei beneficio res eo perducta fuerit, ut nihil ambigamus, quin inter Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram et Principes nostros, ac eorum in causa religionis confœderatos, utrorumq; Episcopos. Theologos et Subditos firma atq; perpetua concordia in sinceriore Evangelii Doctrina, in laudem Dei Optimi Maximi, salutem Ecclesiæ Christianæ, ac perniciem Romani Antichristi, secutura sit, nosque reliquam disputationem de abusibus non expectare queamus, existimavimus non esse alienum ab officio nostro, ut ante discessum nostrum Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ, quæ per Dei Gratiam indefessa cura et diligentia sinceram Evangelii Doctrinam promotam cupit, debitam observantiam, atque perpetuum studium nostrum literis nostris testatum relinqueremus, et Majestati Vestræ nostrorum etiam sententiam de quibusdam Articulis abusuum, de quibus Majestas Vestra post abitum nostrum haud dubie curabit eosdem Episcopos et Theologos pro inquirenda veritate, sermones conferre et disputare, declararemus : nihil ambigentes, quin ea etiam in re Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra pro Christi gloria id præstitura sit, ut non tantum doctrinam puram habeat, verum etiam abolitis aliquando impiis cultibus et abusibus per Romanum Episcopum in Ecclesiam introductis, cultus ac cæremonias consentaneas Verbo Dei constituat : facile enim Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra pro sua summa sapientia perspicit, non posse unquam Doctrinæ puritatem, vel constitui, vel conservari, nisi tollantur è medio etiam hi abusus, qui prorsus et ex diametro, ut dici solet, cum Verbo Dei pugnant, et



Romani Antichristi tyrrannidem ac idololatriam, tum pepererunt, tum etiam hactenus conservarunt : nam ut radicibus demum resectis, necesse est arbores e herbas penitus exarescere et perire, ita dubium non est, quin impiis Romani Episcopi abusibus et idololatria, ut fundamento stabilitatis ipsius, labefactis et eversis, etiam Tyrannis ejusdem prorsus ruitura et interitura sit : quod nisi fiat perpetuo metuendum est, ne levi aliqua occasione iterum repullulescat et tanquam a radice reviviscat.

Sunt vero hæc tria pene capita et fundamentum Tyrannidis et Idololatriæ Pontificiæ, quibus stantibus, neque Doctrina Religionis integra permanere, neque unquam Romani Episcopi improbissimus dominatus, penitus extirpari poterit : nempe, Prohibitio utriusque speciei Sacramenti in cœna Domini, Missa Privata, et Interdictio conjugii Sacerdotum, quæ quidem usque adeo Dei Verbo adversantur, adeoque etiam honestati publicæ repugnant, ut vel ex his solis apertissime intelligi possit Romanum Pontificem verum Antichristum, et omnis idololatriæ, impietatis, erroris, et turpitudinis, in Christi Ecclesiam introductæ auctorem esse ; de quibus sane articulis nos pauca quædam Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ optime studio scribemus, et ejusdem ut Regis summa sapientia, acerrimo judicio, et excellenti doctrina præditi, censuræ committemus, persuasissimum nobis habentes Vestram Majestatem Illustrissimam Principum nostrorum, et Statuum confœderatorum consilium et institutum, in hisce articulis non improbaturam esse.

*De utraque specie.*

Primum enim, Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex, non existimamus quenquam inficias iturum, quin Christi Doctrina, mandata, et ordinationes omnibus aliis præceptis, traditionibus aut cæremoniis humanis præferri debeant ; hic enim cum ipse sit vita et veritas, errare non potest, humana vero omnia, præcipue in rebus divinis, incerta et dubia sunt. Porro constat Christum ipsum utramq; speciem instituisse, cum ait, Bibite ex hoc omnes ; et Paulum idem docuisse, cum inquit, 2 Cor. xi. probet seipsum homo, et six de pane comedat et poculo bibat. Quibus sane locis, non de una parte Ecclesiæ, id est, de Sacerdotibus tantum, sed de tota Ecclesia mentio fit : Nam quod quidam ita Argumentantur solis Apostolis Christum id dixisse, eaque de causa utramq; speciem ad solis Sacerdotes pertinere, infirmum admodum est Argumentum ; quia eadem ratione sequeretur, quod Laicis ne altera quidem species danda esset ; neque enim alio loco Christus mandavit solum corpus laicis dari, et utramque speciem pro Sacerdotibus instituit : sed hoc fatendum est, quod illud mandatum Christi de Sacramento, aut ad omnes, hoc est, Laicos et Sacerdotes pertineat, aut Laici prorsus a Sacramento Corporis etiam arcendi fuerint, cum nusquam alibi in Evangelio, nisi tunc cum dedit Apostolis simul corpus et sanguinem, Sacramentum pro Laicis institutum reperiatur ; idque ad omnes pertinere Paulus declarat, cum addit, et de poculo bibat, &c. Quod enim dicunt Sacramenti divisionem, urgentibus quibusdam causis, ab Ecclesia institutam esse, et sub una specie, non minus quam sub utraque contineri, non multum ad rem facit : Quis enim non intelligit hic de Christi instituto et mandato agi, idque humanæ auctoritati et opinionibus longe præferendum esse ; neque enim Ecclesia sumit sibi hanc libertatem, ex Christi Ordinationibus res indifferentes constituendi ; et rationes illæ vel de discrimine ordinum, seu dignitate Sacerdotali, vel periculo effusionis et similes, nullo modo tantam queunt vim habere, ut propterea Divinæ Ordinationes mutandæ sint ; neque ulla etiam consuetudo contra mandat Dei introducta, ipsis canonibus Pontificiis attestantibus, probanda est. Constat vero usum utriusque speciei, et clarum habere mandatum Christi, et adprobationem Sanctorum Patrum, ac consuetudinem veteris Ecclesiæ ; sic enim, inquit Divus Hieronymus, Sacerdotes qui Eucharistiæ serviunt, et sanguinem Christi populis distribuunt : et Gelasius Pontifex, Sacramenti Corporis et Sanguinis Domini divisionem prohibet, eamque grande Sacrilegium adpellat.

Adhæc, durat hodie hic mos Communionis utriusque speciei in Græcis Ecclesiis, quæ hac in re Romani Pontificis tyrannidi semper restiterunt, neque ejus jugum recipere voluerunt, et testantur Historiæ tum in Germania, tum in multis aliis regionibus ac provinciis, verum Communionis usum diu conservatum fuisse, sed tandem fulminibus Romani Antichristi, quibus totum pœne orbem terrarum conterruit et subjugavit, homines, ut verisimile est, victi, verũ Eucharistiæ usum mutarunt, ad quem tamen, per singularem Dei Gratiam, agnita iterum veritate Evangelica, cum Principes nostri, tum alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes, jam redierunt, et sese ac suos in re Universæ Ecclesiæ maxime salutifera, tanquam in libertatem, excusso jugo Pontificio, vendicarunt et adseruerunt. Nam quæ causæ Pontificem permoverint, ut contra Christi mandatum et institutum, contra sententiam Sanctorum Patrum, contra consuetudinem Universæ Ecclesiæ Christianæ, Sacramentum divideret, et Laicos Sanguine Domini nefarie spoliaret, facile Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra perspicit. Verisimile quidem videtur, eum voluisse suam, suique ordinis auctoritatem ac dignitatem, ea ratione augere, et hoc discrimen inter Laicos et Sacerdotes constituere ; nam etiam nunc clamitant adversarii, laicos debere esse altera specie contentos ; quasi regnum aliquod possideant, et ita imperare ipsis liberum sit, ut etiam Christi beneficium hominibus eripere queant, ad quod potius, si suo officio fungi vellent, omnes invitare et pellicere deberent. Sed quid Christo cum Belial ? quid Pontifici cum Christo instituto, cujus ipse se summum adversarium esse satis declarat, ideoque tum in hoc, tum aliis salutaribus Religionis Christianæ Articulis oportuit ipsum a scriptura discedere, imo Doctrinam Evangelio consentaneam damnare, ut manifestum fieret, eum esse Antichristium, de quo passim Scriptura talia prædixit.

*De Missa privatæ.*

Porro in altero Articulo, De Missa Privata, adhuc magis adparet a Romano Pontifice Religionem Christianam adeo oppressam et obscuratam, ut Christi Beneficium qui sua morte nos redemit, solusque est hostia et satisfactio pro peccatis nostris, penitus sustulerit, et in ejus locum idololatricum cultum pro abolendis peccatis in Ecclesiam invexerit, eamque suis erroribus et prophanationibus miserabiliter implicaverit, turbaverit et deformaverit. Cum enim Missa nihil aliud sit, nec esse debeat, quam communio sive Synaxis, ut Paulus adpellat, neque etiam alius ejus usus fuerit tempore Apostolorum et veteris Ecclesiæ, quemadmodum hoc clare ex S. Patribus probari potest, plane diversum quoddam opus, prorsus pugnans cum communione et vero Missæ usu inde factum est, quod docent ex opere operato, ut loquuntur, mereri gratiam, et tollere peccata vivorum et mortuorum.

Hæc opinio quantopere distet a Scripturis, ac gloriam Passionis Christi lædat, Sereniss. Regia Majestas Vestra facillime judicabit. Si enim hoc verum est, quod Missa pro aliis applicari potest, quod peccata tollit, et prodest tam vivis quam mortuis, sequitur Justificationem ex opere Missarum contingere non ex fide ; verum hoc omnino Scripturæ repugnat, quæ tradit nos gratis propter Christum per fidem justificari, ac peccata nobis condonari, et in gratiam nos recipi, atque ita non alieno opere, sed propria fide

propter Christum, singulos justos fieri: At illi docent alienum opus pro remittendis peccatis alteri, quod quidem merum est somnium et figmentum humanum, repugnans Evangelicæ Doctrinæ; nam tunc demum adplicatur gratia per Verbum et Sacramentorum usum, cum ipsi utimur Sacramentis, sed isti pro aliis utuntur, quod perinde est ac si pro aliis Baptizarentur. Neque vero potest dici quantopere deformet Christi Gloriam opinio illa de Missa, quæ ex opere operato conferat gratiam, aut applicata pro aliis mereatur eis remissionem venialium et mortalium peccatorum culpæ et pœnæ: idque aperte adversari Scripturæ, et a vero usu Missæ sive communionis longe discedere, vel inde liquet, quia Missa sive Synaxis ideo est instituta, ut fidelis qui utitur Sacramento recordetur quæ beneficia accipiat per Christum, et erigat ac soletur pavidam conscientiam; ideoque ibi porrigi debet Sacramentum, his quibus opus est consolatione, sicut Ambrosius ait, quia semper pecco, semper debeo accipere Medicinam. Atque hic usque ad tempora Gregorii in Ecclesia Missæ usus fuit, neque antea privatæ Missæ cognitæ fuerunt; quod quidem cum multis aliis Patrum Sententiis patet, tum Chrysostomi, qui inquit, Sacerdotem stare ad altare et alios ad Communionem accersere, alios arcere: Et ex veteribus Canonibus constat, unum aliquem celebrasse Missam, a quo reliqui Presbyteri et Diaconi sumpserunt corpus Domini, sic enim inquit Canon Nicenus, Accipiant Diaconi secundum Ordinem post Presbyteros ab Episcopo vel Presbytero, Sacram Communionem. Et scribit Epiphanius, in Asia Synaxim ter celebratam singulis septimanis, nec quotidianas fuisse Missas, eumque morem ab Apostolis traditum esse; qui quidem Missæ usus etiam hodie in Græcis Parochiis durare dicitur, nam tantum singulis dominicis diebus et festis, fit ibi una publica Missa, privatas vero non habent: fuitque Græca Ecclesia hoc nomine longe fœlicior quam Latina, quæ meliorem usum cœnæ Domini, Synaxis, sive Missæ retinuerit, neque vel Sacramentum Corporis et Sanguinis Domini, contra claram Evangelii Doctrinam diviserit, ut paulo ante diximus, neque etiam privatas Missas Sacræ Scripturæ acerrime repugnantes, receperit; cujus quidem rei hanc potentissiman causam fuisse arbitramur, quod Græca Ecclesia Romanum Episcopum auctorem perversæ et Idololatricæ Doctrinæ, et omnium pœne abusuum qui in Ecclesiam introducti sunt, pro summo Ecclesiæ Universalis sive Catholicæ capite, nunquam agnoverit.

Sed concedunt quidam adplicationes quæ fiunt in Missa pro vivis et mortuis, et item opiniones, quod ex opere operato gratiam mereri traduntur, non esse probandas, et disputant abolitis illis opinionibus impiis, alia ratione Missas privatas retinendas, nempe quia sunt gratiarum actiones, quæ possint ab uno vel a pluribus fieri. Hæc sane ratio videtur aliquam habere speciem, estque *σοφὸν φαρμακὸν*, ut inquit Sophocles, quo in causis invalidis, et ut ipse ait, morbidis utendum sit. Si Missa tantum esset gratiarum actio, possit fortassis tali aliquo prætextu colorari; verum constat eam principaliter institutam esse, ut sit Sacramentum quod per ministrum alteri exhibeatur, ut accipiens et credens consequatur gratiam. Et hoc quidem principali fine posito, accedit alter de gratiarum actione; quare nullo modo ab institutione Christi recedere, sed modum et formam illius Institutionis, et exemplum veteris Ecclesiæ sequi et retinere debemus: Nulla enim novitas, præsertim in Sacramentis, recipienda est, contra formam a Christo traditam, et contra exempla veteris Ecclesiæ.

Porro constat privatas Missas esse recentes, et a Romanis Pontificibus introductas, et ne hodie quidem, ut paulo ante dictum est, in Græcis Ecclesiis esse, nisis Parochiales diebus festis, cum quibus adhuc manet vestigium Communionis: Cum igitur contra Dei Verbum Missa privata introducta sit, eamque humanum tantum et commentitium cultum esse adpareat, quis dubitat quin talis Missa, sine ullo periculo omitti possit, imo debeat, cum repugnet Evangelio? Estque pium et sanctum opus, verum Missæ sive Synaxis usum Ecclesiæ restituere ac reddere, quo per Romanum Pontificem, hoc est Antichristum, multis jam annis miserabiliter privata fuit, qui quidem adhuc mordicus privatas Missas tenet, adserit, et defendit. Neque id immerito, facile enim sentit quod labefactata Missa privata, labefactetur imo ruat Universum ejus Regnum et Tyrannis, quæ Missis illis nititur; ut enim in seminibus causa est Arborum et stirpium, ita hujus luctuosissimi dominatus, imperii, tyrannidis, nundinationis et idololatriæ Pontificiæ semen fuit superstitio Missarum privatarum: Nam hæ pepererunt et sustinuerunt, veluti Atlas quidam, totum Papatum; ad harum normam omnia redacta sunt, siquidem nihil fuit, quod non Missa aliqua expiari posse creditum est. His aucupatus Pontifex Romanus indulgentias, quibus immensam pecuniam ex toto orbe terrarum prædatus est; hæ Monachorum turbas infinitas coacervarunt, cum eorum nullus alius esset usus, quam demurmurandi Missas privatas, et alioquin inutile terræ pondus forent. Hæ sunt et fuerunt universa pietas, quam Pontifex Romanus profitetur, hanc solam novit ille Religionem, quæ in Missis privatis consistit; Doctrinam enim Evangelii non modo non habet, verum acerrime odit et prosequitur, et in summa his Missis ipsam prædicationem Verbi Divini Pontifex exterminavit, ut per omnia Antichristi munere fungeretur: Nam in loco unius concionis Verbi, amplius mille Missæ privatæ, hoc est, humani et commentitii cultus, contra Divinum Verbum successerunt; cum non Missas fieri sed Evangelium prædicare, et Sacramenta rite distribuere et administrare, Christus Apostolis, quorum illi volunt esse successores, mandaverit.

Curarunt igitur Illustrissimi Principes nostri, et alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes Principes et Status, privatas Missas penitus aboleri, et verum Missæ usum sive Synaxim Christi institutioni, exemplo Apostolorum, veteris Ecclesiæ ac Patrum sententiis conformem, in Ecclesiam revocarunt et restituerunt. Quæ quidem Missa sive Synaxis summa cum reverentia celebratur, servatis pene omnibus usitatis Cæremoniis, quæ non repugnant pietati; et admiscentur Germanicæ sive vernaculæ cautiones ad docendum populum, præcepit enim Paulus, in Ecclesia uti lingua intellecta a populo. Porro, quia propter communionem sive usum Sacramenti Missa instituta est, hi qui sunt idonei et antea explorati, sacramento utuntur; ac dignitas et usus Sacramenti, summa diligentia ac cura ex Verbo Dei populo commendatur, ut sciant et intelligant homines, quantam consolationem pavidis conscientiis adferat, ac discant Deo credere, et optima quæque ab eo expectare et petere.

Et hunc quidem Sacramenti et Missæ usum, Scripturæ consentaneum, Deo gratum, et pietati conducibilem esse, Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra facile agnoscit; neque enim hic aliquid contra Dei Verbum admittitur, imo secundum Christi mandatum et ordinationem, qui hanc Sacram Communionem ad hunc finem instituit, omnia geruntur: Nulla est hic admixta, prava, aut impia opinio, ut in Missa privata Papistica, cujus finis et institutio cum Evangelio pugnat. Nihil hic etiam absque summa reverentia, ordine, et decoro, digno Ecclesiæ, fieri cernitur. Audemusque adfirmare, majore Religione hunc verum Missæ usum exhiberi apud nos, quam hactenus unquam sub Papatu privatæ Missæ celebratæ fuerint, provocamusque ad testimonia doctissimorum virorum,



qui a Majestate Vestra missi in illis locis fuerunt, et hæc omnia coram fieri viderunt at audierunt.

Quod enim Adversarii clamitant, Nostros omnes cultus Divinos, omnes Cæremonias, omnem denique Religionem abolere et labefactare, ea in re Principibus nostris, et aliis Evangelii Doctrinam profitentibus, injuriam faciunt; et hæc eos insigni quadam malevolentia et odio plusquam Vatiniano, ut dici solet, confingere et comminisci clare adparet, cum ex Doctrina nostrorum, quam consentientem Sacris Literis in lucem ediderunt, et Scriptis suis universo, orbi Christiano promulgarunt, tum etiam exemplis nostrarum Ecclesiarum, in quibus nolint velint coguntur fateri, omnia religiosius et sanctius fieri, quam apud ipsos; immo Dei beneficio universus populus, non tantum in templis est religiosior, sed in tota disciplina publica modestius se gerit, majoremque erga Magistratum civilem, et eos qui Ecclesiis præsunt, reverentiam et honorem exhibet, quam unquam antea factum fuerit: et hoc sinceræ Evangelii Doctrinæ acceptum referre debemus, quæ singulos, rectius omnibus Pontificiis constitutionibus, sui officii admonet, et sola in quibus re vera pietas ac cultus divinus consistat, tradit ac docet.

Porro, quod Missæ collocatæ ad quæstum, ut sub Papatu accidit, turpiter prophanentur, quodque hic abusus in omnibus pene templis latissime pateat, non est obscurum: Nam Christi beneficium qui nos precioso suo sanguine redemit, idque gratuito pro vili stipe et mercede vendere, et tale etiam opus inde constituere velle, quod ex sui natura, hoc est ex opere operato, mereatur gratiam, et possit adplicari pro peccatis aliorum, mortuorum et vivorum, quis non videt summam esse impietatem? Quid enim est corpus Domini indigne tractare et sumere, si hoc non esset? An potest etiam magis impium quidquam dici, quam illi de Missis istis docuerunt? Nempe quod Christus sua passione satisfecerit pro peccatis Originis, et instituerit Missam, in qua fieret Oblatio pro quotidianis delictis mortalibus et venialibus: cum Christus pœnitentiam et remissionem peccatorum prædicari mandaverit; Missam vero, hoc est Synaxim, ad alium plane finem instituerit, viz. ut porrigatur Sacramentum his quibus opus est consolatione, et ut per Verbum et Sacramentum credentes gratiam recipiant, et remissionem peccatorum consequantur, non ut ipsi suum opus, quod quale quale sit, humanum figmentum, humanus cultus est, contra Scripturam Deo offerant ac sacrificent. Hoc enim non placat Deum, ut Christus ipse inquit, se frustra coli mandatis hominum: Nam Missam non esse tale opus sive Sacrificium, quod mereatur gratiam et prosit etiam aliis, inde adparet, quia Missa sive Synaxis ad hoc est instituta, non ut Deo aliquid offeratur, sed ut communicantes consolationem hauriant, et veluti pignus seu certum signum gratiæ ac bonæ voluntatis Dei erga se recipiant, atque ita recordentur mortis Christi, hoc est, beneficiorum quæ per Christum accipiunt, qui quidem pro nobis mortuus est, solusque pro peccatis nostris satisfecit, idque probant Verba ipsa quibus et Christus et Paulus de Missa sive Synaxi usi sunt.

Primum enim inquit Christus, hoc est Corpus Meum, quod pro vobis traditur. Hæc sunt Verba promissionis Divinæ quæ solam fidem exigunt, quibusque offertur nobis gratia et remissio peccatorum, ergo non est Sacrificium, hoc est, opus quod Deo offeratur et quidem pro abolendis peccatis. Item Paulus ait, Annunciantes mortem Domini: Annunciare autem non est Sacrificare, hoc est tale opus Deo reddere, quo peccata deleantur. Præterea Evangelii textus ita sonat, Fregit et dedit Discipulis, inquiens, accipite et comedite, &c. item, bibite ex hoc omnes, &c. accipere autem, comedere, et bibere, non est sacrificare, quia hæc opera ex opere operato non delent peccata.

Neque mandatur hisce verbis, ut nos Deo aliquid offeramus, sed potius ut ab eo accipiamus, quia addit, pro vobis traditum, et sanguis qui pro vobis effunditur; quæ Verba ostendunt, non exhiberi a sumentibus Eucharistiam Deo Sacrificium, sed donum hominibus datum. Præterea vero nemo dicit Laicos cum sumunt Sacramentum, Sacrificare: at quantum ad hanc Sacram Communionem, Missam, sive Synaxim pertinet, nulla est ratio diversitatis, cum idem Christus uno eodemque tempore ac momento, propter eundem finem et usum, hoc Sacramentum absque differentia utentium Sacerdotum vel Laicorum instituerit. Et quemadmodum prohibitio utriusque speciei, humanum tantum commentum et mandatum est; ita quod de Sacrificio Missæ ex opere operato gratiam promerente traditur, humana tantum opinio est, contra Verbum Dei, a quo in rebus maximis, nempe ad remissionem peccatorum, salutem animarum, et vitam æternam pertinentibus, nullo modo est discedendum: Non enim frustra Paulus inquit et bis repetit, Si nos aut Angelus de Cœlo Evangelizet vobis præter id quod Evangelizavimus et accepistis, Anathema sit.

Præterea nec potest ratio diversitatis adsignari ex Sacris Literis, cur magis dicant eos qui Sacramento Eucharistiæ fruuntur Sacrificare, quam illos qui alio Sacramento, ut Baptismo, utuntur, cum utrumque nihil aliud sit, quam Sacramenta, quæ Christus horum institutor et auctor prorsus ad alium finem, quam ut sint talia Sacrificia, qualia illi comminiscuntur, ordinavit. Sed oportuit Romanum Pontificem Missas privatas, ad opprimendam Christi, cum ipse hostis est, gloriam attollere, ut populum Christianum a veritate Evangelica et agnitione Christi, et Sacramentorum legitimo usu, prorsus abduceret, Christique bonitatem et misericordiam obliteraret. Qui enim Missam tale Sacrificium esse cogitant, quo Deus placetur, hi non queunt Christi beneficium expendere pro dignitate, et in terroribus ac doloribus iræ et judicii Dei non habebunt refugium, neque bona conscientia poterunt dona et signa amoris divina agnoscere, si alieno opere Deum placari et peccata remitti sibi persuasum habeant: Nam illi ipsi qui nituntur impias opiniones de Missa privata excusare, hoc prætextu, quasi Missa ideo vocetur Sacrificium, quia sit gratiarum actio et sacrificium laudis, hi convincuntur propriis ipsorum testimoniis et Scriptis quæ de Missis extant, hæque persuasiones hominum animis etiam hodie de Missis privatis inhærent: sic enim Thomas inquit in Opusculo de Sacramento Altaris, cur Missa instituta sit? Corpus Domini semel oblatum est in cruce, pro debito originali, sic offeratur jugiter pro quotidianis delictis in Altari, ut habeat in hoc Ecclesia munus ad placandum sibi Deum, super omnia legis Sacrificia preciosum et acceptum.

Alexander Papa, nihil in Sacrificiis Ecclesiæ majus esse potest, quam Corpus et Sanguis Christi, nec ulla oblatio hac potior est, sed omnes præcellit: item ipsa veritas nos instruit, Calicem ac Panem in Sacramento offerre, quando ait, Accipite et comedite, nam crimina atq; peccata, oblatis his Domino Sacrificiis, delentur. Et rursus inquit, talibus hostiis delectabitur et placabitur Deus, et peccata demittet ingentia. Gabriel de Canon. Missæ, Sacramentum Eucharistiæ veluti Sacrificium summo patri oblatum, nedum veniale sed etiam mortale, non dico sumentium sed omnium eorum pro quibus offertur, et quantum ad reatum culpæ et pœnæ, plus vel minus secundum dispositionem eorum pro quibus offertur, tollit: unde Thomas in Quarto Dist. i. 2. q. 2. Eucharistia in quantum est Sacrificium, habet effectum etiam in aliis pro quibus offertur, in quibus non præ-exigit vitam spiritualem in actu, sed in potentia, et ideo si eos dispositos inveniat, eis gratiam obtinet, virtute illius veri Sacrificii

a quo omnis gratia in nos fluxit, et per consequens peccata mortalia in eis delet, non sicut causa proxima, sed in quantum gratiam contritionis eis impetrat.

His et similibus omnes libri Scolasticorum pleni sunt, quibus uno ore docent, Missam tale esse Sacrificium, quo gratiam homines mereantur ex opere operato, quod ad delenda aliorum peccata adplicari possit. Quæ Doctrina aut potius perversum et impium figmentum, an pugnet cum Sacris Literis necne? An verum Missæ seu communionis usum tradat necne? An Christi beneficium non magis obscuret quam illustret, imo etiam prorsus tollat? Vestræ Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati dijudicandum relinquimus, quæ pro sua sapientia, et non tantum in rebus politicis, sed etiam Sacris et in omni genere doctrinarum acerrimo judicio, facile censebit, justissimam causam habuisse Principes nostros et alios Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes, Missas privatas abrogandi, et verum Missæ sive Communionis usum, pro Christi gloria et consolatione totius Ecclesiæ Christianæ, restituendi et revocandi, postquam ex Dei Verbo cognoverunt, quantum privatæ Missæ a veritate Evangelica distent, quantumq; in iis insit impietatis et idololatriæ: fuit enim unicum Sacrificium propitiatorium in mundo, viz. Mors Christi, qui, ut Paulus inquit, semel est pro nobis oblatus, et factus hostia pro peccatis nostris, quod cætera legis Sacrificia propitiatoria significarunt, quæ similitudine quadam, erant satisfactiones redimentes justitiam legis, ne ex politia excluderentur illi qui peccaverant, eaq; cessaverunt post Revelatum Evangelium: in Novo Testamento, necesse est cultum tantum esse Spiritualem, hoc est, justitiam fidei et fructus fidei, quia adfert justitiam et vitam spiritualem et æternam, juxta, Dabo legem meam in cordibus eorum; et Christus ait, Veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in spiritu et veritate, id est, vero cordis adfectu, qua de causa abrogati sunt Levitici cultus, quod debeant succedere cultus Spirituales mentis, et horum fructus ac signa, ut in Epistola ad Hebræos manifeste docetur.

Ex quibus omnibus sequitur Missam non esse Sacrificium, quod ex opere operato mereatur, faciente vel aliis remissionem peccatorum, ut illi docuerunt. Et quocunq; quidam fuco nitantur excusare Missas privatas, semper eis refragatur et reclamat Doctrina ipsorũ de Missa, qua eam aliis posse adplicari tradiderunt, et peccata delere hominibus persuaserunt. Hæc opinio nisi restituto vero Missæ usu, nunquam ex animis hominum delebitur, sed perpetuo manet et redit is error, quod oporteat talem esse cultum in Ecclesia, quo Deus placetur.

Et ut videatur fictione juris: ut Jureconsulti loquuntur, Missam posse vocari sacrificium memoriale sive laudis: at cum id non sit satisfactorium pro facientibus, vel adplicabile pro aliis, quo quis mereatur remissionem peccatorum, quorsum attinebit, relicto vero ejus usu et institutione, id in Ecclesiam introducere, ubi propter nullam humanam rationem, commentum, aut opinionem, a Christi mandato et ordinatione est discedendum? Eadem enim ratione; Natalis Domini et similia festa, quæ in Christi memoriam celebrantur, sacrificia memorialia sive Eucharistica dici possent; imo talia Sacrificia verius sunt, Evangelii prædicatio, fides, invocatio, gratiarum actio, adflictiones, aut adplicationes pro aliis; et Missæ principalis finis, ut supra disseruimus, is est, ut sit Sacramentum, quod per ministrum alteri exhibeatur, quare non potest dici Sacrificium; cum nemo ignoret magnum inter Sacrificia et Sacramenta discrimen esse, his enim nos dona a Deo oblata accipimus, illis vero nostrum Deo reddimus et offerimus.

Neque vero habent privatæ Missæ alios auctores quam Pontifices, qui a tempore Gregorii, nunc hanc, nunc illam cæremoniam, cantionem, aut orationem, singuli pro sua sanctitate et opinione adjecerunt, ut historiæ uno consensu testantur, donec eandem, egregium illud opus, dignum istis auctoribus exædificarunt, et relicto vero Missæ sive Communionis usu, ac obliterata doctrina de Christo, Universa Ecclesia Missis privatis in qua sola omnem pœne sanctitatem posuerunt, repleta et obruta fuit.

Hæc serenissime ac Potentissime Rex, nostrorum Principum et aliorum Imperii ordinum, Evangelicam Doctrinam profitentium, Theologi et Doctores, justis voluminibus explicarunt, quæ quidem hac Epistola nos breviter adtingenda duximus; non quod Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram hæc latere penitus putemus, neque enim ignoramus Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ et veterũ et recentiũ scripta, de his et aliis Controversiis Ecclesiasticis diligentissime cognita esse, de quibus etiam Majestas Vestra sapientissime eruditissime sæpe cum doctis viris conferre et disputare solet: Sed hæc ideo fecimus ut Majestati Vestræ quam posset fieri brevissime, ocasionem et causas quasdam abolitarũ privatarum Missarum apud nos, summa cum observantia ut decet exponeremus; et adversariorum calumnias, quibus cum apud Regiam Majestatem Vestram tum alias, undecunque quæsita et arrepta occasione, variis technis et figmentis, doctrinam sinceriorem gravare et in odium omnium perducere conantur, declinaremus.

Neque vero ambigimus quin Majestas Vestra, ut Rex eruditissimus et veritatis Evangelicæ amantissimus, facillime judicabit, quod non temere privatæ Missæ apud nos abrogatæ sint, sed justissimis et firmissimis rationibus, ex Dei Verbo quod solum errare non potest, sincere et absque sophistica deductis, pro conservanda et illustranda Christi Gloria, et hominum salute id factum esse: Et opponantur qualescunque excogitari possint cavillationes et sophisimata, tamen adparebit nostros hoc agere quod sit tutius, dum retinent modum et formam institutionis Christi. Ac maxima pars Sacerdotum sua sponte apud nos desiit Missas privatas celebrare, posteaquam intellexerunt ex Evangelica Doctrina, quantum in iis erroris et impietatis esset; et plurimi ac doctissimi quique, qui Sacerdotia aut Parochias sub Magistratibus alienis a sincera Evangelii Doctrina tenebant, eas deseruerunt, ne cogerentur facere contra suas conscientias, seque ad ea loca in quibus Evangelii Doctrina libere prædicatur contulerunt; gravissimum enim est quenquam in re præsertim tali, quæ Dei gloriam lædit, ac Divino Verbo repugnat, tanquam ad cultum divinum adigi, et compelli.

Sed ne Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ prolixitate literarum simus molesti, desinemus plura de hoc articulo inpræsentiarum disserere.

*De Conjugio Sacerdotum.*

Restat tertius locus instituti Argumenti, viz. de Conjugio Sacerdotum, quod itidem Romanus Episcopus contra Scripturam, contra leges naturæ, et contra omnem honestatem prohibuit, ac multorum peccatorum, scelerum et turpitudinis occasionem præbuit: sed fortassis ne possit dubitari eum esse Christi adversarium, de quo cum illam ipsam prohibitionem, tum alia quædam quæ in illum solum adperte quadrant, Scriptura clare prædixit, oportuit eum talem legem Cælibatus Sacerdotalis sancire, ut sicut leo ex unguibus, ita Papa, hoc est Antichristus, ab hac prohibitione Sanctissimi et in omnibus honorabilis conjugii, agnosceretur; sic enim Paulus inquit, Spiritus autem manifeste dicit, quod in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam a fide, attendentes Spiritibus Erroris et Doctrinis Dæmoniorum, in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium, cauteriatam habentium conscientiam suam, prohibentium nubere: hæc si non in Romanum Epis-



copum congruunt, in quem alium convenient? nemo enim alius quam ipse conjugium Sacerdotibus injustissime eripuit, et cælibatum impurissimum sub specie Sanctitatis, et ut Paulus ait in Hypocrisi et per mendacium introduxit.

Scriptura non minus Sacerdotibus, quam alterius sortis hominibus matrimonium liberum permittit, sunt enim de eadem carne, quæ totum genus humanum vestit et continet, nati: non possunt igitur naturam suam mutare, non possunt carnem abjicere, nec absque singulari Dei dono cælibes vivere, nam non quilibet, ut Christus inquit, capit Verbum hoc: et Paulus, propter Fornicationem unusquisque suam Uxorem habeat; et peculiariter de Sacerdotibus ait, constituas per civitates Presbyteros sicut disposui tibi, si quis sine crimine est, unius Uxoris vir, Filios habens fideles, non in accusatione luxuriæ; item, oportet Episcopum esse irreprehensibilem, unius Uxoris virum: patet igitur hanc prohibitionem non ex jure Divino, sed potius contra Sacram Scripturam decretum esse.

At solet a quibusdam Pontificiis defensoribus opponi, quod licet conjugium Sacerdotum non videatur vetitum Divinis Literis, tamen Sacerdotes a veteribus temporibus in hunc usque diem in cælibatu vixisse, eaque de causa adddunt non esse discedendum hac in re a tali exemplo, neque permittendum conjugium Sacerdotibus. His, Serenissime ac potentissime Rex, adperte refragantur historiæ, tum Ecclesiasticæ tum aliæ, ex quibus clare patet, Episcopos et Sacerdotes veteribus temporibus conjugatos fuisse.

Primum enim Spiridion Cyprius Episcopus, vir unus ex ordine prophetarum, ut Historia Ecclesiastica ait, Uxorem habuit ex qua filiam nomine Irenen suscepit; deinde ordine pene omnes Episcopi Uxorati fuerunt, quorum plurimi Filii postea, tum Romani, tum alii Episcopi creati sunt: fuit enim Sylverius Papa Hormisdæ Episcopi Filius, Papa Theodorus Theodori Episcopi Hierosolymitani, Papa Adrianus secundus Talari Episcopi, Joannes decimus Papa Sergii Papæ, Gelasius Valerii Episcopi, Papa Joannes decimusquintus Leonis Presbyteri Filius; et ne omnes enumeremus, patet vel unica historia Polycratis, ex cujus parentibus septem fuerunt per ordinem Episcopi, ipse vero fuit octavus: at non est credibile omnes illos ex illegitimis nuptiis prognatos esse, cum ipsi canones et decreta Synodorum doceant, conjugia Sacerdotum esse licita; sic enim inquit Canon Apostolorum, si quis docuerit Sacerdotem sub obtentu Religionis propriam Uxorem contemnere, Anathema sit.

Item extat præclarum exemplum de Paphnutio confessore, qui universæ Synodo Nicenæ prohibitionem conjugii dissuasit, et obtinuit ne hac ex parte sancitum, sed hoc in uniuscujusque voluntate non necessitate permissum fuerit. Quæ Historia etiam in jure Pontificio recensetur, extatque decretum quoddam sextæ Synodi, in quo palam damnatur prohibitio conjugii Sacerdotalis.

Sed objicitur iterum, propter votum castitatis, quod Sacerdotes præstiterunt, non posse eis permitti nuptias. Hoc quale votum sit, quamque obligatorium, quod sine peccato servari non potest, Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra pro summa sapientia et Doctrina, facile æstimabit: neque enim donum castitatis omnibus datum est, idque cælibatus ipse Sacerdotum, et quotidiana experientia etiam nunc testatur; et quid de tali voto sentiendum sit, Sanctorum Patrum sententia declaravit, sic enim Augustinus ait, quidam nubentes post votum adserunt adulteros esse, ego autem dico vobis quod graviter peccant qui tales dividunt. Et Cyprianus de virginibus qui continentiam voverunt, sic inquit, si perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt, melius est ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delictiis suis cadant.

Censent itaque prædicti Sancti Patres, tale votum non debere impedire Matrimonium, sicut revera etiam non potest obstare quo minus hi quibus donum continentiæ non contigit, matrimonium contrahant: nam melius est nubere quam uri, ut inquit Paulus; Quid autem est impurius cœlibatu illo Sacerdotali? quam pauci vero continent? quam plurimi in fornicationibus, adulteriis, et id genus similibus ac gravioribus peccatis et flagitiis pene quotidie deprehenduntur, contra quod si leges severe animadverterent, non habituri essent, quo de illo ficto et hypocritico cœlibatu adeo gloriarentur?

Ac tradunt Historiæ in Germania triennium aut amplius, Sacerdotes acerrime restitisse Sanctioni Pontificis Hildebrandi de cælibatu, qui summa vi eis Uxores adimere conatus est, hique justissimas causas contra illam constitutionem ac tyrannidem Pontificiam, pro Matrimonio defendendo allegarunt, in qua re cum nihil æqui obtinere potuerint, tandem ingens orta est seditio contra Archiepiscopum Moguntium, qui decretum pontificium detulat, adeo ut is ab incæpto destiterit; et vix tandem Papa post multas diras execrationes et bullas, quibus etiam cœlum ipsum expugnare conatus est, miseris Sacerdotibus facultatem liberam conjugii, contra divina et humana jura abstulerit, et omnis generis libidinis et impuritatis exercendæ occasionem præbuerit: Extat quoque Epistola ad Nicolaum Episcopum Romanum I. Divi Udalrici Episcopi Augustensis, qua is gravissimis et optimis argumentis dissuadet et damnat prohibitionem conjugii Sacerdotum.

Cum igitur Principes nostri, et alii profitentes Evangelii Doctrinam, patefacta per Dei Gratiam iterum veritate, intellexerint quid de prohibitione illa pontificia conjugii Sacerdotalis sentiendum esset, et palam viderent et experirentur, quod non posset cœlibatus ille sine peccatis et scandalis consistere, ruperunt in ea etiam vincula pontificia, ac Matrimonium Sacerdotibus, sicut hoc Scriptura Sacra et exempla Sanctorum Patrum ac veteris Ecclesiæ exigunt et testantur, liberum permiserunt. Existimarunt enim hoc quoque ad suum officium pertinere, ut infinitorum scandalorum et scelerum, quæ necessario secum trahit cælibatus Sacerdotalis, occasionem et materiam præscinderent et auferrent, publicæque honestati hac quoque in re consulerent; maxime cum animadverterent quantæ etiam abominationes, et in ordine Sacerdotali, et in Monasteriis Vestalium ac Monachorum evenerint, in quibus compertum est sæpe infantes crudeliter necatos, pharmacis fœtus depulsos, et similia nefaria crimina commissa, quos solos fructus cælibatus ille protulit: ideoque plurimi nunc sunt conjugati Sacerdotes apud nos, multi etiam cælibes, idque cujusque conscientiæ ut vel ducat uxorem, vel a conjugio abstineat, permittitur; modo ita vivat ne sit aliis offendiculo, alioqui enim non minus in Sacerdotes quam reliquum vulgus, hac quoque parte, secundum leges politicas animadvertitur. Ac per Dei Gratiam, hoc inde secutum est, quod eorum conscientiis, quibus continentiæ donum non contigit, consultum fuerit, plurimorum flagitiorum et scelerum occasio cessaverit, matronis ac puellis quibus plerique istorum sub specie pietatis sæpissime inhiabant, et laqueos nectebant, nihil ejusmodi periculi sit; et in summa, quod quum tum Officia Ecclesiastica tum politica majore reverentia et honestate tractentur, quodque ab universis in majore honore et favore habeantur Sacerdotes, quam antea in illo pleno scandulis cælibatu aceiderit, id quoque magna ex parte honestum conjugium Sacerdotum præstat.

Adhæc, nulli acrius et constantius oppugnant Romanum Pontificem, et tum Matrimonii libertatem, tum sanam Doctrinam ab illo obscuratam et oppressam defendunt, quam hi qui ab ejus jugo impuri illius cælibatus liberati sunt: et honeste etiam suos liberos, quos ex conjugio suscipiunt educare solent, quibus

haud dubie Deus etiam post mortem parentum, ubi in timore Domini aliti et edocti fuerint, prospiciet; gravissimum enim esset, Sacerdotes ideo a conjugio arcere, quia sua munia sive officia tantum ad vitam suam, non autem jure hæreditario tenent; eadem ratione multis aliis qui sunt aut in publicis muneribus, aut in privatis Ministeriis, Matrimonium interdicendum foret. Quod quidem si fieret, Reip. plus incommodi quam boni allaturum esset; cum et Sacrarum Literarum Auctoritate, Sanctissimorum Patrum Sententiis, legum naturæ et gentium testimonio, et omnium sapientissimorum virorum judicio ac suffragiis constet, Matrimonium semper iis qui cælibes vivere non queant, ad vitanda graviora pericula, concessum et liberum esse debere.

Hæc, Serenissime ac invictissime Rex, coram Serenissima Regia Majestate Vestra, breviter disserenda duximus, ut Majestati Vestræ rationes quasdam commemoraremus, cur Illustrissimi Principes nostri, et alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes Principes et Status Imperii, in his tribus Articulis adeo dissentiant a Romano Pontifice, ut sicut in reliquis Doctrinæ Christianæ partibus, a veritate vel latum digitum non discedendum esse existiment, ita in his etiam decreverint, abjecta ejus tyrannide, pro Gloria Evangelii, et ad vitanda infinita scelera, perdurare: neque vero hic dicemus de aliis abusibus a Romano Pontifice introductis, in quos imprimis Confessio Auricularis recenseri meretur, qua ille, et Potestatem clavium tantum ad turpissimum quæstum et tyrannidem redegit, et Confessionem ipsam, quæ informandarum et consolandarum conscientiarum gratia salubriter instituta fuit, carnificinam tantum Conscientiarum reddidit, perque eam tum omnes Reges, Principes, et Potentatus sub suo jugo tenuit, tum multorum malorum auctor extitit; de qua quid nostri sentiant, ac qua reverentia in Ecclesiis retineant, edita ipsorum scripta testantur.

Ac gratulamur nobis datam occasionem hæc Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ exponendi, ejusq; censuræ committendi: Cum enim Majestas Vestra et summa Doctrina, sapientia ac studio veritatis prædita sit, et Romani Episcopi tyrannidem (haud sine mente deum, sive numine divum, ut Poeta inquit) itidem ex suis amplissimis Regnis exterminari curaverit, neque amplius per Dei Gratiam illius impiis opinionibus captiva teneatur; persuasissimum nobis habemus Vestræ Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis hisce de rebus maximis, quæ ad Dei Gloriam, salutem Ecclesiæ, et perpetuam profligationem Romani Antichristi pertinent, æquissimum ac liberrimum fore judicium, quod sane ii, quibus vel Doctrina aut veritatis studium deest, vel animum habent addictum Pontificiis Opinionibus, vel metu interdum prohibentur, aut etiam ab affectibus diverse trahuntur, non adeo facile præstare possunt; et plurimi interdum inservientes tempori, fingunt se odiisse pontificem, simulantque studium veritatis, quibus tamen revera aliud est cordi, hi vero quum non possint nec debeant de hisce controversiis ferre sententiam, Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra nequaquam ignorat.

Non autem dubitamus, quin ut quisque est eruditissimus, et veritatis Evangelicæ amantissimus, ita facillime eum causam nostram immo Christi et Ecclesiæ adprobaturam esse, neque enim ea ullum commodum aut emolumentum privatum quæritur, sed solum agitur de abolendis impiis abusibus in Christi Ecclesiam per Antichristum invectis, et Christi Gloria illustranda, ac veris cultibus restituendis, et ut hominum Conscientiæ jugo ac tyrannide pontificia liberentur, ac scandala publica, quantum fieri possit è medio tollantur. Quarum quidem rerum studium quo jure reprehendi queat, ut etiam magis favore et imitatione dignum censendum sit: Cum enim omnium bene constitutarum Rerumpub. hic præcipue finis et scopus esse debeat, ut et Dei Gloria ornetur, et publica salus, honestas, pax, et tranquillitas conservetur, quis dubitat eos qui sedent ad gubernacula Rerumpub. et ad hæc tanquam ad Cynosuram ut dici solet, cursum suum et omnem rationem regendi Rempublicam instituunt, maximis laudibus dignos esse? Et quoniam Serenissima Regia Vestra Majestas, ut Rex sapientissimus eteruditissimus, hunc quoque scopum in gubernandis amplissimis et laudatissimis Regnis et Provinciis suis, ob oculos habere luce meridiana clarius adparet, non possumus non nobisipsis, quum in hac honestissima causa promovendæ Christi gloriæ et publicæ utilitatis ad Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram Oratores missi sumus, non gratulari; non possumus etiam non fælices judicare universos subditos Majestatis Vestræ, quibus divina bonitate talis Rex et Princeps contigerit, qui cum aliis regiis virtutibus excellit, tum studio veræ pietatis et veritatis Evangelicæ omnibus modis admirandus conspicitur.

Sunt quidem illa maxima Remp. certis et justis legibus civilibus constituere, bonos tueri et juvare, improbos pœnis adficere, arcere injurias, pacem et concordiam subditorum conservare; quis enim non tanquam Deum aliquem talem Principem aplectendum et honorandum putet, a quo ista præstentur: sed adhuc sunt majora, si vera pietas accesserit, si Christi Gloria ornetur, si Dei Verbum in pretio habeatur, si cultus Divinæ voluntati consentanei instituantur, si hominum conscientiis consulatur, et publica scandala e medio tollantur; illa enim tantum hanc civilem vitam attingunt, quam unumquemq; quum tempus præfinitum advenerit, deserere oportet; hæc vero ad æternam salutem pertinent quæ bonos et pios, cessante hac misera conditione humanæ vitæ, expectat, quibusq; et in hoc, et in futuro sæculo, maxima præmia proposita sunt. Hoc est cur Deus Reges honore sui nominis ornat, cum ait, ego dixi Dii estis, maxime ut res divinas intelligant, et veram Religionem in mundo conservent; huc præcipue Scriptura hortatur, cum inquit, nunc Reges intelligite, et erudimini qui judicatis terram, servite Domino, &c. huc invitant exempla præstantissimorum regum in Sacris Literis, qui summa cura, opera, ac studio veram Religionem promoverunt, et impios cultus abrogarunt: hoc David, hoc Josias, hoc Josophat, hoc Ezechias, et deinceps omnes Sanctissimi Reges præstiterunt. Eadem cum Sereniss. R. M. Vestra haud dubie etiam cogitet, imo jam nunc in hoc totis viribus incumbat, ut sincera Evangelii Doctrina Papæ Tyrannide oppressa restituatur, Gloria Christi itidem a Pontifice obscurata iterum illustretur, et impii abusus ab illo ipso Antichristo in Ecclesiam tanquam venenum quoddam pestilentissimum sparsi et introducti aboleantur, ac veri et Divinis Literis consentanei cultus et cæremoniæ constituantur, non dubitabimus quin Deus Opt. Max. Sereniss. R. Majestatis Vestræ conatus et consilia, in hisce rebus Sanctissimis et Honestissimis fortunaturus sit, et pro sua bonitate clementer effecturus, ut inter Sereniss. R. M. Vestram et Principes nostros, ac eorum in causa Religionis confœderatos, talis concordia constituatur, quam et in laudem Evangelii, et publicam totius Christiani Orbis utilitatem cessuram, et majori exitio Romano Antichristo futuram esse, minime ambigimus; estque optima spes, ut volente Deo, plures Reges, Principes, et potentatus, ad hanc Sanctissimam causam accedant, ac Evangelicæ veritatis Doctrinam agnoscant et recipiant, sicut etiam hactenus per Dei Gratiam, maximi progressus facti sunt, et non tantum in Germania, verum etiam extra Germaniam, Potentissimi Reges, Principes et civitates, Divini Verbi Doctrinam receperunt.

Adparetque homines passim [illegible] agnita veritate, ex



Scriptis eorum qui Evangelii Doctrinam profitentur et docent, per totum pene orbem terrarum sparsis, sanioris Doctrinæ admodum cupidos esse, quorum preces aliquando Deus pro sua benignitate exaudiet, ac suum Verbum illuminatis mentibus Regum et Principum latissime propagabit, ut sit unus pastor, hoc est Dominus noster Iesus Christus, et unum ovile, quod est Ecclesia Catholica, quæ profitetur sincerum Christi Evangelium, et illi consentaneum usum Sacramentorum retinet, non Papistica aut Romana, quæ utrumque reprobat, odit, et oppugnat.

Quod reliquum est, Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex, Domine Clementissime, precamur et optamus ut Sereniss. Regia Majestas Vestra in cœpto negotio veritatis Evangelicæ pro illustranda Christi Gloria et salute publica, per Dei Gratiam fortiter pergat, quod quidem Majestatem Vestram, ut Regem veræ pietatis et omnis virtutis ac Doctrinæ amantissimum, facturam nihil dubitamus: Oramusque ut Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra dato benigno responso, ad Illustrissimos Principes nostros, quam primum fieri queat, ne commodam præsentis Navigationis occasionem negligamus, clementer nos dimittat; et ut Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra, erga quam nostra debita officia atque servitia summa cum observantia perpetuo constabunt, has nostras literas pro sua insigni humanitate, bonitate ac clementia, in optimam partem accipiat, nosque etiam clementer commendatos habeat. Bene valeat Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra, quam Deus Opt. Max. pro illustranda et propaganda nominis sui Gloria et publica salute, diu servet incolumem. Datæ Londini quinto die Augusti Anno Dom. 1538.

Vestræ Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis Addictissimi et obsequentissimi,

Franciscus Burgratus, Vicecancellarius.
Georgius a Boyneburgh, D. Oratores.
Friderichus Myconius, Ecclesiastes Gothanus.

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VIII.—*The King's Answer to the former Letter.*

[Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

Literas Vestras, Egregii ac præstantissimi Oratores, per ministrum vestrum nuper ad nos missas, summa humanitate plenas, atque ingentem erga nos benevolentiam spirantes, tum libenter accepimus, tum magna cum voluptate legimus; quibus significatis vos, post exposita nobis mandata, cum quibusdam Episcopis et Theologiæ Doctoribus a nobis designatis de Christianæ Religionis nonnullis articulis per duos menses contulisse; non dubitare quoque quin inter Principes vestros et nos, atq; utrorumq; Episcopos Theologos et subditos, firma perpetuaq; concordia in Evangelii Doctrina ad laudem Dei, et Romani Antichristi perniciem sit sequutura: Verum quia reliquam disputationem de abusibus expectare non potestis, cum jam naves appulerint vos in patriam deportaturæ, ante discessum vestrum existimatis vestri officii esse ut sententiam vestram de quibusdam abusuum articulis nobis declaretis, de quibus nos post discessum vestrum cum Episcopis et Theologis nostris conferre possemus. Et quia tria capita præcipua putatis quæ fundamentum Pontificiæ Tyrannidis sustentare videntur, nempe Prohibitionem utriusque speciei in cœna Domini, Missas privatas, et Prohibitionem Conjugii Sacerdotum; de his articulis sententiam vestram ingenue aperitis, atque eam judicio nostro quantumcunq; id sit, et censuræ committitis: Quis non hanc vestram benevolentiam, Egregii Oratores, summopere amplectatur? Quis non hanc Vestram gratitudinem modis omnibus admiretur? Qui nobiscum ea communicare studetis, quæ non modo ad præsentem vitam transigendam sed ad futuram quoque assequendam conferunt? Enimvero si illos non abs re existimamus amicos, qui in Regionum commerciis ea quæ sunt grata atque commoda important, ne quid usquam desit quod ad præsentem vitam degendam pertinet, quanto magis illi sunt amici judicandi, qui quæ ad æternam vitam conferunt impertiri non gravantur! nam quæ præsentis vitæ subsidia parantur durabilia diu non sunt, quæ vero ad æternam promovent nunquam intermoriuntur; quinimo amicitia ipsa terrena, quantumvis ingens, quantumvis firma, finem habet e vita excessum, charitas vero quæ nunquam excidit post hanc vitam splendescit magis. Et quia nostrum judicium non aspernari videmini, quod nos ipsi indignum existimamus, ut de rebus tam arduis judicemus, atque ea proponitis quæ putatis inprimis amplectenda, qua in re non vulgarem sed ingentem vim erga nos amoris ostenditis, ne nos non respondere huic vestræ tantæ gratitudini videremur, si quæ nobis ad præsens videntur vobiscum non communicaremus, decrevimus itidem de his tribus Articulis nonnihil attingere, et pectus nostrum ingenue vobis aperire: Quo fiet ut mutuus inter nos et Principes vestros amor eo magis augescat, eo diutius foveatur, si nihil occultum inter amicos retentetur, sed summa sinceritate gerantur omnia, id quod nos cum omnibus amicis semper facere consuevimus; quod nostrum perpetuum institutum in præsentia apud Amicissimos, eosque quos habemus charissimos, mutare nequaquam libuit. Verum de Articulis ipsis tandem agamus.

*De utraque Specie.*

Quod inprimis sub utraq; Specie semper Eucharistiam populis secundum primariam Christi institutionem dandam esse existimetis, et nullo pacto sub altera tantum, non possumus quovis pacto adduci, egregii et præstantissimi Oratores, ut putemus vos id serio affirmasse, sed forsan probandi causa nobis id protulisse, ut quid sentiamus intelligeretis; nam ipsa opinio tam aliena est a recta Scripturæ intelligentia, ut vix quivis id serio affirmare præsumeret, quod latius in hac Epistola declarabimus. Nec nobis persuadere possumus, etsi occasio sit, vos non nobiscum credere, quod sub specie Panis sit realiter et substantialiter verum et vivum Corpus Christi, et una cum Corpore Sanguis verus, alioqui fatendum esset Corpus ibi exsangue esse, quod nefas esset dicere, cum Caro illa Christi non modo viva, sed et vivificatrix sit; et quod sub specie vini non modo vivus et verus Christi Sanguis sit, sed etiam una cum vero Sanguine viva et vera etiam Corporis sit Caro. Quod cum ita sit, necessario consequetur etiam eos qui sub altera specie communicant, et solum sub specie Panis Corpus Christi sumunt, non fraudari Communione Sanguinis Christi, atque eos etiam qui sub specie vini Communicant non fraudari communione Corporis Domini; Quocirca cum sub alterutra specie utrumq; contineatur, viz. et Corpus et Sanguis Christi, utravis solum species porrigatur populis, utrumque, id est tam Sanguis quam Corpus Christi, per hoc eisdem exhibeatur. Nam Christus ipse sub altera specie dedisse legitur in Evangelio Lucæ Discipulis duobus in Emaus euntibus, quando agnitus est in fractione Panis; scribitur enim, quod cum recumberet cum eis, accepit panem et benedixit, ac fregit et porrigebat illis, et aperti sunt oculi eorum, et cognoverunt eum fractione panis. Ubi de Eucharistia eum locum vetustissimi Authores Chrysostomus, Theophylactus, et Augustinus intelligunt, et tamen de vini poculo nulla ibi fit mentio: Unde Christus qui in altera specie ministravit Eucharistiam, libertatem Ecclesiæ sponsæ suæ reliquisse videtur, ut imitetur sponsi sui vestigia, ac similiter sub altera specie, sicut sub utraque, communicare libere possit. Nam Christus qui sub utraq; specie Communionem docuit, etiam de Communione sub altera ipse exem-

plum reliquit, qui secum tamen nusquam, vel in præceptis vel in exemplis, dissidet.

Simile idem Lucas in Actis Apostolorum citat, quando post adventum Spiritus Sancti, prædicante Petro, appositæ sunt animæ circiter tria millia, inquiens, Erant autem perseverantes in Doctrina Apostolorum et Communicatione et fractione panis et orationibus; Ubi similiter de Eucharistia eum locum intelligunt veteres, et de poculo nulla fit ibi mentio. Jam si Christum ipsum Autorem, si Apostolos ab eo ad docendum orbem missos patronos habet, Communio sub una specie, nempe Panis, usitata in Ecclesia non est, tanquam Evangelicis præceptis contraria, statim repudianda; nam Apostoli, qui per adventum Spiritus edocti sunt omnem veritatem, nunquam in fractione Panis Communionem dedissent populo, si utraq; species de præcepto Christi semper necessario fuisset porrigenda, ne Christi jubentis parum memores institutum ejus mutasse viderentur.

Porro ipsa Christi Verba, quæ post Evangelistas Paulus totam cœnam dominicam Corinthiis enarrans citat, nos admonent Christum separatim de alterutra specie locutum esse; ait enim, Dominus Iesus in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit panem et gratias agens fregit, et dixit, accipite et manducate, Hoc est Corpus meum quod pro vobis traditur, hoc facite in mei commemorationem. Ecce Christus de Corpore suo sub specie panis sumendo separatim locutus est, inquiens, Hoc facite, priusquam ullam de poculo faceret mentionem. Postea autem de Calice ait Paulus, Similiter et Calicem postquam cœnavit accepit dicens, Hic calix Novum Testamentum est in meo sanguine, hoc facite quotiescunq; bibetis in mei commemorationem: Nec dixit sicut de corpore dixerat simpliciter, Hoc facite in mei commemorationem, sed dixit, Hoc facite, cum hac adjectione, nempe quotiescunq; bibetis, in mei commemorationem: per hoc nobis indicans non semper sub specie vini sumendum esse sanguinem una cum corpore sub specie Panis, sed quotiescunq; sumeretur Sanguis sub specie Vini in Commemorationem Christi id faciendum.

Ecce rursum Christus post distributionem corporis sui, peracta cœna in qua corpus suum sub specie Panis separatim prius dederat, iterum separatim sub specie Vini Sanguinem suum offert, inquiens, Hoc facite quotiescunq; bibetis in mei commemorationem, significans nobis et seorsum nonnunquam alterum porrigi posse, et tamen cum ita sit, utriusq; vim integram populis dari, alioqui suffecisset semel duntaxat de utroq; fuisse dictum, Hoc facite, nec de Calice adjecisset Hoc facite quotiescunque bibetis, cum prius de specie Panis simpliciter dixisset Hoc facite, nisi separatim ea sumi posse judicaret.

Neque quisquam negare potest Discipulos in cœna sub specie panis sumpsisse Corpus Christi, nam cœnantibus illis, accepit panem et benedixit, ac fregit deditq; illis, dicens Hoc est Corpus meum; Calicem autem non nisi post intervallum ac peracta cœna porrexit, nisi quis adeo stupidus esset, ut crederet post sumptionem speciei panis non prius eos sumpsisse Corpus Christi, quum postquam cœnavit porrexisset Calicem; quasi vero priora Verba Christi irrita fuissent, cum de specie panis diceret Hoc est Corpus meum, aut ipsa distributio facta Discipulis nullam vim haberet, priusquam de Calice peracta Cœna bibissent; Quod cum impium sit sentire, tum ipsum Verbum et factum Christi, proh nefas! evacuat. Denique ipse Paulus, postquam etiam de utraque specie conjunctim locutus est, rursum de ipsis speciebus disjunctim infert, inquiens ὥστε ὃς ἂν ἐσθίει τὸν ἄρτον οὗτον, ἢ πίνει τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναξίως, ἔνοχός ἐστι τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου.

Quæ verba latine sic transtulit Erasmus, Itaq; quisquis ederit panem hunc aut de Calice biberit indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini; ubi ex Pauli verbis aperte liquet, Quisquis indigne panem hunc sumpserit, reum esse Corporis et Sanguinis Domini, aut si quis de Calice biberit indigne, similiter reum esse Sanguinis et Corporis Domini, quod tamen nullo modo crimini daretur, nisi seorsum sub specie panis esset et Corpus et Sanguis Christi, atq; itidem sub specie vini seorsum esset et Corpus et Sanguis Christi; nec disjunctim de specie panis locutus fuisset Paulus, si nunquam nisi conjunctim cum Calice sumeretur: Neq; rursum disjunctim de Calice dixisset, si nunquam nisi conjunctim cum specie panis esset sumendus. Quorsum enim ea disjunxisset si nunquam nisi conjuncta esse possent? At Verba ipsa Scripturæ singula sunt attendenda, nam Propheta inquit. Inclinate aurem vestram in Verba oris mei; et Moises in Deuteronimo ait, Ponite corda vestra in omnia verba quæ ego testificor vobis hodie, quia non incassum præcepta sunt vobis. Et iterum, non addetis ad verbum quod vobis loquor, nec auferetis ab eo. Verba igitur Domini atque ipsius Pauli, et separatim de alterutra specie primum posita, et post utriusque conjunctionem etiam iterum disjuncta, significare nobis videntur, et posse alterutram speciem seorsum porrigi secundum Verbum Christi.

Nec per hoc quod Christus dixit, Bibite ex hoc omnes, statim consequetur Christum jussisse Communionem cuilibet de populo semper sub utraq; specie et nunquam sub altera dandam esse: Nam illorum Verborum sensum non alium esse apparet, quam quem ipse Dominus Apostolum suum Paulum, qui a Domino de hoc Sacramento omnia se accepisse testatur, edocuit, nempe quod quotiescunq; de Calice hoc quisquam biberet, id in Christi memoriam faceret, sicuti fecerunt Discipuli, qui tunc aderant præsentes et de eo biberunt omnes: Itaque quotiescunque Sanguis Christi bibendus a quoquam esset, in memoria Passio Christi recordanda est; sicut similiter quisquis Corpus Christi sumpserit ad memoriam passionem ejus revocare debet: Neque ex præcepto Christi toties bibendum esse de hoc Calice, quotiescunq; Corpus Christi sumendum est, apparet per ea quæ de verbis et de exemplo Christi supradicta sunt. Certe quicquid Christus omnino observari præcepit, non posse ulla humana sanctione prohiberi putamus, cum humana lex divinam abolere non possit. Similiter etiam existimamus, nec morem ullum, nec ullam consuetudinem tantopere apud homines valere debere, ut Dei Verbum expugnet et Christi præceptum subvertat.

Verumtamen cum Christus nobis libere reliquerit ut eum tribus modis corporaliter sumere possimus, et quarto spiritualiter, nempe primo sub utraque specie, secundo, sub Panis specie tantum; tertio, sub Vini; quarto, voluntate et desiderio solo cum aliter necessitate coacti eum sumere nequimus; existimamus pro primo, ut si quis fidelis ardenti in Deum amore flagrans, pietateq; ingenti æstuans, magnopere desideraret Sacramentum sub utraq; specie sumere, si nullum vel valetudinis vel imbecillitatis obstaret impedimentum, ei sub utraq; specie Communio præberi possit, dummodo neq; postulans neq; ministrans Sacramentum in scandalum populi, aut in contemptum Ecclesiæ id faciat, neque suo jure leges regionis in qua degit, sive Ecclesiasticas sive laicas, infringere præsumat.

Pro secundo et tertio sic, Quod si impedimentum aliquod hujusmodi intervenit, ut in utraque specie absq; periculo sumi non possit, ut si quis Paralysi correptus, aut ab alio quovis naturæ aut morborum impedimento utramq; speciem recipere commode non possit, hic si desideret Sacram Communionem sumere, ei sub altera tantum specie porrigatur. Pro quarto autem, Quod si quis nausea, vel alia corporis molestia



adeo sit infestatus, ut nihil in stomachus receptum non rejectet, huic si id petat Sacramentum saltem ostendi posset, ut viso eo mortem Christi redemptoris sui citius revocans in memoriam compunctus corde spiritualiter communicet.

Plurimum igitur demiror, quod hi qui Christianæ Libertatis assertores et acerrimi propugnatores videri volunt, libertatem hanc nostram in hoc uno Corporis et Sanguinis Domini Sacramento, quo nihil superexcellentius, nihil celebrius, nihil incomparabilius, nihil deniq; ad consolandos fidelium animos solidius, Christus hinc abiturus Ecclesiæ suæ reliquit, nobis tollere velint; Quid enim majus donare potuit Christus in hoc Sacramento sumendum quam seipsum? Deinde cum ipse omnino liberum nobis reliquerit, et posse aliquos sub utraq; specie Communionem accipere, et posse alios sub altera, nonnullos quoq; morborum necessitate impeditos, saltem in conspectum prolato Corpore Domini compuncto corde posse Spiritualiter communicare, quanta immodestia, quanta inclementia esset, libertate hac fraudare Christianos! Ut quibus sub utraq; specie, ob impedimenta quæ sunt innumera, Communio præberi non posset, his summi boni fruitione privatis sub neutra daretur! Nec adhuc fatentur etsi non corporaliter sumatur saltem Spiritualiter capi posse. Qua non servitute durior esset hæc conditio, ut Christi redemptoris nostri corpus, quod ille a fidelibus sumi voluit, nobis id summopere desiderantibus violenter eripiatur? quis ingenue Christianus libertatem fruitionis hujus sibi extortam non omni morte intolerabiliorem putaret? Itaq; libertas hæc a Christo nobis relicta omni conatu retinenda est, omnibus viribus amplectenda, nec ipsis mea opinione fidendum est, qui eam nobis tollere velint.

Præterea quid fiat apud septentrionales populos? quid apud populos Aphricæ et qui intra Tropicos habitant? apud quos non ea vini copia est ut populis omnino sub specie vini præberi possit, (nam his populis cervisia ex frugibus est potui,) an ideo quia sub utraq; specie his ministrari Sacramentum non potest, ab utraq; arcendi essent? aut sub una non integrum Christum capere possent? id quod absit.

Quando autem primum populus priscum morem deserere, et sub altera tantum panis specie Communionem sacram sumere cœpit, nobis est incompertum; credibile est majores nostros auctoritate Scripturæ motos, quæ alteram nonnunquam speciem per Christum et Apostolos datam memorat, propter periculum effusionis in terram Sanguinis Christi, cum liquida omnia levi membrorum trepidante motu facile effundantur, religiosa quadam et pia reverentia, non mediocriq; Dei timore, abstinuisse in Sacramento a vini specie, nec Christum qui se cum Ecclesia usque in finem omnibus diebus mansurum promisit, tot sæculis eam deseruisse, ut si necessarium præceptum de utraq; specie semper ab omnibus sumenda dedisset, in re tanti momenti eam permisisset turpiter labi; sed magis Ecclesiæ suæ liberum reliquisse videtur, ut cum in alterutra specie totus et integer Chistus contineatur, sub altera etiam sumi possit.

Qui vero sit mos hodie de utraq; specie in Ecclesiis Græcis, quæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Tyrannidem nunquam admiserunt, non satis nobis est compertum, cum Græcia tota Turcarum subsit imperio, nec liberam habeant facultatem Christum ut libet profitendi, quando nec Verbum Dei publice prædicare, nec ad Campanarum sonitum populum convocare, nec publicas Litanias crucis vexillo præeunte facere, his ullo pacto est concessum.

Illud quoq; imprimis est observandum, nempe quod in Universis Ecclesiis in die Parasceves Sacerdos et omnis populus sub una tantum specie panis communicant, non sub specie Vini, ut cum is dies repræsentat mortem Christi in qua sanguis ejus pretiosus pro nostra salute effusus est et separatus a corpore, separatim illo die sub altera solum specie communicarent omnes sive Sacerdos sive populus; qui mos per universam Ecclesiam nunquam fuisset admissus, nisi sub altera tantum specie integer Christus contineretur, atq; nisi sub altera Sacramentum populis ministrari posset.

*De Missa Privata.*

Per Missas autem privatas multos abusus introductos esse dicitis, quas velut Atlantem quendam Papatum sustinuisse, indulgentias invexisse, orbem expilasse, utpote quæ ad quaestum pateant, monachorum turbas coacervasse, Verbum Dei exterminasse asseritis, atq; ideo Germanos Principes Synaxim veteri more reduxisse, quam lingua vernacula facere, ritu satis decoro atque decenti commemoratis; privatas vero Missas apud vos in totum abolitas esse, quæ tot pepererunt abusus et fœtus malignos. Qua de re nobiscum diu multumq; cogitantes, consideramus imprimis nihil unquam in Ecclesia sua Christum ordinasse quo malignus serpens aliquando non sit abusus, neque tamen propterea rejiciendum est quicquid sancte est ordinatum, alioqui Sacramenta omnia antiquanda essent; quin magis reputavimus longe satius esse abusus omnes in totum removere, quæ vero Sancte et pie introducta sunt in Ecclesiam, illa ipsa stabilia manere.

Nam si ideo Missæ privatæ abolendæ sunt in totum, quia de illis Thomas Aquinas, Gabriel, atque alii Doctrinas ut dicitis impias induxerunt, viz. Missas ex opere operato gratiam mereri, et tollere peccata vivorum et mortuorum, et applicari posse alienum opus ad alterum, Quicquid sit, quod illi asserunt, hoc de omni Missa asserunt, non de privata duntaxat; Qua propter si ad tollendas illas opiniones qualescunque Missa privata esset abroganda, eadem ratione abroganda esset Synaxis et Missa publica, quam vos ipsi retinetis nec censetis abolendam, quicquid de ea alii opinentur. Missa vero privata, velut privata quædam est Communio et Synaxis, quæ si recte atque ut decet fiat, quicunque fideles illi interesse decreverint, si pœnitentes convenerint contriti de peccatis, Deiq; implorent misericordiam cum filio prodigo dicentes, Pater peccavi in Cœlum et coram te, haud dubie quin ipsi Spiritualiter cum Sacerdote communicant, offerentes se et animas suas, hostias vivas et acceptabiles Deo, tametsi pauci fuerint, atq; a corporali Sacramenti sumptione abstinuerint: ac per hoc Missa privata Ecclesiæ adeo non obest, ut non parum et ad vitam corrigendam, et ad fidem in Christum corroborandam prodesse videatur; quippe Christiani per hoc peccatores se agnoscunt quotidie delinquentes, quotidie veniam postulant, quotidie per peccatum in salebroso vitæ hujus cursu cadentes, quotidie pœnitentes resurgunt, et velut alacriores redditi, devicto sæpius hoste, fiunt ad pugnam audentiores.

Porro statim in exordio omnis Missæ privatæ publica est peccatorum omnium generalis Confessio, venia postulatur a Deo, absolutio impartitur a Sacerdote secundum Dei Verbum, quemadmodum in Missa publica.

Et si in Missa publica et quantumcunq; solenni nemo adsit alius præter Sacerdotem qui Communicare velit in esu Sacramenti, quid quæso differet Missa publica a privata? An Sacerdos in solenni die populo ad Sacra conveniente, si nemo alius communicare velit, abstinet a Missa publica? atque inter Græcos ipsos, ubi singulis dominicis diebus fit una Missa publica uti asseritis, raro admodum communicat in esu Sacramenti quisquam è populo, uti a fide dignis accepimus, qui ipsi Græcorum Sacris inter fuerunt.

Quod vero Epiphanium citatis qui singulis septimanis ter celebratam Synaxim in Asia asserit, eumq; morem ab Apostolis inductum, cum jam tantum in

Græcia singulis Dominicis fiat populi conventus ad Sacra, si mutari mos potuit ab Apostolis inductus, ut rarius quam statuerunt Apostoli populus congregaretur, cur non etiam mutari potuit ut sæpius conveniret, quando per hoc celebrior fit mortis Christi memoria, id quod in Missa fit etiam privata.

Jam vero si Sacramentum hoc a fidelibus exerceri Christus in mortis suæ memoriam præcepit, inquiens, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, ne mors ejus raro admodum commemorata in oblivionem transiret, quo crebrius, quo frequentius, memoria ejus in Sacramento repetitur, eo mandatum ejus servatur magis: Etenim sicut raro admodum memorata oblivioni sunt obnoxia, ita crebro frequentata radices in mente agunt altius, ne obliterari unquam possint; itaq; ut mors Christi crebra memoria illustretur, Missa etiam privata non parum confert.

Certe Paulus Apostolus singulas domos privatas, ubi credentium numerus aliquis erat, Ecclesias vocat, membra Majoris Ecclesiæ, civitatis illius in qua essent, sicut majores ipsas civitatum Ecclesias, membra Catholicæ et universalis Ecclesiæ appellat, scribens ad Corinthios; at quæ Ecclesia arcenda est a Communione Corporis Domini? Christus etiam ipse instituendo Sacramentum hoc Corporis et Sanguinis sui, inquit, Hoc, quotiescunq; facitis, facite in meam commemorationem; nec tempus nec locum ullum cohibuit, quo fieri id non posset, quonam modo igitur arcebimus quenquam a Missis privatis? Et ad dies festos publicamq; Synaxim eum relegabimus? Cujus arbitrio Christus liberum reliquit, quando et ubi id vellet decenter exequi, dum inquit quotiescunque? nam si certa tempora servanda essent, non indefinite locutus fuisset Christus, ipsum Dei Verbum, ipsa sapientia Patris.

Jam vero ab initio nascentis Ecclesiæ per singulas domos ubi erant fideles fiebat communio, atq; id quotidie, teste Luca in Apostolorum Actis, ubi ait, Quotidie quoq; perdurantes unanimiter in templo, et frangentes circa domos panem; quem locum etiam de Communione veteres interpretes intelligunt, et tamen singulis diebus non agebant publice dies festos, sed privatim per domos communicabant: Etsi terrenorum regum atq; principum ministri pleriq: omnes nullum diem transigere cupiunt, quo non fruantur vel solo aspectu sui Domini, tametsi propior congressus non contingat, quis fidelis Christianus non omnibus optabit votis, ut quando in hac vita Christum Regem Regum, et Dominum Dominantium, in Majestate gloriæ regnantem cernere mortales oculi non possunt, saltem per fidem in Sacramento Corporis Domini, quod ille fidelibus in memoriam sui frequentandam reliquit, interim quotidie Regem gloriæ videat?

Quod vero Chrysostomus Sacerdotem ad altare stare, et alios ad Communionem accersere, alios arcere scribit, enarrat morem publicæ Communionis, qui in initio nascentis Ecclesiæ crebrius quam nunc fit frequentabatur; qui mos nunc in Paschate, quando ubiq; communicat populos, apud omnes servatur Ecclesias: Cæterum ille ipse expostulat cum fidelibus sui temporis, quod rarius communicent, quam vel oporteret, vel vetus mos erat; cæterum nusquam is privatas Missas vetuit.

At Canon Nicenus Diaconis in Communione publica suum locum designat post Presbyteros; cæterum nec is Canon, nec ullus alius Missas privatas abrogat.

Sacramentum autem Eucharistiæ Sacrificium non esse arbitramini, quod unum Sacrificium sit propitiatorium mors Christi, et cum is ultra non moritur, qui semel tantum pro nobis oblatus est, nullum restat ultra Sacrificium, nisi cultus Spiritualis, hoc est, justitia fidei et fructus fidei. Quid sibi velit justitia quæ ex fide est scimus, quippe quam Paulus opponit Justitiæ quæ est ex lege: Cæterum qui sunt fructus fidei, nobis ex Scripturis non satis liquet, ipsam fidem sicut charitatem, et multas alias virtutes scimus esse fructus Spiritus. Verum enimvero non satis miramur, cur quispiam ægre ferat Missam Sacrificium vocari, quando omnis vetustas et Græcorum et Latinorum sic eam appellare consuevit, quum ibi fiat consecratio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini in memoriam mortis ejus, qui, ut inquit Paulus, pro peccatis offerens hostiam, in sempiternum sedet ad dextram Dei, una enim oblatione consummavit in sempiternum sanctificatos; itaq; si Christus et Sacerdos esset, et Sacrificium, et hostia, ubicunq; est Christus, ibi est hostia nostra, ibi est sacrificium nostrum; at si in Sacramento altaris est verum Corpus Christi, et verus Sanguis Christi, quo pacto manente veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Domini, non est ibi Sacrificium nostrum?

Porro quia in Missa est Christus Sacrificium nostrum, qui ipse ultra non moritur, ibiq; cum ipso capite nostro, nos illius Corpus et membra nosmet ipsos Deo hostias vivas offerimus, Græci id totum ἀναίμακτον θῦσιαν, id est, Sacrificium incruentum vocant: ita veteres omnes intrepide Missam Sacrificium vocarunt, quod ibi sit Christus Sacrificium nostrum in Sacramento.

Sic Basilius, sic Chrysostomus, sic Hieronymus, sic Augustinus eam appellare non dubitavit; Quocirca quid vetat Missam, in qua consecratur Panis in Corpus Christi, et Vinum in Sanguinem ejus, qui vere est Sacrificium nostrum, et hoc fieri in memoriam sui jussit, vocari Sacrificium: alioqui si id negabimus, non parum verendum est, ne cum Sacramentariis quos nunc vocant, qui veritatem Corporis et Sanguinis in Sacramento negant, et cum Anabaptistis consentire videamur, a qua suspicione sicut in animo nostro nos profitemur longe abesse, ita quoq; cupimus calumniantibus adversariis omnem obtrectandi ansam auferri: Atqui cum in Missa tum Sacerdos, tum populos contritus de peccatis se, ut hortatur Paulus, hostiam vivam, sanctam atq; Deo placentem exhibeat, laudes quas Deo canat et in gratiarum actione versetur, quis dubitare potest, ea quoq; ratione, Missam jure Sacrificium nominari, cum Propheta appellat Sacrificium laudis, et Paulus omnes hortetur, ut se hostias vivas exhibeant, id quod fit in Missa. Malachias etiam Propheta inquit, Ab ortu solis usq; ad occasum, magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, et in omni loco Sacrificatur, et offertur nomini meo oblatio munda, quia magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, dicit dominus exercituum. At quæ alia oblatio munda in omni loco inter gentes, nisi solus Christus aut quod aliud Sacrificium Christianorum, nisi Missa, ubi Commemoratio mortis Christi agitur? Nam aut aliquod inter gentes Christianorum oportet esse Sacrificium, aut mentitus est Propheta: quænam quæso est oblatio munda, nisi solus Christus hostia nostra, qui in Sacramento altaris est sub Panis et Vini speciebus? quippe quantumcunq; nos ipsi nos Deo offeramus, hostiæ mundæ non meremur nomen, quorum omnis justitia velut pannus est menstruatæ: Itaq; constat Missam Sacrificium vocari ex Verbo Dei per Malachiam enunciato, quod cum ita sit, cur Missæ invidemus nomen Sacrificii, quod Propheta prædixit, et in qua Christus in Sacramento præsens est ipse mundi Sacrificium?

*De Conjugio Sacerdotum.*

Cælibatum Sacerdotum contra Scripturam, contra leges naturæ, contra honestatem, per pontificem Romanum asseritis introductum, cum Scriptura Sacerdotibus, sicut cæteris hominibus, conjugium permittat, nec possint naturam suam mutare, nec absq; singulari dono cælibes vivere: nam non omnes capiunt



verbum hoc, et Paulus inquit, propter fornicationem unusquisq; Uxorem suam habeat.

Hic primum ordiri juvat, ut locum illum Evangelii de tribus Eunuchorum generibus consideremus, quandoquidem Christus alios a natura Eunuchos esse asserit, alios per vim factos, quorum neutrum genus continentiæ virtute splendet; quoniam alteros ad generandum natura, alteros violentia reddidit inutiles. Tertium vero genus eorum est, qui quanquam terrena generatione uti possunt, malunt continere, et se castrare propter Regnum Cœlorum; de quo genere Christus statim infert, qui potest capere, capiat, id quod nec de primo, nec de secundo Eunuchorum genere intelligi potest, quibus continentiæ palma negata est, cum descendere in certamen nequeunt: tertium vero genus eorum est, qui continentiæ student, et a licitis nuptiis abstinere malunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, quo Christum liberius atq; expeditius sequantur, ne terrenis nuptiis implicati, cogitare cogantur, ut inquit Paulus, quæ sunt mundi; ad quod genus Christus virginitatis autor homines sapientissime invitat, inquiens, Qui potest capere, capiat: per hoc quod inquit, capiat, homines adhortans ad capescendum certamen ut palmam arripiant, nempe Regnum Cœlorum, ad quod neminem hortaretur, si nemo carnem posset vincere; per hoc vero quod ait, qui potest capere, posse capi palmam indicans; alioqui si impossible esset carnem superare, quorsum attineret dicere, Qui potest, si nemo id posset.

Præterea per ea verba Qui potest capere, quosdam etiam esse declarat, qui non facile possunt, nam nisi aliqui non facile possent capere, cur secerneret eos qui possunt; itaq; considerandas animi vires admonet, priusquam certamen aggrediare, ne temere arrepto certamine turpiter succumbas: Nec dixisset quosdam esse, qui se castraverunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, si caro esset insuperabilis, et nemo se castrare posset. Nec dubitandum est quin is qui hortatur ad subeundum certamen, gratiam suam sine qua nihil possent, his non defuturam demonstrat, qui nomina sua in militiam ei dederunt, quorum ille ipse dux futurus est, qui non modo in periculis suos milites invocatus nunquam deserit, sed stat ante januam et pulsat, paratus semper ad succurendum, si quis ei aperiat: Nam Paulus tentationes superari posse nos admonet, modo Dei auxilium imploremus inquiens, Tentatio vos non apprehendit nisi humana, fidelis autem Deus qui non patietur vos tentari supra id quod potestis, sed faciet etiam cum tentatione proventum ut possitis sustinere. Quamobrem his qui continentiam semel profitentur, et eam postea turpiter deserunt, etiam atq; etiam considerandum est, ne nomen Dei blasphemare videantur, Christum accusantes deserti auxilii, cum sint ipsi desertores militiæ, et primo statim congressu terga dantes hosti: itaq; quod Paulus liberum cuiq; facit, ut propter fornicationem Uxorem suam habeat, id de his intelligi, qui continentiam non sunt professi, Paulus ipse nos docet, inquiens, de viduis adolescentioribus, quæ cum luxuriatæ fuerunt in Christo nubere volunt, habentes damnationem quia primam fidem irritam fecerunt. Augustinus Pauli Doctrinam secutus Psal. lxxxiii. inquit, alius ex Dei munere majus aliquid vovit, statuit, nec nuptias pati, qui non damnaretur si duxisset Uxorem; post votum quod Deo promisit si duxerit damnabitur: sic virgo quæ si nuberet non peccaret, Sanctimonialis si nupserit Christi adultera reputabitur, respexit enim retro de loco quo accesserat, exemplo Uxoris Loth, et sicut canis reversus ad vomitum reputatur.

Itidem Augustinus, Psal. lxxv. ample asserit votum semel emissum servandum esse. Hieronymus etiam adversus Jovinianum inquit, virgo quæ se Deo dicavit, si nubat, damnationem habet; atq; alio loco adversus eundem, Virgines tuæ quas prudentissimo consilio (quod nemo unquam legerat, nec audierat de Apostolo) docuisti, melius esse nubere quam uri, occultos adulteros in apertos verterunt maritos; non suasit hoc Apostolus, non Electionis vas Virgilianum consilium est, conjugium vocat, hoc prætexit nomine culpam. Verbum ipsum Dei palam adversatur ubique ne rumpantur vota. Propheta inquit, vovete et reddite Domino Deo Vestro; in Deuteronomio quoq; scribitur, cum votum voveris Domino Deo tuo, non tardabis reddere, quia requiret illud Dominus Deus tuus, et si moratus, fueris, reputabitur tibi in peccatum; si nolueris polliceri absq; peccato eris, quod autem egressum est de labiis tuis, observabis et facies, sicut promisisti Domino Deo tuo et propria voluntate et ore locutus es. Ecclesiastes etiam inquit, si quid vovisti ne moreris reddere, sed quodcunq; voveris redde: Et in Numerorum libro scribitur, si quis virorum votum Domino voverit, aut se constrinxerit juramento, non faciat irritum Verbum suum, sed omne quod promisit implebit. Quocirca Ecclesia a principio sicut conjugatos Sacerdotes et Episcopos, qui sine crimine essent unius Uxoris viri, propter necessitatem admisit, cum tot alii quot possent ad edocendum orbem sufficere tunc non reperirentur idonei, et tamen Paulus ipse Timotheum cælibem elegit; ita quoq; si quis ad Sacerdotium cælebs accersitus, postea Uxorem duxerit, semper a Sacerdotio deponebatur, secundum Canonem Neocæsariensis Concilii, quod fuit ante Nicenum. Similiter in Calcedonensi Concilio, in cujus primo capite priora Concilia confirmantur, statuitur ut Diaconissa, si se nuptiis tradat, maneat sub Anathemate, et Virgo Deo dicata et Monachus jungentes se nuptiis, maneant excommunicati.

Hoc quoq; observandum est, quod in Canonibus Apostolorum habetur, tantummodo Lectores cantoresq; non conjugatos posse Uxores ducere, cæteris vero in clerum admissis postea Uxorem ducere nunquam licuit.

Qui vero conjugati ad Sacerdotium admissi erant, Uxores suas prætextu Religionis abjicere nequaquam poterant, ut docet Canon Apostolicus; cumque in Niceno Concilio proponeretur de Presbyterorum jam ductis Uxoribus abjiciendis, restitit Paphnutius ne legitimæ Uxores pellerentur, cujus sententiam, cum Canone Apostolorum de non abjiciendis Uxoribus concordantem, omnes sunt secuti.

Cæterum in Niceno Concilio nihil unquam propositum fuit, ut Sacerdotes post Sacerdotium Uxores ducerent, quod jam ante sic erit prohibitum, ut si quis contrarium auderet, ducens postea Uxorem, deponeretur a Sacerdotio, ut supra dictum est; itaq; Paphnutius de non abjiciendis jam ductis ante Sacerdotium Uxoribus, non autem de ducendis post Sacerdotium aperte locutus est.

Itaq; neq; Canon aliquis Apostolicus, neq; Concilium Nicenum quicquam habet ejusmodi ut in Sacerdotium admissi, postea Uxores ducant, sicuti vos allegatis.

His concordat sexta Synodus in qua sancitum est, quod si quis è clero vellet Uxorem ducere, ante subdiaconatum id faceret, postea nequaquam liceret, nec ulla usquam libertas Sacerdotibus in sexta Synodo datur post Sacerdotium Uxores ducendi, sicut vos asseritis.

Itaq; a principio nascentis Ecclesiæ, plane compertum est nullo unquam tempore licuisse Sacerdoti post Sacerdotium Uxorem ducere; atq; ubicunq; id fuit attentatum, id non fuit impune, nam tantum nefas ausus deponebatur a Sacerdotio. Paulus Apostolus inquit, de conjugibus loquens, nolite fraudare invicem nisi forte ex consensu ad tempus, ut vacetis orationi. Hieronymus in Apologia ad Pammachium ait, Paulus Apostolus dicit, Quando coimus cum Uxoribus nos orare non posse, si per coitum quod minus

est impeditur, id est orare, quanto plus quod majus est, id est Corpus Christi, prohibetur accipere: idque late prosequitur exemplo panum propositionis, qui non dabantur nisi continentibus Davidi et ministris, ut scribitur in libro Regum; Panes enim Propositionis, quasi Corpus Christi, de Uxorum cubilibus consurgentes edere non poterant, ut inquit Hieronymus, atque exemplo dationis legis veteris, ante cujus dationem filii Israel in Exodo triduo abstinere sunt jussi ab Uxoribus.

Hieronimus etiam adversus Jovinianum inquit, si Laicus et quicunq; fidelis orare non potest, nisi careat officio conjugali, Sacerdoti cui semper pro populo offerenda sunt Sacrificia, semper orandum est: si semper orandum est, semper ergo carenduum Matrimonio. Idem asserit Ambrosius ample in Epistola ad Timotheum prima, cum quo consentit Augustinus.

Paulus Timotheum Discipulum in Sacerdotali Officio erudiens, admonet secularia negotia fugienda esse, inquiens, Labora ut bonus miles Christi Iesu, nemo militans implicat se negotiis secularibus, ut ei placeat cui se probavit; et si Sacerdotes Uxores acciperent, curis secularibus necesse est involvantur, nam teste Paulo, qui cum Uxore est, solicitus est quæ sunt mundi, quomodo placeat Uxori; qui vero sine Uxore est, solicitus est quæ Domini sunt, quomodo placeat Deo: Ideoq; eundem ad cælibatum hortatur, quando ait, Teipsum castum custodi, nam castitas, ubi de conjugatis non fit sermo, cælibatus intelligitur, suum enim Discipulum sui similem reddere cupiebat; atque quodam in loco Corinthiis scribens, omnes homines hortatur ad continentiam, ait enim, volo omnes homines esse sicut meipsum, et rursus dico non-nuptis et viduis bonum est, si sic permanserint sicut et ego. Alio in loco scribens eisdem, ministros Ecclesiæ sui officii admonet, adhortans ne in vacuum Gratiam Dei recipiant, et subdit, Nemini dantes ullam offensionem, ut non vituperetur ministerium, sed in omnibus exhibeamus nosmetipsos sicut Dei Ministros, &c. in vigiliis, in jejuniis, in castitate, in scientia, in verbo veritatis. Quæ omnia ad ministros Ecclesiæ pertinent quos castitatem maxime sectari convenit, ut impuri non appropinquent altaribus, a quibus salaces omnino arceri decet: Nam non nisi de Sacerdotibus ea intelligi possunt, quando scientia divinæ legis et populi institutio ad eos spectat, ut inquit Malachias, Labia Sacerdotis custodiunt scientiam et legem requirunt ex ore ejus. Et Paulus Timotheum vult se exhibere operarium inconfusibilem, recte tractantem verbum veritatis, viz. in Doctrina populi; igitur Sacerdotes Domini, qui se Deo jampridem dedicaverunt, qui se castraverunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, qui pro suis et populi peccatis orare assidue debent, quonam pacto, deserto cœlibatus vexillifero Christo, novis nuptiis operam dare secularibusq; molestiis quibus scaturiunt se implicare decet? quid enim est ad aratrum manum mittere, retroq; recipere exemplo Uxoris Loth, si hoc non est? cujusmodi homines non aptos esse Regno Dei, Christus ipse pronunciat, etenim si nemo potest Uxori pariter et Philosophiæ operam dare, ut mundana prudentia docet, quanto magis is qui se Deo dicavit, duobus Dominis servire non poterit, nempe Deo pariter et mundo, quorum uterq; totum hominem, non dimidiatum, ad se raptat?

Quanquam autem et conjugati et cælibes in initio Ecclesiæ admittebantur ad Sacerdotium, id tamen non ubiq; ita servabatur teste Hieronymo adversus Vigilantium, ubi inquit, quid facient Orientis Ecclesiæ, quid Egypti, et Sedis Apostolicæ, quæ aut Virgines clericos accipiunt, aut continentes, aut si Uxores habuerint mariti esse desistunt? Atque ad Pammachium Hieronymus inquit, Christus Virgo, Virgo Maria, utriusq; sexus virginitatem dedicaverunt, Apostoli vel Virgines, vel post nuptias continentes, Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi, aut Virgines eliguntur, aut vidui, aut certe post Sacerdotium in æternum pudici, in morem Ecclesiæ veterem, cujus autor est haud dubie Paulus et Scriptura ipsa. Jam vero uti Augustinum citatis, qui ait, quidam nubentes post votum asserunt adulteros esse, ego dico vobis quod graviter peccant qui tales dividunt: at ille ipse Augustinus asserit, lapsus et ruinas a castitate Sanctiori quæ vovetur Deo adulteriis esse pejores, neq; statim legitimum est quicquid tolerat Ecclesia.

Cyprianus quoq; ipse quem citatis, in illa ipsa Epistola de Virginibus quæ continentiam voverunt, ubi inquit, si perseverare nolunt, vel non possint, melius est ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiis suis ruant; ex quo infertis tale votum non impedire Matrimonium, longe aliud sentit: nam consultus a Pomponio Sacerdote, quid sibi videretur de Virginibus his, quæ cum semel statum suum continenter et firmiter tenere decreverint, detectæ sunt postea in eodem lecto pariter mansisse cum Masculis: ea de re altius repetens Sermonem, periculosamq; esse Virginum et Masculorum cohabitationem, confirmans per Scripturas ac graves multorum ruinas ex hoc enatas, asserens generaliter de omnibus Virginibus inquit, quod si ex fide Christo se dicaverint caste et pudice sine ulla fabula perseverent, ita fortes et stabiles præmium Virginitatis expectent; si autem perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt, melius est ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiis suis cadant, certe nullum fratribus aut sororibus scandalum faciant, cum scriptum sit, &c. Et paulo post infert, Christus Dominus et judex noster, cum virginem suam sibi dicatam et sanctitati suæ destinatam jacere cum altero cernat, quam indignatur et irascitur, et quas pœnas incestis hujusmodi conjunctionibus comminatur! Deinde ad quæsitum respondens, jubet obstetrices adhiberi ut videatur an Virgines illæ sint corruptæ, ubi inquit, si autem aliquæ ex eis corruptæ fuerunt deprehensæ, agant pœnitentiam plenam, quia quæ hoc crimen admisit, non mariti sed Christi adultera est, et ideo æstimato justo tempore et ex homologesi facta ad Ecclesiam redeant; quod si obstinatæ perseverent, nec se ab invicem separent, sciant se cum hac sua impudica obstinatione nunquam a nobis admitti in Ecclesiam posse, ne exemplum cæteris ad ruinam delictis suis facere incipiant. Ecce quid sentit Cyprianus de votis ruptis, incestuosos et Christi Adulteros hujusmodi flagitiosos appellat, et nisi separentur, nunquam admittit in Ecclesiam; quomodo ergo talia vota non impediant Matrimonium, aut quis ad tale Matrimonium quenquam hortari audebit, quod sine violatione voti et transgressione divini mandati, ideoq; sine gravissimo scelere contrahi non possit? Atqui quod Principes Germaniæ, scribitis, cum viderent multa flagitia de cœlibatu Sacerdotum provenire, Matrimonia Sacerdotibus libera permisisse, si meum, Egregii Oratores, consilium requisissent vestri Principes, priusquam tot Sacerdotes apud vos ruptis vinculis ad nuptias convolassent, an id consilii dedissem quod vestri Principes arripuerunt hæsito magnopere; nam si Sacerdotes qui continere nollent, erumpere ad nuptias omnino voluissent, quanto satius forte fuisset, exemplo veterum deposuisse tales a Sacerdotio, suæq; de cætero Conscientiæ quenquam reliquisse, ac deinde puriores altaribus admovisse, quam libere omnia permittendo peccatis alienis auctores videri, atq; ea ratione aliena peccata nostra facere: Verum tamen nos, qui in aliena Repub. curiosi nunquam fuimus nec esse voluimus, omnia Principum vestrorum acta atq; gesta in optimam partem interpretamur, non dubitantes, quin ad tollendos abusus omnes sincerus his animus, atq; ad repurgandam Dei Ecclesiam appositus non desit.



Porro nos qui in Regno nostro Romani Episcopi Tyrannidem profligare magna industria studuimus, et Christi Gloriam sinceriter promovere curabimus Deo propitio, quantum humano consilio fieri potest, ne quis abusus sive a Romano Episcopo sive a quovis alio inductus non aboleatur, et si quos comperiemus tempori inservientes, fingentesq; se odisse Romanum Episcopum, atq; in Sermone simulare veritatem, quam corde non amplectuntur, ejusmodi viris consilia nostra de rebus Sacris non communicabimus, nec eorum vel de Sacris vel de Prophanis expectabimus sententiam.

Quæ vero Christi puram atq; sinceram Doctrinam promovere, quæ Christi Evangelium dilatare, quæ ad repurganda Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ vitia tendere, quæ ad extirpandos abusus atq; errores omnes spectare, quæ deniq; Ecclesiæ candorem exonare posse videbuntur, ea totis viribus sectabimur, his studebimus, his Deo volente in perpetuum incumbemus.

De Articulis vero quos jam disseruimus maturius cum Theologis nostris quamprimum vacabit agemus, atq; ea demum statuemus quæ ad Christi Gloriam Ecclesiæque sponsæ ejus decorem conducere existimabimus.

Vobis autem, Præstantissimi Oratores, qui tot labores terra marique perpessi estis, ut nos inviseretis, qui cum Theologis nostris tamdiu contulistis, qui ob Evangelii negotium a Patria abfuistis multis mensibus, immensas atq; innumeras habemus gratias; nec miramur si dulcis amor Patriæ, post diuturnam absentiam vestram, ad reditum vos invitat. Itaque post expleta Principum vestrorum mandata, post absoluta in totum negotia vestra, si non gravabimini nos invisere, vester ad nos accessus admodum gratus erit, vosque in Patriam non modo libenter dimittemus cum bona venia, sed ad Principes etiam vestros, literas dabimus summæ diligentiæ vestræ in exequenda legatione testimonium perhibentes. Valete.

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IX.—*A Letter written by the King to his Bishops, directing them how to instruct the People. An Original.*

[Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

By the King.

Henry R.

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: and whereas for the virtue, learning, and good qualities which we saw and perceived heretofore in you, judging you thereby a personage that would sincerely, devoutly, purely, and plainly set forth the word of God, and instruct our people in the truth of the same, after a simple and plain sort, for their better instruction, unity, quiet, and agreement in the points thereof, we advanced you to the room and office of a bishop within this our realm; and so endowed you with great revenues and possessions; perceiving after, by the contrariety of preaching within this our realm, our said people were brought into a diversity of opinion, whereby there easued contention amongst them, which was only engendered by a certain contemptuous manner of speaking, against honest, laudable, and tolerable ceremonies, usages, and customs of the church; we were enforced, by our sundry letters, to admonish and command you, amongst others, to preach God's word sincerely, to declare abuses plainly, and in no wise contentiously to treat of matters indifferent, which be neither necessary to our salvation, as the good and virtuous ceremonies of Holy Church, ne yet to be in any wise contemned and abrogated, for that they be incitements and motions to virtue, and allurements to devotion: all which our travail notwithstanding, so little regard was by some taken and adhibited to our advertisements therein, that we were constrained to put our own pen to the book, and to conceive certain articles, which were by all you the bishops and whole clergy of this our realm in convocation agreed on, as catholic, meet, and necessary to be by our authority for avoiding of all contention set forth, read and taught to our subjects, to bring the same in unity, quietness, and good concord: supposing then that no person having authority under us, would either have presumed to have spoken any word, that might have offended the sentence and meaning of the same, or have been anything remiss, slack, or negligent in the plain setting forth of them as they be conceived, so as by that mean of abstinence such quiet and unity should not grow thereupon as we desired and looked for of the same; and perceiving eft-soons, by credible report, that our labours, travail, and desire therein, is nevertheless defeated, and in manner by general and contemptuous words spoken, by sundry light and seditious persons, contemned and despised, so that by the abstinence of direct and plain setting-forth of the said articles, and by the fond and contentious manner of speaking, that the said light personages do still use against the honest rights, customs, usages, and ceremonial things of the church, our people be much more offended than they were before; and in a manner exclaim that we will suffer that injury at any man's hand, whereby they think both God, us, and our whole realm highly offended, insomuch that principally upon that ground, and for the reformation of those follies and abuses, they have made this commotion and insurrection, and have thereby grievously offended us, damaged themselves, and troubled many of our good subjects; we be now enforced, for our discharge towards God, and for the tender love and zeal we bear unto the tranquillity and loving unity of our said people and subjects, again to readdress these our letters to all the bishops of our realm, and amongst other unto you, as a peremptory warning to admonish you, to demean and use yourself for the redobbying of these things as shall be hereafter declared, upon pain of deprivation from the bishopric, and further to be punished for your contempt, if you shall offend in the contrary, as justice shall require for your own trespass.

And first, we straitly charge and command you, that plainly and distinctly, without any additions, ye shall every holy day, wheresoever ye shall be within your diocess, when ye may so do with your health and convenient commodity, openly, in your cathedral church, or the parish church of the place where ye shall for time be, read and declare our articles; and in no wise, in the rest of your words which ye shall then speak of yourself, if you speak anything, utter any word that shall make the same, or any word in the same, doubtful to the people.

Secondly; We will and command you, that you shall in your person travel from place to place in all your diocess, as you may with your commodity, and endeavour yourselves every holy day to make a collation to the people, and in the same to set forth plainly the texts of Scripture that you shall treat of; and with that also as well to declare the obedience due by God's laws to their prince and sovereign lord, against whose commandment they ought in no wise, though the same were unjust, to use any violence, as to commend and praise honest ceremonies of the church as they be to be praised, in such plain and reverent sort, that the people may perceive they be not contemned, and yet learn how they were instituted, and how they ought to be observed and esteemed: using such a temperance therein, as our said people be not corrupted, by putting over-much affiance in them, which a part should more offend, than the clear silencing of the

same, and that our people may thereto the better know their duties to us, being their king and sovereign lord.

Thirdly; We straitly charge and command you, that neither in your private communications you shall use any words that may sound to the contrary of this our commandment, ne you shall keep or retain any man of any degree, that shall in his words privately or openly, directly or indirectly, speak in these matters of the ceremonies, contentiously or contemptuously; but we will that in case ye have, or shall have towards you any such person that will not better temper his tongue, you shall as an offender and a seductor of our people, send the same in sure custody to us and our council, to be punished as shall appertain; and semblably to do with other strangers whom ye shall hear to be notable offenders in that part.

Fourthly; Our pleasure and commandment is, that you shall on your behalf, give strait commandment upon like pain of deprivation and further punishment, to all parsons, vicars, curates, and governors of religious houses, colleges, and other places ecclesiastical within your diocess, that they and every of them shall, touching the indifferent praise of ceremonies, the avoiding of contentious and contemptuous communication, concerning any of the same, and the distinct and plain reading of our said articles, observe and perform, in their churches, monasteries, and other houses ecclesiastical aforesaid, the very same order that is before to you prescribed. And further, that you permit nor suffer any man, of what degree soever in learning, strangers or other, to preach in any place within your said diocess out of his own church, by virtue of any license by us, or any other of our ministers, granted before the fifteenth day of this month, neither in your presence nor elsewhere, unless he be a man of such honesty, virtue, learning, and judgment as you shall think able for that purpose, and one whom in manner you dare answer for.

Finally; Whereas we be advertised that divers priests have presumed to marry themselves, contrary to the custom of our church of England, our pleasure is, Ye shall make secret enquiry within your diocess, whether there be any such resident within the same or not: and in case ye shall find that there be any priests that have so presumed to marry themselves, and have sithence nevertheless used and exercised in anything the office of priesthood, we charge you, as ye will answer upon the pains aforesaid, not to conceal their doings therein, but rather to signify their demeanour to our council, or to cause them to be apprehended, and so sent up unto us accordingly. Given under our signet at our castle of Windsor, the 19th day of November, in the 28th year of our reign.

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X.—*Tonstall's Arguments for the Divine Institution of Auricular Confession; with some Notes written on the Margent by King Henry's own hand. An Original.*

[Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

*Quod Confessio Auricularis sit de Jure Divino.*

Probari videtur ex illo loco Matthæi iii. ubi Joanne Baptista in deserto prædicante pœnitentiam, exhibat ad eum Hierosolyma et omnis Judæa, et baptizabantur ab eo in Jordane confidentes peccata sua; quem locum Chrysostomus ita exponit, inquiens, Confessio peccatorum est testimonium Conscientiæ confitentis Deum, qui enim timet Judicium Dei peccata sua non erubescat confiteri; qui autem erubescit non timet, perfectus enim timor solvit omnem pudorem; illic enim turpitudo confessionis aspicitur, ubi futuri judicii pœna non creditur. Nunquid nescimus quia Confessio peccatorum habet pudorem, et quia hoc ipsum erubescere pœna est gravis, sed ideo magis nos jubet Deus confiteri peccata nostra, ut verecundiam patiamur pro pœna? nam et hoc ipsum pars est Judicii, O misericordia Dei! quem totiens ad iracundiam excitavimus, sufficit ei[1] solus pudor pro pœna.

Si verecundia pro pœna est apud Deum, ea autem non continget ex confessione facta soli Deo, nam nemo rationis compos ignorat etiam absque Confessione. Deum peccata nostra scire, de Confessione facta homini necesse est intelligatur[2]. Præterea ipsa Verba demonstrant quod Joanni Baptiste confessi sunt peccata sua, nam dixit eis, facite ergo fructum dignum pœnitentia, quod apte dicere non poterat, nisi pœnitentes eos ex confessione sibifacta rescivisset.

*Beda Marci I.*

Et Baptizabantur ab illo in Jordane flumine, confitentes peccata sua[3]. Exemplum confitendi peccata ac meliorem vitam promittendi datur eis, qui Baptisma accipere desiderant, sicut etiam prædicante[4] Paulo in Epheso multi credentium veniebant, confitentes et annunciantes actus suos, quatenus abdicata vita veteri, renovari mererentur in Christo.

Scribitur quoq; in Evangelio Joannis xxi. Quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retineritis, retenta sunt: et Matth. xviii. Quæcunq; ligaveritis super terram erunt ligita in Cœlo, et quæcunq; solveritis super terram, erunt soluta in Cœlo[5]. Remittere autem et solvere nemo potest id quod ignorat, occulta autem peccata præter peccantem novit nisi solus Deus, quare nisi peccata aperiantur Sacerdoti, nec ea ligare nec solvere posset. Et[6] quemadmodum Sacratissima tua Majestas, si commissionem aliquibus dedisset audiendi et terminandi negotium aliquod, non possent judices rem ignorantes nisi negotio coram eis patefacto causam finire, viz. propter culpam litigatorum non comparentium coram eis; sic nec Sacerdotes ligare et solvere possunt peccata quæ ignorant. Itaq; cum Deus Sacerdotem velut medicum Spiritualem Ecclesiæ dederit, si quis enim sua vulnera celat ipse sua culpa perit, cum tamen de salute sua deberet esse sollicitus, sicut Paulus ad Phil. ii. admonet, inquiens, cum metu et tremore Salutem vestram operamini.

*Origines in Levit. Homilia 2. loquens de Remissionibus Peccatorum.*

Est[7] adhuc et septima, licet dura et laboriosa, per pœnitentiam remissio peccatorum, cum lavat peccator lachrimis stratum suum, et fiunt ei lachrimæ suæ panis die et nocte, et cum non erubescit Sacerdoti Domini indicare peccatum suum, et quærere medicinam secundum eum qui ait, [8] Dixi pronunciabo adversum me injustitiam meam Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem cordis mei, in quo impletur et illud quod Jacobus Apostolus dicit, Si quis autem infirmatur, vocet Presbyteros Ecclesiæ, et imponant ei manus[9], ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini, et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum, et si in peccatis fuerit remittentur ei.

*Origenes Homilia 2. in Psal. 37.*

Intellige mihi fidelem quidem hominem sed tamen infirmum, qui etiam vinci ab aliquo peccato potuit, et propter hoc mugientem pro delictis suis et omnimodo curam vulneris sui sanitatemq; requirentem,

[1] Nota bene de solo pudore. [2] Fallax.
[3] Exemplum dicit non præceptum. [4] Non præcepto.
[5] Huic respondendum est. Absolutio datur in remedium peccatorum petentibus tantum, nam si non petiero.
[6] Exemplum bene declarat rem, sed non perire positum.
[7] De sua opinione loquens.
[8] Male sentit qui abutitur Scriptura.
[9] Nunquam is modus unctionis in Confessione utebatur.



licet præventus sit et lapsus, volentem tamen medelam ac salutem reparare; si ergo hujusmodi homo memor delicti sui, confiteatur quæ commisit, et humana confusione parvi pendat eos, qui exprobrant eum confitentem, et notant vel irridenti[1], ille autem intelligens per hoc veniam sibi dari, et in die Resurrectionis pro his quibus nunc confunditur coram hominibus, tunc ante Angelos Dei confusionem atq; opprobria evasurum, ut nolit tegere et occultare maculam suam, sed pronunciet delictum suum, nec velit esse Sepulchrum dealbatum, quod deforis quidem appareat hominibus speciosum, id est ut videntibus se quasi justus appareat, intus autem sit repletus omni immunditie et ossibus mortuorum.

Et paulo post, Quoniam iniquitatem meam pronuncio. Pronunciationem iniquitatis, id est confessionem peccati, frequentius diximus, vide ergo quid edocet nos scriptura divina, quia opportet peccatum non celare intrinsecus; fortassis enim sicut ii qui habent intus inclusam escam indigestam, aut humoris, vel flegmatis stomacho graviter et moleste imminentem, si vomuerunt relevantur; ita etiam hi qui peccarunt, si quidem occultant et retinent intra se peccatum intrinsecus urgentur, et propemodum suffocantur a phlegmate vel humore peccati: Si autem ipse sui accusator fiat, dum accusat semetipsum, simul evomit et delictum, atque omnem morbi digerit causam. Tantummodo circumspice diligentius cui debeas confiteri peccatum tuum, proba prius medicum cui debeas causam languoris exponere, qui sciat infirmari cum infirmante, flere cum flente, qui condolendi et compatiendi noverit disciplinam, ut ita demum si quid ille dixeret, qui se prius et eruditum medicum ostenderit et misericordem, si quid consilii dederit, facias et sequaris, si intellexerit et præviderit talem esse languorem tuum, qui in conventu totius Ecclesiæ exponi debeat et curari, ex quo fortassis et cætari ædificari poterunt, et tu ipse facile sanari, multa hac deliberatione et satis perito medici illius consilio procurandum est.

*Cyprianus in Sermone de Lapsis.*

Denique[2], quando et fide majore et timore meliores sunt, qui quamvis nullo Sacrificii aut libelli facinore constricti, quoniam tamen de hoc vel cogitaverunt, hoc ipsum apud Sacerdotes Dei dolenter et simpliciter confitentur, exomologesin conscientiæ faciunt, animi sui pondus exponunt, salutarem medelam parvis licet et modicis vulneribus exquirunt, scientes scriptum esse, Deus non deridetur; derideri et circumveniri Deus non potest, nec astutia aliqua fallente deludi: plus imo delinquit qui secundum hominem Deum cogitans evadere se pœnam criminis credit si non palam crimen admisit. Christus in præceptis suis dicit, qui confusus me fuerit, confundet eum filius hominis, et Christianum se putat qui Christianus esse aut confunditur aut veretur: Quomodo potest esse cum Christo, qui ad Christum pertinere aut erubescit aut metuit? minus plane peccaverit non videndo idola, nec sub oculis circumstantis atq; insultantis populi sanctitatem fidei profanando, non polluendo manus suas funestis Sacrificiis, nec sceleratis cibis ora maculando; hoc eo proficit ut sit minor culpa, non ut innocens conscientia; facilius potest ad veniam criminis pervenire, non est tamen immunis a crimine, nec cessit in agenda pœnitentia, atq; in Domini misericordia deprecanda, ne quod minus esse in qualitate delicti videtur, in neglecta satisfactione cumuletur. Confiteantur singuli[1], quæso vos fratres, delictum suum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in sæculo est, dum admitti confessio ejus potest, dum satisfactio et remissio facta per Sacerdotes apud Dominum grata est; convertamur ad Dominum mente tota, et pœnitentiam criminis veris doloribus exprimentes Dei misericordiam deprecemur; illi se anima prosternat, illi mæstitia satisfaciat, illi spes omnis incumbat; rogare qualiter debeamus dicit ipse, Revertimini inquit, ad me ex toto corde vestro, simulq; et jejunio, et fletu, et planctu, et scindite corda vestra et non vestimenta.

Præterea Esaias peccatorem admonet Cap. 42. secundum 70. inquiens,[2] Dic tu prior iniquitates tuas ut justificeris; et Salomon Prov. 18. ait, Justus prior est accusator sui, atq; ideo ne Satan nos in judicio coram omnibus accuset, nos illum in hac vita, per priorem confessionem delicti nostri factam aliis prævenire debemus, nam Deum prævenire in nostri accusatione nequimus, qui omnia facta nostra jam novit, immo vero antequam fierent ea præscivit; quare Confessio illa necesse est, intelligatur, de extranea confessione facta Dei ministro qui id ignoravit, nam Deum nihil unquam latuit non modo jam factum, sed ne futurum quidem quicquam.

Circa personas vero ministrorum quibus fieri deberet Confessio, atq;[3] circa tempora Ecclesiæ nonnunquam aliquid immutarunt, et varie pro regionibus statuerunt.

Et ne tuam solicitudinem, Sacratissima Majestas, circa publicam Regni tui tranquillitatem stabiliendam sanctissime occupatam, longa multorum lectione, quæ præter i ta afferre possem, remorari videar, plura adjungere supersedebo, illud tantummodo precatus, ut meam hanc scribendi temeritatem boni consulat, quam ego totam perspicacissimo atq; eruditissimo Majestatis tuæ judicio considerandam pensitandamq; committo. Atq; ita fælicissime valeat Sacratissima tua Majestas, cujus Regnum et prosperrimum et in sæculum diuturnum nobis fore precamur.

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XI.—*A Letter of King Henry's to Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, against Auricular Confession being of Divine Institution. An Original.*

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

Since me thought (my lord of Durham) that both the bishops of York, Winchester, and your reasons and texts were so fully answered this other day, in our house as, to my seeming and supposal, the most of the house was satisfied; I marvelled not a little why eftsoons you have sent to me this now your writing, being in a manner few other texts or reasons than there were declared both by the bishop of Canterbury and me, to make smally or nothing to your intended purpose: but either I esteem that you do it to prove my simple judgment alone, which indeed doth not much use (though not the wisest) to call in aid the judgments of other learned men, and so by mine ignorant answer, seem to win the field; or else that you be too much blinded in your own fancy and judgment, to think that a truth, which by learning you have not yet proved, nor I fear me cannot by Scriptures, nor any other direct and probable grounds, though I know mine unsufficiency in learning, if the matter were indifferent, and that the balance stood equal, since I take the verity of the cause rather to favourize the part I take than yours; it giveth me therefore great boldness, not presuming in learning, but in justness of the cause, seeing by writing you have provoked me to it, to make answer to your arguments: therefore I beginning now to reply to your first allegation, shall essay to prove, if I can, that your own author in place by you alleged, maketh plain against your opinion; for as you allege him, St. Chrysostom saith, *Quod*

[1] Non ait necesse est ut confitiantur, jam de contemptu loquitur.
[2] Fatetur Cyprianus Confessionem auricularem nobis non plus præcipi quam virginitatem.

[1] Si præceptum haberet non persuaderet.
[2] Hi omnes suadent, sed non præcipiunt.
[3] Cum nec cui nec tempus designatur non firmum præceptum datur.

*sufficit solus pudor pro pœna*, then auricular confession is not by commandment necessary; for if it were, this word (*Solus*) is by your author ill set; therefore your author in this place furthereth you but little. To your Fallax argument, I deny your consequent, founded only upon small reason, which is the ground of your Fallax argument: which reason I need not take away, for your alleged author doth show too plainly, in his 5 Homily, Tom. 5, that you gather wrong sense upon his words; for he saith, with much more touching this matter, these few words, *Non hominibus peccato detegere cogo*; then this other text before rehearsed, is not to be understood as you will by writing it. Further, methinketh, I need not (God thank you) too greatly study for authors to conclude your wrong taking of texts, for those yourself allege serveth me well to purpose: for all your labour is to prove that auricular confession were by God commanded, and both your authorities of Bede and Paul sheweth nothing but that they did confess their sins, and yet do not they affirm that it was by commandment; wherefore they make for mine argument and not for yours. Your other texts, of John 21 and Matthew 10, were so thoroughly answered this other day, and so manifestly declared not to appertain to our grounded argument, that I marvel you be not ashamed eft-soons to put them in writing, and to found your argument now so fondly on them; for what fonder argument can be made to prove thereby a necessity of confession, than to say, If you confess not, I cannot forgive? Would a thief which committeth felony, think himself obliged by the law to disclose his felony, if the law say no more, but if thou confess not I cannot forgive thee? or would theft the sooner therefore to be forgiven? This is matter so apparent, that none can but perceive except he would not see. As touching Origen's places by you alleged; as the first, in Leviticum, sheweth that we be as much bound *lavare stratum lacrimis*, as *dicere sacerdoti*, which no man, I think, will affirm that we be bound to do; and yet he affirmeth not that any of them is commanded: the text also whereby ye would approve his so saying, doth not yet speak *quod pronunciabo justitiam meam sacerdoti*, but *Domino*: the other o. James seemeth better to make for extreme unction, than for confession; for when was ever the use, that folk coming only to confession, were wont to be anointed with oil? therefore this makes nothing to your argument. As touching Origen in Psalm xxxvii. he saith not, *quod obligamur dicere sacerdoti*, but *si confiteantur*; and seemeth rather to persuade men that they should not *parvipendere confessionem*, (as all good folk would) than that they were obliged to confess them to a priest. Though *Cyprian de Lapsis* doth praise them which do confess their faults to priests, yet doth he confess that we be not bound to do so; for he saith in the highest of his praise these words, How much be they then higher in faith, and better in fear of God, which though they be not bound by any deed of sacrifice, or book, yet be they content sorrowfully to confess to the priest sins! He knowledgeth no bond in us by neither fact of sacrifice or libel, why allege you (though he praise auricular confession) that we should be bound by God and law thereto? This is no proof thereof, neither by reason nor by Scripture, nor any good authority. And whereas he saith further, *Confiteantur singuli, quæso vos fratres, delictum suum*; this doth not argue a precept: nor yet the saying of Esay, cap. xliii. *secundum Septuaginta*; nor Solomon in the Proverbs x. for these speak rather of knowledging our offence to God in our heart, than of auricular confession; after David the prophet's saying and teaching, when he said, *Tibi soli peccavi*, that was not to a priest. By the text also which you allege, beginning, *circa personas vero ministrorum*, &c. you do openly confess that the church hath not accepted auricular confession to be by God's commandment; or else by your saying and allegation, they have long erred: for you confess that the church hath divers times changed both to whom confession should be made, and times when; and that also they have changed divers ways for divers regions; if it were by God's commandment they might not do thus; wherefore, my lord, since I hear no other allegations, I pray you blame not me though I be not of your opinion; and of the both, I think that I have more cause to think you obstinate than you me, seeing your authors and allegations make so little to your purpose. And thus fare you well.

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### XII.—*A Definition of the Church, corrected in the Margent by King Henry's own hand. An Original.*

[Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

*De Ecclesia.*

Ecclesia præter alias acceptiones in Scripturis duas habet præcipuas: Unam, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro Congregatione Sanctorum et vere fidelium qui Christo capiti vere credunt, et sanctificantur Spiritu ejus; hæc autem una est, et vere Sanctum Corpus Christi sed Soli Deo [1] cognitum, qui hominum corda solus intuetur. Altera acceptio est, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro Congregatione omnium Hominum qui baptizati sunt in Christo, et non palam abnegarint Christum, nec sunt [2] excommunicati [3]; quæ Ecclesiæ acceptio congruit ejus Statui in hac vita duntaxat, ubi habet malos bonis simul admixtos [4], et debet esse cognita per Verbum et legitimum usum Sacramentorum ut possit audiri; sicut docet Christus, Qui Ecclesiam non audierit. Porro ad veram unitatem Ecclesiæ, requiritur ut sit consensus in recta Doctrina Fidei et administratione Sacramentorum.

Traditiones vero et ritus atq; Cæremoniæ quæ vel ad decorem, vel ordinem, vel Disciplinam Ecclesiæ ab hominibus sunt institutæ, non omnino necesse est, ut eædam sint ubiq; aut prorsus similes: hæ enim et variæ fuere et variari possunt [5] pro regionum atq; morum diversitate et commodo [6], sic tamen ut sint consentientes Verbo Dei: et quamvis in Ecclesia secundum posteriorem acceptionem mali sint bonis admixti, atq; etiam Ministeriis Verbi et Sacramentorum nonnunquam præsint, tamen cum ministrent non suo sed Christi nomine, mandato et authoritate, licet eorum ministerio uti tam in verbo audiendo quam recipiendis Sacramentis, juxta illud, Qui vos audit me audit; nec per eorum malitiam imminuitur effectus aut gratia donorum Christi rite accipientibus, sunt enim efficacia propter promissionem et ordinationem Christi etiam si per malos exhibeantur.

[1] Sponsa Christi cognita. [2] Juste. [3] Aut obstinati.

[4] Et congnitio hujus Ecclesiæ per venit per usum Verbi et Sacramentorum, acceptione, perfecta unitate, ac unanimi consensu acceptata.

[5] Modo rectoribus placeant quibus semper obtemperandum est, tamen ut eorum institutio atq; lex Verbo Dei non adversetur.

[6] Ista est Ecclesia nostra Catholica et Apostolica, cum qua nec Pontifex Romanus, nec quivis alius Prælatus aut Pontifex habet quicquid agere præterquam in suas Dioceses.

END OF THE ADDENDA.

# A COLLECTION OF RECORDS

AND

# ORIGINAL PAPERS;

WITH

OTHER INSTRUMENTS REFERRED TO IN THE SECOND PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

# THE JOURNAL OF KING EDWARD'S REIGN,

## WRITTEN WITH HIS OWN HAND.

*The Original is in the Cotton Library. Nero C.* 10.

THE year of our Lord 1537, was a prince born to king Henry VIII., by Jane Seimour then queen, who within few days after the birth of her son died, and was buried at the castle of Windsor. This child was christned by the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Suffolk, and the archbishop of Canterbury. Afterwards was brought up till he came to six years old among the women. At the sixth year of his age he was brought up in learning by master doctor Cox, who was after his almoner, and John Cheeke master of arts, two well-learned men, who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues, of the Scripture, of philosophy, and all liberal sciences. Also John Bellmaine, Frenchman, did teach him the French language. The tenth year not yet ended, it was appointed he should be created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwal, and count Palatine of Chester; at which time, being the year of our Lord 1547, the said king died of a dropsie as it was thought. After whose death incontinent came Edward earl of Hartford, and sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse, to convoy this prince to Enfield, where the earl of Hartford declared to him and his younger sister Elizabeth the death of their father.

*Here he begins anew again.*

After the death of king Henry VIII., his son Edward, prince of Wales, was come to at Hartford, by the earl of Hartford, and sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse; for whom before was made great preparation that he might be created prince of Wales, and afterward was brought to Enfield, where the death of his father was first shewed him; and the same day the death of his father was shewed in London, where was great lamentation and weeping: and suddenly he proclaimed king. The next day, being the of he was brought to the Tower of London, where he tarried the space of three weeks; and in the mean season the council sat every day for the performance of the will, and at length thought best that the earl of Hartford should be made duke of Somerset, sir Thomas Seimour lord Sudley, the earl of Essex Marquess of Northampton, and divers knights should be made barons, as the lord Sheffield, with divers others. Also they thought best to chuse the duke of Somerset to be protector of the realm, and governor of the king's person during his minority; to which all the gentlemen and lords did agree, because he was the king's uncle on his mother's side. Also in this time the late king was buried at Windsor with much solemnity, and the officers broke their staves, hurling them into the grave; but they were restored to them again when they came to the Tower. The lord Lisle was made earl of Warwick, and the lord great-chamberlainship was given to him; and the lord Sudley made admiral of England: all these things were done, the king being in the Tower. Afterwards all things being prepared for the coronation, the king then being but nine years old, passed through the City of London, as heretofore hath been used, and came to the palace of Westminster; and the next day came into Westminster-hall. And it was asked the people, whether they would have him to be their king? Who answered, yea, yea: then he was crowned king of England, France, and Ireland, by the archbishop of Canterbury, and all the rest of the clergy and nobles; and anointed with all such ceremonies as were accustomed, and took his oath, and gave a general pardon, and so was brought to the hall to dinner on Shrove Sunday, where he sat with the crown on his head, with the archbishop of Canterbury, and the lord protector; and all the lords sat at boards in the hall beneath, and the lord marshal's deputy, (for my lord of Somerset was lord marshal) rode about the hall to make room; then came in sir John Dimock, champion, and made his challenge, and so the king drank to him, and he had the cup. At night the king returned to his palace at Westminster, where there was justs and barriers; and afterward order was taken for all his servants being with his father, and being with the prince, and the ordinary and unordinary were appointed. In the mean season sir Andrew Dudley, brother to my lord of Warwick, being in the Paunsie, met with the Lion, a principal ship of Scotland, which thought to take the Paunsie without resistance; but the Paunsie approached her, and she shot, but at length they came very near, and then the Paunsie shooting off all one side, burst all the overlop of the Lion, and all her tackling, and at length boarded her and took her; but in the return, by negligence, she was lost at Harwich-Haven, with almost all her men.

In the month of May* died the French king, called Francis, and his son called Henry was proclaimed king. There came also out of Scotland an ambassador, but brought nothing to pass, and an army was prepared to go into Scotland. Certain injunctions were set forth, which took away divers ceremonies, and commissions sent to take down images, and certain homilies were set forth to be read in the church. Dr. Smith of Oxford recanted at Paul's certain opinions of the mass, and that Christ was not according to the order of Melchisedeck. The lord Seimour of Sudley married the queen, whose name was Katherine, with which marriage the lord protector was much offended.

There was great preparation made to go into Scotland,

* Should be March.

and the lord protector, the earl of Warwick, the lord Dacres, the lord Gray, and Mr. Brian, went with a great number of nobles and gentlemen to Barwick; where the first day after his coming, he mustered all his company, which were to the number of thirteen thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen. The next day he marched on into Scotland, and so passed the Pease; then he burnt two castles in Scotland, and so passed a streight of a bridg, where three hundred Scots' light-horsemen set upon him behind him, who were discomfited. So he passed to Musselburgh, where the first day after he came, he went up to the hill, and saw the Scots, thinking them, as they were indeed, at least thirty-six thousand men; and my lord of Warwick was almost taken, chasing the earl of Huntley, by an ambush, but he was rescued by one Bertivell, with twelve hagbuttiers on horseback, and the ambush ran away.

The 10th day of September, the lord protector thought to get the hill, which the Scots seeing, passed the bridge over the river of Musselburgh, and strove for the higher ground, and almost got it; but our horsemen set upon them, who although they stayed them, yet were put to flight, and gathered together again by the duke of Somerset, lord protector, and the earl of Warwick, and were ready to give a new onset. The Scots being amazed with this, fled their ways, some to Edinburgh, some to the sea, and some to Dalkeith; and there were slain ten thousand of them, but of Englishmen fifty-one horsemen, which were almost all gentlemen, and but one footman. Prisoners were taken, the lord Huntley chancellor of Scotland, and divers other gentlemen; and slain of lairds one thousand. And Mr. Brian, Sadler, and Vane, were made bannerets.

After this battel Broughty Crag was given to the Englishmen, and Hume, and Roxburgh, and Heymouth, which were forfeited, and captains were put in them, and the lord of Somerset rewarded with 500*l.* lands. In the mean season, Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, was, for not receiving the injunctions, committed to ward. There was also a parliament called, wherein all chaunteries were granted to the king, and an extream law made for vagabonds. and divers other things. Also the Scots besieged Broughty-Crag, which was defended against them all, by Sir Andrew Dudley Knight, and oftentimes their ordnance was taken and marred.

YEAR II.

A triumph was, where six gentlemen did challenge all comers, at barriers, justs, and tournay; and also that they would keep a fortress with thirty, with them against an hundred, or under, which was done at Greenwich.

Sir Edward Bellingam being sent into Ireland deputy, and sir Anthony St. Leiger revoked, he took O'Canor, and O'Mor, bringing the lords that rebelled into subjection; and O'Canor and O'Mor leaving their lordships, had a-piece an 100*l.* pension.

The Scots besieged the town of Haddington, where the captain, Mr. Willford, every day made issues upon them, and slew divers of them. The thing was very weak, but for the men, who did very manfully. Oftentimes Mr. Holcroft and Mr. Palmer did victual it by force, passing through the enemies; and at last the Rhinegrave unawares set upon Mr. Palmer, which was there with near a thousand and five hundred horsemen, and discomfited him, taking him, Mr. Bowes warden of the West Marches, and divers other, to the number of four hundred, and slew a few. (Upon St. Peter's day, the bishop of Winchester was committed to the Tower.) Then they made divers brags, and they had the like made to them. Then went the earl of Shrewsbury general of the army, with twenty-two thousand men, and burnt divers towns and fortresses; which the Frenchmen and Scots hearing, levied their siege in the month of September; in the levying of which there came one to Tiberio, who as then was in Haddington, and setting forth the weakness of the town, told him, that all honour was due to the defenders, and none to the assailers; so the siege being levied, the earl of Shrewsbury entred it, and victualled, and reinforced it. After his departing by night, there came into the outer court at Haddington two thousand men armed, taking the townsmen in their shirts; who yet defended them, with the help of the watch, and at length, with ordnance, issued out upon them, and slew a marvellous number, bearing divers assaults, and at length drove them home, and kept the town safe.

A parliament was called, where an uniform order of prayer was institute, before made by a number of bishops and learned men gathered together in Windsor. There was granted a subsidy, and there was a notable disputation of the sacrament in the parliament house. Also the lord Sudley, admiral of England, was condemned to death, and died in March ensuing. Sir William Sharington was also condemned for making false coin, which he himself confessed. Divers also were put in the Tower.

YEAR III.

Hume castle was taken by night, and treason, by the Scots. Mr. Willford, in a skirmish, was left of his men, sore hurt and taken. There was a skirmish at Broughty-Craig, wherein Mr. Lutterell, captain after Mr. Dudley, did burn certain villages, and took Monsieur de Toge prisoner. The Frenchmen by night assaulted Boulingberg, and were manfully repulsed, after they had made faggots with pitch, tar, tallow, rosin, powder, and wildfire, to burn the ships in the haven of Bolein, but they were driven away by the Boloners, and their faggots taken.

In Mr. Bowes place, who was warden of the West Marches, was put the lord Dacres; and in the lord Gray's place, the earl of Rutland; who after his coming entred Scotland, and burnt divers villages, and took much prey. The people began to rise in Wiltshire, where sir William Herbert did put them down, over-run, and slew them. Then they rose in Sussex, Hampshire, Kent, Glocestershire, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Essex, Hartfordshire, a piece of Leicestershire, Worcestershire, and Rutlandshire, where by fair persuasions, partly of honest men among themselves, partly by gentlemen, they were often appeased; and because certain commissions were sent down to pluck down inclosures, they did rise again. The French king perceiving this, caused war to be proclaimed; and hearing that our ships lay at Jersey, sent a great number of his galleys, and certain ships to surprise our ships; but they being at anchor, beat the French, that they were fain to retire with the loss of one thousand of their men.

At the same time the French king passed by Bolein to New Haven, with his army, and took Blackness by treason, and the Almain camp; which done, New Haven surrendered. There were also in a skirmish, between three hundred English footmen, and three hundred French horsemen, six noblemen slain. Then the French king came with his army to Bolein, which they seeing, razed Boulingberg; but because of the plague, he was compelled to retire, and Chastilion was left behind, as governor of the army. In the mean season, because there was a rumour that I was dead, I passed through London.

After that they rose in Oxfordshire, Devonshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire. To Oxford, the lord Gray of Wilton was sent with fifteen hundred horsemen and footmen; whose coming, with the assembling of the gentlemen of the country, did so abash the rebels, that more than half of them ran their ways, and other that tarried were some slain, some taken, and some hanged. To Devonshire the lord-privy seal was sent, who, with his band, being but small, lay at Honington, whiles the rebels besieged Exeter, who did use divers pretty feats of war, for after divers skirmishes, when the gates were burnt, they in the city did continue the fire till they had made a rampier within; also after, when they were undermined, and powder was laid in the mine, they within drowned the powder and the mine with water they cast in; which the lord privy-seal having thought to have gone to inforce them a by-way, of which the rebels having spial, cut all the trees betwixt St. Mary Outrie and Exeter; for which cause the lord privy-seal burnt that town, and thought to return home. The rebels kept a bridg behind his back, and so compelled him, with his small band, to set upon them, which he did, and overcame them, killing six hundred of them, and returning home without any loss of men. Then the lord Gray, and Spinola, with their bands, came to him, and afterward Gray, with two hundred of Reading, with which bands he being reinforced, came to raise the siege at Exeter, for because they had scarcity of victual; and as he passed from Honington, he came to a little town of his own, whither came but only two ways, which they had reinforced with two bulwarks made of earth, and had put to the defence of the same about two thousand men; and the rest they had laid, some at a bridg called Honington-bridg, partly at a certain hedg in a high-way, and the most part at the siege of Exeter. The rereward of the horsemen, of which Travers was captain, set upon the one bulwark, the waward and battail on the other; Spinola's band kept them occupied at their wall; at length Travers drove them into the town, which the lord privy-seal burnt. Then they ran to a bridg thereby, from whence being driven, there were in a plain about nine hundred of them slain.

The next day they were met about other two thousand of them, at the entry of a high-way, who first desired to talk, and in the mean season fortified themselves; which being perceived, they ran their ways, and that same night the city of Exeter was delivered of the siege. After that they gathered at Launston, to whom the lord privy-seal and Sir Will. Herbert went and overthrew them, taking their chief heads and executing them. Nevertheless some sailed to Bridgwater, and went about sedition, but were quickly repressed. Hitherto of Devonshire. At this time the black gally was taken. Now to Norfolk. The people suddenly gathered together in Norfolk, and increased to a great number, against whom the lord marquess of Northampton was sent, with the number of one thousand and sixty horsemen, who winning the town of Norwich, kept it one day and one night; and the next day in the morning, with the loss of one hundred men, departed out of the town, among whom the lord Sheffield was slain. There were taken divers gentlemen and servingmen, to the number of thirty; with which victory the rebels were very glad; but afterward hearing that the earl of Warwick came against them, they began to stay upon a strong plot of ground upon a hill near to the town of Norwich, having the town confederate with them. The earl of Warwick came with the number of six thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horsemen, and entered into the town of Norwich; which having won it, was so weak that he could scarcely defend it; and oftentimes the rebels came into the streets, killing divers of his men, and were repulsed again; yea, and the townsmen were given to mischief themselves; so, having endured their assaults three days, and stopped their victuals, the rebels were constrained, for lack of meat, to remove; whom the earl of Warwick followed with one thousand Almains, and his horsemen, leaving the English footmen in the town, and overcame them in plain battel, killing two thousand of them, and taking Ket their captain, who in January following was hanged at Norwich, and his head hanged out; Ket's brother was taken also, and punished alike. In the mean season Chastilion besieged the peer of Bolloin made in the haven, and after long battery, twenty thousand shot or more, gave assault to it, and were manfully repulsed; nevertheless they continued the siege still, and made often skirmishes, and false assaults, in which they won not much. Therefore seeing they profited little that way, they planted ordnance against the mouth of the haven, that no victual might come to it; which our men seeing, set upon them by night and slew divers Frenchmen, and dismounted many of their peeces; nevertheless the French came another time and planted their ordnance toward the sea-side of the sand-hills, and beat divers ships of victualers at the entry of the haven; but yet the Englishmen, at the king's adventure, came into the haven and refreshed divers times the town. The Frenchmen, seeing they could not that way prevail, continued their battery but smally, on which before they had spent fifteen hundred shot in a day, but loaded a galley with stones and gravel, which they let go in the stream to sink it; but or e're it sunk, it came near to one bank, where the Bulloners took it out, and brought the stones to reinforce the peer. Also at Guines was a certain skirmish, in which there was about an hundred Frenchmen slain, of which some were gentlemen and noblemen. In the mean season in England rose great stirs, like to increase much if it had not been well foreseen. The council, about nineteen of them, were gathered in London, thinking to meet with the lord protector, and to make him amend some of his disorders. He fearing his state, caused the secretary, in my name, to be sent to the lords, to know for what cause they gathered their powers together; and if they meant to talk with him, that they should come in a peaceable manner. The next morning, being the 6th of October and Saturday, he commanded the armour to be brought down out of the armoury of Hampton-court, about five hundred harnesses to arm both his and my men, with all the gates of the house to be rampiered, people to be raised: people came abundantly to the house. That night, with all the people, at nine or ten of the clock of the night, I went to Windsor, and there was watch and ward kept every night. The lords sat in open places of London, calling for gentlemen before them, and declaring the causes of accusation of the lord protector, and caused the same to be proclaimed. After which time few came to Windsor, but only mine own men of the guard, whom the lords willed, fearing the rage of the people so lately quieted. Then began the protector to treat by letters, sending sir Philip Hobbey, lately come from his ambassage in Flanders, to see to his family, who brought in his return a letter to the protector, very gentle, which he delivered to him, another to me, and another to my house, to declare his faults, ambition, vain-glory, entering into rash wars in my youth, negligent looking on Newhaven, enriching of himself of my treasure, following of his own opinion, and doing all by his own authority, &c. Which letters were openly read, and immediately the lords came to Windsor, took him, and brought him through Holborn to the

Tower. Afterward I came to Hampton-court, where they appointed, by my consent, six lords of the council to be attendant on me, at least two and four knights; lords, the marquess of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, the lords Russell, St. John, and Wentworth; knights, sir Andr. Dudley, sir Edw. Rogers, sir Tho. Darcy, and sir Tho. Wroth. After I came through London to Westminster. The lord of Warwick made admiral of England; sir Thomas Cheiney sent to the emperor for relief, which he could not obtain; Master Wotton made secretary; the lord protector by his own agreement and submission, lost his protectorship, treasurership, marshalship, all his moveables, and more, 2000*l.* land, by act of parliament. The earl of Arundel committed to his house, for certain crimes of suspicion against him, as plucking down of bolts and locks at Westminster, giving of my stuff away, &c., and put to fine of 12000*l.* to be paid 1000*l.* yearly, of which he was after relieved.

Also Mr. Southwell committed to the Tower for certain bills of sedition, written with his hand, and put to fine of 500*l.* Likewise sir Tho. Arundel, and six, then committed to the Tower for conspiracies in the west places. A parliament, where was made a manner to consecrate, priests, bishops, and deacons. Mr. Paget surrendering his comptrolership, was made lord Paget of Beaudesert, and cited into the higher house by a writ of parliament. Sir Anthony Wingfield, before vice-chamberlain, made comptroller. Sir Thomas Darcy made vice-chamberlain. Guidotty made divers errands from the constable of France to make peace with us; upon which were appointed four commissioners to treat; and they, after long debatement, made a treaty as followeth.

*Anno* 1549. *Mart.* 24.

Peace concluded between England, France, and Scotland. By our English side, John earl of Bedford, lord privy seal, lord Paget de Beaudesert, sir William Petre secretary, and sir John Mason. On the French side, monsieur de Rochepot, monsieur Chastilion, Guilluart de Mortier, and Boucheral de Sany, upon these conditions, that all titles, tribute, and defences, should remain; that the faults of one man, except he be not punished, should not break the league. That the ships of merchandize shall pass to and fro: that pirats shall be called back, and ships of war. That prisoners shall be delivered of both sides. That we shall not war with Scotland. That Bolein, with the pieces of new conquest, and two basilisks, two demy-cannons, three culverins, two demy-culverins, three sacres, six faulcons, ninety-four hagbutts, a crook, with wooden tailes, and twenty-one iron pieces; and Lauder, and Dunglas, with all the ordnance save that that came from Haddington, shall, within six months after this peace proclaimed, be delivered; and for that the French to pay 200000 scutes within three days after the delivery of Bolein, and 200000 scutes on our Lady-day in harvest next ensuing; and that if the Scots razed Lauder, and we should raze Roxburg and Heymouth. For the performance of which, on the 7th of April, should be delivered at Guisness and Ardres, these hostages;—marquis de Means, monsieur Trimoville, monsieur D'Anguien, monsieur Monmorency, monsieur Henandiere, vicedam de Chartres, my lord of Suffolk, my lord of Hartford, my lord Talbot, my lord Fitzwarren, my lord Martavers, my lord Strange.

Also that at the delivery of the town, ours should come home, and at the first payment three of theirs; and that if the Scots raze Lauder and Dunglas, we must raze Roxburgh and Heymouth, and none after fortify them, with comprehension of the emperor.

25. This peace, Anno 1550, proclaimed at Calais and Bolein.

29. In London, bonefires.

30. A sermon in thanksgiving for peace, and *Te Deum* sung.

31. My lord Somerset was delivered of his bonds, and came to court.

*April.*

2. The parliament prorogued to the second day of the term in October ensuing.

3. Nicholas Ridley, before of Rochester, made bishop of London, and received his oath.

Thomas Thirlby, before of Westminster, made bishop of Norwich, and received his oath.

4. The bishop of Chichester, before a vehement affirmer of transubstantiation, did preach against it at Westminster in the preaching place.

Removing to Greenwich from Westminster.

6. Our hostages passed the narrow seas between Dover and Calais.

7. Monsieur de Fermin, gentleman of the king's privy chamber, passed from the French king by England to the Scotch queen, to tell her of the peace.

An ambassador came from Gustave the Swedish king, called Andrew, for a surer amity touching merchandize.

9. The hostages delivered on both the sides, for the ratification of the league with France and Scotland; for because some said to monsieur Rochfort lieutenant, that monsieur de Guise, father to the marquis of Means, was dead, and therefore the delivery was put over a day.

8. My lord Warwick made general-warden of the North, and Mr. Herbert president of Wales; and the one had granted to him 1000 marks land, the other 500; and lord Warwick 100 horsemen at the king's charge.

9. Licences signed for the whole council, and certain of the privy chamber to keep among them 2340 retainers.

10. My lord Somerset taken into the council. Guidotti the beginner of the talk for peace, recompensed with knightdom, 1000 crowns reward, 1000 crowns pension, and his son with 250 crowns pension.

Certain prisoners for light matters dismissed; agreed for delivery of French prisoners taken in the wars. Peter Vane sent ambassador to Venice. Letters directed to certain Irish nobles, to take a blind legate coming from the pope, calling himself bishop of Armagh. Commissions for the delivery of Bulloin, Lauder, and Dunglass.

6. The Flemings men-of-war would have passed our ships without vailing bonet; which they seeing, shot at them, and drove them at length to vail bonet, and so depart.

11. Monsieur Trimaul, monsieur vicedam de Chartres, and monsieur Henaudie, came to Dover, the rest tarried at Calais till they had leave.

13. Order taken, that whosoever had benefices given them, should preach before the king in or out of Lent, and every Sunday there should be a sermon.

16. The three hostages aforesaid came to London, being met at Debtford by the lord Gray of Wilton, lord Bray, with divers other gentlemen, to the number of twenty, and servingmen an hundred, and so brought into the city, and lodged there, and kept houses every man by himself.

18. Mr. Sidney and Mr. Nevel made gentlemen of the privy chamber. Commission given to the lord Cobham deputy of Calais, William Petre chief secretary, and sir John Mason French secretary, to see the French king take his oath, with certain instructions; and that sir John Mason should be ambassador legier.



Commission to sir John Davies and sir William Sharrington, to receive the first paiment, and deliver the quittance.

19. Sir John Mason taken into the privy-council, and William Thomas made clerk of the same.

Whereas the emperor's ambassador desired leave, by letters patents, that my lady Mary might have mass; it was denied him. And where he said we broke the league with him, by making peace with Scotland; it was answered, that the French king, and not I, did comprehend them, saying, that I might not invade them without occasion.

10. Lauther being besieged of the Scots, the captain hearing that the peace was proclaimed in England, delivered it, as the peace did will him, taking sureties, that all the bargains of the peace should be kept.

18. Monsieur de Guise died.

20. Order taken for the chamber, that three of the outer privy-chamber gentlemen should always be here, and two lie in the palace, and fill the room of one of the four knights; that the squires should be diligent in their office; and five grooms should be always present, of which one to watch in the bed-chamber.

21. The marquess de Means, the duke de Anguien, and the constable's son arrived at Dover.

23. Monsieur Trimoville, and the vicedam of Chartres, and monsieur Henaudy, came to the court, and saw the Order of the Garter, and the knights, with their sovereign, receive the communion.

24. Certain articles touching a streighter amity in merchandise, sent to the king of Sweeden, being these:—

First; If the king of Sweeden sent bullion, he should have our commodities, and pay no toll.

Secondly; He should bring bullion to none other prince.

Thirdly; If he brought ozymus, and steel, and copper, &c. he should have our commodities, and pay custom as an Englishman.

Fourthly; If he brought any other, he should have free intercourse, paying custom as a stranger, &c.

It was answered, to the duke of Brunswick, that whereas he offered service with ten thousand men of his land, that the war was ended; and for the marriage of my lady Mary to him, there was talk for her marriage with the infant of Portugal, which being determined, he should have answer.

25. Lord Clinton, captain of Bulloin, having sent away before all his men saving eighteen hundred, and all his ordnance, saving that the treaty did reserve, issued out of the town with these eighteen hundred, delivering it to monsieur Chastilion, receiving of him the six hostages English, an acquittance for delivery of the town, and safe conduct to come to Calais; whither when he came, he placed eighteen hundred in the emperor's frontiers.

27. The marquess du Means, count d'Anguien, and the constable's son, were received at Blackheath by my lord of Rutland, my lord Gray of Wilton, my lord Bray, my lord Lisle, and divers gentlemen, with all the pensionaries, to the number of an hundred, beside a great number of serving-men.

It was granted that my lord of Somerset should have all his moveable goods and leases, except those that be already given.

The king of Sweden's ambassador departed home to his master.

29. The count d'Anguien, brother to the duke of Vendosme, and next heir to the crown after the king's children; the marquess de Means, brother to the Scotch queen; and monsieur Montmorency, the constable's son, came to the court, where they were received with much musick at dinner.



26. Certain were taken that went about to have an insurrection in Kent, upon May-day following; and the priest, who was the chief worker, ran away into Essex, where he was laid for.

30. Dunglass was delivered as the treaty did require.

*May.*

2. Joan Bocher, otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burnt, for holding, that Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary, being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion; and the 30th of April, the bishop of London, and the bishop of Ely, were to persuade her, but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death.

The first payment was payed at Calais, and received by sir Thomas Dennis, and Mr. Sharrington.

4. The lord Clinton, before captain of Bollein, came to court, where, after thanks, he was made Admiral of England, upon the surrender of the earl of Warwick's patent: he was also taken into the privy council, and promised further reward. The captain also, and officers of the town, were promised rewards. Monsieur de Brisay passed also by the court to Scotland, where at Greenwich he came to the king, telling him, that the French king would see that if he lacked any commodity that he had, he would give it him; and likewise would the constable of France, who then bore all the swing.

5. The marquess de Means departed to Scotland with monsieur de Brisay, to acquaint the queen of the death of the duke of Guise.

6. The master of Ayrskin, and monsieur Morret's brother, came out of Scotland for the acceptation of the peace, who after had passport to go into France.

7. The council drew a book for every shire, who should be lieutenants in them, and who should tarry with me; but the lieutenants were appointed to tarry till Chastillion's, Sarcy, and Boucherel's coming, and then to depart.

9. Proclamation was made, that the souldiers should return to their mansions; and the mayor of London had charge to look through all the wards, to take them and send them to their countries.

The debt of 30,000*l.* and odd money, was put over an year, and there was bought two thousand five hundred cinquetales of powder.

11. Proclamation was made, that all wool-winders should take an oath that they would make good cloth there, as the lord chancellor would appoint them, according to an act of parliament made by Edward III.

7. The lord Cobham, the secretary Petre, and sir John Mason, came to the French king to Amiens, going on his journey, where they were received of all the nobles, and so brought to their lodgings, which were well dressed.

10. The French king took the oath for the acceptation of the treaty.

12. Our ambassadors departed from the French court, leaving sir John Mason as legier.

14. The duke of Somerset was taken into the privy chamber, and likewise was the lord admiral.

15. It was appointed that all the light-horsemen of Bollein, and the men-of-arms, should be payed their wages, and be led by the lord marquess of Northampton, captain of the pensioners; and all the guard of Bollein under the lord admiral. Also that the chiefest captains should be sent, with six hundred with them, to the strengthening of the frontiers of Scotland.

The comprehension of peace with Scotland was accepted so far as the league went, and sealed.

16. The master of Ayrskin departed into France.

17. Removing from Westminster to Greenwich.

18. The French king came to Bollein to visit the

pieces lately delivered to him, and to appoint an order, and staying things there; which done, he departed.

19. Peter Vane went as ambassador to Venice, and departed from the court with his instructions.

20. The lord Cobham, and sir William Petre, came home from their journey, delivering both the oath and the testimonial of the oath, witnessed by divers noblemen of France; and also the treaty sealed with the great seal of France: and in the oath was confessed, that I was supreme head of the church of England and Ireland, and also king of Ireland.

23. Monsieur Chastilion, and Mortier, and Boucherel, accompanied with the rhinegrave, Dandelot the constable's second son, and Chenault the legier, came to Duresm-place, where in their journey they were met by Mr. Treasurer, and sixty gentlemen, at Woollwich, and also saluted with great peals, at Wollwich, Debtford, and the Tower.

24. The ambassadors came to me presenting the legier; and also delivering letters of credence from the French king.

25. The ambassadors came to the court, where they saw me take the oath for the acceptation of the treaty, and afterwards dined with me; and after dinner saw a pastime of ten against ten at the ring, whereof on the one side were the duke of Suffolk, the vicedam, the lord Lisle, and seven other gentlemen, apparalled in yellow. On the other, the lord Strange, monsieur Henaudy, and the eight other in blue.

26. The ambassadors saw the baiting of the bears and bulls.

27. The ambassadors, after they had hunted, sat with me at supper.

28. The same went to see Hampton-court, where they did hunt, and the same night returned to Duresm-place.

25. One that by way of marriage had thought to assemble the people, and so to make an insurrection in Kent, was taken by the gentlemen of the shire, and afterward punished.

29. The ambassadors had a fair supper made them by the duke of Somerset; and afterward went into the Thames, and saw both the bear hunted in the river, and also wild-fire cast out of boats, and many pretty conceits.

30. The ambassadors took their leave, and the next day departed.

*June.*

3. The king came to Shein, where was a marriage made between the lord Lisle, the earl of Warwick's son, and the lady Ann, daughter to the duke of Somerset; which done, and a fair dinner made, and dancing finished, the king and the ladies went into two anti-chambers made of boughs, where first he saw six gentlemen of one side, and six of another, run the course of the field twice over. Their names here do follow:—

The lord Edward. Sir John Appleby, &c.

And afterwards came three masters of one side, and two of another, which ran four courses apiece. Their names be, &c.

Last of all came the count of Regunete, with three Italians, who ran with all the gentlemen four courses, and afterwards fought at Tournay; and so after supper he returned to Westminster.

4. Sir Robert Dudley, third son to the earl of Warwick, married sir John Robsart's daughter; after which marriage, there were certain gentlemen that did strive who should first take away a goose's head which was hanged alive on two cross posts.

5. There was tilt and tournay on foot, with as great staves as they run withal on horseback.

6. Removing to Greenwich.

8. The gests of my progress were set forth, which were these: from Greenwich to Westminster, from Westminster to Hampton-Court, from Hampton-Court to Windsor, from Windsor to Guilford, from Guilford to Oatland, from Oatland to Richmond, &c.

Also the vicedam made a great supper for the duke of Somerset and the marquess of Northampton, with divers masques and other conceits.

9. The duke of Somerset, marquess of Northampton, lord treasurer, Bedford and the secretary Petre, went to the bishop of Winchester to know to what he would stick. He made answer, that he would obey and set forth all things set forth by me and my parliament; and if he were troubled in conscience, he would reveal it to the council, and not reason openly against it.

The first payment of the Frenchmen, was laid up in the Tower for all chances.

10. The books of my proceedings were sent to the bishop of Winchester, to see whether he would set his hand to it, or promise to set it forth to the people.

11. Order was given for fortifying and victualling Cales for four months; and also sir Henry Palmer and sir — Alee, were sent to the frontiers of Scotland, to take a view of all the forts there, and to report to the council where they thought best to fortify.

12. The marquess de Means came from Scotland in post, and went his way into France.

13. Commissions were signed to sir William Herbert, and thirty other, to intreat of certain matters in Wales; and also instructions to the same, how to behave himself in the presidentship.

14. The surveyor of Calais was sent to Calais, first to raze the walls of Risbank toward the sand-hills, and after to make the wall massy again, and the round bullwark to change to a pointed one, which should run twenty foot into the sea, to beat the sand-hills, and to raze the mount. Secondly, To view Marbridge, to make an high bullwark in the midst, with flankers, to beat through all the streight; and also four sluces to make Calais haven better. Afterwards he was bid to go to Guisnes, where first he should take away the three-cornered bullwark to make the outward wall of the keep, and to fill the space between the keep and the said outward wall with the foresaid bulwark, and to raise the old keep that it might defend the town. Also he was bid to make Parson's bulwark, where it is now, round, without flankers, both pointed, and also with six flankers to bear hard to the keep.

Atwood and Lambert were sent to take view of Allderny, Silly, Jersey, Garnsey, and the Isle of Gitto.

The duke of Somerset, with five others of the council, went to the bishop of Winchester; to whom he made this answer: "I having deliberately seen the book of Common-Prayer, although I would not have made it so myself, yet I find such things in it as satisfieth my conscience, and therefore I will both execute it myself, and also see other my parishioners to do it."

This was subscribed by the foresaid counsellors, that they heard him say these words.

16. The lord marquess, Mr. Herbert, the vicedam, Henaudie, and divers other gentlemen, went to the earl of Warwick's, where they were honourably received; and the next day they ran at the ring a great number of gentlemen.

19. I went to Debtford, being bidden to supper by the lord Clinton: where before supper I saw certain men stand upon the end of a boat, without holding of anything, and ran one at another, till one was cast into the water. At supper monsieur Vicedam and Henaudie supped with me. After supper was there a fort made upon a great lighter on the Thames which had three walls and a watch-tower; in the midst of which Mr. Winter was captain, with forty or fifty other soldiers in yellow and black. To the fort also appertained a gallery of yellow colour, with men and ammunition in it for defence of the castle: wherefore there came four pinaces with their men in white, handsomely dressed; which intending to give assault to the castle, first drove away the pinace, and after with clods, squibs, canes of fire-darts made for the nonce, and bombards, assaulted the castle; and at length came with their pieces, and burst the outer walls of the castle, beating them off the castle into the second ward, who after issued out and drove away the pinaces, sinking one of them, out of which, all the men in it, being more than twenty, leaped out and swam in the Thames; then came the admiral of the navy, with three other pinaces, and won the castle by assault, and burst the top of it down, and took the captain and under-captain. Then the admiral went forth to take the yellow ship, and at length clasped with her, took her, and assaulted also her top, and won it also by compulsion, and so returned home.



20. The mayor of London caused the watches to be encreased every night, because of the great frays, and also one alderman to see good rule kept every night.

22. There was a privy search made through all Sussex for all vagabonds, gypsies, conspirators, prophesiers, all players, and such like.

24. There were certain in Essex about Rumford went about a conspiracy, which were taken, and the matter stayed.

25. Removing to Greenwich.

23. Sir John Gates, sheriff of Essex, went down with letters to see the bishop of London's injunctions performed, which touched plucking down of superaltaries, altars, and such like ceremonies and abuses.

29. It was appointed that the Germans should have the Austin-friars for their church to have their service in, for avoiding of all sects of Anabaptists, and such-like.

17. The French queen was delivered of a third son, called monsieur d'Angoulesme.

13. The emperor departed from Argentin to Augusta.

30. John Poynet made bishop of Rochester, and received his oath.

*July.*

5. There was mony provided to be sent into Ireland, for payment of the souldiers there; and also orders taken for the dispatch of the strangers in London.

7. The master of Arskin passed into Scotland coming from France. Also the French ambassador did come before me, first after showing the birth of monsieur d'Angoulesme; afterward declaring, that whereas the French king had for my sake let go the prisoners at St. Andrews, who before they were taken had shamefully murdered the cardinal, he desired that all Scots that were prisoners might be delivered. It was answered, that all were delivered. Then he moved for one called the archbishop of Glasgow; who, since the peace, came disguised without pasport, and so was taken. It was answered, that we had no peace with Scotland, such, that they might pass our country; and the master of Erskin affirmed the same.

8. It was agreed that the two hundred that were with me, and two hundred that were with Mr. Herbert, should be sent into Ireland; also that the mint should be set a-work that it might coin 24,000*l.* a year, and so bear all my charges in Ireland for this year, and 10,000*l.* for my coffers.

9. The earl of Warwick, the lord treasurer, sir William Herbert, and the secretary Petre, went to the bishop of Winchester with certain articles signed by me and the council, containing the confessing of his fault, the supremacy, the establishing of holy days, the abolishing of six articles, and divers other, whereof the copy is in the council-chest, whereunto he put his hand, saving to the confession.

10. Sir William Herbert and secretary Petre were sent unto him, to tell him, I marvelled that he would not put his hand to the confession. To which he made answer, that he would not put his hand to the confession, for because he was innocent, and also the confession was but the preface of articles.

11. The bishop of London, the secretary Petre, Mr. Cecil, and Goderick, were commanded to make certain articles according to the laws, and to put in the submission.

12. It was appointed, that under the shadow of preparing for the sea-matters, there should be sent 5000*l.* to the protestants to get their good will.

14. The bishop of Winchester did deny the articles that the bishop of London and the other had made.

13. Sir John Yates was sent into Essex to stop the going away of the lady Mary, because it was credibly informed that Scipperus should steal her away to Antwerp; divers of her gentlemen were there, and Scipperus a little before came to see the landing-places.

16. It was appointed that the two hundred with the duke of Somerset, and two hundred with the lord privy-seal, and four hundred with master St. Legier, should be sent to the sea-coast.

17. It was agreed, that on Wednesday next, we should go in one day to Windsor, and dine at Sion.

18. It was thought best that the lord Bowes should tarry in his wardenship still, and the earl of Warwick should tarry here and be recompensed.

19. The bishop of Winchester was sequestred from his fruits for three months.

20. Hooper was made bishop of Glocester. The merchants were commanded to stay as much as they could their vent into Flanders, because the emperor had made many streight laws against them that professed the gospel.

21. A muster was made of the Boulonois, who were fully payed for all past, and a month to come. Sir John Wallop, Francis Hall, and doctor Coke, were appointed commissioners to appoint the limits between me and the French king.

23. Removing to Windsor.

22. The secretary Petre and the lord chancellor were appointed to go to the lady Mary, to cause her to come to Oking, or to the court.

25. It was appointed, that half the French king's paiment should be bestowed on paying 10,000*l.* at Calais, 9000*l.* in Ireland, 10,000*l.* in the north, 2000*l.* in the admiralty, so that every crown might go for one of our nobles.

27. Because the rumour came so much of Scipperus' coming, it was appointed that they of the admiralty should set my ships in readiness.

26. The duke of Somerset went to set order in Oxfordshire, Sussex, Wiltshire, and Hampshire.

28. The lady Mary, after long communication, was content to come to Leez to my lord chancellor, and then to Hunsden: but she utterly denied to come to the court or Oking at that time.

31. The earl of Southampton died.

14. Andrew Dory took the city of —— in Africa, from the pirat Dragutte, who in the mean season burnt the country of Genoa.

8. The emperor came to Ausburg.

*August.*

4. Mr. St. Legier was appointed, by letters patents, to be deputy there; and had his commission, instructions, and letters to the nobles of Ireland for the same purpose.

5. The same deputy departed from the castle of Windsor.

6. The duke of Somerset departed to Redding to take an order there.

7. It was appointed, that of the mony delivered to me by the French king, there should be taken 100,000 crowns to pay 10,000*l.* at Calais, 10,000 in the north, and 2000 in the admiralty, and 8000 in Ireland.

8. Monsieur Henaudy took his leave to depart to Calais, and so upon the paiment to be delivered home; and Tremoville being sick, went in a horse-litter to Dover.

9. The French ambassador came to Windsor, to sue for a passport for the dowager of Scotland; which being granted, so she came like a friend; he required three hundred horse to pass, with two hundred keepers, which was not wholly granted, but only that two hundred horse, with an hundred keepers in one company, coming into this realm as should be appointed, should, without let, pass into France, and not return this way.

11. The vicedam of Chartres showed his license to tarry here, with a letter written to the same purpose.

10. The ambassador of France departed, not a little contented with his gentle answers.

12. Removing to Guilford.

13. The parliament was prorogued to the 20th of February next following.

Mr. Cook, master of requests, and certain other lawyers, were appointed to make a short table of the laws and acts that were not wholly unprofitable, and present it to the board.

The lord chancellor fell sore sick, with forty more of his house, so that the lady Mary came not thither at that time.

14. There came divers advertisements from Chamberlain, ambassador with the queen of Hungary, that their very intent was to take away the lady Mary, and so to begin an outward war, and an inward conspiracy; insomuch that the queen said Scipperus was but a coward, and for fear of one gentleman that came down, durst not go forth with his enterprise to my lady Mary.

16. The earl of Maxwell came down to the northborder with a good power to overthrow the Gremes, who were a certain family that were yielded to me; but the lord Dacre stood before his face with a good band of men, and so put him from his purpose; and the gentlemen, called Gremes, skirmished with the said earl, slaying certain of his men.

17. The council appointed, among themselves, that none of them should speak in any man's behalf for land to be given, reversion of offices, leases of manors, or extraordinary annuities, except for certain captains who served at Bolein, their answer being deferred till Michaelmas next.

18. A proclamation that till Michaelmas all strangers that sued for pensions should go their way.

20. Removing to Oking.

15. The second paiment of the French was paied, and Henaudy and Tremoville delivered.

21. 8000*l.* of the last paiment was appointed to be paied to the dispatch of Calais, and 5000 at the north.

24. 10,000*l.* was appointed to be occupied to win mony to pay the next year, pay the outward pays; and it was promised that the mony should double every month.

26. Removing to Oatlands.

27. Andrea Doria gave a hot assault to the town of —— in Africa kept by the pirat called Drogute, but was repulsed by the townsmen.

29. The pirat gave a hot assault to Andrea Doria by night, and slew the captain of Thames, with divers other notable men.

31. The duke Maurice made answer to the emperor, that if the council were not free, he would not come at it.

*September.*

2. Maclamore in Ireland, before a rebel, by the means of Mr. Baberson surrendered himself and gave pledges.

6. Mr. Wotton gave up his secretaryship, and Mr. Cecil got it of him.

8. Removing from Nonsuch.

13. Removing from Oatlands.

22. A proclamation was set forth, by the which it was commanded:—1. That no kind of victual, no wax, tallow, candles, nor no such thing, should be carried over, except to Calais, putting in sureties to go thither. 2. That no man should buy or sell the selfsame things again, except broakers, who should not have more than ten quarters of grain at once. 3. That all justices should divide themselves into hundreds, rapes, and wapentakes, to look in their quarters what superfluous corn were in every barn, and appoint it to be sold at a reasonable price. Also that one of them must be in every market to see the corn brought. Furthermore, whoever shipped over anything aforesaid to the parts beyond sea, or Scotland, after eight days following the publication of the proclamation, should forfeit his ship, and the ware therein, half to the lord of the franchize, and half to the finder thereof; whoso bought to sell again after the day aforesaid, should forfeit all his goods, farms, and leases, to the use, one half of the finder, the other of the king; whoso brought not in corn to market as he was appointed, should forfeit 10*l.* except the purveyours took it up, or it were sold to his neighbours.

25. Letters sent out to the justices of the peace for the due execution thereof.

18. Andrea Doria had a repulse from the town of * in Africa, and lost many of his men, and the captain of Thames, and nevertheless left not yet the siege.

24. Order was given for the victualing of Calais.

26. The lord Willoughby, deputy of Calais, departed and took his journey thitherward.

28. The lord treasurer sent to London to give order for the preservation of the city, with help of the mayor.

Whereas the emperor required a council, they were content to receive it, so it were free and ordinary, requiring also that every man might be restored to his right, and a general peace proclaimed. They desired also, that in the mean season no man might be restrained to use his fashion of religion.

18. The emperor made answer, that the council should be to the glory of God, and maintenance of the Empire at Trent; he knew no title to any of his territories, peace he desired, and in the mean season would have them observe the interim and last council of Trent; he would also that they of Breme and Hamburgh, with their associates, should leave their seditions, and obey his decrees.

21. George duke of Mecklenburgh came with eight thousand men-of-war to the city of Magdeburgh, being protestant; against whom went forth the count of

* Afrodisium.



Mansfield, and his brother, with six thousand men, and eight guns, to drive him from pillage; but the other abiding the battel, put the count to flight, took his brother prisoner, and slew three thousand men, as it is reported.

*October.*

4. Removing to Richmond.

5. The parliament prorogued to the 20th of January.

6. The French king made his entry into Roan.

10. It was agreed that York, master of one of the Mints at the Tower, should make his bargain with me, viz. to take the profit of silver rising of bullion that he himself brought, should pay all my debts, to the sum of 120,000*l.* or above, and remain accountable for the overplus, paying no more but 6*s.* and 6*d.* the ounce, till the exchange were equal in Flanders, and after 6*s.* and 2*d.* Also that he should declare all his bargains to any should be appointed to oversee him, and leave off when I would: for which I should give him 15,000*l.* in prest, and leave to carry 8000*l.* oversea to abase the exchange.

16. Removing to Westminster.

19. Prices were set of all kind of grains, butter, cheese, and poultry-ware, by a proclamation.

20. The Frenchmen came to Sandefield and Finswood, to the number of eight hundred, and there on my ground did spoil my subjects that were relieved by the wood.

26. The French ambassador came to excuse the foresaid men, saying, they thought it not meet that that wood should be spoiled of us, being thought and claimed as theirs, and therefore they lay there.

24. There were a thousand men embarqued to go to Calais, and so to Guisnes, and Hammes, Ricebank, Newmanbridge, the causie and the bulwarks, with victual for the same.

*November.*

19. There were letters sent to every bishop to pluck down the altars.

20. There were letters sent down to the gentlemen of every shire, for the observation of the last proclamation touching corn, because there came none to the markets, commanding them to punish the offenders.

29. Upon the letters written back by the same, the second proclamation was abolished.

*December.*

15. There was letters sent for the taking of certain chaplains of the lady Mary for saying mass, which she denied.

19. Borthwick was sent to the king of Denmark, with privy instructions for the marriage of the lady Elizabeth to his son.

20. There was appointed a band of horsemen divided amongst the nobles.

An hundred to the duke of Somerset.
Fifty to my lord Marquess of Northampton.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord Marquess of Dorset. | To the earl of Warwick. |
| Earl of Wiltshire. | |
| Lord Wentworth. | Lord privy seal. |
| Lord Admiral. | |
| Lord Paget. | Mr. Herbert. |
| Mr. Sadler. | |
| Mr. Darcy. | Mr. Treasurer. |

24. Removing to Greenwich.

26. Peace concluded between the emperor and the Scots.

*January.*

6. The earl of Arundel remitted of 8000*l.* which he ought to have payed for certain faults he had committed within twelve years.

7. There was appointed, for because the Frenchmen did go about practice in Ireland, that there should be prepared four ships, four barques, four pinaces, and twelve victuallers, to take three havens; of which two were on the south side toward France, and one in James Cannes the Scottish country, and also send and break the foresaid conspiracies.

10. Three ships being sent forth into the narrow seas, took certain pirats, and brought them into England, where the most part was hanged.

27. Monsieur de Lansac came from the French king by way of request, to ask that Coumilis, the fishing of the Tweed, Edrington, the ground debatable, and the Scotch hostages that were put here in the king my father's days, should be delivered to the Scots, that they might be suffered to traffique, as though they were in peace, and that all interest of the foresaid houses should be delivered to the Scots. Also that those prisoners which were bound to pay their ransoms before the peace last concluded, should not enjoy the benefit of the peace.

18. The lord Cobham was appointed to be general lieutenant in Ireland.

30. Letters written to Mr. St. Lieger to repair to the south parts of Ireland with his force.

*February.*

3. Mr. Croftis appointed to go into Ireland, and there, with Rogers and certain artificers, to take the havens aforesaid, and begin some fortification.

5. Divers merchants of London were spoken withal for provision of corn out of Dansick, about 40,000 quarters.

10. Mountford was commanded to go to provide for certain proportions of victual for the ships that should go into Ireland.

11. Also for provision to be sent to Barwick and the north parts.

16. Whaley was examined, for perswading divers nobles of the realm to make the duke of Somerset protector at the next parliament, and stood to the denial, the earl of Rutland affirming it manifestly.

13. The bishop of Winchester, after a long trial, was deposed of his bishoprick.

20. Sir William Pickering, kt. was dispatched to the French king for answer to monsieur de Lansac, to declare, that although I had right in the foresaid places, yet I was content to surrender them, under conditions to be agreed on by commissioners on both sides; and for the last articles I agreed without condition.

25. The lord marquess Dorset appointed to be warden of the north borders, having three sub-wardens, the lord Ogle, &c. in the east, and the lord Coniers in the west. Also Mr. Auger had the charge for victualling Calais.

28. The learned man Bucerus died at Cambridg; who was two days after buried in St. Mary's church at Cambridg; all the whole university, with the whole town, bringing him to the grave, to the number of three thousand persons. Also there was an oration of Mr. Haddon made very eloquently at his death, and a sermon of *—; after that master Redman made a third sermon; which three sermons made the people wonderfully to lament his death. Last of all, all the learned men of the university made their epitaphs in his praise, laying them on his grave.

*March.*

3. The lord Wentworth, lord chamberlain, died about ten of the clock at night, leaving behind him sixteen children.

* Dr. Parker.

1. Sir John York made great loss about 2000*l.* weight of silver, by treason of English men which he brought for privison of the Mints. Also Judd 1500, and also Tresham 500; so the whole came to 4000*l.*

*February.*

20. The Frenchmen came with a navy of one hundred and sixty sail into Scotland, loaden with provision of grain, powder, and ordnance; of which sixteen great ships perished on Ireland coast, two loaden with artillery, and fourteen with corn.

Also in this month the deputy there set at one, certain of the west lords that were at variance.

*March.*

10. Certain new fortifications were devised to be made at Calais; that at Graveling the water should be let in in my ground, and so should fetch a compass by the six bulwarks to Guisnes, Hammes, and Newnambridg; and that there should be a wall of eight foot high, and six broad of earth, to keep out the water, and to make a great marsh about the territories of Calais thirty-seven miles long. Also for flankers at the keep of Guisnes, willed to be made a three-cornered bulwark at the keep to keep it. Furthermore, at Newnam-bridg, a massy wall to the French side there, as was a green. Besides, at the West Gittie there should be another Gittie, which should defend the victuallers of the town always from shot from the sand-hills.

5. Mr. Aucher had 2000*l.* in mony, wherewith he provided out of Flanders for Calais two thousand quarters of barley, five hundred of wheat.

13. The lady Mary, my sister, came to me at Westminster, where, after salutations, she was called, with my council, into a chamber; where was declared how long I had suffered her mass, in hope of her reconciliation, and how now being no hope, which I perceived by her letters, except I saw some short amendment, I could not bear it. She answered, "that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings." It was said, "I constrained not her faith, but willed her not as a king to rule, but as a subject to obey; and that her example might breed too much inconvenience."

19. The emperor's ambassador came with a short message from his master of war, if I would not suffer his cousin, the princess, to use her mass. To this was no answer given at this time.

20. The bishops of Canterbury, London, Rochester, did consider to give license to sin, was sin; to suffer and wink at it for a time might be born, so all haste possible might be used.

23. The council having the bishop's answers, seeing my subjects taking their vent in Flanders, might put the whole realm in danger. The Flemings had cloth enough for a year in their hand, and were kept far under the danger of the papists; the fifteen hundred cinquetales of powder I had in Flanders, the harness they had for preparation of the gendarmory, the goods my merchants had there at the Woolfleet, decreed to send an ambassador to the emperor, Mr. Wotton, to deny the matter wholly, and perwade the emperor in it, thinking, by his going, to win some time for a preparation of a mart, convenience of powder, harness, &c., and for the surety of the realm. In the mean season, to punish the offenders, first of my servants that heard mass, next of hers.

24. Sir Anthony Brown sent to the Fleet for hearing mass with serjeant Morgan, sir Clement Smith, which a year before heard mass, chidden.

25. The ambassador of the emperor came to have his answer, but had none, saving, that one should go to the emperor within a month or two to declare the matter.

22. Sir William Pickering came with great thanks from the French king.

27. Removing to Greenwich.

31. A challenge made by me, that I, with sixteen of my chamber, should run at base, shoot, and run at the ring, with any seventeen of my servants' gentlemen in the court.

Mr. Croftis arrived in Ireland, and came to Waterford to the deputy, consulting for fortification of the town.

*April.*

1. The first day of the challenge at base, or running, the king won.

3. Monsieur de Lansac came again from the French king to go to Scotland, for appointing his commissioners on the Scotch side, who were the French ambassador in Scotland, the bishop of——, the master of Erskin, &c.

Thomas Darcy made lord Darcy of Chich, and lord chamberlain; for maintenance whereof he had given 100 merks to his heirs generally, and 300 to his heirs males.

6. I lost the challenge at shooting at rounds, and won at rovers.

7. There were appointed Commissioners on my side, either the bishop of Litchfield if he had no impediment, or Norwich, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Bekwith, and sir Thomas Chaloner.

8. Sir John Yates made vice-chamberlain, and captain of the guard, and 120*l.* land.

5. Poinet, bishop of Rochester, received his oath for the bishoprick of Winchester, having 2000 merk land appointed to him for his maintenance.

7. A certain Arrian of the strangers, a Dutchman, being excommunicated by the congregation of his countrymen, was after long disputation condemned to the fire.

9. The earl of Wiltshire had fifty more in my lord marquess Dorset's place, warden in the north; and my lord of Rutland in my lord Wentworth's place other fifty.

10. Mr. Wotton had his instructions made to go withal to the emperor, to be as ambassador legier in Mr. Morison's place, and to declare this resolution, that if the emperor would suffer my ambassador with him, to use his service, then I would his; if he would not suffer mine, I would not suffer his. Likewise, that my sister was my subject, and should use my service appointed by act of parliament.

Also it was appointed to make 20000 pound weight for necessity somewhat baser, to get gains 16,000*l.* clear, by which the debt of the realm might be paid, the country defended from any sudden attempt, and the coin amended.

11. Mr. Pickering had his instructions and dispatch to go into France as ambassador legier there, in Mr. Mason's place, who desired very much to come home; and Mr. Pickering had instructions to tell the French king of the appointing of my commissioners in Scotland aforesaid.

2. They of Magdeburg having in January last past taken in a conflict the duke of Mecklenburg, and three other earls, did give an onset on duke Maurice by boats on the river, when it overflowed the country, and slew divers of his men, and came home safe, receiving a great portion of victual into the town.

15. A conspiracy opened of the Essex-men, who within three days after minded to declare the coming



of strangers, and so to bring people together to Chelmsford, and then to spoil the rich men's houses if they could.

16. Also of Londoners, who thought * Woodcock to rise on May-day against the strangers of the city, and both the parties committed to ward.

23. The French king, and the lord Clinton, chosen into the Order of the Garter; and appointed that the duke of Somerset, the marquess of Northampton, the earl of Wiltshire, and the earl of Warwick should peruse and amend the order.

24. The lords sat at London, and banqueted one another this day, and three days after, for to shew agreement amongst them, whereas discord was bruited, and somewhat to look to the punishment of talebearers, and apprehending of evil persons.

25. A bargain made with the Foulcare for about 60,000*l.* that in May and August should be paid for the defraying of it. 1. That the Foulcare should put it off for ten in the hundred. 2. That I should buy 12,000 marks' weight, at 6*s.* the ounce, to be delivered at Antwerp, and so conveyed over. 3. I should pay 100,000 crowns for a very fair jewel of his, four rubies marvelous big, one orient and great diamond, and one great pearl.

27. Mallet, the lady Mary's chaplain, apprehended and sent to the Tower of London.

30. The lord marquess of Northampton appointed to go with the order, and further commission of treaty, and that in post; having joined with him in commission, the bishop of Ely, sir Philip Hobbey, sir William Pickering, and sir John Mason, knights, and two other lawyers, Smith that was secretary, &c.†

*May.*

2. There was appointed to go with my lord marquess the earls of Rutland, Worcester, and Ormond; the lords Lisle, Fitzwater, and Bray, Barguenny, and divers other gentlemen, to the number of thirty in all.

3. The challenge at running at the ring performed; at the which first came the king, sixteen footmen, and ten horsemen, in black silk coats, pulled out with white taffety; then all the lords, having three men likewise apparelled; and all gentlemen their footmen in white fustian, pulled out with black taffety. The other side came all in yellow taffety; at length the yellow band took it thrice in one hundred and twenty courses, and my band touched often, which was counted as nothing, and took never, which seemed very strange, and so the prize was of my side lost. After that tournay followed between six of my band, and six of theirs.

4. It was appointed that there should be but four men to wait on every earl that went with my lord marquess of Northampton, three on every lord, two on every knight or gentleman: also that my lord marquess should in his diet be allowed for the loss in his exchange.

5. The muster of the gendarmoury appointed to be the first of June if it were possible; if not, the 8th.

6. The testourn cried down from 12*d.* to 9*d.* and the groat from 4*d.* to 3*d.*

9. One Stewart, a Scotchman, meaning to poison the young queen of Scotland, thinking thereby to get favour here, was, after he had been a while in the Tower and Newgate, delivered on my frontiers at Calais to the French, for to have him punished there according to his deserts.

10. Divers lords and knights sent for to furnish the court at the coming of the French ambassador, that brought hither the order of St. Michael.

* Here the sense is not perfect.

† Dr. John Olyver was the other lawyer. STRYPE'S COLLECT.

12. A proclamation proclaimed, to give warning to all those that keep any farms, multitudes of sheep, above the number limited in the law, viz. two thousand; decayed tenements and towns, regratters, forestalling men that sell dear, having plenty enough, and put plough-ground to pasture, and carriers over-sea of victual, that if they leave not these enormities, they shall be streightly punished very shortly, so that they should feel the smart of it; and to command execution of laws made for this purpose before.

14. There mustered before me an hundred archers, two arrows a piece, all of the guard; afterward shot together, and they shot at an inch board, which some pierced quite, and stuck in the other board; divers pierced it quite thorow with the heads of their arrows, the boards being very well-seasoned timber. So it was appointed there should be ordinarily an hundred archers, and a hundred halbertiers, either good wrestlers, or casters of the bar, or leapers, or runners, or tall men of personage.

15. Sir Philip Hobbey departed toward France, with ten gentlemen of his own, in velvet coats and chains of gold.

16. Likewise did the bishop of Ely depart with a band of men well furnished.

20. A proclamation made, that whosoever found a seditious bill, and did not tear and deface it, should be a partaker of the bill, and punished as the maker.

21. My lord marquess of Northampton had commission to deliver the order, and to treat of all things, and chiefly of marriage for me to the lady Elizabeth his daughter. First, to have the dote 12,000 marks a year, and the dowry at least 800,000 crowns. The forfeiture 100,000 crowns at the most if I performed not, and paying that to be delivered; and that this should not impeach the former covenants with Scotland, with many other branches.

22. He departed himself in post.

24. An earthquake was at Croidon and Blechinglee, and in the most part of Surrey, but no harm was done.

30. Whereas before commandment was given that 160,000*l.* should be coined of three ounces in the pound fine, for discharge of debts, and to get some treasure, to be able to alter all, now was it stopped, saving only 80,000*l.* to discharge my debts, and 10,000 mark weight that the Foulcare delivered in the last exchange, at four ounces in the pound.

31. The musters deferred till after Midsummer.

*June.*

2. It was appointed that I should receive the Frenchmen that came hither at Westminster, where was made preparation for the purpose, and four garnish of new vessels taken out of church stuff, as miters, and golden missals, and primers, and crosses, and reliques of Plessay.

4. Provision made in Flanders for silver and gold plate, and chains to be given to these strangers.

7. A proclamation set forth, that exchange, or re-exchange, should be made under the punishment set forth in king Henry the Seventh's time, duly to be executed.

10. Monsieur Mareschal departed from the court to Bulloigne in post, and so hither by water in his galleys and foists.

In this month, and the month before, was great business for the city of Parma, which duke * Horatio had delivered to the French king, for the pope ascited him, as holding it *in capite* of him, whereby he could not alienate it without the pope's will; but he came

* It should be Octavio.

not at his day, for which cause the pope and imperialists raised eight thousand men, and took a castle on the same river side. Also the French king sent Monsieur de Thermes, who had been his general in Scotland, with a great piece of his gendarmory into Italy, to help duke Horatio. Furthermore the Turks made great preparation for war, which some feared would at length burst out.

12. I was elected of the company of St. Michael in France by the French king and his order.

13. Agreement made with the Scots for the borders, between the commissioners aforesaid, for both the parties.

In this month Dragute, a pirate, escaped (Andrea Doria, who had closed him in a creek) by force of his galley-slaves, that digged another way into the sea, and took two of Andrea's galleys that lay far into the sea.

14. Pardon given to those Irish lords that would come in before a certain day limited by the deputy; with advertisement to the deputy to make sharp war with those that would resist; and also should administer my laws everywhere.

18. Because of my charges in fortifications at Calais and Barwick should be payed, it was agreed, that beside the debt of the realm 80,000*l.* there should be 40,000*l.* coined, three ounces fine, nine of allay; and 5000 pound weight should be coined in a standard of seven ounces fine at the least.

17. Soperantio came as ambassador from Venice, in Daniel Barbaro's place.

16. I accepted the order of Monsegnieur Michael by promise to the French ambassador.

17. My lord marquess of Northampton came to Nants with the commissioners, and all those noblemen and gentlemen that came over-sea with him.

20. Upon advertisement of Scipperus coming, and rigging of certain ships in Holland—also for to show the Frenchmen pleasure at their coming, all the navy that lay in Gillingham Water was appointed to be rigged, and furnished with ordnance, and lay in the river of Thames, to the intent, that if Scipperus came afterward, he might be met with, and at least the Frenchmen should see the force of my navy.

22. The lady Mary sent letters to the council, marvelling at the imprisonment of Dr. Mallet, her chaplain, for saying of mass before her household, seeing it was promised the emperor's ambassador she should not be molested in religion, but that she and her household should have the mass said before them continually.

24. They answered, that because of their duties to king, country, and friends, they were compelled to give her answer, that they would see, not only him, but also all other mass-sayers, and breakers of order, straitly punished. And that as for promise they had, nor would give none, to make her free from the punishment of the law in that behalf.

18. Chastilion came to my lord marquess, and there banqueted him by the way at two times between Nantes and Chasteau Brian, where the king lay.

15. Mendoza, a gentleman of the king's chamber, was sent to him to conduct him to the court.

19. My lord marquess came to Chasteau Brian, where half a mile from the castle there met him——with an hundred gentlemen, and brought him to the court, booted and spur'd, to the French king.

20. The French king was invested with the order of the garter in his bedchamber, where he gave a chain to the garter worth 200*l.* and his gown dressed with aiglets worth 25*l.* The bishop of Ely making an oration, and the cardinal of Lorrain making him answer. At afternoon the lord marquess moved the French king to the marriage of the Scots queen to be consummate, for whose hearing he appointed two commissioners.

21. The cardinal of Lorrain, and of Chastilion, the constable, the duke of Guise, &c. were appointed commissioners on the part of France, who absolutely denied the first motion for the Scotch queen, saying both they had taken too much pains and spent too many lives for her. Also a conclusion was made for her marriage to the dolphin. Then was proponed the marriage of the lady Elizabeth, the French king's eldest daughter; to which they did most cheerfully assent. So after they agreed neither party to be bound in conscience nor honour, till she were twelve years of age and upwards. Then they came to the dote, which was first asked 1500,000 scutes of France, at which they made a mock; after for *donatio propter nuptias*, they agreed that it should be as great as hath been given by the king my father to any wife he had.

22. Our commissioners came to 1,400,000 of crowns, which they refused, then to a million, which they denied; then to 800,000 crowns, which they said they would not agree to.

23. Then our commissioners asked what they would offer? First they offered 100,000 crowns, then 200,000, which they said was the most, and more than ever was given. Then followed great reasonings, and showing of precedents, but no nearer they would come.

24. They went forward unto the penalties of the parties misliked, after that the king's daughter were twelve and upwards, which the French offered 100,000, 50,000 crowns; or promise, that she should be brought, at her father's charge, three months before she were twelve, sufficiently jewelled and stuffed. Then bonds to be delivered alternatively at London, and at Paris, and so forth.

26. The Frenchmen delivered the foresaid answers written to my commissioners.

*July.*

1. Whereas certain Flemish ships, twelve sail in all, six tall men-of-war, looking for eighteen more men-of-war, went to Diep, as it was thought, to take monsieur le Mareschal by the way; order was given, that six ships being before prepared, with four pinnaces and a brigandine, should go both to conduct him, and also to defend, if anything should be attempted against England, by carrying over the lady Mary.

2. A brigandine sent to Diep, to give knowledg to monsieur le Mareschal of the Flemings coming; to whom all the Flemings vailed their bonnet. Also the French ambassador was advertised; who answered, that he thought him sure enough when he came into our streams, terming it so.

2. There was a proclamation signed for shortening of the fall of the mony to that day; in which it should be proclaimed, and devised, that it should be in all places of the realm within one day proclaimed.

3. The lord Clinton and Cobham was appointed to meet the French at Gravesend, and so to convey him to Duresme-place, where he should lie.

4. I was banqueted by the lord Clinton at Debtford, where I saw the Primrose and the Mary Willoughby launched.

The Frenchmen landed at Rie, as some thought, for fear of the Flemings lying at the Lands-end, chiefly because they saw our ships were let by the wind that they could not come out.

6. Sir Peter Meutas, at Dover, was commanded to come to Rie to meet monsieur le Mareschal, who so did; and after he had delivered his letters, written with mine own hand, and made my recommendations,



he took order for horses and carts, for monsieur le Mareschal, in which he made such provision as was possible to be for the suddain.

7. Monsieur le Mareschal set forth from Rie, and in his journey Mr. Culpepper, and divers other gentlemen, and their men, to the number of one thousand horse, well furnished, met him, and so brought him to Maidston that night.

Removing to Westminster.

8. Monsieur le Mareschal came to Mr. Baker's, where he was very well feasted and banqueted.

9. The same came to my lord Cobham's to dinner, and at night to Gravesend.

Proclamation made that a testourn should go at 9*d.* and a groat at 3*d.* in all places of the realm at once.

At this time came the sweat into London, which was more vehement than the old sweat: for if one took cold, he died within three hours; and if he escaped, it held him but nine hours or ten at the most: also, if he slept the first six hours, as he should be very desirous to do, then he roved, and should die roving.

11. It grew so much, for in London the 10th day there died an hundred in the liberties, and this day an hundred and twenty; and also one of my gentlemen, another of my grooms, fell sick and died, that I removed to Hampton Court with very few with me.

The same night came the Mareschal, who was saluted with all my ships being in the Thames, fifty and odd, all with shot well furnished, and so with the ordnance of the Tower. He was met by the lord Clinton, lord admiral, with forty gentlemen, at Gravesend, and so brought to Duresme-place.

13. Because of the infection at London, he came this day to Richmond, where he lay with a great band of gentlemen, at least four hundred, as it was by divers esteemed, where that night he hunted.

14. He came to me at Hampton Court at nine o the clock, being met by the duke of Somerset at the Wall-end, and so conveyed first to me; where after his master's recommendations and letters, he went to his chamber on the queen's side, all hanged with cloth of Arras, and so was the hall, and all my lodging. He dined with me also. After dinner, being brought into an inner chamber, he told me, he was come, not only for delivery of the order, but also for to declare the great friendship the king his master bore me, which he desired I would think to be such to me as a father beareth to a son, or brother to brother. And altho' there were divers persuasions, as he thought, to dissuade me from the king his master's friendship, and witless men made divers rumours, yet he trusted I would not believe them. Furthermore, that as good ministers on the frontiers do great good, so ill much harm. For which cause he desired no innovation should be made on things had been so long in controversy by hand-strokes, but rather by commissioners' talk. I answered him, that I thanked him for his order, and also his love, &c. and I would shew like love in all points. For rumours they were not always to be believed, and that I did some time provide for the worst, but never did any harm upon their hearing. For ministers, I said, I would rather appease these controversies with words, than do anything by force. So after, he was conveyed to Richmond again.

17. He came to present the order of Monsieur Michael; whereafter, with ceremonies accustomed, he had put on the garments, he, and monsieur Gye likewise of the order, came one at my right hand, the other at my left to the chappel, where, after the communion celebrated, each of them kissed my cheek. After that they dined with me, and talked after dinner, and saw some pastime, and so went home again.

18. A proclamation made against regratters, and forestallers, and the words of the statute recited, with the punishment of the offenders. Also letters were sent to all officers and sheriffs for the executing thereof.

19. Another proclamation made for punishment of them that would blow rumours of abasing and enhaunsing of the coin to make things dear withal.

The same night monsieur le Mareschal St. André supped with me; after supper saw a dozen courses, and after I came and made me ready.

20. The next morning he came to me to mine arraying, and saw my bed-chamber, and went a hunting with hounds; and saw me shoot, and saw all my guards shoot together, He dined with me, heard me play on the lute, ride; came to me to my study; supped with me, and so departed to Richmond.

19. The Scots sent an ambassador hither for receiving the treaty, sealed with the great seal of England, which was delivered him. Also I sent sir Thomas Chaloner, clerk of my council, to have the seal of them, for confirmation of the last treaty at Northampton.

17. This day my lord marquess and the commissioners coming to treat of the marriage, offered by later instructions 600,000 crowns, after 400,000*l.* and so departed for an hour. Then seeing they could get no better, came to the French offer of 200,000 crowns, half to be paid at the marriage, half six months after that.

Then the French agreed that her dote should be but 10,000 marks of lawful mony of England.

Thirdly, It was agreed, that if I died, she should not have the dote, saying, they did that for friendship's sake without precedent.

19. The lord marquess having received and delivered again the treaty sealed, took his leave, and so did all the rest.

At this time was there a bickering at Parma between the French and the Papists, for monsieur de Thermes, Petro Strozi, and Fontivello, with divers other gentlemen, to the number of thirty, with fifteen hundred souldiers, entered Parma; Gonzaga, with the emperor's and pope's band, lay near the town. The French made sallies, and overcame, slaying the prince of Macedonia, and the seigniour Baptista the pope's nephew.

22. Mr. Sidney made one of the four chief gentlemen.

23. Monsieur le Mareschal came to me, declaring the king his master's well-taking my readiness to this treaty; and also how much his master was bent that way. He presented monsieur Bois Dolphine to be ambassador here, as my lord marquess the 19th day did present Mr. Pickering.

26. Monsieur le Mareschal dined with me. After dinner saw the strength of the English archers. After he had so done, at his departure I gave him a diamond from my finger, worth, by estimation, 150*l.* both for pains, and also for my memory. Then he took his leave.

27. He came to a hunting to tell me the news, and shew the letter his master had sent him, and doubtless of monsieur Termes and Marignan's letters, being ambassador with the emperor.

28. Monsieur le Mareschal came to dinner to Hide Park, where there was a fair house made for him, and he saw the coursing there.

30. He came to the earl of Warwick's, lay there one night, and was well received.

29. He had his reward, being worth 3000*l.* in gold, of currant mony, monsieur de Gye 1000*l.*, monsieur Chenault 1000*l.*, monsieur Movillier 500*l.*, the secretary 500*l.*, and the bishop Peregueux 500*l.*

*August.*

3. Monsieur le Mareschal departed to Boleign, and had certain of my ships to conduct him thither.

9. Four-and-twenty lords of the council met at Richmond, to commune of my sister Mary's matter, who at length agreed, that it was not meet to be suffered any longer, making thereof an instrument signed with their own hands, and sealed, to be on record.

11. The lord marquess, with the most part of his band, came home, and delivered the treaty sealed.

12. Letters sent for Rochester, Inglefield, and Walgrave, to come the 13th day, but they came not till another letter was sent to them the 13th day.

14. My lord marquess's reward was delivered at Paris, worth 500*l.* my lord of Ely's 200, Mr. Hobbey's 150; the rest all about one scantling.

14. Rochester, &c. had commandment neither to hear nor to suffer any kind of service, but the common and orders set forth at large by parliament; and had a letter to my lady's house from my council for their credit, another to herself for me. Also appointed that I should come and sit at council when great matters were debating, or when I would.

This last month monsieur de Thermes, with five hundred Frenchmen, came to Parma, and entered safely; afterward certain issued out of the town, and were overthrown, as Scipiaro, Dandelot, Petro, and others, were taken, and some slain; after they gave a skirmish, entered the camp of Gonzaga, and spoiled a few tents, and returned.

15. Sir Robert Dudley and Barnabe sworn two of the six ordinary gentlemen. The last month the Turk's navy won a little castle in Sicily.

17. Instructions sent to sir James Croftes for divers purposes, whose copy is in the secretary's hands. The testourn cried down from 9*d.* to 6*d.* the groat from 3*d.* to 2*d.*, the 2*d.* to 1*d.*, the penny to an half-penny, the half-penny to a farthing, &c.

1. Monsieur Termes and Scipiero overthrew three ensigns of horsemen at three times; took one dispatch sent from Don Fernando to the pope concerning this war, and another from the pope to Don Fernando; discomfited four ensigns of footmen; took the count Camillo of Castilion, and slew a captain of the Spaniards.

22. Removing to Windsor.

23. Rochester, &c. returned, denying to do openly the charge of the lady Mary's house for displeasing her.

26. The lord chancellor, Mr. Comptroller, the secretary Petre, sent to do the same commission.

27. Mr. Coverdale made bishop of Exeter.

28. Rochester, &c. sent to the Fleet.

The lord chancellor, &c. did that they were commanded to do to my sister and her house.

31. Rochester, &c. committed to the Tower.

The duke of Somerset taking certain that began a new conspiracy for the destruction of the gentlemen at Okingam two days past, executed them with death for their offence.

29. Certain pinaces were prepared to see that there should be no conveyance over-sea of the lady Mary secretly done. Also appointed that the lord chancellor, lord chamberlain, the vice chamberlain, and the secretary Petre should see, by all means they could, whether she used the mass; and if she did, that the laws should be executed on her chaplains. Also that when I came from this progress to Hampton Court, or Westminster, both my sisters should be with me, till further order were taken for this purpose.

*September.*

3. The French ambassador came to declare first how the emperor wronged divers of his master's subjects and vassals; arrested also his merchants, and did cloakedly begin war, for he besieged Mirandula round about with forces he had made in the French king's country. Also he stayed certain French ships going a-fishing to the Newfoundland. Furthermore he set out a dozen of ships, which bragged they would take the dowager of Scotland, which thing staied her so long at Diep. Whereupon his master had taken the whole fleet of Antwerp, conveying it to his country into his ports, by twenty ships he had set forth under baron de la Garde. Also minded to send more help to Piedmont and Mirandula. For this cause he desired that on my coasts the dowager might have safe passage, and might be secured by my servants at the sea-coast if any chance should happen.

He was willed to put it in writing: he showed how the Turk's navy, having spoiled a piece of Sicily, went to Malta, and there took an isle adjacent called Gozo; from thence they went to Tripoly. In Transilvania Rosto Bassa was leader of the army, and had spoiled it wholly.

In Hungary the Turks had made a fort by the mines to get them. Magdeburg was freshly victualled, and duke Maurice came his way, being suspected that he had conspired with them there.

4. It was answered, to the French ambassador, that the dowager should in all my ports be defended from enemies, tempest, and likewise also thanks were given for the news.

5. The emperor's ambassador came to require, that my sister Mary's officers should be restored to their liberty, and she should have her mass till the emperor was certified thereof.

It was answered, that I need not to answer except I list, because he spake without commission, which was seen by the shortness of the time since the committing of her officers, of which the emperor could not be advertised. He was willed no more to move these piques, in which he had been often answered, without commission. He was answered, that the emperor was by this time advertised, although the matter pertained not to him. Also that I had done nothing but according to a king's office herein, in observing the laws that were so godly, and in punishing the offenders. The promise to the emperor was not so made as he pretended, affirmed by sir Philip Hobbey being at that time their ambassador.

6. Deliberation touching the coin. Memorandum, that there were divers standards nine ounces fine, a few eight ounces fine, as ill as four, because although that was fine, yet a shilling was reckoned for two shillings, six ounces, very many four ounces, many also three ounces, 130,000*l.* now of late. Whereupon agreed that the testourn being called to sixpence, four with help of six should make ten fine, eight fine with help of nine, being fewer than those of eight, should make ten ounces fine, the two ounces of allay should quit the charges of minting; and those of threepence, being but few, should be turned to a standard of four of farthings, and half-pence, and pence, for to serve for the poor people, because the merchants made no exchange of it, and the sum was not great. Also to bear the charges, for because it was thought that few or none were left of nine ounces fine, eight ounces were naught, and six ounces were two ways devised, one without any craft, the other was not fully six, of which kind was not a few.

9. A proclamation set forth touching the prices of cattle, of hogs, pigs, beeves, oxen, muttons, butter, and cheese, after a reasonable price, not fully so good cheap as it was when the coin was at the perfectest, but within a fifth part of it, or thereabouts.

10. I removed to Farnham.



12. A proclamation set forth touching the coin, that whereas it was so that men for gain melted down the ninepence testourn continually, and the sixpence; also there should no person in any wise melt it down, upon pain to incur the penalty of the laws.

13. A letter directed to the lord treasurer, the lord great master and the master of the horse, to meet at London, for the ordering of my coin, and the paiment of my debts; which done, to return, and make report of their proceedings.

11. War proclaimed in Britain between the emperor and the French, by the terms, **Charles Roy d'Espaigne, et Duc de Milan,** leaving out emperor.

Four towns taken by the French souldiers that were the emperor's in Piedmont Guerra: from Amiens also the emperor's country there was spoiled, and one hundred and twenty castles or fortresses taken.

Proclamation made in Paris touching the bulls, that no man should go for them to Rome.

Other ships also taken by Prior de Capua merchants, to the number of a dozen; Prior de Capua had thirty-two gallies.

19. The French ambassador sent this news also, that the Turks had taken Tripoly.

20. The secretary Cecil, and sir Philip Hobbey, sent to London to help the lord treasurer, &c. in the matters of the bishops of Chichester, Worcester, and Duresme, and examination of my sister's men.

18. Removing to Windsor.

20. The lords at London having tried all kinds of stamping, both of the fineness of nine, eight, six, four, and three, proved that without any loss, but sufferable, the coin might be brought to eleven ounces fine: for whereas it was thought before, that the testourn was, through ill officers and ministers, corrupted, it was tried, that it had the valuation just by eight sundry kinds of melting, and 400*l.* of sterling mony, a testourn being but sixpence, made 400*l.* eleven ounces fine of mony sterling.

22. Whereupon they reported the same, and then it was concluded that the testourn should be eleven ounces fine, the proportion of the pences according to the gold; so that five shillings of silver should be worth five of gold.

23. Removing to Oatlands.

24. Agreed that the stamp of the shilling and sixpence should be on one side, a king painted to the shoulders in parliament robes, with a chain of the order. Five shillings of silver, and half five shillings, should be a king on horseback, armed with a naked sword hard to his breast. Also that York's Mint, and Throgmorton's in the Tower, should go and work the fine standard. In the City of York and Canterbury should the small mony be wrought of a baser state. Officers for the same were appointed.

A piece of Barwick wall fell, because the foundation was shaken by working of a bulwark.

28. The lord marquess of Dorset, grieved much with the disorder of the marches towards Scotland, surrendered the wardenship thereof to bestow where I would.

27. The wardenship of the North given to the earl of Warwick.

Removing to Hampton Court,

28. Commissioners appointed for sitting on the bishop of Chichester and Worcester; three lawyers, and three civilians.

10. The imperialists took the suburbs of Heading, and burnt them.

26. The passport of the dowager of Scotland was made for a longer time till Christmass; and also if she were driven, to pass quietly by land into Scotland.

20. Monsieur d'Angoulesme was born; and the duke of Vendosme had a son by the princess of Navarr his wife.

30. The feast of Michaelmass was kept by me in the robes of the order.

*October.*

1. The commission for the making of five shillings, half five shillings, groats and sixpences, eleven ounces fine, and pence, with halfpence, and farthings, four ounces fine, was followed and signed.

5. Jarnac came in post for declaration of two things: the one, that the queen had a third son of which she was delivered, called Le duc d'Angoulesme, of which the king prayed me to be godfather. I answered, I was glad of the news, and that I thanked him for that I should be godfather, which was a token of good-will he bare me. Also that I would dispatch, for the accomplishment thereof, the lord Clinton, the lord admiral of England. He said, he came also to tell a second point of the good success of his master's wars; he told how the last month in Shampaign, beside Sedan, a thousand horse imperialists, with divers Hungarians, Martin Vanrossy being their captain and leader, entered the country; and the alarm came, the skirmish began so hot, that the French horse, about two or three hundred men-of-arms, came out and took Vanrossy's brother, and slew divers. Also how in Piedmont, since the taking of the last four towns, three other were taken, Monrechia, Saluges, and the town of Burges. The Turks had come to Naples, and spoiled the country, and taken Ostium in the mouth of Tyberis. Also in Sicily he had taken a good haven and a town.

6. Jarnac departed, having lyen in the court under my lodging. The night before the bishops of Worcester and Chichester were deposed for contempts.

7. There were appointed to go with the lord admiral Mr. Nevil, Mr. Barnabie, gentlemen of the chamber; sir William Stafford, sir Adrian Poinings, sir John Norton, sir John Teri, knights; and Mr. Brook.

8. Letters directed to the captains of gandarms, that they should muster the 8th of November, being the Sunday after Hallow-eve day.

11. Henry, marquess of Dorset, created duke of Suffolk; John, earl of Warwick, created duke of Northumberland; William, earl of Wiltshire, created marquess of Winchester; sir William Herbert, created earl of Pembrook, and lord of Cardiff; Mr. Sidney, Mr. Nevil, Mr. Cheek, all three of the privy chamber, made knights; also Mr. Cecil one of the two secretaries.

13. Proclamation signed touching the calling in of testourns and groats, that they that list might come to the Mint and have fine silver of twelve-pence for two testourns.

3. Prior de Capua departed the French king's service, and went to his order of knights in Malta, partly for displeasure to the count Villars, the constable's brother-in-law, partly for that Malta was assailed often by the Turks.

7. Sir Thomas Palmer came to the earl of Warwick, since that time duke of Northumberland, to deliver him his chain, being a very fair one (for every link weighed an ounce) to be delivered to Jarnac, and so to receive as much; whereupon in my lord's garden he declared a conspiracy, how at St. George's day last, my lord of Somerset, who then was going to the North, if the master of the horse, sir William Herbert, had not assured him on his honour that he should have no hurt, went to raise the people, and the lord Gray went before to know who were his friends. Afterward a device

was made to call the earl of Warwick to a banquet, with the marquess of Northampton, and divers others, and to cut off their heads. Also he found a bare company about them by the way to set upon them.

11. He declared also, that Mr. Vane had two thousand men in readiness; sir Thomas Arundel had assured my lord, that the Tower was safe; Mr. Partridge should raise London, and take the great seal with the apprentices of London; Seymour and Hammond should wait upon him, and all the horse of the gandarms should be slain.

13. Removing to Westminster, because it was thought this matter might easilier and surelier be dispatched there, and likewise all other.

14. The duke sent for the secretary Cecil to tell him he suspected some ill. Mr. Cecil answered, that if he were not guilty, he might be of good courage; if he were, he had nothing to say, but to lament him. Whereupon the duke sent him a letter of defiance, and called Palmer, who after denial made of his declaration, was let go.

16. This morning none was at Westminster of the conspirators. The first was the duke, who came later than he was wont of himself. After dinner he was apprehended. Sir Thomas Palmer on the Terras walking there, Hammond passing by Mr. Vice-chamberlain's door, was called in by John Piers to make a match at shooting, and so taken. Nudegates was called for as from my lord his master, and taken; likewise were John Seimour and David Seimour. Arundel also was taken, and the lord Gray coming out of the country. Vane, upon two sendings of my lord in the morning, fled at the first sending; he said, my lord was not stout, and if he could get home, he cared for none of them all, he was so strong. But after he was found by John Piers in a stable of his man's at Lambeth under the straw. These went with the duke to the Tower this night, saving Palmer, Arundel, and Vane, who were kept in chambers here apart.

17. The dutches, Crane and his wife, with the chamber-keeper, were sent to the Tower for devising these treasons. James Wingfield also for casting of bills seditious; also Mr. Partridge was attached, and sir Thomas Holcroft.

18. Mr. Banister and Mr. Vaughan were attached and sent to the Tower, and so was Mr. Stanhope.

19. Sir Thomas Palmer confessed that the gendarms, on the muster-day, should be assaulted by two thousand footmen of Mr. Vane's, and my lord's hundred horse; besides his friends which stood by, and the idle people which took his part. If he were overthrown, he would run through London, and cry Liberty! liberty! to raise the apprentices and rabble; if he could, he would go to the Isle of Wight, or to Pool.

22. The dowager of Scotland was by tempest driven to land at Portsmouth; and so she sent word she would take the benefit of the safe-conduct to go by land, and to see me.

23. She came from Portsmouth to Mr. White's house.

24. The lords sat in the star-chamber, and there declared the matters and accusations laid against the duke, meaning to stay the minds of the people.

25. Certain German princes, in the beginning of this month, desired aid in cause of religion 400,000 dollars, if they should be driven to make shift by necessity; and offered the like also, if I entered into any war for them; whereupon I called the lords, and considered, as appeareth by a scroll in the board at Westminster, and thereupon appointed that the secretary Petre, and sir William Cecil another secretary, should talk with the messenger to know the matter precisely, and the names of those would enter the confederacy.

28. The Dowager came to sir Richard Cotton's house.

29. She came from sir Richard Cotton's to the earl of Arundel to dinner, and brought to Mr. Brown's house, where met her the gentlemen of Sussex.

30. She came and was conveied by the same gentlemen to Guilford, where the lord William Howard, and the gentlemen of Surrey, met her.

All this month the Frenchmen continued spoiling of the emperor's frontiers, and in a skirmish at Ast they slew one hundred Spaniards.

31. A letter, directed to sir Arthur Darcy, to take the charge of the Tower, and to discharge sir John Markham upon this, that without making any of the council privy, he suffered the duke to walk abroad, and certain letters to be sent and answered between David Seimour and Mrs. Poinings, with other divers suspicions.

17. There were letters sent to all emperors, kings, ambassadors, noblemen, men, and chief men, into countries, of the late conspiracy.

31. She came to Hampton Court, conveyed by the same lords and gentlemen aforesaid; and two miles and an half from thence, in a valley, there met her the lord marquess of Northampton, accompanied with the earl of Wiltshire, son and heir to the lord high treasurer, marquess of Winchester; the lord Fitzwater, son to the earl of Sussex; the lord Evers, the lord Bray, the lord Robert Dudley, the lord Garet, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, sir Edward Rogers, and divers other gentlemen, besides all the gentlemen pensioners, men-of-arms, and ushers, sewers and carvers, to the number of an hundred and twenty gentlemen; and so she was brought to Hampton Court. At the gate thereof met her the lady marquess of Northampton, the countess of Pembrook, and divers other ladies and gentlewomen, to the number of sixty; and so she was brought to her lodging on the Queen's side, which was all hanged with Arras; and so was the hall, and all the other lodgings of mine in the house very finely dressed; and for this night, and the next day, all was spent in dancing and pastime, as though it were a court, and great presence of gentlemen resorted thither.

26. Letters were written, for because of this business, to defer the musters of gendarmory till the — day of December.

*November.*

1. The Dowager perused the house of Hampton Court, and saw some coursing of deer.

2. She came to the bishop's palace at London, and there she lay, and all her train lodged about her.

3. The duke of Suffolk, the earl of Warwick, Wiltshire, and many other lords and gentlemen, were sent to her to welcome her, and to say, on my behalf, that if she lacked anything she should have it for her better furniture; and, also, I would willingly see her the day following.

*The 26th of October.*

Crane confessed the most part, even as Palmer did before, and more also: how that the place where the nobles should have been banqueted, and their heads striken off, was the lord Paget's house, and how the earl of Arundel knew of the matter as well as he, by Stanhop, who was a messenger between them; also some part, how he went to London to get friends once in August last, feigning himself sick. Hammond also confessed the watch he kept in his chamber at night. Bren also confessed much of this matter. The lord Strange confessed how the duke willed him to stir me to marry his third daughter, the lady Jane, and willed him to be his spie in all matters of my doings and sayings, and to know when some of my council spoke secretly with me: this he confessed of himself.



*November.*

4. The duke of Suffolk, the lord Fitzwater, the lord Bray, and divers other lords and gentlemen, accompanied with his wife the lady Francis, the lady Margaret, the dutchesses of Richmond and of Northumberland, the lady Jane daughter to the duke of Suffolk; the marquess of Northampton and Winchester; the countesses of Arundel, Bedford, Huntington, and Rutland, with one hundred other ladies and gentlewomen, went to her, and brought her through London to Westminster. At the gate there received her the duke of Northumberland, great master, and the treasurer and comptroller, and the earl of Pembrook, with all the sewers, and carvers, and cupbearers, to the number of thirty. In the hall I met her, with all the rest of the lords of my council, as the lord treasurer, the marquess of Northampton, &c.; and from the outer gate up to the presence-chamber, on both sides stood the guard. The court, the hall, and the stairs, were full of serving-men; the presence-chamber, great chamber, and her presence-chamber, of gentlemen. And so having brought her to her chamber, I retired to mine. I went to her to dinner; she dined under the same cloth of state at my left hand: at her rereward dined my cousin Francis and my cousin Margaret; at mine sat the French ambassador. We were served by two services, two sewers, cupbearers, carvers, and gentlemen. Her master hostell came before her service, and my officers before mine. There were two cupboards, one of gold four stages high, another of massy silver six stages: in her great chamber, dined at three boards, the ladies only. After dinner, when she had heard some music I brought her to the hall, and so she went away.

5. The duke of Northumberland, the lord treasurer, the lord marquess of Northampton, the lord privyseal, and divers others went to see her, and to deliver a ring with a diamond, and two nags, as a token from me.

6. The duke of Northumberland, with his band of an hundred, of which forty were in black velvet, white and black sleeves, sixty in cloth; the earl of Pembrook with his band, and fifty more; the earl of Wiltshire, with fifty-eight of his father's band, all the pensioners, men-of-arms, and the country, with divers ladies, as my cousin Margaret, the duchesses of Richmond and Northumberland, brought the queen to Shoreditch, through Cheapside and Cornhill; and there met her gentlemen of Middlesex an hundred horse, and so she was conveyed out of the realm, met in every shire with gentlemen.

8. The earl of Arundel committed to the Tower, with Mr. Stroudly, and St. Alban his men, because Crane did more and more confess of him.

7. A Frenchman was sent again into France, to be delivered again to the eight Frenchmen at the borders, because of a murder he did at Diep, and thereupon he fled hither.

14. Answer was given to the Germans, which did require 400,000 dollars, if need so required, for maintenance of religion.

First, that I was very well inclined to make peace, amity, or bargain with them I knew to be of mine religion; for because this messenger was sent only to know my inclination and will to enter, and not with full resolution of any matters.

Secondly, I would know whether they could get unto them any such strength of other princes as were able to maintain the war, and to do the reciproque to me if need should require; and therefore willed those three princes, duke Maurice of Saxon, the duke of Mecklenburgh, and the marquess John of Brandenburgh, from which he was sent, to open the matter to the duke of Prussia, and to all princes about them, and somewhat to get the good will of Hamburgh, Lubeck, Bremen, &c. showing them an inkling of the matter.

Thirdly, I would have the matter of religion made more plain, lest when war should be made for other quarrels, they should say it were religion.

Fourthly, he should come with more ample commission from the same states to talk of the sum of mony and other appurtenances. This answer was given, lest if I assented wholly at the first, they would declare mine intent to the stadts and whole senates, and so to come abroad, whereby I should run into danger of breaking the league with the emperor.

16. The lord admiral took his leave, to go into France for christening of the French king's son.

18. Fossey, secretary to the duke Maurice, who was here for matter above specified.

20. A proclamation appointed to go forth, for that there went one before this time, that set prices of beef, oxen, and muttons, which was meant to continue but to November; whenas the parliament should have been to abbrogate that, and to appoint certain commissioners to cause the grasiers to bring to the market, and to sell at prices reasonable. And that certain overseers should be besides to certify of the justices doings.

23. The lord treasurer appointed high steward for the arraignment of the duke of Somerset.

At this time duke Maurice began to show himself a friend to the Protestants, who before that time had appeared their enemy.

21. The foresaid proclamation proclaimed.

17. The earl of Warwick, sir Henry Sidney, sir Henry Nevil, and sir Henry Gates, did challenge all commers at tilt the 3d of January, and at tournay the 6th of January; and this challenge was proclaimed.

28. News came that Maximilian was coming out of Spain, nine of his galleys with his stuff, and 120 gennets, and his treasure was taken by the French.

24. The lord admiral entered France and came to Buloign.

26. The captain of Portsmouth had word and commandment to bring the model of the castle and place, to the intent it might be fortified, because baron de la Gard had seen it, having an engineer with him, and as it was thought had the plot of it.

30. 22 peers and nobles, besides the council, heard sir Thomas Palmer, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Crane, and Nudigate, swear that their confessions were true: and they did say, that that was said without any kind of compulsion, force, envy, or displeasure, but as favourably to the duke as they could swear to with safe consciences.

24. The lord admiral came to Paris.

*December.*

1. The duke of Somerset came to his trial at Westminster-hall; the lord treasurer sat as high steward of England, under the cloth of state, on a bench between two posts, three degrees high. All the lords to the number of twenty-six, viz. The dukes of Suffolk, Northumberland; marquess of Northampton; earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntingdon, Rutland, Bath, Sussex, Worcester, Pembrook; vis. Hereford; barons Burgaveny, Audley, Wharton, Evers, Latimer, Bourough, Souch, Stafford, Wentworth, Darcy, Sturton, Windsor, Cromwell, Cobham, Bray.

These sat a degree under and heard the matter debated.

First, after the indictments were read, five in number, the learned counsel laid to my lord of Somerset Palmer's confession. To which he answered, that he never minded to raise the North, and declared all the ill he could devise of Palmer, but he was afraid for bruits, and that moved him to send to sir William Herbert. Replied it was again, that the worse Palmer was, the more he served his purpose. For the banquet, he swore it was untrue, and required more witnesses. Whence Crane's confession was read, he would have had him come face to face. For London, he meant nothing for hurt of any lord but for his own defence. For the gendarmoury, it were but a mad matter for him to enterprise with his one hundred against nine hundred. For having men in his chamber at Greenwich, confessed by Partridg, it seemed he meant no harm, because when he could have done harm he did it not. My lord Strange's confession, he swore it was untrue; and the lord Strange took his oath it was true. Nudigate's, Hammond's, and Alexander Seimour's confessions he denied, because they were his men.

The lawyers rehearsed, how to raise men at his house for an ill intent, as to kill the duke of Northumberland, was treason, by an act, anno tertio of my reign, against unlawful assemblies, for to devise the death of the lords was felony. To mind resisting his attachment was felony; to raise London was treason, and to assault the lords was felony. He answered, he did not intend to raise London, and swore that the witnesses were not there. His assembling of men was but for his own defence. He did not determine to kill the duke of Northumberland, the marquess, &c. but spoke of it, and determined after the contrary, and yet seemed to confess he went about their death.

The lords went together. The duke of Northumberland would not agree that any searching of his death should be treason. So the lords acquitted him of high treason, and condemned him of treason felonious, and so he was adjudged to be hanged.

He gave thanks to the lords for their open trial, and cried mercy of the duke of Northumberland, the marquess of Northampton, and the earl of Pembrook, for his ill meaning against them, and made suit for his life, wife, children, servants, and debts, and so departed without the ax of the Tower. The people not knowing the matter, shouted half a dozen of times so loud, that from the hall-door it was heard at Charing Cross plainly, and rumours went that he was quit of all.

2. The peace concluded by the lord marquess, was ratified by me before the ambassador, and delivered to him signed and sealed.

3. The duke told certain lords that were in the Tower, that he had hired Bertivill to kill them; which thing Bertivill examined on, confessed, and so did Hammond that he knew of it.

4. I saw the musters of the new bandmen of arms: one hundred of my lord treasurer's; one hundred of Northumberland, one hundred Northampton, fifty Huntingtoun, fifty Rutland, one hundred and twenty of Pembrook, fifty Darcy, fifty Cobham, one hundred sir Thomas Cheyney, and one hundred and eighty of the pensioners and their bands, with the old men-of-arms, all well-armed men; some with feathers, staves, and pensils of their colours; some with sleeves and half-coats; some with bards and staves, &c. The horses all fair and great, the worst would not have been given for less than 20*l.*; there was none under fourteen handful and an half the most part, and almost all horses with their guider going before them. They passed twice about St. James's Field, and compassed it round, and so departed.

15. Then were certain devices for laws delivered to my learned council to pen, as by a schedule appeareth.

18. It was appointed I should have six chaplains ordinary, of which two ever to be present, and four always absent in preaching: one year two in Wales, two in Lancashire and Darby; next year two in the marches of Scotland, two in Yorkshire; the third year, two in Devonshire, two in Hampshire; fourth year, two in Norfolk and Essex, and two in Kent and Sussex, &c. These six to be Bill, Harle, Perne, Grindall, Bradford, and Knox.

20. The bishop of Duresme was for concealment of treason written to him, and not disclosed at all till the party did open him, committed to the Tower.

21. Richard lord Rich, chancellor of England, considering his sickness, did deliver his seal to the lord treasurer, the lord great master, and the lord chamberlain, sent to him for that purpose during the time of his sickness, and chiefly of the parliament.

5. The lord admiral came to the French king, and after was sent to the queen, and so conveied to his chamber.

6. The lord admiral christned the French king's child, and called him, by the king's commandment, Edward Alexander. All that day there was musick, dancing, and playing with triumph in the court; but the lord admiral was sick of a double quartane, yet he presented Barnabe to the French king, who took him to his chamber.

7. The treaty was delivered to the lord admiral, and the French king read it in open audience at mass, with ratification of it. The lord admiral took his leave of the French king, and returned to Paris very sick.

The same day the French king shewed the lord admiral letters that came from Parma, how the Frenchmen had gotten two castles of the imperialists; and in the defence of the one, the prince of Macedonia was slain on the walls, and was buried with triumph at Parma.

22. The great seal of England delivered to the bishop of Ely, to be keeper thereof during the lord Rich's sickness.

The band of an hundred men-of-arms, which my lord of Somerset of late had, appointed to the duke of Suffolk.

23. Removing to Greenwich.

24. I began to keep holy this Christmass, and continued till Twelve-tide.

26. Sir Anthony St. Legier, for matters laid against him by the bishop of Dublin, was banished my chamber till he had made answer and had the articles delivered him.

28. The lord admiral came to Greenwich.

30. Commission was made out to the bishop of Ely, the lord privy-seal, sir John Gates, sir William Petre, sir Robert Bowes, and sir Walter Mildmay, for calling in my debts.

*January.*

1. Orders were taken with the chandlers of London, for selling their tallow-candles, which before some denied to do; and some were punished with imprisonment.

3. The challenge that was made in the last month was fulfilled.

The challengers were:—Sir Henry Sidney. Sir Henry Nevel. Sir Henry Gates.

Defendants:—The lord Williams. The lord Fitzwater. The lord Ambrose. The lord Roberts. The lord Fitzwarren. Sir George Howard. Sir William Stafford. Sir John Parrat. Mr. Norice. Mr. Digby. Mr. Warcop. Mr. Courtney. Mr. Knolls. The lord Bray. Mr. Paston. Mr. Cary. Sir Anthony Brown. Mr. Drury.



These in all ran six courses apiece at tilt against the chaliengers, and accomplished their courses right well, and so departed again.

5. There were sent to Guisnes sir Richard Cotton, and Mr. Bray, to take view of Calais, Guisnes, and the marches; and with the advice of the captain and engineers, to devise some amendment, and thereupon to make me certificate, and upon mine answer to go further to the matter.

4. It was appointed, that if Mr. Stanhop left Hull, then that I should no more be charged therewith, but that the town should take it, and should have 40*l.* a year for the repairing of the castle.

2. I received letters out of Ireland, which appear in the secretary's hand; and thereupon the earldom of Thowmount was by me given from O'Brian's heirs, whose father was dead, and had it for term of life, to Donnas baron of Ebrecan, and his heirs males.

3. Also letters were written of thanks to the earls of Desmond and Clanrikard, and to the baron of Dunganan.

3. The emperor's ambassador moved me several times that my sister Mary might have mass, which with no little reasoning with him was denied him.

6. The foresaid challengers came into the tournay, and the foresaid defendants entered in after, with two more with them, Mr. Terill, and Mr. Robert Hopton, and fought right well, and so the challenge was accomplished.

The same night was first of a play, after a talk between one that was called Riches, and the other Youth, whether of them was better. After some pretty reasoning, there came in six champions of either side.

On Youth's side came:—My lord Fitzwater. My lord Ambrose. Sir Anthony Brown. Sir William Cobham. Mr. Cary. Mr. Warcop.

On Riches' side:—My lord Fitzwarren. Sir Robert Stafford. Mr. Courtney. Mr. Digby. Mr. Hopton. Mr. Hungerford.

All these fought two to two at barriers in the hall. Then came in two apparelled like Almains, the earl of Ormond and Jaques Granado; and two came in like friars, but the Almains would not suffer them to pass till they had fought: the friars were Mr. Drury and Thomas Cobham. After this followed two masques, one of men, another of women. Then a banquet of one hundred and twenty dishes. This day was the end of Christmass.

7. I went to Debtford to dine there, and broke up the hall.

8. Upon a certain contention between the lord Willowby, and sir Andrew Dudley, captain of Guisnes, for their jurisdiction, the lord Willowby was sent for to come over, to the intent the controversy might cease, and order might be taken.

12. There was a commission granted to the earl of Bedford, to Mr. Vice-chamberlain, and certain others, to call in my debts that were owing me, and the days past; and also to call in these that be past when the days be come.

17. There was a match run between six gentlemen of a side at tilt.

Of one side:—The earl of Warwick. The lord Roberts. Mr. Sidney. Mr. Novel. Henry Gates. Anthony Digby. These wan by four taintes.

Of the other side:—The lord Ambrose. The lord Fitzwater. Sir Francis Knollis. Sir Anthony Brown. Sir John Parrat. Mr. Courtney.

18. The French ambassador moved, that we should destroy the Scotch part of the debatable ground as they had done ours. It was answered:—1. The lord Coniers that made the agreement, made it none otherwise but as it should stand with his superior's pleasure: whereupon the same agreement being misliked, because the Scotch part was much harder to overcome, word was sent to stay the matter. Nevertheless the lord Maxwell did, upon malice to the English debatablers, overrun them; whereupon was concluded, that if the Scots will agree it, the ground should be divided; if not, then shall the Scots waste their debatablers, and we ours, commanding them by proclamation to depart.

This day the Stillard put in their answer to a certain complaint that the merchant-adventurers laid against them.

19. The bishop of Ely, custos sigilli, was made chancellor, because as custos sigilli he could execute nothing in the parliament that should be done, but only to seal ordinary things.

21. Removing to Westminster.

22. The duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower Hill, between eight and nine a clock in the morning.

16. Sir William Pickering delivered a token to the lady Elizabeth, a fair diamond.

18. The duke of Northumberland, having under him an hundred men-of-arms, and an hundred light-horse, gave up the keeping of fifty men-at-arms to his son the earl of Warwick.

23. The sessions of parliament began.

24. John Gresham was sent over into Flanders, to shew to the Foulcare, to whom I owed mony, that I would defer it; or if I paied it, pay it in English, to make them keep up their French crowns with which I minded to pay them.

25. The answer of the Stiliard was delivered to certain of my learned counsel to look on and oversee.

27. Sir Ralph Vane was condemned of felony in treason, answering like a ruffian.

Paris arrived with horses, and shewed how the French king had sent me six Cortals, two Turks, a Barbary, two Gennets, a stirring horse, and two little mules, and shewed them to me.

29. Sir Thomas Arundel was likewise cast of felony in treason, after long controversie, for the matter was brought in trial by seven of the clock in the morning.

28. At noon the inquest went together; they sat shut up in a house together, without meat or drink, because they could not agree all that day and all that night.

29. This day in the morning they did cast him.

*February.*

2. There was a king-of-arms made for Ireland, whose name was Ulster, and his province was all Ireland; and he was the fourth king-of-arms, and the first herauld of Ireland.

The emperor took, the last month and this, a million of pounds in Flanders.

6. It was appointed that sir Philip Hobbey should go to the regent, upon pretence of ordering of quarrels of merchants, bringing with him 63,000*l.* in French crowns to be paid in Flanders at Antwerp, to the Schortz and their family, of debts I owed them, to the intent he might dispatch them both under one.

5. Sir Miles Partridge was condemned of felony for the duke of Somerset's matter, for he was one of the conspirators.

8. Fifty men-at-arms appointed to Mr. Sadler.

9. John Beaumont, master of the rolls, was put in prison for forging a false deed from Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, to the lady Ann Powis, of certain lands and leases.

10. Commission was granted out to thirty-two persons, to examine, correct, and set forth the ecclesiastical laws.

The persons' names were these:—The bishops—Canterbury, Ely, London, Winchester, Exeter, Bath, Glocester, Rochester.

The divines:—Taylor, of Lincoln; Tylor, of Hadlee; Mr. Cox, almoner; sir John Cheek; sir Anthony Cook; Petrus Martyr; Joannes Alasco; Parker, of Cambridge.

Civilians:—Mr. Secretary Petre; Mr. Secretary Cecil; Mr. Traherne; Mr. Red; Mr. Coke; May, dean of Paul's; Skinner.

Lawyers:—Justice Broomley; Justice Hales, Gosnald, Goodrick, Stamford, Carel, Lucas, Gawdy.

10. Sir Philip Hobbey departed with somewhat more crowns than came to 53,500 and odd livers, and had authority to borrow, in my name, of Lazarus Tuker 10,000*l.* Flemish, at seven per cent. for six months, to make up the pay, and to employ that that was in bullion, to bring over with him; also to carry 3000 merks' weight upon a license the emperor granted the Scheitz which they did give me. After that to depart to Bruges, where the regent lay, and there to declare to her the griefs of my subjects.

11. There was delivered of armour, by John Gresham, merchant, eleven hundred pair of corslets and horsemen-harnesses, very fair.

14. It was appointed that the Jesus of Lubeck, a ship of eight hundred tun, and the Mary Gouston of six hundred tun, should be let out for a voyage to merchantmen for 1000*l.* they at the voyage to Levant-end to answer the tackling, the ship, the ordnance, munition, and to leave it in that case they took it. Certain others of the worst of my ships were appointed to be sold.

9. Proclamation was made at Paris, that the bands of the dolphine, the duke of Vendosme, the count d'Anguien, the constable of France, the duke de Guise, and d'Aumale, the count de Sancerres, the mareschal St. Andrew, monsieur de Jarnac and Tavennes, should, the 15th day of March, assemble at Troyes in Champaign to resist the emperor. Also that the French king would go thither in prison, with two hundred gentlemen of his household, and four hundred archers of his guard.

16. The French king sent his secretary de Lausbespine to declare this voyage to him,* and to desire him to take pains to have Mr. Pickering with him, and to be a witness of his doings.

19. Whereupon it was appointed, that he should have 2000 crowns for his furnishment, besides his diet, and Barnabe eight hundred.

20. The countess of Pembrook died.

18. The merchant-adventurers put in their replication to the Stiliard's answer.

23. A decree was made by the board, that upon knowledge and information of their charters, they had found: first, that they were no sufficient corporation. Second. That their number, names, and nation was unknown. Third. That when they had forfeited their liberties, king Edward IV. did restore them on this condition,—that they should colour no stranger's goods, which they had done. Also that whereas in the beginning they shipped not past eight clothes, after one hundred, after one thousand, after that six thousand; now in their name was shipped forty-four thousand clothes in one year, and but eleven hundred of all other strangers. For these considerations sentence was given, that they had forfeited their liberties, and were in like case with other strangers.

28. There came ambassadors from Hamburg, and Lubeck, to speak on the behalf of the Stiliard merchants.

29. A Fleming would have searched the Falcon for Frenchmen; the Falcon turned, shot off, boarded the Fleming, and took him.

Paiment was made of 63,500*l.* Flemish to the Foulcare, all saving 6,000*l.* which he borrowed in French crowns by sir Philip Hobbey.

*March.*

2. The lord of Burgaveny was committed to ward for striking the earl of Oxford in the chamber of presence.

The answer for the ambassadors of the Stiliard was committed to the lord chancellor, the two secretaries, sir Robert Bowes, sir John Baker, judge Montague, Griffith sollicitor, Gosnald, Goodrick, and Brooks.

3. It was agreed, for better dispatch of things, certain of the council, with others joined with them, should overlook the penal laws, and put certain of them in execution. Others should answer suitors; others should oversee my revenues, and the order of them; also the superfluous paiments heretofore made. Others should have commission for taking away superfluous bulwarks.

First, order was given for defence of the merchants, to send four barques and two pinaces to the sea.

4. The earl of Westmoreland, the lord Wharton, the lord Coniers, sir Tho. Palmer, and sir Tho. Chalouer, were appointed in commission to meet with the Scotch ambassadors, for equal division of the ground that was called the debatable.

6. The French ambassador declared to the duke of Northumberland, how the French king had sent him a letter of credit for his ambassadry. After delivery made of the letter, he declared how duke Maurice of Saxony, the duke of Mecklenburgh, the marquess of Brandenburgh, the count of Mansfield, and divers other princes of Germany, made a league with his master offensive and defensive; the French to go to Strasburg with thirty thousand footmen, and eight thousand horsemen; the Almains to meet with them there the 25th of this month, with fifteen thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen. Also the city of Strasburg had promised them victual, and declared how the French would send me ambassadors to have me into the same league. Also, that the marquess of Brandenburg, and count of Mansfield, had been privately conveied to the French king's presence, and were again departed to leavy men, and he thought by this time they were in the field.

10. He declared the same thing to me in the same manner.

9. It was consulted touching the marts, and it was agreed that it was most necessary to have a mart in England for the enriching of the same to make it the more famous, and to be less in other men's danger, and to make all things better cheap, and more plentiful. The time was thought good to have it now, because of the wars between the French king and the emperor. The places were the meetest; Hull for the east parts. Southampton for the south parts of England, as appeareth by two bills in my study. London also was thought no ill place, but it was appointed to begin with the other two.

11. The bills put up to the parliament were overseen, and certain of them were for this time thought meet to pass and to be read, other of them for avoiding tediousness to be omitted, and no more bills to be taken.

* This is imperfect.



15. Those that were appointed commissioners for the requests, or for the execution of penal laws, or for overseeing of the courts, received their commissions at my hand.

18. It was appointed, that for the paiment of 14,000*l.* in the end of April, there should be made an anticipation of the subsidy of London, and of the lords of my council, which should go near to pay the same with good provision.

20. The French ambassador brought me a letter of credit from his master, and thereupon delivered me the articles of the league betwixt the Germans and him, desiring me to take part of the same league: which articles I have also in my study.

23. The merchants of England having been long staied, departed, in all about sixty sail, the wool-fleet, and all to Antwerp. They were countermanded because of the mart, but it was too late.

24. Forsomuch as the exchange was staied by the emperor to Lions, the merchants of Antwerp were sore afraid; and that the mart could not be without exchange, liberty was given to the merchants to exchange and rechange mony for mony.

26. Henry Dudley was sent to the sea with four ships and two barks, for defence of the merchants, which were daily before robbed; who, as soon as he came to the sea, took two pirats ships, and brought them to Dover.

28. I did deny, after a sort, the request to enter into war, as appeareth by the copy of my answer in the study.

29. To the intent the ambassador might more plainly understand my meaning, I sent Mr. Hobbey and Mr. Mason to him, to declare him mine intent more amply.

31. The commissioners for the debatable of the Scotch side did deny to meet, except a certain castle, or pile, might be first razed; whereupon letters were sent to stay our commissioners from the meeting till they had further word.

10. Duke Maurice mustered at Artnstat in Saxony all his own men, and left duke August, the duke of Anhault, and the count of Mansfield, for defence of his country, chiefly for fear of the Bohemians. The young Lantsgrave, Reiffenberg, and others, mustered in Hassen.

14. The marquess Albert of Brandenburg mustered his men two leagues from Erdfort, and after entred the same, receiving of the citizens a gift of 20,000 florins; and he borrowed of them 60,000 florins, and so came to Steinfurt, where duke Maurice and all the German princes were assembled.

*April.*

2. I fell sick of the measels and small-pox.

4. Duke Maurice, with his army, came to Augusta; which town was at the first yielded to him, and delivered into his hands, where he did change certain officers, restored their preachers, and made the town more free.

5. The constable, with the French army, came to Metz, which was within two days yielded to him; where he found great provision of victuals, and that he determined to make the staple of victual for his journey.

8. He came to a fort wherein was an abbey called Cocoza, and that fort abide eighty cannon-shot; at length came to a parley, where the Frenchmen got in and won it by assault, slew all, saving one hundred and fifteen, with the captain, whom he hanged.

9. He took a fort called Maranges, and razed it.

12. The French king came to Nancy to go to the army, and there found the dutchess and the young duke of Lorrain.

13. The mareschal St. Andrew, with two hundred men-of-arms and two thousand footmen, carried away the young duke, accompanied with few of his old men, toward France, to the Dolphin, which lay at Rhemes; to the no little discontentation of his mother the dutchess. He fortified also divers towns in Lorrain, and put in French garisons.

14. He departed from Nancy to the army, which lay at Metz.

7. Monsieur Senarpon gave an overthrow to the captain of St. Omer's, having with him six hundred footmen and two hundred horsemen.

15. The parliament broke up; and because I was sick, and not able to go well abroad as then, I signed a bill containing the names of the acts which I would have pass; which bill was read in the house. Also I gave commission to the lord chancellor, two archbishops, two bishops, two dukes, two marquesses, two earls, and two barons, to dissolve wholly this parliament.

18. The earl of Pembrook surrendred his mastership of the horse, which I bestowed on the earl of Warwick.

19. Also he left fifty of his men of arms; of which twenty-five were given to Sir Philip Hobbey, and twenty-five to Sir John Gates.

21. It was agreed that commissions should go out for to take certificate of the superfluous church plate to mine use, and to see how it hath been embezeled.

The French ambassador desired, that forasmuch as it was dangerous carrying of victual from Boleign to Ard by land, that I would give license to carry by sea to Calais, and from Calais to Ard, in my ground.

22. The lord Paget was degraded from the order of the Garter for divers his offences; and chiefly because he was no gentleman of blood, neither of father-side nor mother-side.

Sir Anthony St. Leiger, which was accused by the bishop of Dublin for divers brawling matters, was taken again into the privy-chamber, and sat among the knights of the order.

23. Answer was given to the French ambassador, that I could not accomplish his desire, because it was against my league with the emperor.

24. The order of the Garter was wholly altered, as appeareth by the new statutes. There were elected Sir Andrew Dudley and the earl of Westmoreland.

26. Monsieur de Couriers came from the regent, to desire that her fleet might safely, upon occasion, take harbour in my havens. Also, he said, he was come to give order for redressing all complaints of our merchants.

25. Whereas it was appointed that the 14,000*l.* that I owed in the last of April should be paid by the anticipation of the subsidy of London and of the lords, because to change the same over sea was loss of the sixth part of the mony I did so send over. Stay was made thereof, and the paiment appointed to be made over of 20,000*l.* Flemish, which I took up there fourteen per cent., and so remained 6000*l.* to be paid there the last of May.

30. Removing to Greenwich.

28. The charges of the mints were diminished 1400*l.*, and there was left 600*l.*

18. King Ferdinando, Maximilian his son, and the duke of Bavaria, came to Linx, to treat with duke Maurice for a peace; where Maurice declared his griefs.

16. Duke Maurice's men received an overthrow at Ulms; marquess Albert spoiled the country, and gave them a day to answer.

31. A debt of 14,000*l.* was paid to the Foulcare.

*May.*

2. The stiliard-men received their answer; which was, to confirm the former judgment of my council.

7. A letter was sent to the Foulcare from my council, to this effect: that I have paid 63,000*l.* Flemish in February, and 14,000*l.* in April, which came to 77,000*l.* Flemish, which was a fair sum of mony to be paid in one year, chiefly in this busy world; whereas it is most necessary to be had for princes. Besides this, that it was thought mony should not now do him so much pleasure as at another time, peradventure. Upon these considerations, they had advised me to pay but 500*l.* of the 45,000*l.* I now owe, and so put over the rest according to the old interest, fourteen per cent., with which they desired him to take patience.

4. Monsieur de Couriers received his answer, which was, that I had long ago given order that the Flemish ships should not be molested in my havens, as it appeareth, because Frenchmen chasing Flemings into my havens, could not get them because of the rescue they had; but that I thought it not convenient to have more ships to come into my havens than I could well rule and govern. Also, a note of divers complaints of my subjects was delivered to him.

10. Letters were sent to my ambassadors, that they should move to the princes of Germany, to the emperor, and to the French king, that if this treaty came to any effect or end, I might be comprehended in the same.

Commission was given to sir John Gates, sir Robert Bowes, the chancellor of the augmentation, sir Walter Mildmay, sir Richard Cotton, to sell some part of the chauntry lands, and of the houses, for the paiment of my debts, which was 251,000*l.* sterling at the least.

Taylor, dean of Lincoln, was made bishop of Lincoln.

Hooper, bishop of Glocester, was made bishop of Worcester and Glocester.

Story, bishop of Rochester, was made bishop of Chichester.

Sir Robert Bowes was appointed to be made master of the rolls.

Commandment was given to the treasurer, that nothing of the subsidy should be disbursed, but by warrant from the board; and likewise for our Lady-day revenues.

14. The baron of the exchequer, upon the surrender made by Justice Lister, was made chief justice; the attorney, chief baron; the sollicitor-general, attorney; and the sollicitor of the augmentation, Gosnold, general sollicitor; and no more sollicitor to be in the augmentation court. Also, there were appointed eight serjeants of the law against Michaelmas next coming; Gaudy, Stamford, Carell, &c.

16. The muster was made of all the men-at-arms, saving fifty of Mr. Sadler's, twenty-five of Mr. Vicechamberlain's, and twenty-five of sir Philip Hobbey's; and also of all the pensioners.

17. The progress was appointed to be by Dorchester to Pool in Dorsetshire, and so through Salisbury homeward to Windsor.

18. It was appointed mony should be cried down in Ireland after a pay, which was of mony, at Midsummer next; in the mean season, the thing to be kept secret and close. Also, that Pirry, the mint-master, taking with him Mr. Brabazon, chief treasurer of the realm, should go to the mines, and see what profit may be taken of the oar the Almains had digged in a mine of silver; and if it would quit cost, or more, to go forward withal; if not, to leave off, and discharge all the Almains.

Also, that of five hundred of the two thousand soldiers there being, should be cut off, and as many more as would go and serve the French king or the emperor, leaving sufficient at home; no fortifications to be made also yet for a time, in no place unfortified; and many other articles were concluded for Ireland.

20. Sir Richard Wingfield, Rogers, and ——, were appointed to view the state of Portsmouth, and to bring again their opinions concerning the fortifying thereof.

4. The French king having passed the straits of Lorrain, came to Savern, four miles from Strasburg, and was victualled by the country, but denied passage through their town.

21. Answer came from the Foulcare, that for the deferring of 30,000*l.*, parcel of forty-five troas, he was content; and likewise August Py, so he might have paid him 20,000*l.* as soon as might be.

22. It was appointed, that forasmuch as there was much disorder on the marches on Scotland-side, both in my fortifications of some places, and negligent looking to other forts, the duke of Northumberland, general warden thereof, should go down and view it, and take order for it, and return home with speed. Also, a pay of 10,000*l.* to go before him.

23. It was appointed that these bands of men-of-arms should go with me this progress:—Lord treasurer, thirty; lord great-master, twenty-five; lord privy-seal, thirty; duke of Suffolk, twenty-five; earl of Warwick, twenty-five; earl of Rutland, fifteen; earl of Huntingdon, twenty-five; earl of Pembrook, fifty; lord admiral, fifteen; lord Darcy, thirty; lord Cobham, twenty; lord Warden, twenty; Mr. Vicechamberlain, fifteen; Mr. Sadler, ten; Mr. Sidney, ten.

29. It was appointed that Thomas Gresham should have paied him, out of the mony that came of my debts, 7000*l.*, for to pay 6800*l.* the last of the month, which he received the same night.

28. The same Thomas Gresham had 9000*l.* paid him toward the paiment of 20,000*l.*, which the Foulcare required to be paid at the passmart; for he had taken by exchange from hence 5000*l.* and odds; and 10,000*l.* he borrowed of the Scheits, and ten of Lazarus Tukkar. So there was in the whole twenty-five, of which was paid the last of April fourteen; so there remained 11,000, and 9000*l.*, which I now made over by exchange; which made 20,000*l.* to pay the Foulcare with.

30. I received advertisement from Mr. Pickering, that the French king went from Savern to Aroumashes, which was yielded to him; from this to Leimsberg, and so towards Spires; his army to be about twenty thousand footmen and eight thousand horsemen, well appointed, besides rascals. He had with him fifty pieces of artillery, of which were twenty-six cannons, and six organs, and great number of boots. From Leimsberg, partly doubting Duke Maurice's meaning, partly for lack of victual; and also because he had word that the regent's army, of which were guides the count de Egmont, Monsieur de Rie, Martin Vanrouse, and the duke of Holest, to the number of sixteen thousand footmen and six thousand horsemen, had invaded Champaign and fortified Aschenay; he retired homeward till he came to Striolph, and there commanded all unprofitable carriage and men should depart to Chalons; and sent to the admiral to come to him with six thousand Swissers, four thousand Frenchmen, fifteen hundred horsemen, and thirty pieces of ordnance, meaning, as it was thought, to do some enterprise about Luxemburg, or to recover Aschenay, which the regent had fortified. There died in this journey two thousand men for lack of good victual; for eight days they had but bread and water, and they had marched sixty Dutch miles at the least, and past many a streight, very painfully and laboursomly.



19. Duke Maurice coming from Auspurg in great hast, came this day to the first passage called the Clowse, which the emperor had caused to be strongly fortified and victualled; a passage through an hill, cut out artificially in the way to Inspurg, and there was a strong bulwark made hard by it, which he wan, after a long fight, within an hour and an half by assault, and took and slew all that were within. And that night he marched through that hill into a plain, where he looked for to see twelve ensigns of lansknights of his enemies, but they retired to the second streight, and yet divers of them were both slain and taken; and so that night he lodged in the plain, at the entry of the second passage, where there were five forts and one castle, which with ordnance slew some of duke Maurice's men.

20. This morning the duke of Mecklenburg, with three thousand footmen, cast a brig over a river five miles beneath the sluce, and came and gave assault behind the sluce; and duke Maurice gave assault in the face, and the country men of Tirol, for hate of the Spaniards, helped duke Maurice; so that five forts were won by assault, and the castle yielded upon condition to depart, not to serve in three months after the emperor. In this enterprise he slew and took three thousand and five hundred persons, and twenty-three pieces of artillery, and 240,000 S.

The emperor hearing of this, departed by night from Inspruck, forty miles that night in post; he killed two of his gennets, and rode continually every night, first to Brixinium; and after, for doubt of the cardinal of Ferrara's army, turned to Villucho in Carinthia. The 30th of May, tarrying for the duke d'Alva, who should come to him with two thousand Spaniards, and three thousand Italians that came from Parma. Also, the emperor delivered duke Frederic from captivity, and sent him through Bohemia into Saxony, to raise a power against duke Maurice's nephew.

22. Duke Maurice, after that Hala and divers other towns about Inshpruck in Tirol had yielded, came to Inshpruck, and there caused all the stuff to be brought to the market-place, and took all that pertained to imperialists as confiscate; the rest he suffered the townsmen to enjoy. He took there fifty pieces of ordnance, which he conveied to Ausburg; for that town he fortified, and made it his staple of provision.

Certain things which the commissioners for the requests shall not meddle withal.

First, suits for lands.

Secondly, suits for forfeits, amounting to more than 40*l.* value.

Thirdly, suits for pensions.

Fourthly, reversions of farms, which have more than one year to come.

Fifthly, leases of manours.

Sixthly, leases for more than twenty-one years.

Seventhly, no offices of special trust in reckonings of mony, as customers, comptrollers, surveyors, receivers, auditors, treasurers, and chancellors, &c., to be given otherwise than *durante bene placito*. Also all mint-masters, and others that have a doing in the mint, and such like. The bishops, judges, and other officers of judgment, *quamdiu se bene gesserit*. Baliwicks, stewardships, keeping of parks and houses, &c. to be granted during life.

Eighthly, suits for forgivement of debts.

Ninthly, releasing of debts to be paid.

Tenthly, suits for mony, to the intent to pay debts they owe elsewhere.

Eleven, suits to buy land.

Twelve, suits for licenses, to carry over gold, silver, lead, leather, corn, wood, &c., that be things unlawful.

Thirteen, unresidence upon benefices.

They shall meddle with baliewicks and stewardships during leases for twenty-one years; forfeits under 40*l.*, receiverships, woodwardships, surveyorships, &c. during pleasure. Instalments of days for debts. To those gentlemen that have well served, fee-farms to them and their heirs males of their body, paying their rent, and discharging the annuities due to all officers touching the same. Keeping of houses and parks, ordinary offices, as yeomen of the crown, the houshold offices, &c.

*June.*

2. Sir John Williams, who was committed to the Fleet for disobeying a commandment given to him for not paying any pensions, without not making my council privy, upon his submission was delivered out of prison.

4. Beamont, master of the rolls, did confess his offences, who in his office of wards had bought land with my mony, had lent it, and kept it from me, to the value of 9000*l.* and above, more than this twelvemonth, and 11,000 in obligations; how he, being judg in the Chancery between the duke of Suffolk and the lady Powis, took her title, and went about to get it into his hands, paying a sum of mony, and letting her have a farm of a manour of his, and caused an indenture to be made falsly, with the old duke's counterfeit hand to it; by which he gave these lands to the lady Powis, and went about to make twelve men perjured. Also, how he had concealed the felony of his man to the sum of 200*l.*, which he stole from him, taking the mony into his own hand again. For these considerations, he surrendered into my hands all his offices, lands, and goods, moveable and unmoveable, toward the paiment of this debt, and of the fines due to these particular faults by him done.

6. The lord Paget, chancellor of the dutchy, confessed how he, without commission, did sell away my lands and great timber-woods; how he had taken great fines of my lands, to his said particular profit and advantage, never turning any to my use or commodity; how he made leases in reversion for more than twenty-one years. For these crimes, and other-like recited before, he surrendred his office, and submitted himself to those fines that I or my council would appoint to be levied of his goods and lands.

7. Whaley, receiver of Yorkshire, confessed how he lent my mony upon gain and lucre; how he paied one years revenue over, with the arrearages of the last; how he bought mine own land with my own mony; how in his accompts he had made many false suggestions; how, at the time of the fall of mony, he borrowed divers sums of mony, and had allowance for it after, by which he gained 500*l.* at one crying-down; the whole sum being 2000*l.* and above. For these and such-like considerations he surrendred his office, and submitted to fines which I or my council should assign him, to be levied of his goods and lands.

8. The lords of the council sat at Guildhall in London, where, in the presence of a thousand people, they declared to the mayor and brethren their sloathfulness in suffering unreasonable prices of things, and to craftsmen their willfulness, &c.; telling them, that if upon this admonition they did not amend, I was wholly determined to call in their liberties as confiscate, and to appoint officers that should look to them.

10. It was appointed that the Lord Gray of Wilton should be pardoned of his offences, and delivered out of the Tower.

Whereas sir Philip Hobbey should have gone to Calais with sir Richard Cotton and William Barnes,

auditor, it was appointed sir Anthony St. Legier, sir Richard Cotton, and sir Thomas Mildmay, should go thither, carrying with them 10,000*l.*, to be received out of the Exchequer.

Whereas it was agreed that there should be a pay now made to Ireland of 5000*l.*, and then the mony to be cried down, it was appointed that three thousand weight which I had in the Tower should be carried thither, and coined at three denar. fine; and that incontinent the coin should be cried down.

12. Because Pirry tarried here for the bullion, William Williams, essay-master, was put in his place, to view the mines with Mr. Brabazon, or him whom the deputy should appoint.

13. Banester and Crane, the one for his large confession, the other because little matter appeared against him, were delivered out of the Tower.

16. The lord Paget was brought into Star-chamber, and there declared effectuously his submission by word of mouth, and delivered it in writing.

Beaumont, who had before made his confession in writing, began to deny it again; but after being called before my council, he did confess it again, and there acknowledged a fine of his land, and signed an obligation in surrender of all his goods.

17. Monsieur de Couriers took his leave.

2. The French king won the castle of Robdemac. Certain horsemen of the regent's came and set upon the French king's baggage, and slew divers of the carriers; but at length, with some loss of the Frenchmen, they were compelled to retire. The French king won Mount St. Ann.

4. The French king came to Deuvillars, which was a strong town, and besieged it, making three breaches.

12. The town was yielded to him with the captain. He found in it two thousand five hundred footmen, two hundred horsemen, sixty-three great brass pieces, three hundred hagbuts of croke, much victual, and much ammunition, as he did write to his ambassador.

19. It was appointed that the bishop of Durham's matter should stay till the end of the progress.

20. Beaumont in the Star-chamber confessed, after a little sticking upon the matter, his faults, to which he had put to his hand.

22. It was agreed that the bands of men-of-arms appointed to Mr. Sidney, Mr. Vice-chamberlain, Mr. Hobbey, and Mr. Sadler, should not be furnished, but left off.

25. It was agreed that none of my council should move me in any suit of land for forfeits above 20*l.*, for reversion of leases, or other extraordinary suits, till the state of my revenues were further known.

15. The French king came to a town standing upon the river of Mosa, called Yvoire, which gave him many hot skirmishes.

18. The French king began his battery to the walls.

14. The townsmen of Mountmedy gave a hot skirmish to the French, and slew Monsieur de Toge's brother, and many other gentlemen of the camp.

12. The prince of Salerno who had been with the French king, to treat with him touching the matter of Naples, was dispatched in post with this answer, that the French king would aid him with thirteen thousand footmen and fifteen hundred horsemen, in the French wages, to recover and conquer the kingdom of Naples; and he should marry, as some said, the French king's sister, madam Margaret. The cause why this prince rebelled against the emperor was, partly the uncourteous handling of the viceroy of Naples, partly ambition.

The Flemings made an invasion into Champaign, in so much that the Dolphin had almost been taken; and the queen lying at Chalons, sent some of her stuff towards Paris.

Also another company took the town of Guise, and spoiled the country.

22. Monsieur de Tallie was sent to raise the arrierbands and legionars of Picardy and Champaign, to recover Guise and invade Flanders.

27. Removing to Hampton Court.

30. It was appointed that the statds should have this answer, that those clothes which they had bought to carry over, to the sum of two thousand clothes and odd, should be carried at their old custom, so they were carried within six weeks; and likewise all commodities they brought in till our Lady-day in term next; in all other points the old decree to stand, till by a further communication the matter should be ended and concluded.

The lord Paget was licensed to tarry at London and thereabouts, till Michaelmas, because he had no provision in his country.

26. Certain of the heraulds, Lancaster and Portcullis, were committed to ward, for counterfeiting Clarencieux' seal, to get mony by giving of arms.

23. The French king having received divers skirmishes of the townsmen, and chiefly two; in the one, they slew the French light-horse lying in a village by the town; in the other, they entred into the camp, and pulled down tents; which two skirmishes were given by the count of Mansfield, governor of the town. And the duke of Luxemburg and his three hundred light-horse, understanding, by the treason of four priests, the weakest part of the town, so affrighted the townsmen and the Flemish souldiers, that they by threatnings compelled the captain, the count, that he yielded himself and the gentlemen prisoners; the common souldiers to depart with white wands in their hands. The town was well fortified, victualled, and furnished.

24. The town of Mountmedy yielded to the French king, which before had given a hot skirmish.

*July.*

4. Sir John Gates, vice-chamberlain, was made chancellor of the dutchy.

7. Removing to Oatlands.

5. The emperor's ambassador delivered the regent's letter, being of this effect; that whereas I was bound by a treaty with the emperor, made Anno Dom. 1542, at Dotrecht, that if any man did invade the two counties, I should help him with five thousand footmen, or 700 crowns a-day during four months, and make war with him within a month after the request made; and now the French king had invaded Luxemburg, desiring my men to follow the effect of the treaty.

7. The names of the commissioners was added, and made more, both in the debts, the surveying of the courts, the penal laws, &c.; and because my lord chamberlain, my lord privy seal, Mr. Vice-chamberlain, and Mr. Secretary Petre, went with me this progress.

8. It was appointed that fifty pound weight of gold should be coined after the new standard, to carry about this progress, which maketh 150*l.* sterling.

9. The chancellor of the augmentation was willed to surcease his commission, given him the third year of our reign.

3. Monsieur de Bossy, grand escuer to the emperor, was made general of the army in the Low Countries; and Monsieur de Prat over the horsemen.

10. It was appointed here, that if the emperor's ambassador did move any more for help or aid, this answer should be sent him by two of my council, that this progress-time my council was dispersed, I would move by



their advice, and he must tarry till the matter were concluded, and their opinions heard. Also, I had committed the treaty to be considered by divers learned men, &c. And if another time he would press me, then answer to be made, that I trusted the emperor would not wish me, in these young years, having felt them so long, to enter into them. How I had amity sworn with the French king, which I could not well break; and therefore, if the emperor thought it so meet, I would be a mean for a peace between them, but not otherwise. And if he did press the treaty, lastly to conclude, that the treaty did not bind me which my father had made, being against the profit of my realm and country; and to desire a new treaty to be made between me and the emperor in the last wars. He answered, that he marvelled what we meant, for we are bound, quoth the emperor, and not you. Also, the emperor had refused to fulfil it divers times, both in not letting pass horses, armour, ammunition, &c., which were provided by me for the wars. As also in not sending aid upon the forraging of the low country of Calais.

12. A letter was written to sir Peter Meutas, captain of the isle of Jersey, both to command him that divine service may there be used as in England; and also that he take heed to the church-plate, that it be not stollen away, but kept safe till further order be taken.

9. The French king came to the town Aveins in Hainault, where after he had viewed the town he left it, and besieged a pile called Tirlokbut. The bailiff of the town, perceiving his departure, gave the onset on his rereward with two thousand footmen and five hundred horsemen, and slew five hundred Frenchmen. After this, and the winning of certain holds of little force, the French king returned into France, and divided his army into divers good towns to rest them, because divers were sick of the flux and such other diseases; meaning shortly to increase his power, and so to go forward with his enterprise.

12. Frederick, duke of Saxony, was released from his imprisonment, and sent by the emperor into his own country, to the great rejoicing of all the protestants.

5. The emperor declared, that he would none of these articles to which duke Maurice agreed, and the king of the Romans also. The copy of them remaineth with the secretary Cecil.

Marquess Albert of Brandenburg did great harm in the country of Franconia; burnt all towns and villages about Norimberg, and compelled them to pay to the princes of his league 200,000 dollars, ten of the fairest pieces of ordnance, and one hundred and fifty kintals of powder. After that he went to Frankfort, to distress certain souldiers gathered there for the emperor.

15. Removing to Guilford.

20. Removing to Petworth.

23. The answer was made to the emperor's ambassador, touching the aid he required, by Mr. Wotton and Mr. Hobbey, according to the first article *supra*.

24. Because the number of bands that went with me this progress made the train great, it was thought good they should be sent home, save only one hundred and fifty, which were pickt out of all the bands. This was because the train was thought to be near four thousand horse, which were enough to eat up the country; for there was little meadow nor hay all the way as I went.

25. Removing to Londre, sir Anthony Brown's house.

27. Removing to Halvenaker.

30. Whereas it had been before devised, that the new fort of Barwick should be made with four bulwarks; and for making of two of them, the wall of the town should be left open on the enemies' side a great way together (which thing had been both dangerous and chargeable), it was agreed the wall should stand, and two slaughter-houses to be made upon it, to scour the outer courtains; a great rampier to be made within the wall, a great ditch within that, another wall within that, with two other slaughter-houses, and a rampier within that again.

26. The Flemings entred in great numbers into the country of Terovenne; whereupon five hundred men-of-arms arose of Frenchmen, and gave the onset on the Flemings, overthrew them, and slew of them fourteen hundred and thirty-five, whereof were one hundred and fifty horsemen.

31. It was appointed, on my lord of Northumberland's request, that he should give half his fee to the lord Wharton, and make him his deputy-warden there.

*August.*

2. Removing to Warblington.

3. The duke of Guise was sent into Lorrain, to be the French king's lieutenant there.

4. Removing to Waltham.

8. Removing to Portsmouth.

9. In the morning I went to Chaterton's bulwark, and viewed also the town; at afternoon went to see the store-house, and there took a boat, and went to the wooden tower, and so to Haselford. Upon viewing of which things, it there was devised two forts to be made upon the entry of the haven; one where Ridley's tower standeth, upon the neck that maketh the chamber; the other upon a like neck standing on the other side the haven, where stood an old bulwark of wood. This was devised for the strength of the haven. It was meant that that to the town-side should be both stronger and larger.

10. Henry Dudley, who lay at Portsmouth, with a warlike company of one hundred and forty good souldiers, was sent to Guisnes with his men, because the Frenchmen assembled in these frontiers in great numbers.

Removing to Tichfield, the earl of Southampton's house.

14. Removing to Southampton.

16. The French ambassador came to declare how the French king meant to send one that was his lieutenant in the civil law, to declare which of our merchants' matters have been adjudged on their side, and which against them, and for what consideration.

16. Removing to Beuleu.

The French ambassador brought news how the city of Siena had been taken by the French side on St. James's day, by one that was called the count Perigliano, and other Italian souldiers, by treason of some within the town; and all the garison of the town, being Spaniards, were either taken or slain. Also how the mareschal Brisac had recovered Saluzzo, and taken Verucca. Also how Villebone had taken Turnaham and Mountreville in the Low Country.

18. Removing to Christ-church.

21. Removing to Woodlands.

In this month, after long business, duke Maurice and the emperor agreed on a peace; but marquess Albert of Brandenburg would not consent thereto, but went away with his army to Spires and Worms, Colen and Treves, taking large sums of mony of all cities which he passed, but chiefly of the clergy. Duke Maurice's souldiers perceiving marquess Albert would enter into no peace, went almost all to the marquess's service; among which were principal the count of Mansfelt, baron Haydeke, and a colonel of three thousand footmen and one thousand horsemen, called Reiffenberg; so that of seven thousand which should been sent into Hungary against the Turks, there remained not three thousand. Also the duke of Wit-

tenberg did secretly let go two thousand eight hundred of the best souldiers in Germany to the service of marquess Albert; so that his power was now very great.

Also in this month the emperor, departing from Villachia, came to Insbruck; and so to Monaco and to Augusta, accompanied with eight thousand Spaniards and Italians, and a little band of a few ragged Almains. Also in this month did the Turks win the city of Tamesino in Transilvania, and gave a battel to the Christians, in which was slain count Pallavicino, and seven thousand Italians and Spaniards. Also in this month did the Turk's navy take the cardinal of Trent's two brethren, and seven gallies, and had in chase thirty-nine other. Also in this month did the Turk's navy land at Terracina, in the kingdom of Naples; and the Prince of Salerno set forward with four thousand Gascoigns and six thousand Italians: and the count Perigliano brought to his aid five thousand men of those that were at the enterprise of Siena. Also the mareschal Brisac won a town in Piedmont, called Bussac.

24. Removing to Salisbury.

26. Upon my lord of Northumberland's return out of the North, it was appointed, for the better strengthning of the marches, that no one man should have two offices; and that Mr. Sturley, captain of Barwick, should leave the wardenship of the east marches to the lord Evers; and upon the lord Coniers' resignation, the captainship of the castle of Carlisle was appointed to sir —— Gray, and the wardenship of the west marches to sir Richard Musgrave.

27. Sir Richard Cotton made comptroller of the houshold.

28. Removing to Wilton.

30. Sir Anthony Aucher was appointed to be marshal of Calais, and sir Edward Grimston comptroller of Calais.

22. The emperor being at August, did banish two preachers protestants out of Augusta, under pretence that they preached seditiously; and left Mecardus, the chief preacher, and six other protestant preachers, in the town, giving the magistrates leave to chuse others in their place that were banished.

29. The emperor caused eight protestant citizens of the town to be banished, of them that went to the fair at Lintz, under pretence that they, taking marquess Albert's part, would not abide his presence.

*September.*

2. Removing to Wotisfunt, my lord Sandes' house.

5. Removing to Winchester.

7. From thence to Basing, my lord treasurer's house.

10. And so to Dennington-castle, besides the town of Newbery.

12. And so to Reading.

15. To Windsor.

16. Stuckley being lately arrived out of France, declared how that the French king, being wholly persuaded that he would never return again into England, because he came away without leave, upon the apprehension of the duke of Somerset, his old master, declared to him his intent, that upon a peace made with the emperor, he meant to besiege Calais, and thought surely to win it by the way of Sandhills; for having Ricebank both to famish the town, and also to beat the market-place; and asked Stuckley's opinion. When Stuckley had answered, he thought it impossible, then he told him that he meant to land in England, in an angle thereof about Falmouth, and said, the bulwarks might easily be won, and the people were papistical; also that Monsieur de Guise at the same time should enter into England by Scotland-side, with the aid of the Scots.

19. After long reasoning it was determined, and a letter was sent in all haste to Mr. Morison, willing him to declare to the emperor, that I having pity, as all other Christian princes should have, on the invasion of Christendom by the Turk, would willingly join with the emperor, and other states of the empire, if the emperor could bring it to pass, in some league against the Turk and his confederates, but not to be aknown of the French king, only to say, that he hath no more commission; but if the emperor would send a man into England, he should know more. This was done on intent to get some friends. The reasonings be in my desk.

21. A letter was sent only to try Stuckley's truth to Mr. Pickering, to know whether Stuckley did declare any piece of this matter to him.

Barnabe was sent for home.

23. The lord Gray was chosen deputy of Calais, in the lord Willowby's place, who was thought unmeet for it.

24. Sir Nicholas Wentworth was discharged of the portership of Calais, and one —— Cotton was put into it. In consideration of his age, the said Sir Nicholas Wentworth had 100*l.* pension.

26. Letters were sent for the discharge of the men-of-arms at Michaelmas next following.

27. The young lord's table was taken away, and the masters of requests, and the serjeants of arms, and divers other extraordinary allowances.

26. The duke of Northumberland, the marquess of Northampton, the lord chancellor, Mr. Secretary Petre, and Mr. Secretary Cecil, ended a matter at Eaton College, between the master and the fellows; and also took order for the amendment of certain superfluous statutes.

28. Removing to Hampton Court.

29. Two lawyers came from the French king, to declare what things had passed with the Englishmen in the king's privy-council; what and why against them, and what was now in doing, and with what diligence. Which when they had eloquently declared, they were referred to London, where there should speak with them Mr. Secretary Petre, Mr. Wotton, and sir Thomas Smith; whereby then was declared the griefs of our merchants, which came to the sum of 50,000*l.* and upwards; to which they gave little answer, but that they would make report when they came home, because they had yet no commission, but only to declare us the causes of things done.

The first day of this month the emperor departed from Augusta towards Ulmes; and thanking the citizens for their stedfast sticking to him in these perilous times, he passed by them to Strasburgh, accompanied only with four thousand Spaniards, five thousand Italians, twelve thousand Almains, and two thousand horsemen; and thanking also them of Strasburg for their good-will they bore him, that they would not let the French king come into their town; he went to Weysenberg, and so to Spires, and came thither the 23d of this month. Of which the French king being advertised, summoned an army at Metz, and went thitherward himself; sent a pay of three months to marquess Albert, and the rhinegrave and his band; also willing him to stop the emperor's passage into these Low-countries, and to fight with him.

27. The matter of the debatable was agreed upon, according to the last instructions.

26. Duke Maurice, with four thousand footmen and one thousand horsemen, arrived at Vienna against the Turks.

21. Marquess Hans, of Brandenburg, came with an army of thirteen thousand footmen and fifteen hundred horsemen, to the emperor's army; and many Almain soulders encreased his army wonderfully, for he refused none.



*October.*

3. Because I had a pay of 48,000*l.* to be paid in December, and had as yet but 14,000 beyond seas to pay it withal, the merchants did give me a loan of 40,000*l.* to be paid by them the last of December, and to be repaied again by me the last of March. The manner of levying this loan was of the clothes, after the rate of 20*s.* a cloth, for they carried out at this shipping forty thousand broad-clothes. This grant was confirmed the 4th day of this month, by a company assembled of three hundred merchant-adventurers.

2. The bulwarks of earth and boards in Essex, which had a continual allowance of souldiers in them, were discharged; by which was saved presently 500*l.*, and hereafter 700 or more.

4. The duke d'Alva, and the marquess of Marigna, set forth with a great part of the emperor's army, having all the Italians and Spaniards with them, towards Treves, where the marquess Albert had set ten ensigns of launce-knights to defend it, and tarried himself with the rest of his army at Landaw, besides Spires.

6. Because sir Andrew Dudley, captain of Guisnes, had indebted himself very much by his service at Guisnes; also because it should seem injurious to the lord Willowby, that for the contention between him and sir Andrew Dudley, he should be put out of his office; therefore it was agreed, that the lord William Howard should be deputy of Calais, and the lord Gray captain of Guisnes.

Also it was determined that sir Nicholas Strelly should be captain of the new fort at Barwick, and that Alex. Brett should be porter, and one Roksby should be marshal.

7. Upon report of letters written by Mr. Pickering, how that Stuckley had not declared to him, all the while of his being in France, no one word touching the communication afore-specified; and declared also how Mr. Pickering thought, and certainly advertised, that Stuckley never heard the French king speak no such word, nor never was in credit with him, or the constable, save once, when he became an interpreter between the constable and certain English pioneers, he was committed to the Tower of London.

Also the French ambassador was advertised how he had committed him to prison, for that he untruly slandered the king our good brother, as other such runnagates do daily the same. This was told him to make him suspect the English runnagates that be there. A like letter was sent again to Mr. Pickering.

8. Le seigneur de Villandry came in post from the French king with this message. First, that although Mr. Sidney's and Mr. Winter's matters were justly condemned, yet the French king, because they both were my servants, and one of them about me, was content *gratuito* to give Mr. Sidney his ship, and all the goods in her; and Mr. Winter his ship, and all his own goods. Which offer was refused, saying, we required nothing *gratuito*, but only justice and expedition. Also Villandry declared, that the king his master wished that an agreement were made between the ordinances and customs of England and France in marine affairs. To which was answered, that our ordinances were nothing but the civil law, and certain very old additions of the realm; that we thought it reason not to be bound to any other law than their old laws, which had been of long time continued, and no fault found with them. Also Villandry brought forth two new proclamations, which for things to come were very profitable for England; for which he had a letter of thanks to the king his master. He required also pardon and releasement of imprisonment for certain Frenchmen taken on the sea-coast. It was shewed him they were pirats: now, some of them should by justice be punished, some by clemency pardoned; and with this dispatch he departed.

11. Horne, dean of Durham, declared a secret conspiracy of the earl of Westmoreland, the year of the apprehension of the duke of Somerset, how he would have taken out treasure at Midleham, and would have robbed his mother, and sold 200*l.* land; and to please the people, would have made a proclamation for the bringing up of the coin, because he saw them grudg at the fall. He was commanded to keep this matter close.

6. Mr. Morison, ambassador with the emperor, declared to the emperor the matter of the Turks before specified: whose answer was, he thanked us for our gentle offer, and would cause the regent to send a man for the same purpose, to know our further meaning in that behalf.

11. Mr. Pickering declared to the French king, being then at Rhemes, Stuckley's matter of confession, and the cause of his imprisonment: who after protestation made of his own good meaning in the amity, and of Stuckley's ingratitude toward him, his lewdness and ill-demeanour, thanked us much for this so gentile an uttering of the matter, that we would not be led with false bruits and tales.

The bishop Tonstal of Durham was deprived of his bishoprick.

In this month Monsieur de Rue, Martin Rossin, and an army of Flemings, while the French had assembled his men of war in Lorrain, had sent the constable to the army, which lay four leagues from Verdun, the duke de Guise with seven thousand men to Metz, and the mareschal St. Andrew at Verdun, razed and spoiled, between the river of Some and Osse, many towns, as Noyon, Roy, Chamy; and villages, Nelle, Follambray, a new-built house of the king's, &c., insomuch that the French king sent the admiral of France to help the duke of Vendosme against that army.

There was at this time a great plague that reigned in sundry parts of France, of which many men died.

20. A man of the earl of Tyrone's was committed to the Tower, because he had made an untrue suggestion and complaint against the deputy and the whole council of Ireland. Also he had bruited certain ill bruits in Ireland, how the duke of Northumberland and the earl of Pembrook were fallen out, and one against another in the field.

17. The Flemings, and the Englishmen that took their parts, assaulted by night Hamletue; the Englishmen were on the walls, and some of the Flemings also; but by the cowardice of a great part of the Flemings, the enterprise was lost, and many men slain. The number of the Flemings were four thousand, the number of the men within Hamletue four hundred. The captain of this enterprise was Monsieur Vandeville, captain of Gravelin.

6. Monsieur de Boissey entred Treves with a Flemish army, to the number of twelve thousand footmen and two thousand five hundred horsemen. Burgunions, without any resistance, because the ensigns there left by marquess Albert were departed; and thereupon the duke d'Alva, and the marquess of Marion, marched toward Metz; the emperor himself, and the marquess Hans of Brandenburg, having with him the rest of his army, the ninth day of this month departed from Landaw towards Metz. Monsieur de Boissey's army

also joined with him at a place called Swayburg, or Deuxpont.

23. It was agreed, that because the state of Ireland could not be known without the deputy's presence, that he should, in this dead time of the year, leave the governance of the realm to the council there for the time, and bring with him the whole state of the realm, whereby such order might be taken, as the superfluous charge might be avoided, and also the realm kept in quietness, and the revenue of the realm better and more profitably gathered.

25. Whereas one George Paris, an Irishman, who had bin a practiser between the earl of Desmond and other Irish lords and the French king, did now, being weary of that matter, practise means to come home, and to have his old lands in Ireland again; his pardon was granted him, and a letter written to him from my council, in which he was promised to be considered and holpen.

There fell in this month a great contention among the Scots, for the Kers slew the lord of Balcleugh, in a fray in Edinburgh; and as soon as they had done, they associated to them the lord Home and all his kin: but the governour thereupon summoned an army to go against them; but at length, because the dowager of Scotland favoured the Kers and Homes, and so did all the French faction, the French king having also sent for five thousand Scotch footmen and five hundred horsemen, for his aid in these wars, the governour agreed the five thousand footmen under the leading of the earl of Cassils; and five hundred light-horsemen, of which the Kers and the Homes should be captains, and go with such haste into France, that they might be in such place as the French king would appoint them to serve in, by Christmass, or Candlemass at the furthest. And thus he trusted to be well rid of his most mortal enemies.

27. The Scots hearing that George Paris practised for pardon, committed him to ward in Striveling Castle.

25. Monsieur de Rue having burnt in France eighteen leagues in length, and three leagues in breadth; having pillaged, and sacked, and razed the fair towns of Noyon, Roy, Nelle, and Chamy, the king's new house of Follambray, and infinite other villages, bulwarks, and gentlemen's houses in Champaign and Picardy, returned into Flanders.

23. The emperor in his person came to the town of Metz with his army, which was reckoned forty-five thousand footmen, as the bruit went, and seven thousand horsemen. The duke d'Alva, with a good band, went to view the town; upon whom issued out the souldiers of the town, and slew of his men about two thousand, and kept him play till the main force of the camp came down, which caused them to retire with loss. On the French party was the duke of Nemours hurt on the thigh. There was in the town, as captain, the duke of Guise; and there were many other great lords with him, as the prince of Rochsurion, the duke de Nemours, the vicedam of Chartres, Pierro Stozzy, Monsieur Chastillion, and many other gentlemen.

*November.*

5. Monsieur de Villandry returned to declare, how the king his master did again offer to deliver four ships against which judgment had passed. He said, the king would appoint men to hear our merchants at Paris, which should be men of the best sort. He said likewise, how the king his master meant to mend the ordinance; of which amendment he brought articles.

7. These articles were delivered to be considered by the secretaries.

9. Certain were thought to be sought out by several commissions: viz. Whether I were justly answered of the plate, lead, iron, &c. that belonged to abbeys? Whether I were justly answered the profit of alome, copper, fustians, &c. which were appointed to be sold? and of such land as the king my father sold, and such like articles.

12. Monsieur Villandry received answer for the first article, as he did before, how I meant not by taking freely so few, to prejudice the rest. For hearing of our merchants' matters at Paris by an inferior council, we thought both too dilatory after these long suits, and also unreasonable, because the inferior council would undoe nothing (though cause appeared) which had been before judged by the higher council. And as for the new ordinances, we liked them in effect as ill as their old, and desired none other but the old accustomed ones which have been used in France of late time, and to be yet continued between England and the Low-country. Finally, we desire no more words, but deeds.

4. The duke d'Aumale being left in Lorrain, both to stop the emperor's provision, to annoy his camp, and to take up the straglers of the army, with a band of four hundred men-of-arms, which is twelve hundred horse, and eight hundred light-horse, hearing how marquess Albert began to take the emperor's part, sent first certain light-horse to view what they intended. Those avan-couriers lighted on a troop of five hundred horsemen, who drove them back till they came to the duke's person; whereupon the skirmish grew so great, that the marquess, with twelve thousand footmen and one thousand horsemen, came to his men's succours, so the duke's party was discomfited, the duke himself taken and hurt in many places; monsieur de Roan was also slain, and many other gentlemen slain and taken. This fight was before Toul, into which fort escaped a great part of the light-horse.

6. Heading town and castle was taken by the Monsieur de Reux. The castle was reckoned too well stored of all things, and rendred either by cowardice or treason. The battery was very small, and not suitable. The most was, that the captain, Monsieur Jeulis, was, with one of the first shots of the cannon, slain, and his lieutenant with him.

In this month Ferdinando Gonzaga besieged St. Martin's in Piedmont.

18. There was a commission granted out to sir Richard Cotton, sir John Gates, sir Robert Bowes, and sir Walter Mildmay, to examine the account of the fall of mony, by the two proclamations.

20. The lord Ogle leaving the wardenship of the Middle Marches, because my lord Evers' land lay there, he was made deputy warden there, with the fee of 6 0 merks; and sir Thomas Dacres of the East Marches, with the fee of 500 merks.

24. Thomas Gresham came from Antwerp hither, to declare how Monsieur de Langie, treasurer to the emperor of Flanders, was sent to him from the regent with a certain pacquet of letters which the Burgonions had taken in Bullonois, coming from the dowager of Scotland: the effect whereof was, how she had committed George Paris, the Irishman, to prison, because she had heard of his meaning to return into England; how she had found the pardon he had, and divers other writings; and how she had sent O-Coniers's son into Ireland, to comfort the lords of Ireland. Also he shewed certain instructions, anno 1548, upon the admiral's fall, given to a gentleman that came hither, that if there were any here of the admiral's faction, he should do his uttermost to raise an uproar.

29. Henry Knowls was sent in post into Ireland with a letter, to stay the deputy, if he met him, in



Ireland, because of the business; and that he should seem to stay for his own affairs, and prolong his going from week to week, lest it be perceived. Also he had with him certain articles concerning the whole state of the realm, which the deputy was willed to answer.

30. There was a letter of thanks written to the regent, and sent to Mr. Chamberlain, to deliver her for the gentle overture made to Thomas Gresham by the treasurer Langie. He was also willed to use gentle words in the delivery of the letters, wishing a further amity: and for recompence of her overture, to tell her of the French king's practice, for five thousand Scotch footmen and five hundred horsemen. And also how he taketh up by exchange at Lubeck 100,000*l.*, whereby appeareth some meaning that way the next spring.

28. The lord Paget was put to his fine of 6000*l.* and 2000*l.* diminished, to pay it within the space of —— years, at days limited.

*Here the Journal ends; or if more was written by the king, it is lost.*

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*Some other Papers written with King Edward the Sixth's own Hand.*

NUMBER I.

[In Trin. Coll. Libr. Cambridg.]

*A Collection of Passages of Scripture against Idolatry, in French, dedicated to the Protector.*

Le fervent zèle que je vous apercoy avoir en la réformation de idolatrie, tres-cher et bien-aimé oncle, m'a incité comme par manière de passe-temps, en lisant la Sainct Escriture, de noter plusieurs lieux en icelle qui défendent de n'adorer ny faire aucuns images, non seulement de dieux estranges, mais aussi de ne former chose pensant la faire semblable à la majesté de Dieu le Créateur si très bahy; veu que lui-mesme et son St. Esprit, par la bouche de ses prophets, l'a si souvent défendu, que tant de gens ont osé et osent commetre idolatrie en faisant et adorant les images. Mais je croy que c'estoit pourtant qu'ils n'avoient ou n'entendoit par ses paroles. Car comme il dit, il ne peut estre veu en choses qui soient matérielles; mais veut estre veu par ses ouvres, ni plus ni moins que quand on voit quelque excellente pièce d'ouvrage sans voir ouvrier qui l'a fait, on peut imaginer son excellence: ainsi regardant et considérant l'excellence du firmament et les choses tant parfaites et merveilleuses, que y sont comprises, nous pouvous imaginer quelle è le Créateur qui les a formées seulement par sa parole, et en telle manière nostre Oeil Spirituel pourroit beaucoup mieux voir quelle chose c'est que de Dieu, que nostre oeil corporell ne le pourroit voir en chose que créature humane ait fait et formé. Pourtant, cher oncle, après avoir noté en ma Bible en Anglois plusieurs sentences qui contredisent à toute idolatrie, à cette fin de m'apprendre et exercer en l'Escriture Françoise, je me suis amusé à le translater en la dite langue Françoise: puis les ay fait rescire en ce petit livret, lequell de tres-bon cueur je vous offre: priant Dieu le Créateur de vous donner grace de continuer en vostre labeur spirituel au salut de vostre ame et à l'honneur et gloire d'iceluy.

Then follow seventy-two passages out of the Old Testament, against worshipping strange gods or images, with little paraphrases of his own: he concludes,

Il y a autres places en la Sainte Escriture, tant Apocryphes que autres, desquelles je ne fais nulle mention pour le présent, qui toutesfois sont correspondentes à celles dont est fait mention par cy-devant. Mais pour tant que quasi tous les prophètes et autres saints, desquels la Sainte Escriture parle, deffendent de ne commetre idolatrie, je désire et exhorte toute la congrégation des Chrestiens qu'un chascun d'eux vueille délaisser cet abominable vice.

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II.—*A Discourse about the Reformation of many Abuses.*

[Cotton. Libr. Nero C. 10.]

*The Government of this Realm is divided into two Parts, one Ecclesiastical, and the other Temporal.*

The ecclesiastical consisteth in setting forth the word of God, continuing the people in prayer, and the discipline. The setting forth of the word of God consisteth in the good discreet doctrine and example of the teachers and spiritual officers; for as the good husbandman maketh his ground good and plentiful, so doth the true preacher, with doctrine and example, print and graft in the people's mind the word of God, that they at length become plentiful. Prayers also to God must be made continually, of the people and officers of the church, to assist them with his grace. And those prayers must first, with good consideration, be set forth, and faults therein be amended. Next, being set forth, the people must continually be allured to hear them. For discipline, it were very good that it went forth, and that those that did notably offend in swearing, rioting, neglecting of God's word, or such the like vices, were duly punished, so that those that should be the executors of this discipline were men of tried honesty, wisdom, and judgment. But because those bishops who should execute it, some for papistry, some for ignorance, some for age, some for their ill name, some for all these, are men unable to execute discipline, it is therefore a thing unmeet for these men: wherefore it were necessary that those that were appointed to be bishops or preachers were honest in life, and learned in their doctrine; that by rewarding of such men, others might be allured to follow their good life.

As for the prayers and divine service, it were meet the faults were drawn out (as it was appointed) by learned men, and so the book to be established, and all men willed to come thereunto to hear the service, as I have put in remembrances in articles touching the statutes of this parliament. But as for discipline, I would wish no authority given generally to all bishops, but that commission be given to those that be of the best sort of them to exercise it in their diocesses.

Thus much generally for religion.

*Temporal Regiment.*

The temporal regiment consisteth in well-ordering, enriching, and defending the whole body politick of the common-wealth, and every part of the whole, to one part, not the other. The example whereof may be best taken of a man's body; for even as the arm defendeth, helpeth, and aideth the whole body, chiefly the head, so ought serving-men, and gentlemen chiefly, and such-like kind of people, be always ready to the defence of their country, and chiefly of their superior and governor; and ought in all things to be vigilant and painful for the encreasing and aiding of their country. And forasmuch as they, in serving their king and country, have divers great and manifold charges, even as the arm doth many times bear great stresses for defence of the head and body, having no kind of way to enrich themselves, neither by merchandise, neither by handicraft, neither by husbandry; as the arm doth decoct no meat itself, nor engendereth no blood: therefore, even as the stomach, liver, and lights, which parts engender the blood, doth send

nourishment to the arms and legs sufficient to strengthen the part, even so must the artificers so use their gain in working, and so truly and justly make that that they work: the merchants must so sell their ware, and so labour to bring in strange commodities: the husbandmen must pay such rents, and so sell things that come of the increase of the ground, that the hands and the legs, that is to say, the states of gentlemen and of serving-men, may well do the common-wealth that service they ought to do. And as the gentlemen and serving-men ought to be provided for, so ought not they neither to have so much as they have in France, where the peasantry is of no value, neither yet meddle in other occupations; for the arms and legs doth never draw the whole blood from the liver, but leaveth it sufficient to work on; neither doth meddle in any kind of engendring of blood. No, nor no one part of the body doth serve for two occupations; even so neither the gentleman ought to be a farmer, nor the merchant an artificer, but to have his art particularly. Furthermore, no member in a well-fashioned and whole body is too big for the proportion of the body; so must there be, in a well-ordered common-wealth, no person that shall have more than the proportion of the country will bear; so it is hurtful immoderately to enrich any one part. I think this country can bear no merchant to have more land than 100*l.*; no husbandman nor farmer worth above 100 or 200*l.*; no artificer above 100 merks; no labourer much more than he spendeth. I speak now generally, and in such cases may fail in one particular; but this is sure, this common-wealth may not bear one man to have more than two farms, than one benefice, than two thousand sheep, and one kind of art to live by. Wherefore, as in the body no part hath too much nor too little, so in a common-wealth ought every part to have *ad victum et non ad saturitatem*. And there is no part admitted in the body that doth not work and take pains; so ought there no part of the common-wealth to be but laboursome in his vocation. The gentleman ought to labour in service in his country; the serving-man ought to wait diligently on his master; the artificer ought to labour in his work; the husbandman in tilling the ground; the merchant in passing the tempests; but the vagabonds ought clearly to be banished, as is the superfluous humour of the body, that is to say, the spittle and filth; which because it is for no use, it is put out by the strength of nature. This is the true ordering of the state of a well-fashioned common-wealth, that every part do obey one head, one governor, one law, as all parts of the body obey the head, agree among themselves, and one not to eat another up through greediness; but that we see that order, moderation, and reason, bridle the affections. But this is most of all to be had in a common-wealth well ordered, that the laws and ordinances be well executed, duly obeyed, and ministred without corruption. Now having seen how things ought to be, let us first see how now they be ordered, and in what state they stand now, and then go forward to seek a remedy.

The first point in ordering the common-wealth we touched, was, that the gentlemen, noblemen, and serving-men should stand stoutly to the defence of their superior and governor, and should be painful in ordering their country; which thing, although in some part, and the most part, be well (thanks be to God), yet in some parts is not absolutely, which I shall shew hereafter particularly.

But the second point, for maintenance of the state of landed-men, is ill looked to; for that state of gentlemen and noblemen, which is truly to be termed the state of nobles, hath alonely not exercised the gain of living: for merchants have enhaunced their ware; farmers have enhaunced their corn and cattel; labourers their wages; artificers the price of their workmanship; and mariners and boatsmen their hire for service, whereby they recompense the loss of things they buy; but the most part of true gentlemen (I mean not these farming gentlemen, nor clarking knights,) have little or nothing increased their rents; yet their house-keeping is dearer, their meat is dearer, their liveries dearer, their wages greater; which thing at length, if speedy remedy be not had, will bring that state into utter ruin, *quod absit*.

The artificers work falsly; the clothiers use deceit in cloth; the masons in building; the clockmakers in their clocks; the joiner in his working of timber; and so forth all other almost, to the intent they would have men oftner come to them for amending their things, and so have more gain, although at the beginning they take out of measure. The merchants adventure not to bring in strange commodities, but loiter at home, send forth small hoys with two or three mariners, occupy exchange of mony, buy and sell victual; steal out bullion, corn, victual, wood, and such-like things, out of the realm, and sell their ware unreasonably. The husbandmen and farmers take their ground at a small rent, and dwell not on it, but let it to poor men for triple the rent they take it for; and sell their flesh, corn, milk, butter, &c. at unreasonable prices. The gentleman, constrained by necessity and poverty, becometh a farmer, a grasier, or a sheep-master. The grasier, the farmer, the merchants, become landed-men, and call themselves gentlemen, though they be churls; yea, the farmer will have ten farms, some twenty, and will be a pedlar-merchant. The artificer will leave the town, and for his more pastimes will live in the country; yea, and more than that, will be a justice of the peace, and will think scorn to have it denied him; so lordly they be now-a-days: for now they are not content with two thousand sheep, but they must have twenty thousand, or else they think themselves not well; they must have twenty mile square their own land, or full of their farms, and four or five crafts to live by is too little, such hell-hounds be they. For idle persons, there were never, I think, more than be now; the wars, men think, is the cause thereof; such persons can do nothing but rob and steal: but slack execution of the laws hath been the chiefest sore of all; the laws have been manifestly broken, the offenders banished, and, either by bribery or foolish pity, escaped punishment. The dissention and disagreement, both for private matters and also in matters of religion, hath been no little cause; but the principal hath been the disobedient and contentious talking and doing of the foolish and fond people, which for lack of teaching have wandered, and broken wilfully and disobediently the laws of this realm. The lawyers also, and judges, have much offended in corruption and bribery.

Furthermore, they do now-a-days much use to forestall, not only private markets of corn and victual, whereby they enhaunce the price thereof, but also send to the sea too, aboard ships, and take the wine, sugar, dates, or any other ware, and bring it to London, where they sell at double the price. What shall I say of those that buy and sell offices of trust, that impropriate benefices, that destroy timber; that, not considering the sustaining of men of their corn, turn till ground to pasture; that use excess in apparel, in diet, and in building of inclosures of wastes and commons; of those that cast false and seditious bills? but that the thing is so tedious, long, and lamentable to entreat of the particulars, that I am weary to go any further in the particulars; wherefore I will cease, having told the worst, because the best will save itself.



Now I will begin to entreat of a remedy. The ill in this common-wealth, as I have before said, standeth in deceitful working of artificers, using of exchange and usury, making vent with hoys only into Flanders; conveying of bullion, lead, bell-mettle, copper, wood, iron, fish, corn, and cattel, beyond sea; inhauncing of rents; using no arts to live by; keeping of many sheep and many farms; idleness of people; disobedience of the lower sort; buying and selling of offices, impropriations, benefices; turning till-ground to pasture; exceeding in apparel, diet, and building; enclosing of commons; casting of ill and seditious bills.

These sores must be cured with these medicines or plaisters: 1. Good education. 2. Devising of good laws. 3. Executing the laws justly, without respect of persons. 4. Example of rulers. 5. Punishing of vagabonds and idle persons. 6. Encouraging the good. 7. Ordering well the customers. 8. Engendring friendship in all parts of the common-wealth. These be the chief points that tend to order well the whole common-wealth.

And for the first, as it is in order first, so it seemeth to be in dignity and degree; for Horace saith very wisely,

Quo est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu——

With whatsoever thing the new vessel is embued, it will long keep the savour, saith Horace; meaning, that for the most part men be as they be brought up, and men keep longest the savour of their first bringing up. Wherefore, seeing that it seemeth so necessary a thing, we will shew our device herein. Youth must be brought up, some in husbandry, some in working, graving, gilding, joining, printing, making of clothes, even from their tenderest age, to the intent they may not, when they come to man's estate, loiter as they do now-a-days, and neglect, but think their travail sweet and honest. And for this purpose would I wish that artificers and others were either commanded to bring up their sons in like trade, or else had some places appointed them in every good town, where they should be apprentices, and bound to certain kind of conditions. Also that those vagabonds that take children and teach them to beg, should, according to their demerits, be worthily punished. This shall well ease and remedy the deceitful working of things, disobedience of the lower sort, casting of seditious bills, and will clearly take away the idleness of people.

2. Devising of good laws. I have shewed my opinion heretofore what statutes I think most necessary to be enacted this sessions: nevertheless I would wish, that beside them hereafter, when time shall serve, the superfluous and tedious statutes were brought into one sum together, and made more plain and short, to the intent that men might the better understand them; which thing shall much help to advance the profit of the common-wealth.

3. Nevertheless, when all these laws be made, established, and enacted, they serve to no purpose, except they be fully and duly executed. By whom? By those that have authority to execute; that is to say, the noblemen and the justices of peace. Wherefore I would wish that, after this parliament were ended, those noblemen (except a few that should be with me) went to their countries, and there should see the statutes fully and duly executed; and that those men should be put from being justices of peace, that be touched or blotted with those vices that be against these new laws to be established; for no man that is in fault himself can punish another for the same offence.

Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

And these justices being put out, there is no doubt for execution of the laws.

*Desunt cætera.*

## III.—*A Reformation of the Order of the Garter; translated out of English into Latin by King Edward.*

[Cotton. Libr. Nero C. 10.]

Edwardus sextus Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Rex, &c. Omnibus qui præsentes videbunt Literas Salutem. Serenissimi Majores nostri Reges Angliæ deliberantes et secumipsis cogitantes, de eo officio quo uti debeant erga Deum, Patriam, et eos qui suæ ditioni erant subjecti, satis facile invenerunt nihil tam ad suum officium pertinere quam ut bonos, fortes, magnanimos, prudentes et claros viros (pro singularibus eorum meritis) honore gloriaq; afficerent, et amicitiam, societatem, consensionem quandam in bonis rebus inter omnes, præcipue vero inter pares foverent. Honorem enim (ut certe est) præmium virtutis judicabant; concordiam vero fundamentum et auctricem rerumpublicarum existimabant. Hæc igitur illis perpendentibus, optimum visum est constituere societatem, cœtum aut conventum aliquem eorum, qui in domesticis pacis negotiis optime se gesserant, et in militaribus pugnis fortiter et prudenter se exercuerant. Hosq; voluerunt in signum concordiæ et unitatis Tibias fascia quadam circumligare, quasi eo facto divulgantes sese non dubitare Patriæ, Religionis et Domini causa vitam et bona profundere, eamq; ob causam Ordinem Garterii nominaverunt. Quem quidem Ordinem omnium voce celebratum, serpens ille humano generi infestus Satanas conspiciens, tantopere ad virtutem homines incitare, conatus est pœnitus delere. In quo tantum elaboravit, tam diligenter prædam quæsivit, tam ingeniose et callide homines decepit, ut tandem repleverit decreta hujus Societatis multis ambiguis, superstitiosis, Papisticis et inter se contrariis sententiis. Putandum enim erit, quod si Evangelii lux non apparuisset, de isto Ordine penitus actum fuisset, saltem de his rebus in Ordine in quo bonorum nomen meruissent. Indies enim crevit malum; Nos autem summopere commoti, antiquitate, magnificentia et pulchritudine hujus Ordinis, omnibus viribus elaboravimus ad eum reducendum ad statum pristinum. Quapropter in cœtu quodam celebrato die Anno Dom. 1551 Regni vero nostri

Ubi permulti Milites ejusdem Ordinis aderant, constitutum erat a nobis, Autoritate eorundem Militum, quod hi articuli infrascripti firmissime observabuntur, ut hujus Ordinis Decreta.

1. Primum Conclusum Statutumq; existit, quod hic ordo posthac appellabitur Ordo Garterii; non Ordo Sancti Georgii: nec idem Georgius amplius posthac appellabitur; nec nominabitur Patronus Ordinis, ne ille honor qui soli Deo debeatur, cuidam creaturæ attribuatur.

2. Item Milites circumligabunt Tibias Garteriis (ut vulgo dicunt) quibus inscribunt hæc verba. **Hyni soit qui mal y pense**; in collis autem cathenarum more gerent equitem sculptum, altera manu tenentem gladium penetrantem librum, in quem gladium scribetur *Protectio*, in Librum vero *Verbum Dei*, altera autem Clipeum, in quem inscribetur *Fides*, hac re significantes se concordes protectores Verbi Divini et Fideles existere. Cum enim ab Georgio eodem auferetur honor ille, quod Patronus amplius Ordinis non erit, Milites non amplius gestabunt eundem divum, post Festum Michaelis proxime sequentis.

3. Arma tamen Ordinis maneant in eodem Statu quo antea manere sunt solita, viz. Crux rubea in Campo Argenteo.

4. Numerus militum erunt 24 præter præfectum, si enim plures existant tum minori in honore habebitur Collegam esse Ordinis, hi autem Milites jam existunt.

5. Quod Rex Angliæ, Hæredes et Successores ejus,

erunt hujus Ordinis Præfecti quemadmodum et solitum est antehac. Et quia sæpe oriuntur ambiguitates, contentiones et mutationes temporum; propter quas aut tolli, aut definiri, aut adjungi debent aliqua decreta hujus Ordinis, sæpe etiam in mortuorum Militum locum alii substituantur necesse est: Idcireo conclusum est, quod licet eidem Regi Angliæ, aliqua tali re mota, Advocatis sex ex Sociis Ordinis, cum eorum consensu, celebrato in loco aliquo, mutare, definire, addere, aut detrahere ab hoc Ordine; ut illis bonum videbitur, et etiam eligere, in numerum Militum, alios omnes, qui sunt generosi, insignia gestantes, a parte Patrum et Matrum per tres progenies sive generationes quoscunque arbitrabuntur maxime idoneos.

6. Omnes hi qui rei sunt inventi Capitalium Criminum, aut ignave a prælio aufugerunt, aut Notabili Crimine sunt contaminati, quanquam mors illis non infligatur, tamen Milites Ordines esse desinent. Æquum enim qui esse potest, eum qui insigni et fœdo aliquo vitio sit contaminatus, in bonorum Societate aut cœtu manere. Capitalia vero sint Crimina, pro quibus leges judicant debere mortis pœnam subire.

7. Si autem idem Ordinis præfectus intelligat locum aliquem vacuum existere, tum mittet ad Milites vicinos et propinquos ut certo quodam die adsint, hasq; literas mittet triduum ante diem celebrandi cœtus; nisi forte adsint plus quam sex Milites.

8. Qui Milites Congregati in cœtu quodam vestibus Ordinis induti, si locus aliquis sit vacuus, scribent unusquisq; nomina trium Principum: viz. Imperatorum, Regum, Archiducum, Ducum, Marchionum, Comitum, aut Vicecomitum, nomina tria Baronum, sive Dominorum, et nomina trium Militum Aureatorum quos Baccalaureos Milites vulgo dicunt.

9. Cum nomina sunt scripta, tum Rex Angliæ Ordinis præfectus ex eorum numero eliget quem maxime idoneum arbitrabitur ex antiqua illustriq; familia natum, aut qui suis gestis præclaris nomen, famam et honorem summum acquisiverit, nam in electione Militum divitias respicere nullo modo oportet, sed virtutem et generis Nobilitatem, primo autem in loco virtutem.

10. Miles electus, cum proxime adsit, adducetur in Domum ubi cœtus celebratur per duos Collegas Ordinis, Præfectus induet eum cathena sive Collario Rosarum circumligatarum fasciis cum sculpta equitis imagine, ut prædixi, appendente; duo vero Collegæ fascia, sive ut vulgo dicunt, Garterio tibiam circumligabunt: Tradetur etiam electo Militi liber horum decretorum.

11. Miles vero electus ibit Windesoram, et Præfectus Ordinis mittet ad illum substitutum suum et duos coadjutores, qui collocabunt eum, si fieri possit, sine aliorum Militum detrimento in sede, ejus gradui Nobilitatis apta et accomoda, et secundum veterem modum vestes recipiet (quos vulgo dicunt Anglice, *the Mantel, the Cirtel, and the Hood,*) et his vestibus indutus audiet preces divinas in sede illi constituta, simul cum substituto et coadjutoribus Communionem recipiens.

12. Post preces absolutas recipiet hoc jusjurandum; se pro viribus velle sustinere et defendere omnes honores, titulos, querelas et Dominia Regis Angliæ Ordinis Præfecti; velle etiam (quantum in se est) protegere, amare et colere Divini Verbi studiosos; velle deponere humanas Traditiones et augere Gloriam et Honorem Dei.

13. Ille ordo qui institutus fuit olim de insignibus, gladiis, galæis et armis reponendis in cellis aut sedibus, maneat in priori forma.

14. Adhæc cum Dedicatio Ordinis auferatur a divo Georgio, et si tempus anni non sit idoneum ad multos homines cogendos, et ex patria accersendos, præsertim vero ne ipsam dedicationem Verbis auferentes re videremur retinere, idcirco statutum est cœtum cælebratum fore, ut olim in Anglia die Divi Georgii; sic nunc primo Die Sabbati, et primo Die Dominico in mense Decembris, nisi forte primus dies mensis Decembris sit dies Dominicus; tunc autem celebrabitur primo Die Sabbati, et secundo die Dominico.

15. Primo vero Die Sabbati Milites qui adsunt (omnes autem adesse debent nisi forte habeant licitam excusationem) audient preces Vespertinas institutas Autoritate Parliamenti vestibus Ordinis induti, sedentes quisque in sede constituta. Miles autem electus non collocatus in sede stabit directe versus eum locum ubi collocabitur.

16. Die Dominico sequenti in aurora audient supradicti Milites preces, et qui se paratos facere possint, Communionem recipient, vesperi etiam audient preces vespertinas.

17. Milites autem absentes tenebuntur eadem facere in suis ædibus toto hoc tempore vestibus Ordinis induti.

18. Præterea Milites qui adsunt vestibus Ordinis induti prandebunt omnes, ab uno latere sedentes in eodem gradu quo collocantur Windesoræ, in cellis in cœtum etiam intrabunt hoc die, ut si, quid faciendum sit, perficiant.

19. Cantatores et Præbendarii fruentur suis possessionibus durante Vita, post mortem autem eorum conferentur in Concionatores in castro Windesoræ.

20. Pauperes autem qui in eodem Collegio manent, habebunt omnia sua pristino more, loci autem conferentur in Milites vulneratos aut admodum senes viros, solum privabuntur superstitiosis et vanis Cæremoniis quibus uti sunt soliti, ut Oratione pro defunctis, &c. Quemadmodum vero soliti sunt missæ adesse sic jam adsint in precibus constitutis.

21. Sunt autem certæ summæ Argenti quæ solent impendi cum moriantur Milites Ordinis.

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A Rege Angliæ | 8 | 6 | 8 | A Comite . | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| A Rege Peregrino | 6 | 13 | 4 | A Vice Counte | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| A Principe . | 5 | 16 | 8 | A Barone . . | 1 | 13 | 4 |
| A Duce . . | 5 | 0 | 0 | A Milite Baccalaureo . | 0 | 16 | 8 |
| A Marchione . | 3 | 13 | 0 | | | | |

Adhæc cum Milites eligantur solvendæ sunt hæ summæ Pecuniæ.

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A Rege Angliæ | 30 | 0 | 0 | A Comite . | 6 | 13 | 8 |
| A Rege Peregrino | 20 | 0 | 0 | A Vice Comite | 5 | 16 | 8 |
| A Principe . | 13 | 6 | 8 | A Barone . . | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| A Duce . . | 10 | 0 | 0 | A Milite . . | 3 | 6 | 8 |
| A Marchione . | 8 | 6 | 8 | | | | |

Hæ prædictæ summæ Argenti colligantur et quotannis pauperibus distribuantur ut interdum solitum est fieri.

22. Rex Angliæ exsolvat Pecuniam quam peregrini Principes debebunt propter articulum supradictum.

23. Sed quia difficile est omnia hæc sine Ministris idoneis fieri, igitur constitutum est fore quatuor Ordinis hujus Ministros. Cancellarius, Annotator sive Register, Præcessor qui nigram virgam gestabit, et præcipuus Rex armorum qui ab Ordine nomen obtinebit Garter.

24. Sigillum Ordinis habebit ex uno latere Arma Angliæ et Franciæ simul cum Armis Ordinis circumligata hac circumscriptione, *Verbum Domini manet in æternum*, ex altera parte equitem sculptum, ut Milites gestabunt circumligatum fascia sive Garterio.

25. Hoc sigillo Cancellarius sigillabit omnia decreta, licentias, constitutiones, literas et reliqua omnia quæ ad ordinem prædictum pertinent aut ullo modo debent pertinere.

26. Annotator in magno Libro Annotabit Latine quibus temporibus quisque miles fuerit electus, quibus mortuus, quænam sancita erant decreta, quænam dissoluta, et si quæ erunt alia pertinentia ad Ordinem supradictum, hunc autem librum relinquet in Castro Windesoræ suo successori in eodem officio.



27. Rex Heroaldorum et insignium Garter servabit nomina et cognomina, arma et insiguia cujusq; Militis electi, eundem librum relinquens suo successori, et si quæ sit ambiguitas de armis, ipse dijudicabit.

28. Præcessor Ordinis gestans virgam nigram præibit ordinem et ostium custodiet, et eandem autoritatem habebit, qua antehac usus est. Quod siquis Militum contumeliose et graviter offenderit, et ejus criminis in cœtu fuerit convictus, Præcessor Ordinis cum Rege Heroaldorum eum exuent catena et Garterio.

29. Adhæc cum aliquis peregrinus Rex in Militum numerum substituatur et eligatur, Cæremoniis hujus Ordinis non detinebitur, sed prout placuerit.

30. Post electionem vero præfectus Ordinis mittet duos Milites ejusdem Ordinis, qui post preces in ejus patria vulgares induent eum vestibus illis quæ solent gestari, viz. Anglice, *the Mantel, the Cirtel, and the Hood.* In collum etiam imponent catenam rosarium cum equite sculpto appendente et fascia vulgo dicto Garterio.

31. Postea per procuratorem in sede collocabitur, nullum omnino juramentum recipiens, nec preces unquam alias quam solitas audiens.

32. Quod Rex Angliæ possit dispensare et veniam dare omittendi ullas Cæremonias, si causa postulet.

33. Quod hi articuli ut monumenta, decreta et Leges Ordinis reponentur in Collegio Windesoræ, omnes autem his contrariæ penitus abrogabuntur.

FINIS.

## IV.—*A Paper concerning a Free Mart in England.*

*The Reasons and Causes why it is now most necessary to have a Mart in England.*

1. Because our vent of clothes might be open in all wars.

2. Because our merchants' goods might be out of danger of strangers, without fear of arresting for every light cause.

3. Because it would much enrich the realm; for as a market enricheth a town, so doth a mart enrich a realm.

4. Because for, at a need, round sums of mony might be of them borrowed that haunt the mart.

5. Because we should have a great multitude of ships strangers to serve in the wars.

6. Because all strangers' goods, when war is made, should be in our danger.

7. Because we should buy all things at the first hand of strangers; whereas now the Spaniards sell to the Flemings their wares, and the Flemings to us.

8. Because the towns toward the sea-side should be much more populous.

9. Because whereas now they bring tapestry, points, glasses, and laces, they would then bring in bullion, and other substantial merchandice, to the intent to have our cloth and our tin.

10. Because we should take from our enemies their power, and make that they should borrow no money of merchants but when we list; at least, no great sum of mony.

*The Causes why this Time is most Commodious to erect a Mart in.*

1. The wars between the French king and the emperor, and the ships of either side, maketh the Italians, Genoa's, Portugals, and Spaniards, to forbear their trade to Antwerp. 2. The Frenchmen, the Stadts, the Sprusses, and ships of Eastland, being against the emperor, will not come neither. 3. The French king invading Lorrain, and fearing Flanders. 4. And the Almains lying on the river of Rhene, stoppeth the course of merchants out of Italy to Antwerp, and also Frankfort. 5. The putting of men of war in the town, maketh the merchants to forbear their traffique, and to look to their lives. 6. The breach of the last tempest is like, they say, to make the channel uncertain, and the haven naught. 7. The stop of the exchange to Lions, will make many Flemings bankrupts. These things will decay the marts of Antwerp and Frankfort. But these nations cannot live without a vent, therefore they will now most willingly come hither if they had a free mart.

2. It were an easier matter to come to Southampton for the Spaniards, Britanes, Vascoins, Lombards, Geneoese, Normands, and Italians, than to go to Antwerp.

3. It were easier for the merchants of the Eastland, the Sprusses, the Danes, Swedens, and Norvegians, to come to Hull than to Antwerp

4. Southampton is a better port than Antwerp.

5. The Flemings have allured men to make a mart there with their privileges, having but very little commodities; much easier shall we do it, having cloth, tin, sea-coal, lead, bell-mettal, and such other commodities, as few realms Christian have the like; nor they when they began had no such opportunity,

*How the Mart will be brought to pass.*

1. Our merchants are to be staid from a mart or two, under pretence that they abstain because of the imposition.

2. Then proclamation must be made in divers places of the realm where merchants resort, that there shall be a free mart kept at Southampton, with these liberties and customs.

1. The time of the mart to begin after Whitsontide, and to hold on five weeks; by which means it shall not let St. James's fair at Bristol, nor Bartholomew fair at London.

2. All men coming to the mart shall have free going and free coming, without arresting, except in cases of treason, murder, or felony.

3. For the time of the mart, all sorts of men shall pay but half the custom they do in other places of the realm.

4. No shipping shall be from any other place from South Wales to Essex during that time.

5. In the shires of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Sussex, Surrey, Kent, Dorsetshire, that no bargain shall be made of wares during that time but in the mart town.

6. A court to correct offenders, with liberties thereto.

7. Some one commodity must be assigned to the mart, or some one kind of cloth.

8. The merchants of the staple must be bargained withal, and contented with some honest offer, to the intent by their liberties they may not let the mart.

9. Some more liberties must be given to the inhabitants of Southampton; and if mony may be spared, some must be lent them to begin their trade withal.

10. Our ships on the sea must look as well as they may, observing the treaties, to the safeguard of the merchants when they come.

11. If this prove well, then may another be made at Hull, to begin after Stowrbridg fair, to the intent they may return before the great ices come to their seas.

*The Discommodities and Letts to the Mart to be kept in England.*

1. Because strangers lack access hither by land, which they have at Antwerp.

2. The ill-working of our clothes, which maketh them less esteemed.

3. The abundance of our clothes in Flanders will make them less sought for here.

4. The merchants have established their dwelling-places at Antwerp.

5. That other nations will stay their coming hither for a while by the emperor's commandment.

6. The denial of the request of the merchants of the Stiliard will somewhat let the mart, if it be not looked to.

7. The poverty and littleness of the town of Southampton.

8. The goodliness of the Rhine.

*The Remedies and Answers thereunto.*

*To the first Point.*

1. At this time when the mart should begin at Southampton, the French king and the Almains shall stop the entercourse by land, so that nothing shall come that way but in great danger.

2. When war shall be made against us, then our navy may defend them.

3. As the town of Southampton lacketh the commodity of the access of merchandise by land, so it hath this commodity, that there can be no access of enemies by land, which may be at Antwerp, and men think will be this year, which is a great safety to the merchants.

4. The traffique that cometh by land will not much diminish the mart, for it is only almost the Venetian's traffique, who shall much easilier come hither by sea than to Antwerp, and with less danger of the seas.

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1. The ill-making of our clothes will be meet to be looked on this parliament, and order thereupon to be given. The matter is come to some ripeness already; the upper house hath one bill, and the nether house hath another in good forwardness.

2. As ill as they be made, the Flemings do at this time desire them wonderfully, offering rather to pay the imposition of the emperor than to lack them.

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1. It were very necessary that the ships that shall be hereafter going, were staied till the mart were come to some ripeness.

2. The clothes hereafter might be bought up with our mony here, and conveied to Southampton, to be there uttered at the mart time, and so it should help the mart very well.

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1. The danger of their lives, which they now fear very much, will make them seek another harbour to rest in more safely.

2. They came from Bruges to Antwerp only for the English commodities, although they were setled a Bruges.

3. They have a great commodity to come to Southampton, and a great fear of spoiling to drive them from Antwerp.

4. The merchants never assign to themselves such a mansion, but for more gain they will leave that, and take another.

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1. The emperor is at this time so driven to his shifts, that neither he shall be able to attend the stay of mony from coming to the mart; neither if he were able to attend, could, I think, do it, now the Flemings being put in such fear as they be of the loss of all they have.

2. The Flemings and the Spaniards which be under him, can hardlier be without us than we without them, and therefore they would hardly be brought to forbear our traffique.

*To the sixth Point.*

1. It were good the Stiliard-men were for this time gently answered, and that it were seen, whether by any gentle offer of some part of their liberties, again they might be brought to ship their wares to the mart. The Frenchmen also I think would easily be brought to come hither, having now none other traffique but hither; these two nations would suffice to begin a mart for the first part.

*To the seventh Point.*

1. It is not the ability of the English merchants only that maketh the mart, but it is the resort of other nations to some one place when they do exchange their commodities one with another, for the bargaining will be as well amongst the strangers themselves; the Spaniards with the Almains, the Italians with Flemings, the Venetians with the Danes, &c., as other nations will bargain with us.

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1. Bruges, where the mart was before, stood not on the river of Rhine, nor Antwerp doth not neither stand on that river.

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V.—*The Method in which the Council represented Matters of State to the King. An Original. Written by Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State.*

[Windsor, Sept. 23. Sexto Edwardi Sexti. 1552.]

*Questions.*

1. Whether the king's majesty shall enter into the aid of the emperor?

*Answer*,—He shall.

A Pacto. 1. The king is bound by the treaty; and if he will be helped by that treaty, he must do the reciproque.

A periculo vitando. 2. If he do not aid, the emperor is like to ruin, and consequently the house of Burgundy come to the French possession, which is perilous to England; and herein the greatness of the French king is dreadful.

Religio Christiana. Periculum violati pacti. 3. The French king bringeth the Turk into Christendom, and therefore that exploit to be staied.

4. If the emperor, for extremity, should agree now with the French, then our peril were double greater. 1. The emperor's offence for lack of aid. 2. The French king's enterprises towards us; and in this peace, the bishop of Rome's devotion towards us.



Pro Repub. et Patria. Pericula consequentia. 5. Merchants be so evil used, that both for the loss of goods and honour, some remedy must be sought.

6. The French king's proceedings be suspicious to the realm, by breaking and burning of our ships, which be the old strength of this isle.

Declaration of Stuckley's tale.

*Answer*,—He shall not.

Difficile quasi impossibile. 1. The aid is to be chargeable for the cost, and almost to be executed is impossible.

Solitudo in periculis. 2. If the emperor should die in this confederacy, we should be left alone in the war.

3. It may be the German protestants might be

Amicorum suspitio vitanda. more offended with this conjunction with the emperor, doubting their own causes.

Sperandum bene ab amicis. 4. The amity with France is to be hoped will amend and continue; and the commissioners coming may perchance restore.

*Corrolarium of a mean way.*

*Judicium.*

1. So to help the emperor, as we may also join with other Christian princes, and conspire against the French king, as a common enemy to Christendom.

*Reasons for the Common Conjunction.*

Auxilia communia. 1. The cause is common, and therefore there will be more parties to it.

Sumptus vitandi. 2. It shall avoid the chargeable entry into aid with the emperor, according to the treaties.

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[In the king's own hand.]

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the king that dead is, after that they have done this commission they are now in hand with.

Likewise for the bullwarks, the lord chamberlain, Mr. Treasurer, and Mr. Comptroller, to be in commission in their several jurisdictions.

The rest of the council, some go home to their countries straight after the parliament; some be sore sick that they shall not be able to attend any thing, which when they come, they shall be admitted of the council. Also that these councils sit apart. Also that those of the council that have these several commissions.

*Desunt quædam.*

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15 Jan. 1552.

[This seems not to be the king's hand, but is interlined in many places by him.]

[Cotton. Libr. Nero C. 10.]

*Certain Articles devised and delivered by the King's Majesty, for quicker, better, and more orderly Dispatch of Causes by his Majesty's Privy Council.*

1. His majesty willeth, that all suits, petitions, and common warrants, delivered to his privy council, be considered by them on the Mondays in the morning, and answered also on the Saturdays at afternoon; and that that day, and none others, be assigned to that purpose.

2. That in answering these suits and bills of petition, heed be taken that so many of them as pertain to any court of his majesty's laws be as much as may be referred to those courts where by order they are triable; such as cannot be ended without them, be with expedition determined.

3. That in making of those warrants for mony that pass by them, it be foreseen that those warrants be not such as may already be dispatcht by warrant dormant, lest, by means of such warrants, the accompts should be uncertain.

4. His majesty's pleasure is, that on the Sundays * they intend the public affairs of this realm; they dispatch answers to letters for the good order of the realm, and make full dispatches of all things concluded the week before.

5. That, on the Sunday night, the secretaries, or one of them, shall deliver to his majesty a memorial of such things as are to be debated by his privy council; and then his majesty to appoint certain of them to be debated on several days, viz. Munday afternoon, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, morning.

6. That on Friday, at afternoon, they shall make a collection of such things as have been done the four days past; how many of those articles they have concluded: how many they debated, but not ended; how many the time suffered not to peruse; and also the principal reasons that moved them to conclude on such matters as seemeth doubtful.

7. That on Saturday morning they shall present this collection to his majesty, and know his pleasure upon such things as they have concluded, and also upon all the private suits.

8. That on Sunday night, again, his majesty having received of the secretaries such new matters as hath arisen upon new occasion, with such matters as his council have left, some not determined, and some not debated, shall appoint what matters, and on which days shall be determined, the next week following.

9. That none of them departed his court for longer than two days, without there be left here at the least eight of the council; and that not without giving notice thereof to the king's majesty.

10. That they shall make no manner of assembly or meeting in council, without there be to the number of four at the least.

11. Furthermore, if they be assembled to the number of four, and under the number of six, then they shall reason and debate things, examine all inconveniences and dangers, and also commodities on each side; make those things plain which seem diffuse at the first opening; and if they agree amongst themselves, then at the next full assembly of six they shall make a perfect conclusion and end with them.

12. Also if there rise such matter of weight as it shall please the king's majesty himself to be at the debating of, then warning shall be given, whereby the more may be at the debating of it.

13. If such matter shall happen to rise as shall require long debating or reasoning, or ere it come to a full conclusion or end, then his majesty's council shall not intermeddle other causes, nor fall to other matters for that day, until they have brought it to some end.

14. When matters for lack of time be only debated, and yet brought to no end, then it shall be noted how far, and to what point the matter is brought, and which have been the principal reasons on each side, to the intent, when the matter is treated or spoken of again, it may the sooner and easilier come to conclusion.

15. In matters that be long, tedious, and busy, there may be pointed or chosen two or three, more or less, as the case shall seem to require, to prepare, set forth, and make plain the matters, and to bring report thereof, whereby the things, being less cumbrous and diffuse, may the easilier be dispatcht.

Finally; if upon advertisements, letters, or other occasion whatsoever, there arise matters of great importance that require haste, his majesty's meaning is not but that such matters be waved, considered, and determined, notwithstanding the articles pointed to several days; so that, nevertheless, this order be not generally or commonly broken.

17. That all warrants for reward above 40*l.*, and for his business or affairs above 100*l.*, pass not but under his signature.

18. That no private suit be intermedled with the great affairs, but heard on the Mundays before.

19. If there be under four, and a matter of expedition arise, they shall declare it to the king's majesty, and before him debate it, but not send answer without it require wonderful haste.

* Provided that on Sundays they be present at common-prayer.

# A COLLECTION OF RECORDS, &c.

NUMBER I.

*The Character of Edward the Sixth, as it is given by Cardanus,* lib. 12. *de Genituris, de Genitura Edwardi Sexti.*

Aderant enim illi gratiæ; Linguas enim multas adhuc Puer callebat: Latinam, Anglicam patriam, Gallicam; non expers, ut audio, Græcæ, Italicæ, et Hispanicæ, et forsan aliarum: Non illi dialectica deerat, non Naturalis Philosophiæ principia, non Musica: Mortalitatis nostræ imago, gravitas Regiæ Majestatis, indoles tanto Principe digna; In universum magno miraculo humanarum rerum, tanti ingenii et tantæ expectationis, Puer educabatur. Non hæc Rhetorice exornata veritatem excedunt, sed sunt minora.

*And afterwards.*

Fuit in hoc monstrificus puellus: hic linguas jam septem, ut audio, perdidicerat; propriam, Gallicam et Latinam exacte tenebat. Dialecticæ non expers, et ad omnia docilis. Cum illo congressus, decimum quintum adhuc agebat annum, interrogavit, (Latine non minus quam ego polite et prompte loquebatur) quid contineant libri tui de rerum varietate rari? Hos enim nomini M. S. dedicaveram. Tum ego, Cometarum primum causam, diu frustra quæsitam, in primo capite ostendo. Quænam, inquit ille? Concursus, ego aio, luminis, erraticorum syderum. At Rex, Quomodo cum diversis motibus astra moveantur, non statim dissipatur aut movetur illorum motu? At ego, Movetur equidem, sed longe celerius illis, ob diversitatem aspectus, velut in Christallo et sole cum iris in pariete relucet. Parva enim mutatio magnam facit loci differentiam. At Rex, Et quonam pacto absque subjecto illud fieri potest, iridi enim paries subjectum? Tum ego, Velut in lactea via, et luminum reflectione, cum plures candelæ prope accensæ medium quoddam lucidum et candidum efficiunt. Itaq; ex ungue leonem, ut dici solet. Fuit hic in maxima omnium aut bonorum aut eruditorum expectatione ob ingenuitatem atq; suavitatem morum. Prius ceperat favere artibus quam nosceret, et noscere antequam uti posset. Conatus quidam humanæ conditionis quem non solum Anglia, sed orbis, ereptum immature deflere debet. Plurimum educationi debueramus, plus ereptum est hominum dolo, fraudeve. O quam bene dixerat ille,

Immodicis brevis est ætas et rara senectus.

Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum.

Flete nefas magnum, sed toto flebitis orbe
Mortales, vester corruit omnis honor;
Nam regum decus, et juvenum flos, spesq; bonorum,
Deliciæ sæcli, et gloria gentis erat.

Dignus Apollinei Lachrymis, doctæq; Minervæ
Flosculus, heu misere concidis ante diem!
Te tumulo dabimus Musæ, supremaq; flentes
Munera, Melpomene tristia fata cavet.

Ubi gravitas Regia requirebatur, senem vidisses, ut blandus erat et comis ætatem referebat. Cheli pulsabat, publicis negotiis admovebatur, liberalis animo, atq; in his patrem æmulabatur. Qui dum nimium bonus esse studuit, malus videri poterat: sed a filio aberat suspicio criminis, indoles Philosophiæ studiis exculta fuit.

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NUMBER II.

*The Commission which the Archbishop of Canterbury took out for his Archbishopric.*

[Regist. Cran. Fol. 28.]

Edwardus sextus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, ac in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ Supremum Caput, Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, ac prædicto Consiliario nostro, Thomæ Cant. Archiep. salutem. Quandoquidem omnis juris dicendi Autoritas, atq; etiam jurisdictio omnimodo; tum illa quæ Ecclesiastica dicitur, quam secularis, a regia Potestate velut a supremo Capite, ac omnium Magistratuum infra Regnum nostrum, fonte et scaturigine primitus emanaverit; sane illos qui jurisdictionem hujusmodi antehac non nisi præcario fungebantur beneficium hujusmodi sic eis ex liberalitate Regia indultum gratis animis agnoscere, idque Regiæ munificentiæ solummodo acceptum referre, eique, quoties ejus Majestati videbitur, cedere convenit. Nos tuis in hac parte supplicationibus humilibus inclinati, et nostrorum subditorum commodis consulere cupientes. Tibi vices nostras sub modo et forma inferius descriptis committend. fore; teque licentiand. esse decernimus ad Ordinand. igitur quoscunque infra Dioces. tuam Cant. ubicunque Oriundos, quos, moribus et literatura prævio diligenti et rigoroso examine idoneos fore compereris, ac ad omnes etiam sacros et Presbyteratus Ordines promovend. ordinand. præsentatosque ad beneficia Ecclesiastica quæcunque infra Dioc. tuam Cant. constituta, si ad curam Beneficiis hujusmodi imminentem sustinend. habiles reperti fuerint et idonei, ac non aliter admittend. ac in et de eisdem instituend. et investiend. ac etiam si res ita exigat, destituend. Beneficiaq; Ecclesiastica quæcunq; ad tuam collationem sive dispositionem spectantia et pertinent a Personis idoneis conferend. atque approband. testamenta et ultimas voluntates. Necnon administrationes committend. bonorum quorumcunq; subditorum nostrorum

ab intestat decedend. quorum bona jura sive credita in diversis Dioc. sive jurisdictionibus, aut alibi juxta consuetudinem Curiæ Prærogativæ Cant. vitæ et mortis suarum tempore habentium calculumque et ratiocinium, et alia in ea parte expediend. testamentaque et administrationes, quorumcunque tuæ Dioc. ut prius approband. et committend. causasque lites et negotia coram te aut tuis deputatis pendend. Indecisas, necnon alias sive alia quascunque sive quæcunq; ad forum Ecclesiasticum pertinend. ad te aut tuos deputatos sive deputandos per vestram querelæ, aut appellationis devolvend. sive deducend. quæ citra legum nostrarum et Statutorum Regni nostri offensionem coram te aut tuis deputatis agitari, aut ad tuam sive alicujus Commissariorū per te vigore hujus Commissionis jure deputandorum cognitione devolvi aut deduci valeant, et possunt examinand. et decidend. Ceteraque omnia et singula in Præmissis, seu circa ea necessaria, seu quomodolibet opportuna, per et ultra ea quæ tibi ex Sacris Literis divinitus Commissa esse dignoscuntur, vice, nomine et Autoritate nostris exequend. Tibi de cujus sana Doctrina, Conscientiæ puritate, vitæq; et morum integritate, ac in rebus gerundis fide et industria plurimum confidimus, vices nostras cum potestate alium vel alios, Commissarium vel Commissarios, ad præmissa vel eorum aliqua surrogand. et substituend. eosdemque ad placitum revocand. tenore præsentium Committimus, ac liberam facultatem concedimus, teq; licentiamus per præsentes ad nostrum beneplacitum duntaxat duraturas cum cujuslibet congrue et Ecclesiast. coercionis potestate, quacunq; inhibitione ante dat. præsentium emanata in aliquo non obstante, tuam Conscientiam coram Deo strictissime onerantes, et ut summo omnium judici aliquando rationem reddere, et coram nobis tuo sub periculo corporali, respondere intendis te admonentes, ut interim tuum officium juxta Evangelii normam pie et sancte exercere studeas, et ne quem ullo tempore unquam ad sacros Ordines promoveas ; vel ad curam animarum gerendam quovismodo admittas ; nisi eos duntaxat quos et tanti et tam venerabilis officii functionem, vitæ et morum Integritas notissimis testimoniis approbata, literarum scientia et aliæ qualitates requisitæ ad hoc habiles et idoneos clare et luculenter ostenderint et declaraverint. Nam ut maxime compertum cognitumq; habemus morum omnium et maxime Christianæ Religionis corruptelam, a malis pastoribus in populum emanasse, sic et veram Christi Religionem vitæq; et morum emendationem a bonis pastoribus iterum delectis et assumptis in integrum restitutum iri haud dubie speramus. In cujus rei testimonium præsentes Literas nostras inde fieri, et sigilli nostri quo ad causas Ecclesiasticas utimur appensione jussimus communire. Datum septimo die mensis Februarii, Anno Dom. millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo sexto et Regni nostri Anno primo.

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NUMBER III.

### *The Council's Letter to the Justices of Peace.*

An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Titus B. 2.]

After our right hearty commendations: where the most noble king, of famous memory, our late soveraign lord and master king Henry the eighth (whom God pardon), upon the great trust which his majesty had in your virtuous wisdoms and good dispositions to the commonwealth of this realm, did specially name and appoint you, among others, by his commissions under his great seal of England, to be conservatours and justices of his peace, within that his county of Norfolk. Forasmuch as the same commissions were dissolved by his decease, it hath pleased the king's majesty, our soveraign lord that now is, by the advice and consent of us, the lord protector and others, executors to our said late soveraign lord, whose names be under-written; to whom, with others, the government of his most royal person, and the order of his affairs, is by his last will and testament committed, till he shall be of full age of eighteen years, to cause new commissions again to be made for the conservation of his peace throughout this realm, whereof you shall by this bearer receive one for that county. And for that the good and diligent execution of the charge committed to you and others by the same, shall be a notable surety to the king, our soveraign lord's person that now is, to whom God give increase of vertue, honour, and many years, a most certain stay to the commonwealth; which must needs prosper where justice hath place and reigneth. We shall desire you, and in his majesty's name charge and command you, upon the receit hereof, with all diligence, to assemble yourselves together; and calling unto you all such others as be named in the said commission. You shall first cry and call to God to give you grace to execute this charge committed unto you with all truth and uprightness, according to your oaths, which you shall endeavour your selves to do in all things appertaining to your office accordingly: in such sort as all private malice, sloth, negligence, displeasure, disdain, corruption, and sinister affections set apart, it may appear you have God, and the preservation of your soveraign lord and natural country, before your eyes; and that you forget not that by the same, your selves, your wives, and your children, shall surely prosper and be also preserved. For the better doing whereof, you shall, at this your first assembly, make a division of your selves into hundreds or wapentakes; that is to say, two at the least, to have especial eye and regard to the good rule and order of that, or those hundreds, to see the peace duly kept, to see vagabonds and perturbers of the peace punished, and that every man apply himself to do as his calling doth require; and in all things to keep good order, without alteration, innovation, or contempt of any thing that by the laws of our late soveraign lord is prescribed and set forth unto us, for the better direction and framing of our selves towards God and honest policy. And if any person or persons, whom ye shall think you cannot rule and order, without trouble to this country, shall presume to do the contrary, upon your information to us thereof, we shall so aid and assist you in the execution of justice, and the punishment of all such contemptuous offenders, as the same shall be example to others. And further, his majesty's pleasure, by the advice and consent aforesaid, is, that you shall take such orders amongst you, as you fail not once every six weeks, till you shall be otherwise commanded, to write unto the said lord protector, and others of the privy-council, in what state that shire standeth; and whether any notable things have happened, or were like to happen in those parts, that you cannot redress, which would be speedily met withal and looked unto; or whether you shall need any advice or counsel, to the intent we may put our hands to the stay and reformation of it in the beginning as appertains: praying you also to take order, that every commissioner in the shire may have a double, or a copy of this letter, both for his own better instruction, and to shew to the gentlemen, and such others as inhabit in the hundreds specially appointed to them, that every man may the better conform himself to do truth, and help to the advancement of justice, according to their most bounden duties, and as they will answer for the contrary. Thus fare you well. From the Tower of London, the 12th of February.

Your loving friends,

E. Hertford.

T. Cantuarien. Thomas Wriothesley, Cancel. W. St. John, J. Russel, Anthony Brown, Anthony Denny, Cuth. Duresme, William Paget, W. Herbert, Edward North.



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NUMBER IV.

### *The Order for the Coronation of King Edward.*

[Ex Libro Consilii.]

Sunday, Feb. 13, at the Tower, &c.

This day the lord protector, and others his executors, whose names be hereunto ascribed, upon mature and deep deliberation had among them, did finally resolve, that forasmuch as divers of the old observances and ceremonies afore-times used at the coronations of the kings of this realm were by them thought meet, for sundry respects, to be corrected; and namely, for the tedious length of the same, which should weary and be hurtsome peradventure to the king's majesty, being yet of tender age, fully to endure and bide out. And also for that many points of the same were such as by the laws of the realm at this present were not allowable. The king's majesty's coronation should be done and celebrated upon Shrove-Sunday next ensuing, in the cathedral church of Westminster, after the form and order ensuing:—

First, the archbishop of Canterbury shall show the king to the people, at four parts of the great pulpit or stage to be made for the king, and shall say on this wise,—"Sirs, here I present king Edward, rightful and undoubted inheritor, by the laws of God and man, to the royal dignity and crown imperial of this realm, whose consecration, inunction, and coronation, is appointed by all the nobles and peers of this land to be this day. Will ye serve at this time, and give your good-wills and assents to the same consecration, inunction, and coronation, as by your duty of allegiance ye be bound to do?"

The people to answer, "Yea, yea, yea; king Edward, king Edward, king Edward."

This done, the archbishop of Canterbury, being revested as he should go to mass, with the bishops of London and Winchester on both sides, with other bishops, and the dean of Westminster in the bishop's absence, to go in order before the king; the king shall be brought from his seat by them that assisted him to the church to the high altar, where, after his prayer made to God for his grace, he shall offer a pall and a pound of gold, twenty-four pound in coin, which shall be to him delivered by the lord great chamberlain. Then shall the king fall groveling before the altar, and over him the archbishop shall say this collect, *Deus humilium*, &c. Then the king shall rise and go to his chair, to be prepared before the altar, his face to the altar, and standing, one shall hold him a book; and the archbishop standing before the king, shall ask him, with a loud and distinct voice, in manner and form following:—

"Will ye grant to keep to the people of England, and others your realms and dominions, the laws and liberties of this realm, and others your realms and dominions?"

*I grant and promit.*

"You shall keep, to your strength and power, to the church of God, and to all the people, holy peace and concord."

*I shall keep.*

"You shall make to be done, after your strength and power, equal and rightful justice in all your dooms and judgments, with mercy and truth."

*I shall do.*

"Do you grant to make no laws but such as shall be to the honour and glory of God, and to the good of the commonwealth; and that the same shall be made by the consent of your people, as hath been accustomed?"

*I grant and promit.*

Then shall the king rise out of his chair, and by them that before assisted then be led to the high altar, where he shall make a solemn oath upon the sacrament, laid upon the said altar, in the sight of all the people, to observe the premisses; and laying his hand again on the book, shall say,

*The things which I have before promised I shall observe and keep. So God help me, and those holy Evangelists by me bodily touched upon this holy altar.*

That done, the king shall fall again groveling before the high altar, and the said archbishop kneeling before him shall, with a loud voice, begin *Veni Creator Spiritus*, &c.

Which done, the said archbishop, standing, shall say over the king, *Te invocamus*; and at the end shall kneel again, and then shall the king rise, and be set in the chair again; and after a little pause he shall rise, and assisted with those that did before that office, go again to the high altar, where he shall be uncloathed by his great chamberlain unto his coat of crimson satin; which, and also his shirt, shall be opened before and behind on the shoulders, and the bowght of the arms, by the said great chamberlain, to the intent that on these places he be anointed; and whiles he is in the anointing, sir Anthony Denny and sir William Herbert must hold a pall over him. And first, the said archbishop shall anoint the king, kneeling, in the palms of his hands, saying these words, *Ungas Manus*; with this collect, *Respice Omnipotens Deus*. After he shall anoint him in the brest, in the midst of his back, on his two bowghts of his arms, and on his head, making a cross; and after making another cross on his head, with holy chrism, saying, as he anointeth the places aforesaid, *Ungatur Caput, ungantur scapulæ*, &c. During which time of unction, the quire shall continually sing, *Ungebant Regem*, and the psalm, *Domine in virtute tua lætabitur Rex*. And it is to be remembred, that the bishop or dean of Westminster, after the king's inunction, shall dry all the places of his body where he was anointed, with cotton or some linnen cloth, which is to be burnt. And furthermore, the places opened for the same is to be cloathed by the lord great chamberlain; and on the king's hands shall be put, by the said archbishop of Canterbury, a pair of linnen gloves, which the lord great chamberlain shall before see prepared.

This done, the king shall rise, and the archbishop of Canterbury shall put on the king a tabert of Tanterton white, shaped in manner of a dalmatick; and he shall put upon the king's head a quoif, the same to be brought by the great chamberlain. Then the king shall take the sword he was girt withal, and offer it himself to God, laying it on the altar, in token that his strength and power should first come from God. And the same sword he shall take again from the altar, and deliver it to some great earl, to be redeemed of the bishop or dean of Westminster for 100*s.*; which sword shall be borne naked afterwards before the king.

Then the king being set in his chair before the

altar, shall be crowned with St. Edward's crown; and there shall be brought, by the bishop or dean of Westminster, royal sandals and spurs, to be presently put on by the lord great chamberlain; and the spurs again immediately taken off, that they do not encumber him.

Then the archbishop, with all the peers and nobles, shall convey the king, sustained as before, again into the pulpit, setting him in his siege royal; and then shall the archbishop begin *Te Deum laudamus:* which done, the archbishop shall say unto the king, *Sta et retine a modo locum.* And the king being thus set, all the peers of the realm and bishops, holding up their hands, shall make unto him homage, as followeth: first, the lord-protector alone, then the archbishop of Canterbury and the lord chancellor, so two and two as they be placed.

"I, *N.* become your liege man, of life and limb, and of earthly worship, and faith, and truth, I shall bear unto you, against all manner of folks, as I am bound by my allegiance, and by the laws and statutes of this realm. So help us God and Allhallowes." And then every one shall kiss the king's left cheek; which done, all they holding up their hands together, in token of their fidelity, shall with one voice on their knees say, "We offer to sustain and defend you and your crown, with our lives, and lands, and goods, against all the world." And then with one voice to cry, "God save King Edward;" which the people shall cry accordingly. Then shall the king be led to his travers to hear the high mass, and so depart home crowned in order, as he set forth accordingly.

E. Hertford.

T. Cantuarien. Tho. Wriothesley, Cancel. W. St. John. F. Russel. John Lisle. Cuth. Duresme. Anthony Brown. W. Paget. Anthony Denny. W. Herbert.

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NUMBER V.

*The Commission for which the Lord Chancellor was deprived of his Office; with the Opinion of the Judges concerning it.*

[Ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 49.]

Edwardus sextus Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor; et in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ supremum Caput, dilectis et fidelibus Consiliariis suis, Roberto Southwell Militi, custodi ac Magistro Rotulorum Cancellariæ nostræ, et Johanni Tregonwell Armigero uni Magistrorum Cancellariæ nostræ prædictæ. et dilectis sibi Johanni Olyver Clerico, et Antonio Bellasis Clerico, Magistris ejusdem Cancellariæ nostræ salutem. Quia prædilectus et fidelis consanguineus noster Thomas Comes Southampton Cancellarius noster Angliæ, nostris arduis negotiis ex mandato nostro continuo intendens, in eisdem adeo versatur, quod ad ea quæ in Curia Cancellariæ nostræ, in causis et materiis inter diversos ligeos et subditos nostros ibidem pendentibus, tractand. audiend. discutiend. et terminand. Sicut ut fieri debeant, ad præsens non sufficiat: volentes proinde in ejusdem Cancellarii nostri absentia omnibus ligeis et subditis nostris quibuscunque, quascunque materias suas in Curia Cancellariæ nostræ prædictæ prosequentibus, plenam et celerem justitiam exhiberi, ac de fidelitatibus, et providis circumspectionibus vestris plenius confidentes, assignavimus vos tres, et duos vestrum, ac tenore præsentium damus vobis tribus et duobus, plenam potestatem et autoritatem audiendi et examinandi quascunq; materias, causas, et Petitiones coram nobis in Cancellaria nostra, inter quoscunq; ligeos et subditos nostros nunc pendentes, et in posterum ibidem exhibend. et pendend. et easdem materias, causas et Petitiones, juxta sanas vestras discretiones, finaliter terminand. et debitæ executioni demandand. partesq; in materiis sive causis vel Petitionibus illis nominatis et specificatis ad testes et alios quoscunque, quos vobis fore videbitur, evocandos, quoties expedire videbitis coram vobis tribus vel duobus vestrum evocandos; et ipsos et eorum quemlibet debite examinari compellend. diesque productorios imponend. et assignand. processusq; quoscunq; in ea parte necessarios concedend. et fieri faciend. contemptus etiam quoscunq; ibidem commissos sive perpetratos, debite castigand. et puniend. cæteraq; omnia et singula faciend. et exequend. quæ circa præmissa necessaria fuerint; seu quomodolibet opportuna: Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod circa præmissa diligenter attendatis, ac ea faciatis, et exequamini cum effectu. Mandamus etiam tenore præsentium omnibus et singulis Officiariis et Ministris nostris curiæ nostræ prædictæ, quod vobis tribus, et duobus vestrum in executione præmissorum diligenter intendant, prout decet: Volumus enim et per præsentes concedimus, quod omnia et singula judicia sive finalia decreta per vos tres vel duos vestrũ super hujusmodi causis, sive materiis reddend. seu fiend. sicut et esse debeant, tanti et consimilis valoris, effectus, efficaciæ, roboris, et virtutis, ac si per Dominum Cancellarium Angliæ et Curiæ Cancellariæ prædictæ, reddita seu reddenda forent, proviso semper, quod omnia et singula hujusmodi judicia seu finalia decreta, per vos tres vel duos vestrum, virtute præsentium reddend. seu fiend. manibus vestris trium vel duorum vestrum, subscribantur et consignentur, et superinde eadem judicia sive decreta præfato Cancellario nostro præsententur et liberentur, ut idem Cancellarius noster antequam irrotulentur, eadem similiter manu sua consignet. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teste meipso apud Westmonast. 18 die Feb. Anno Regni nostri primo.

The said students, referring to the consideration of the said protector and council what the granting out of the said commission without warrant did weigh; forasmuch as the said protector and council, minding the surety of the king's majesty, and a direct and upright proceeding in his affairs, and the observation of their duties in all things, as near as they can, to his majesty, with a desire to avoid all things which might offend his majesty or his laws; and considering that the said commission was none of the things which they in their assemblies in council, at any time since the death of the king's majesty late deceased, did accord to be passed under the great seal, have for their own discharges required us, whose names be under-written, for the opinion they have of our knowledge and experience in the laws of this realm, to consider the said case of making of the said commission without warrant; and after due consideration thereof, to declare in writing to what the said case doth weigh in law. We, therefore, whose names be under-written, after mature and advised consultation and deliberation thereupon, do affirm and say, for our knowledges and determinations, that the said chancellor of England having made forth, under the great seal of England, without any warrant, the commission aforesaid, hath done, and doth by his so doing offend the king's majesty, hath, and doth by the common law, forfeit his office of chancellor, and incurreth the danger, penalty, and paiment of such fine as it shall please the king's majesty, with the advice of the said lord protector and council, to set upon him for the same; with also imprisonment of his body at the king's will:



In witness whereof we have set our names to this present, the last day of February, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord king Edward the sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth of the church of England, and also of Ireland, the supream head; and have likewise, for more ample testimony of this our opinion of and upon the premisses, put and subscribed our names to this present duplicate of the same here asserted, in this present act of this 6th day of the month of March accordingly.

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NUMBER VI.

*The Duke of Somerset's Commission to be Protector.*

[Ex Libro Concilii, Fol. 62.]

Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England, and also of Ireland, in earth the supream head. Whereas our council, and divers of the nobles and prelates of this our realm of England, considering our young and tender age, have thought meet and expedient, as well for our education and bringing up in knowledge, learning, and exercises of good and goodly manners, vertues, and qualities, meet and necessary for a prince of our estate, and whereby we should, and may at our full age be the more able to minister and execute the charge of our kingly estate and office, committed unto us by the goodness of Almighty God, and left and come unto us by right inheritance, after and by the decease of our late sovereign lord and father, of most famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, whose soul God pardon. As also to the intent, that during the time of our minority, the great and weighty causes of our realms and dominions may be set forth, conducted, passed, applied, and ordered, in such sort as shall be most to the glory of God, our surety and honour; and for the weal, benefit, and commodity of us, our said realms and dominions, and of all our loving subjects of the same, have advised us to nominate, appoint, and authorize some one meet and trusty personage, above all others, to take the special care and charge of the same for us, and in our name and behalf; without the which the things before remembred could not, nor can, be done so well as appertaineth. We therefore, using their advices and counsels in this behalf, did heretofore assign and appoint our dear and well-beloved uncle, Edward, now duke of Somerset, governour of our person, and protector of our said realms and dominions, and of our subjects and people of the same. Which thing albeit we have already declared heretofore, and our pleasure therein published by word of our mouth, in the presence of our said council, nobles, and prelats of our said realm of England, and not by any writing set forth under our seal for that only purpose; yet for a more perfect and manifest knowledge, and further corroboration and understanding of our determination in that behalf; and considering that no manner of person is so meet to have and occupy the said charge and administration, and to do us service in the same, as is our said uncle Edward, duke of Somerset, eldest brother to our natural most gracious late mother queen Jane, as well for the proximity of blood, whereby he is the more stirred to have special eye and regard to our surety and good education, in this our said minority; as also for the long and great experience which our said uncle hath had in the lifetime of our said dear father, in the affairs of our said realms and dominions, both in time of peace and war; whereby he is more able to order and rule our said realms, dominions, and subjects of the same: and for the special confidence and trust that we have in our said uncle, as well with the advice and consent of our council, and other our nobles and prelats, as also of divers discreet and sage men that served our said late father in his council and weighty affairs;—we therefore, by these presents, do not only ratify, approve, confirm, and allow, all and every thing and things whatsoever devised or set forth, committed or done by our said uncle, as governor of our person, and protector of our said realms and dominions, and of the subjects of the same, sith the time he was by us named, appointed, and ordained by word governor of our person, and protector of our said realms and dominions, and of the subjects of the same, as is aforesaid, or otherwise any time before, sithence the death of our said late father; but also by these presents, we, for a full and perfect declaration of the authority of our said uncle, given and appointed as aforesaid, do nominate, appoint, and ordain our said uncle governor of our said person, and protector of our said realms and dominions, and of the subjects of the same, until such time as we shall have, by the sufferance of God, accomplished the age of eighteen years.

And we also do grant to our said uncle, by these presents, full power and authority, from time to time, until such time as we shall have accomplished the said age of eighteen years, to do, procure, and execute, and cause to be done, procured, and executed, all and every such thing and things, act and acts, which a governor of the king's person of this realm, during his minority, and a protector of his realms, dominions, and subjects, ought to do, procure, and execute, or cause to be done, procured, and executed; and also all and every other thing and things, which to the office of a governor of a king of this realm, during his minority, and a protector of his realms, dominions, and subjects, in any wise appertaineth or belongeth; willing, authorising, and commanding our said uncle, by these presents, to take upon him the name, title, and authority of governor of our person, and protector of our realms, dominions, and subjects; and to do, procure, and execute, and cause to be done, procured, and executed, from time to time, until we shall have accomplished the said age of eighteen years, all and every thing and things, act and acts, of what nature, quality, or effect soever they be or shall be, concerning our affairs, doings, and proceedings, both private and publick, as well in outward and forreign causes and matters, as also concerning our affairs, doings, and proceedings within our said realms and dominions, or in any of them, or concerning any manner, causes, or matters, of any of our subjects of the same, in such like manner and form as shall be thought, by his wisdom and discretion, to be for the honour, surety, and prosperity, good order, wealth, or community of us, or of any of our said realms and dominions, or of the subjects of any of the same.

And to the intent our said uncle should be furnished with men qualified in wit, knowledge, and experience for his aid and assistance in the managing and accomplishment of our said affairs, we have, by the advice and consent of our said uncle, and others, the nobles, prelats, and wise men of our said realm of England, chosen, taken, and accepted, and by these presents do chuse, take, accept, and ordain to be our counsellors, and of our council, the most reverend father in God, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, and our right trusty and well-beloved William, lord St. John, great master of our household, and president of our council; John lord Russel, keeper of our privy-seal; and our trusty and right well-beloved cousins,

William marquess of Northampton; John earl of Warwick, great chamberlain of England; Henry earl of Arundel, our lord chamberlain; Thomas lord Seymour of Sudley, high admiral of England; the reverend father in God, Cuthbert bishop of Duresme, and our right trusty and well-beloved Richard lord Rich; sir Thomas Cheney, knight of our order, and treasurer of our household; sir John Gage, knight of our order, and comptroller of our household; sir Anthony Brown, knight of our order, master of our horse; sir Anthony Wingfield, knight of our order, our vice-chamberlain; sir William Paget, knight of our order, our chief secretary; sir William Petre, knight, one of our two principal secretaries; sir Ralph Sadler, knight, master of our great wardrobe; sir John Baker, knight; Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York; sir Anthony Denny and sir William Herbert, kts., gentlemen of our privy-chamber; sir Edward North, kt., chancellor of our court of augmentations and revenues of our crown; sir Edward Montague, kt., chief justice of our common pleas; sir Edward Wotton, kt.; sir Edmund Pekham, kt., cofferer of our household; sir Thomas Bromley, kt., one of the justices for pleas before us to be holden; and sir Richard Southwell, kt.

And furthermore we are contented and pleased, and by these presents do give full power and authority to our said uncle, from time to time, until we shall have accomplished and be of the full age of eighteen years, to call, ordain, name, appoint, and swear such, and as many other persons of our subjects, as to him our said uncle shall seem meet and requisite to be of our council; and that all and every such person or persons, so by our said uncle, for and during the time aforesaid to be called, named, ordained, appointed, and sworn of our council, and to be our counsellor or counsellors, we do by these presents name, ordain, accept, and take our counsellor and counsellors, and of our council, in like manner and form as if he, they, and every of them, were in these presents by us appointed, named, and taken to be of our council, and our counsellor or counsellors, by express name or names. And that also of our forenamed counsellors, or of any others which our said uncle shall hereafter at any time take and chuse to be our counsellor or counsellors, or of our said council, he our said uncle shall, may, and have authority by these presents, to chuse, name, appoint, use, and swear of privy-council, and to be our privy-counsellor or counsellors, such and so many as he from time to time shall think convenient.

And it is our further pleasure, and also we will and grant by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, that whatsoever cause, matter, deed, thing, or things, of what nature, quality, or condition soever the same be; yea, though the same require, or ought by any manner, law, statute, proclamation, or other ordinance whatsoever, to be specially, or by name, expressed or set forth in this our present grant or letters patents, and be not herein expressed or mentioned, specially which our said uncle, or any of our privy-counsellor or counsellors, with the advice, consent, or agreement of our said uncle, have thought necessary, meet, expedient, decent, or in any manner-wise convenient to be devised, done, or executed, during our minority, and until we come to the full age of eighteen years, for the surety, honour, profit, health, or education of our person; or for the surety, honour, profit, weal, benefit, or commodity of any of our realms, dominions, or subjects; and the same have devised, done, or executed, or caused to be devised, executed, or done, at any time since the death of our most noble father of most famous memory; we are contented and pleased, and will and grant, for us, our heirs and successors, by these presents, that the same cause, matter, deed, thing and things, and every of them, shall stand, remain, and be (until such time our said uncle, with such and so many of our foresaid counsellors as he shall think meet to call unto his assistance, shall revoke and annihilate the same) good, sure, stable, vailable, and effectual, to all intents and purposes, without offence of us, or against us, or of or against any of our laws, statutes, proclamations, or other ordinances whatsoever; and without incurring therefore into any danger, penalty, forfeit, loss; or any other encumbrance, penalty, or vexation of his or their bodies, lands, rents, goods, or chattels; or of their, or any of their heirs, executors, or administrators, or of any other person or persons whatsoever, which have done or executed any cause, matter, deed, thing or things, now, or any time since the death of our said father, by the commandment or ordinance of our said uncle, or any of our counsellors, with the advice, consent, or agreement of our said uncle.

And further, we are contented and pleased, and will and grant, for us, our heirs and successors, by these presents, that whatsoever cause, matter, deed, thing or things, of what nature, quality, or condition soever the same be, or shall be; yea, though the same require, or ought by any manner, law, statute, proclamation, or other whatsoever ordinance to be specially and by name expressed and set forth in this our present grant and letters patents, and be not herein specially named or expressed, which our said uncle shall at any time, during our minority, and until we shall come to the full age of eighteen years, think necessary, meet, expedient, decent, or in any wise convenient to be devised, had, made, executed, or done in our name, for the surety, honour, profit, health, or education of our person, or which our said uncle, with the advice and consent of such and so many of our privy-council, or of our counsellors, as he shall think meet to call unto him from time to time, shall at any time, until we come unto the full age of eighteen years, think necessary, meet, decent, expedient, or in any wise convenient to be devised, had, made, executed, or done in our name, for the surety, honour, profit, weal, benefit, or commodity of any of our realms, dominions, or subjects, or any of them, he our said uncle and counsellors, and every of them, and all and every other person or persons, by his our said uncle's commandment, direction, appointment, or order, or by the commandment, appointment, direction, or order of any of our said counsellors, as our said uncle agree, and be contented, to and with the same, shall and may do or execute the same without displeasure to us, or any manner of crime or offence to be by us, our heirs or successors, laid or imputed to him our said uncle, or any our said counsellors, or any other person or persons therefore, or in that behalf, and without any offence of or against our laws, statutes, proclamations, or other whatsoever ordinances; and without incurring therefore into any dammages, penalty, forfeit, loss, or any other encumbrance, trouble, or vexation of his, or any of their bodies, lands, tenements, goods, or chattels; or of his or their, or any their heirs, successors, assigns, executors, or administrators. And therefore we will and command, not only all and every our judges, justices, serjeants, attornies, sollicitors, sheriffs, escheators, bailiffs, and all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, that now be, or hereafter shall be, in no wise to impeach, appeal, arrest, trouble, vex, injure, or molest in our name or otherwise, our said uncle, or our said counsellors, or any of them, or any other person, for any cause, matter, deed, thing, or things, which he or they, or any of them, have done, or shall do, execute, or cause to be executed or done as aforesaid; but also we require, and nevertheless straitly charge and command, by these presents, all and every our officers, ministers, and subjects, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, or shall be, to be obedient, aiding, attendant, and assisting to our said uncle and counsellors, and to every of them as behoveth, for the execution of this charge and commission given and committed unto our said uncle and council as aforesaid, as they tender our favour and their own weals, and as they will answer unto us at their uttermost perils for the contrary. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents; witness ourself at Westminster, the 15th day of March, in the first year of our reign,

E. Somerset.

T. Cantuarien. W. St. John. J. Russel. W. Northamp. T. Cheynie. William Paget. Anthony Brown.



NUMBER VII.

*The King's Letter to the Archbishop of York, concerning the Visitation then intended.*

[Cotton Libr. Titus B. 2.]

Edwardus sextus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, ac in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ supremum Caput, Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, ac prædilecto Consiliario nostro Roberto permissione divina Eboracen. Archiepisc. Angliæ Primati et Metropolitano salutem. Quum nos, suprema Authoritate nostra Regia, omnia et singula loca Ecclesiastica, clerumq; et populum infra et per totum nostrum Angliæ Regnum constituta, propediem visitare statuerimus, Vobis tenore præsentium stricte inhibemus atq; mandamus et per vos Suffraganeis vestris confratribus Episcopis, ac per illos suis Archidiaconis ac aliis quibuscunq; jurisdictionem Ecclesiasticam exercentibus, tam exemptis quam non exemptis, infra vestram Provinciam Eboracens. ubilibet constitutis sic inhibere volumus atq: præcipimus, quatenus nec vos nec quisquam eorum Ecclesias, aut alia loca prædicta Clerumve aut populum visitare, aut ea quæ sunt jurisdictionis exercere seu quicquam aliud in præjudicium dictæ nostræ Visitationis generalis quovismodo attemptare præsumat sive præsumant sub pœna contemptus, donec et quousq; licentiam et facultatem vobis et eis in ea parte largiend. et impertiend. fore duxerimus. Et quia non solum internam animorum subditorum nostrorum pacem; verum etiam externam eorum concordiam multiplicibus opinionum procellis ex contentione, dissentione et contraversiis concionatorum exortis, multum corruptam, violatam ac misere divulsam esse cernimus; Idcirco nobis admodum necessarium visum est ad sedandas et componendas hujusmodi opinionum varietates, quatenus inhibeatis, seu inhiberi faciatis omnibus et singulis Episcopis, nec alibi quam in Ecclesiis suis Cathedralibus, et aliis Personis Ecclesiasticis quibuscunque, ne in alio loco quam in suis Ecclesiis, Collegiatis, sive Parochialibus, in quibus intitulati sunt, prædicent, aut subditis nostris quovismodo concionandi munus exerceant, nisi ex gratia nostra speciali ad id postea licentiati fuerint, sub nostræ indignationis pœna. In cujus rei testimonium, Sigillum nostrum, quo ad causas Ecclesiasticas utimur, præsentibus apponi mandavimus. Dat. quarto die mensis Maii, Anno Dom. 1547, et Regni nostri Anno primo.

E. Somerset. E. Cantuarien. W. St. John. J. Russel. T. Seimour. Will. Petre, secretary. John Baker. John Gage.

NUMBER VIII.

*The Form of bidding Prayer before the Reformation.*

*The Bedes on the Sunday.*

[Out of the "Festival," printed An. 1509.]

Ye shall kneel down on your knees, and lift up your hearts, making your prayers to Almighty God, for the good state and peace of all holy church, that God maintain, save, and keep it. For our holy father the pope, with all his true college of cardinals, that God for his mercy them maintain and keep in the right belief, and it hold and increase, and all misbelief and heresy be less and destroyed. Also ye shall pray for the Holy Land, and for the holy cross, that Jesus Christ died on for the redemption of men's souls, that it may come into the power of Christian men the more to be honoured for our prayers. Also ye shall pray for all archbishops and bishops; and especially for the archbishop of Canterbury, our metropolitan, and for the bishop of *N.*, our diocesan, that God of his mercy give to them grace so to govern and rule holy church, that it may be to the honour and worship of Him and salvation of our souls. Also ye shall pray for abbots, priors, monks, canons, friers, and for all men and women of religion, in what order, estate, or degree that they stand in, from the highest estate unto the lowest degree. Also ye shall pray for all them that have charge and cure of Christian men's souls, as curats and parsons, vicars, priests, and clarks; and in especial for the parson and curat of this church, and for all the priests and ministers that serve therein, or have served therein; and for all them that have taken any order, that Almighty God give them grace of continuance well for to keep and observe it to the honour and health of their souls. Also ye shall pray for the unity and peace of all Christian realms, and in especial for the good estate, peace, and tranquillity of this realm of England, for our liege lord the king, that God for his great mercy send him grace so to govern and rule this realm that God be pleased and worshipped, and to the profit and salvation of this land. Also ye shall pray for our liege lady the queen, my lord prince, and all the noble progeny of them; for all dukes, earls, barons, knights, and esquires, and other lords of the king's council which have any rule and governance in this land, that God give them grace so to counsel, rule, and govern, that God be pleased, the land defended, and to the profit and salvation of all the realm. Also ye shall pray for the peace, both on land and on the water; that God grant love and charity among all Christian people. Also ye shall pray for all our parishes, where that they be, on land or on water, that God save them from all manner of perils; and for all the good men of this parish, for their wives, children, and men, that God them maintain, save, and keep. Also ye shall pray for all true tithers, that God multiply their goods and encrease; for all true tillers that labour for our sustenance, that till the earth; and also for all the grains and fruits that be sown, set, or done on the earth, or shall be done, that God send such weather that they may grow, encrease, and multiply, to the help and profit of all mankind. Also ye shall pray for all true shipmen and merchants, wheresoever that they be, on land or on water, that God keep them from all perils, and bring them home in safety, with their goods, ships, and merchandises, to the help, comfort, and profit of this realm. Also ye shall pray for them that find any light in this church, or give any behests, book, bell, chalice, or vestment, surplice, auter-cloath, or towel, lands, rents, lamp or light, or any other adornments, whereby God's service is the better served, sustained, and maintained in reading

and singing; and for all them that thereto have counselled, that God reward and yield it them at their most need. Also ye shall pray for all true pilgrims and palmers, that have taken their way to Rome, to Jerusalem, to St. Katherine's, or St. James's, or to any other place, that God, of his grace, give them time and space well for to go and to come, to the profit of their lives and souls. Also ye shall pray for all them that be sick or diseased of this parish, that God send to them health, the rather for our prayers; for all the women which be in our Lady's bands, and with child, in this parish, or in any other, that God send to them fair deliverance; to their children right shape, name, and christendom; and to the mothers, purification: and for all them that would be here, and may not, for sickness or travail, or any other lawful occupation, that they may have part of all the good deeds that shall be done here in this place, or in any other. And ye shall pray for all them that be in good life, that God them hold long therein; and for them that be in debt or deadly sin, that Jesus Christ bring them out thereof, the rather for our prayers. Also ye shall pray for him or her that this day gave the holy bread, and for him that first began and longest holdeth on, that God reward it him at the day of doom; and for all them that do well, or say you good, that God yield it them at their need, and for them that otherwise would that Jesus Christ amend them: for all those, and for all Christian men and women, ye shall say a *Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Deus misereatur nostri, Gloria Patri. Kyrie Eleison, Christe Eleison. Kyrie Eleison, Pater Noster, Et ne nos. Sed libera, Versus, Ostende nobis, Sacerdotes, Domine salvum fac Regem, Salvum fac Populum, Domine fiat Pax. Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum, Oremus, Ecclesiæ tuæ quæsumus, Deus in cujus manu, Deus qui sanctorum*, &c. Furthermore, ye shall pray for all Christian souls, for archbishops and bishops' souls, and in especial for all that have been bishops of this diocess; and for all curats, parsons, and vicars' souls, and in especial for them that have been curats of this church, and for the souls that have served in this church. Also ye shall pray for the souls of all Christian kings and queens, and in especial for the souls of them that have been kings of this noble realm of England; and for all those souls that to this church have given book, bell, chalice, or vestment, or any other thing by which the service of God is better done, and holy church worshipped. Ye shall also pray for your father's soul, for your mother's soul, for your godfathers' souls, for your godmothers' souls; for your brethren and sisters' souls, and for your kindred's souls, and for your friends' souls, and for all the souls we be bound to pray for; and for all the souls that be in the pains of purgatory, there abiding the mercy of Almighty God, and in especial for them that have most need and least help, that God of his endless mercy lessen and minish their pains by the means of our prayers, and bring them to his everlasting bliss in heaven. And also of the soul *N.*, or of them that upon such a day this week we shall have the anniversary; and for all Christian souls ye shall devoutly say a *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria, Psalmus de profundis*, &c., with this collect *Oremus; Absolve quæsumus Domine animas famulorum tuorum Pontificum, Regum, Sacerdotum, Parentum, Pariochanorum, Amicorum, Benefactorum nostrorum, et omnium fidelum defunctorum, ab omni vinculo delictorum; ut in Resurrectionis Gloria inter sanctos et electos tuos resuscitati respirent, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.* Amen.

NUMBER IX.

## *Bishop Tonstal's Letter, proving the Subjection of Scotland to England.*

An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Caligula B. 7.]

Please it your grace my lord protector, and you right honourable lords of the king's majesty's council, to understand that I have received your letter of the 4th of this month, by which ye will me to search all mine old registers and ancient places to be sought, where anything may be found for the more clear declaration to the world of the king's majesty's title to the realm of Scotland, and to advertise you with speed accordingly: and also to signify unto you what ancient charters and monuments for that purpose I have seen, and where the same are to be sought for. According unto which your letters, I have sought with all diligence all mine old registers, making mention of the superiorities of the kings of England to the realm of Scotland, and have found in the same of many homages made by the kings of Scots to the kings of England, as shall appear by the copies which I do send to your grace and to your lordships herewith. Ye shall also find in the said copies the gift of the barony of Coldingham, made to the church of Duresm by Edgar the king of Scots; which original gift is under seal, which I showed once to my lord Maxwell at Duresm, in the presence of you my lord protector. I find also a confirmation of the same gift by king William Rufus in an old register, but not under seal, the copy whereof is sent herewith. The homages of kings of Scotland which I have found in the registers, I have sent in this copy. I send also herewith the copy of a grant made by king Richard the First unto William king of Scots and his heirs, how, as oft as he is summoned to come to the parliament, he shall be received in the confines of the realm of Scotland, and conducted from shire to shire unto his coming to the parliament; and what the king doth allow him for his diet every day unto the court; and also what diet and allowance he hath, being at the parliament, both in bread and wine, wax and candle, for his time of his abode there; and of his conduct in his return home.

And where king William, king of Scots, made homage to king Henry the Second, and granted that all the nobles of his realm should be his subjects, and make homage to him, and all the bishops of his realm should be under the archbishops of York; and the said king William delivered to the said king Henry the castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and the castle of Barwick, as is found in my register; and that the king of England should give all abbeys and honours in Scotland, or at least they should not be given without his counsel. I do find, in the confirmation of the same, out of the old registers of the priors of Duresm, homage made by the abbots, priors, and prioresses of Scotland, to king Edward the First, in French, which I do send herewith. Also I do send herewith, in French, how king Edward the First was received and taken to be supream lord in Scotland, by all those that pretend title to the crown of Scotland, as next heirs to the king, that was then dead without issue, and the compromise of them all made unto the said king Edward the First to stand to his judgment, which of all them that did claim should have the crown of Scotland: the transcript of which compromise in French was then sent by the said king Edward, under the seal of the king's exchequer in green wax, to the prior of Duresm, to be registred for a perpetual memory that the supremacy of Scotland belonged to the kings of England, which yet the chapiters of Duresm have to shew; which thing he commandeth them to put in their chronicles.



And touching the second part of your letter, where you will me to advertise you what I have seen in the premisses; so it is that I was commanded by mine old master, of famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, to make search among the records of his treasury, in the receipt for solemnities to be done at his coronation in most solemn manner; according to which commandment I made search in the said treasury, where I fortuned to find many writings for the supremacy of the king to the realm of Scotland; and among others also a writing, with very many seals of arms of Scots, confessing the right of the supremacy to the king of England; which writings I doubt not may be found there.

I have also sent a copy of a book myself have of homages made to the kings of England by the kings of Scotland, which the chancellor of England in king Henry the Seventh's days had gathered out of the king's records; which I doubt not, but out of the king's records and ancient books, the same may be found again by my lord chancellor and the judges.

Furthermore, your grace, and you the right honourable lords of the council, shall understand, that in making much search for the premisses, at the last we found, out of the registers of the chapters of Duresm, when it was a priory, the copy of a writing, by which king Edward the Second doth renounce such superiority as he had in the realm of Scotland, for him and his heirs, to Robert king of Scots then being, as will appear by a copy of the same which I do send you herewith, making mention, in the end of the said writings, of a commission that he gave to Henry the lord Percy, and to William the lord Souch, under his letters patents, to give his oath upon the same. And after the said writing we found also in the said book a renunciation of the said king Edward, of a process that he had commenced before the bishop of Rome, against Robert king of Scots and his subjects, for breaking their oath to him, as will appear by the copy thereof, which I do send also herewith. And touching the said renunciation of king Edward the Second to the superiority of the realm of Scotland, I have often heard it spoken of by Scots, but I did never see the form of it in writing until I see it now; which thing it is not unlikely but the Scots have under the seal of the said king Edward. Whereunto answer is to be made, that a king renouncing the right of his crown cannot prejudice his successors, who have, at the time of their entry, the same whole right that their predecessors had at their first entry, as men learned in the civil law can by their learning shew.

And furthermore, search is to be made in the king's records in the treasury, whether homages have been made sithence king Edward the Second's time; that is to say, in the times of king Edward the Third, king Richard the Second, king Henry the Fourth, king Henry the Fifth, and king Henry the Sixth. In which times if any homage can be found to be made, it shall appear the same renunciation to have taken none effect in the successors, and ancient right to be continued again. For after king Edward the Fourth and king Henry the Sixth strove for the crown, I think none homage of Scotland will be found; for then was also lost Gascoigne and Guienne in France. It is also to be remembred, that when the body of king Henry the Fifth was brought out of France to be buried at Westminster, the king of Scots then being came with him, and was the chief mourner at his burial; which king of Scots, whether he made any homage to king Henry the Fifth in his lifetime, or to king Henry the Sixth at his coronation, it is to be searched by the records of that time.

This is all that can be found hitherto, by all the most diligent search that I could make in my records here; and if any more can be found, it shall be sent with all speed.

And thus Almighty preserve your grace, and your honourable lordships, to his pleasure and yours.

Your grace's most humble orator at commandment,

Cuth. Duresme.

From Ackland,
the 15th of October, 1547.

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NUMBER X.

## *A Letter from the Scottish Nobility to the Pope, concerning their being an independent Kingdom.*

An Original.

Ex Autogr. apud Ill. Com. de H.

*Literæ directæ ad Dominum Summum Pontificem per Communitatem Scotiæ.* 1320.

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and singing; and for all them that thereto have counselled, that God reward and yield it them at their most need. Also ye shall pray for all true pilgrims and palmers, that have taken their way to Rome, to Jerusalem, to St. Katherine's, or St. James's, or to any other place, that God, of his grace, give them time and space well for to go and to come, to the profit of their lives and souls. Also ye shall pray for all them that be sick or diseased of this parish, that God send to them health, the rather for our prayers; for all the women which be in our Lady's bands, and with child, in this parish, or in any other, that God send to them fair deliverance; to their children right shape, name, and christendom; and to the mothers, purification: and for all them that would be here, and may not, for sickness or travail, or any other lawful occupation, that they may have part of all the good deeds that shall be done here in this place, or in any other. And ye shall pray for all them that be in good life, that God them hold long therein; and for them that be in debt or deadly sin, that Jesus Christ bring them out thereof, the rather for our prayers. Also ye shall pray for him or her that this day gave the holy bread, and for him that first began and longest holdeth on, that God reward it him at the day of doom; and for all them that do well, or say you good, that God yield it them at their need, and for them that otherwise would that Jesus Christ amend them: for all those, and for all Christian men and women, ye shall say a *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Deus misereatur nostri*, *Gloria Patri*. *Kyrie Eleison*, *Christe Eleison*, *Kyrie Eleison*, *Pater Noster*, *Et ne nos. Sed libera*, *Versus*, *Ostende nobis*, *Sacerdotes*, *Domine salvum fac Regem*, *Salvum fac Populum*, *Domine fiat Pax*. *Domine exaudi*, *Dominus vobiscum*, *Oremus*, *Ecclesiæ tuæ quæsumus*, *Deus in cujus manu*, *Deus qui sanctorum*, &c. Furthermore, ye shall pray for all Christian souls, for archbishops and bishops' souls, and in especial for all that have been bishops of this diocess; and for all curats, parsons, and vicars' souls, and in especial for them that have been curats of this church, and for the souls that have served in this church. Also ye shall pray for the souls of all Christian kings and queens, and in especial for the souls of them that have been kings of this noble realm of England; and for all those souls that to this church have given book, bell, chalice, or vestment, or any other thing by which the service of God is better done, and holy church worshipped. Ye shall also pray for your father's soul, for your mother's soul, for your godfathers' souls, for your godmothers' souls; for your brethren and sisters' souls, and for your kindred's souls, and for your friends' souls, and for all the souls we be bound to pray for; and for all the souls that be in the pains of purgatory, there abiding the mercy of Almighty God, and in especial for them that have most need and least help, that God of his endless mercy lessen and minish their pains by the means of our prayers, and bring them to his everlasting bliss in heaven. And also of the soul *N.*, or of them that upon such a day this week we shall have the anniversary; and for all Christian souls ye shall devoutly say a *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, *Psalmus de profundis*, &c., with this collect *Oremus*; *Absolve quæsumus Domine animas famulorum tuorum Pontificum*, *Regum*, *Sacerdotum*, *Parentum*, *Pariochanorum*, *Amicorum*, *Benefactorum nostrorum*, *et omnium fidelium defunctorum*, *ab omni vinculo delictorum*; *ut in Resurrectionis Gloria inter sanctos et electos tuos resuscitati respirent*, *per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum*. Amen.

NUMBER IX.

*Bishop Tonstal's Letter, proving the Subjection of Scotland to England.*

An Original.

[Cotton. Libr. Caligula B. 7.]

Please it your grace my lord protector, and you right honourable lords of the king's majesty's council, to understand that I have received your letter of the 4th of this month, by which ye will me to search all mine old registers and ancient places to be sought, where anything may be found for the more clear declaration to the world of the king's majesty's title to the realm of Scotland, and to advertise you with speed accordingly: and also to signify unto you what ancient charters and monuments for that purpose I have seen, and where the same are to be sought for. According unto which your letters, I have sought with all diligence all mine old registers, making mention of the superiorities of the kings of England to the realm of Scotland, and have found in the same of many homages made by the kings of Scots to the kings of England, as shall appear by the copies which I do send to your grace and to your lordships herewith. Ye shall also find in the said copies the gift of the barony of Coldingham, made to the church of Duresm by Edgar the king of Scots; which original gift is under seal, which I showed once to my lord Maxwell at Duresm, in the presence of you my lord protector. I find also a confirmation of the same gift by king William Rufus in an old register, but not under seal, the copy whereof is sent herewith. The homages of kings of Scotland which I have found in the registers, I have sent in this copy. I send also herewith the copy of a grant made by king Richard the First unto William king of Scots and his heirs, how, as oft as he is summoned to come to the parliament, he shall be received in the confines of the realm of Scotland, and conducted from shire to shire unto his coming to the parliament; and what the king doth allow him for his diet every day unto the court; and also what diet and allowance he hath, being at the parliament, both in bread and wine, wax and candle, for his time of his abode there; and of his conduct in his return home.

And where king William, king of Scots, made homage to king Henry the Second, and granted that all the nobles of his realm should be his subjects, and make homage to him, and all the bishops of his realm should be under the archbishops of York; and the said king William delivered to the said king Henry the castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and the castle of Barwick, as is found in my register; and that the king of England should give all abbeys and honours in Scotland, or at least they should not be given without his counsel. I do find, in the confirmation of the same, out of the old registers of the priors of Duresm, homage made by the abbots, priors, and prioresses of Scotland, to king Edward the First, in French, which I do send herewith. Also I do send herewith, in French, how king Edward the First was received and taken to be supream lord in Scotland, by all those that pretend title to the crown of Scotland, as next heirs to the king, that was then dead without issue, and the compromise of them all made unto the said king Edward the First to stand to his judgment, which of all them that did claim should have the crown of Scotland: the transcript of which compromise in French was then sent by the said king Edward, under the seal of the king's exchequer in green wax, to the prior of Duresm, to be registred for a perpetual memory that the supremacy of Scotland belonged to the kings of England, which yet the chapiters of Duresm have to shew; which thing he commandeth them to put in their chronicles.

And touching the second part of your letter, where you will me to advertise you what I have seen in the premisses; so it is that I was commanded by mine old master, of famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, to make search among the records of his treasury, in the receipt for solemnities to be done at his coronation in most solemn manner; according to which commandment I made search in the said treasury, where I fortuned to find many writings for the supremacy of the king to the realm of Scotland; and among others also a writing, with very many seals of arms of Scots, confessing the right of the supremacy to the king of England; which writings I doubt not may be found there.

I have also sent a copy of a book myself have of homages made to the kings of England by the kings of Scotland, which the chancellor of England in king Henry the Seventh's days had gathered out of the king's records; which I doubt not, but out of the king's records and ancient books, the same may be found again by my lord chancellor and the judges.

Furthermore, your grace, and you the right honourable lords of the council, shall understand, that in making much search for the premisses, at the last we found, out of the registers of the chapters of Duresm, when it was a priory, the copy of a writing, by which king Edward the Second doth renounce such superiority as he had in the realm of Scotland, for him and his heirs, to Robert king of Scots then being, as will appear by a copy of the same which I do send you herewith, making mention, in the end of the said writings, of a commission that he gave to Henry the lord Percy, and to William the lord Souch, under his letters patents, to give his oath upon the same. And after the said writing we found also in the said book a renunciation of the said king Edward, of a process that he had commenced before the bishop of Rome, against Robert king of Scots and his subjects, for breaking their oath to him, as will appear by the copy thereof, which I do send also herewith. And touching the said renunciation of king Edward the Second to the superiority of the realm of Scotland, I have often heard it spoken of by Scots, but I did never see the form of it in writing until I see it now; which thing it is not unlikely but the Scots have under the seal of the said king Edward. Whereunto answer is to be made, that a king renouncing the right of his crown cannot prejudice his successors, who have, at the time of their entry, the same whole right that their predecessors had at their first entry, as men learned in the civil law can by their learning shew.

And furthermore, search is to be made in the king's records in the treasury, whether homages have been made sithence king Edward the Second's time; that is to say, in the times of king Edward the Third, king Richard the Second, king Henry the Fourth, king Henry the Fifth, and king Henry the Sixth. In which times if any homage can be found to be made, it shall appear the same renunciation to have taken none effect in the successors, and ancient right to be continued again. For after king Edward the Fourth and king Henry the Sixth strove for the crown, I think none homage of Scotland will be found; for then was also lost Gascoigne and Guienne in France. It is also to be remembred, that when the body of king Henry the Fifth was brought out of France to be buried at Westminster, the king of Scots then being came with him, and was the chief mourner at his burial; which king of Scots, whether he made any homage to king Henry the Fifth in his lifetime, or to king Henry the Sixth at his coronation, it is to be searched by the records of that time.



This is all that can be found hitherto, by all the most diligent search that I could make in my records here; and if any more can be found, it shall be sent with all speed.

And thus Almighty preserve your grace, and your honourable lordships, to his pleasure and yours.

Your grace's most humble orator at commandment,

Cuth. Duresme.

From Ackland,
the 15th of October, 1547.

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NUMBER X.

*A Letter from the Scottish Nobility to the Pope, concerning their being an independent Kingdom.*

An Original.

Ex Autogr. apud Ill. Com. de H.

*Literæ directæ ad Dominum Summum Pontificem per Communitatem Scotiæ.* 1320.

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dum vel tertium, Sanctum Andream meritissimum beati Petri Germanum, quem semper ipsis præesse voluit Patronum. Hæc autem Sanctissimi Patres et Prædecessores vestri sollicita mente pensantes, ipsum Regnum et Populum, ut beati Petri germano peculium multis favoribus et privilegiis quam plurimis muniverunt. Itaq; gens nostra sub ipsorum protectione libera hactenus degit et quieta; donec ille princeps Magnificus Rex Anglorum Edwardus, Pater istius, (qui nunc est) Regnum nostrum Acephalum, populumq; nullius mali aut doli conscium, nec bellis aut insultibus tunc assuetum sub amica et confederata specie innumerabiliter infestavit. Cujus injurias, cædes, et violentias, prædationes, incendia, Prælatorum incarcerationes, Monasteriorum combustiones, Religiosorum spoliationes et occisiones, alia quoq; enormia, quæ in dicto populo exercuit, nulli parcens ætati aut sexui, Religioni aut ordini, nullus scriberet nec ad plenum intelligeret nisi quem experientia informaret: a quibus malis innumeris (ipso juvante qui post vulnera medetur et sanat) liberati sumus per serenissimum Principem Regem et Dominum nostrum, D. Robertum, qui pro populo et hæreditate suis de manibus inimicorum liberandis, quasi alter Maccabeus aut Josua, labores, et tædia, inedias et pericula, leto sustinuit animo; quem etiam divina dispositio, et juxta leges et consuetudines nostras, quas usq; ad mortem sustinere volumus, juris Successio, et debitus nostrorum omnium consensus et assensus, nostrum fecerunt Principem ac Regem: Cui, tanquam illi, per quem salus in populo facta est, pro nostra libertate tuenda tam jure quam meritis tenemur et volumus in omnibus adhærere; quem (si ab inceptis desistet, Regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos, aut Regnum nostrum, volens subjicere) tanquam inimicum nostrum, et sui nostriq; juris subversorem, statim expellere nitemur; et alium Regem nostrum, qui ad defensionem nostram sufficiet, faciemus: Quia, quamdiu centum vivi remanserint nunquam Anglicorum dominio aliquatenus volumus subjugari. Non enim propter gloriam, divitias, aut honores, pugnamus; sed propter libertatem solummodo, quam nemo bonus nisi simul cum vita amittet. Hinc est, Reverende Pater et Domine, quod sanctitatem vestrum cum omni precum instantia genuflexis cordibus exoramus, quatenus sincero corde menteq; pia recensentes, quod apud eum, cujus vices in terris geritis, non sit pondus et pondus, nec distinctio Judæi et Græci, Scoti aut Anglici, tribulationes et Angustias nobis et Ecclesiæ Dei illatas ab Anglicis, paternis oculis intuentes Regem Anglorum, cui sufficere debet quod possidet (cum olim Anglia septem aut pluribus solebat sufficere Regibus) monere et exhortari dignemini, ut nos Scotos in exili degentes, Scotia (ultra quam habitatio non est) nihilq; nisi nostrum cupientes in pace dimittat: Cui pro nostra procuranda quiete, quicquid possumus (ad statum nostrum respectu habito) facere volumus cum effectu. Vestra enim interest, Sancte Pater, hoc facere, qui paganorum feritatem Christianorum culpis exigentibus in Christianos sævientem aspicitis, et Christianorum terminos arctari indies.* . . . . . Sanctitatis memoriæ derogat, si (quod absit) Ecclesia in aliqua sui parte vestris temporibus patiatur Ecclipsin aut Scandalum, vos videritis: Exhortet igitur Christianos Principes, qui non causam ut causam ponentes se fingunt in subsidium terræ sanctæ propter guerras, quas habent cum proximis ire non posse; Cujus impedimenti causa est verior, quod in minoribus proximis debellandis utilitas propior, et resistentia debilior estimantur. Sic quam leto corde dictus D. Rex Noster et nos; Si Rex Anglorum nos in pace dimittit, illuc iremus; qui nihil ignorat satis novit: quod Christi Vicario totiq; Christianitati ostendimus et testamur. Quibus, si Sanctitas vestra Anglorum relatibus nimis credula, fidem sinceram non adhibet, aut ipsis in nostram confusionem favere non desinat, Corporum excidia, animarum exitia, et Cætera quæ sequentur in commoda, quæ ipsi in nobis et nos in ipsis fecerimus, vobis ab altissimo credimus imputanda; ex quo sumus et erimus in his quæ tenemur, tanquam obedientiæ filii, vobis tanquam ipsius vicario, in omnibus complacere; ipsiq; tanquam summo Regi et judici causam nostram tuendam committimus, cogitatum nostrum jactitantes in ipso, speratesq; finem; quod in nobis virtutem faciet, et ad nihilum rediget Hostes nostros Serenitatem ac Sanctitatem vestram conservet Altissimus, Ecclesiæ suæ Sanctæ per tempora diuturna. Datum apud Monasterium de Aberbroth in Scotia, 6 die Aprilis, Anno gratiæ Millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo. Anno vero Regni Regis nostri supradicti quintodecimo.

* Quædam sunt deleta.

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NUMBER XI.

*The Oath given to the Scots who submitted to the Protector.*

[Ex Libro Concilii, Fol. 139.]

You shall bear your faith to the king's majesty, our sovereign lord Edward the Sixth, &c., till such time as you shall be discharged of your oath by special license. And you shall, to the uttermost of your power, serve his majesty, truly and faithfully, against all other realms, dominions, and potentates, as well Scots as others. You shall hear nothing that may be prejudicial to his majesty, or any of his realms or dominions, but, with as much diligence as you may, shall cause the same to be opened, so as the same come to his majesty's knowledge, or to the knowledge of the lord protector, or some of his majesty's privy-council. You shall, to the uttermost of your possible power, set forwards and advance the king's majestie's affairs in Scotland, for the marriage and peace.

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NUMBER XII.

*The Protestation of the Bishop of London, made to the Visitors when he received the King's Majesty's Injunctions and Homilies.*

[Ex Libro Concilii, Fol. 110.]

I do receive these injunctions and homilies, with this protestation, that I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to God's law, and the statutes and ordinances of this church.

*The Submission and Revocation of the same Bishop, made before the Lords of the King's Majesty's Council, presently attending upon his Majesty's Person; with the Subscription of his Name thereunto.*

Whereas I, Edmund bishop of London, at such time as I received the king's majesty's, my most dread sovereign lord's, injunctions and homilies at the hands of his highness' visitors, did unadvisedly make such protestation, as now, upon better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the ill example that may ensue to others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable nor such as might well stand with the duty of an humble subject; forasmuch as the same protestation, at my request, was then by the register of that visitation enacted and put on record; I have thought it my bounden duty, not only to declare before your lordships that I do now, upon better consideration of my duty, renounce and revoke my said protestation, but also most humbly beseech your lordships, that this my revocation of the same may likewise be put in the same Records for a perpetual memory of the truth: most humbly beseeching your good lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former unadvised doings may, by your good mediations, be pardoned of the king's majesty.

Edmund London.

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NUMBER XIII.

*Gardiner's Letter to Sir John Godsalve concerning the Injunctions.*

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

Mr. Godsalve, after my right hearty commendations, with like thanks for the declaration of your good mind towards me (as you mean it) although it agreeth not with mine accompt, such as I have had leisure to make in this time of liberty, since the death of my late soveraign lord (whose soul Jesu pardon); for this have I reckoned, that I was called to this bishoprick without the offence of God's law, or the king's in the attaining of it. I have kept my bishopric these sixteen years, accomplished this very day that I write these my letters unto you, without offending God's law, or the king's, in the retaining of it, howsoever I have of frailty otherwise sinned. Now if I may play the third part well, to depart from the bishopric without the offence of God's law, or the king's, I shall think the tragedy of my life well passed over: and in this part to be well handled is all my care and study now, how to finish this third act well; for so I offend not God's law nor the king's, I will no more care to see my bishopric taken from me, than myself to be taken from the bishopric. I am by nature already condemned to die, which sentence no man can pardon, nor assure me of delay in the execution of it; and so see that of necessity I shall leave my bishopric to the disposition of the crown from whence I had it, my household also to break up, and my bringing up of youth to cease, the remembrance whereof troubleth me nothing. I made in my house at London a pleasant study that delighted me much, and yet I was glad to come into the country and leave it; and as I have left the use of somewhat, so can I leave the use of all to obtain a more quiet; it is not loss to change for the better, honesty and truth are more leef to me than all the possessions of the realm, and in these two to say and do frankly, as I must, I never forbear yet: and in these two, honesty and truth, I take such pleasure and comfort, as I will never leave them for no respect, for they will abide by a man, and so will nothing else. No man can take them away from me but myself; and if myself do them away from me, then myself do undo myself, and make myself worthy to lose my bishopric, whereat such as gape might take more sport than they are like to have at my hands. What other men have said or done in the homilies I cannot tell, and what homilies or injunctions shall be brought hither I know not; such as the printers have sold abroad, I have read and considered, and am therefore the better instructed how to use myself to the visitors at their repair hither, to whom I will use no manner of protestation but a plain allegation, as the matter serveth, and as honesty and truth shall bind me to speak; for I will never yield to do that should not beseem a Christian. Bishops ought never to lose the inheritance of the king's laws due to every Englishman for want of petition. I will show myself a true subject, humble and obedient, which repugneth not with the preservation of my duty to God, and my right in the realm, not to be enjoined against an act of parliament: which mine intent I have signified to the council, with request of redress in the matter, and not to compel me to such an allegation, which, without I were a beast, I cannot pretermit: and I were more than a beast, if after I had signified to the council truth and reason in words, I should then seem in my deeds not to care for it. My lord protector, in one of such letters as he wrote to me, willed me not to fear too much; and indeed I know him so well, and divers others of my lords of the council, that I cannot fear any hurt at their hands, in the allegation of God's law and the king's, and I will never defame them so much to be seen to fear it. And of what strength an act of parliament is, the realm was taught in the case of her that we called queen Anne, where all such as spake against her in the parliament-house, although they did it by special commandment of the king, and spake that was truth, yet they were fain to have a pardon, because that speaking was against an act of parliament. Did you never know, or hear tell of any man, that for doing that the king our late sovereign lord willed, devised, and required to be done, he that took pains, and was commanded to do it, was fain to sue for his pardon, and such other also as were doers in it: and I could tell who it were. Sure there hath been such a case, and I have been present when it hath been reasoned, that the doing against an act of parliament excuseth not a man, even from the case of treason, although a man did it by the king's commandment. You can tell this to your remembrance, when you think further of it, and when it cometh to your remembrance, you will not be best content with yourself, I believe, to have advised me to enter the breach of an act of parliament, without surety of pardon, although the king command it, and were such indeed as it were no matter to do it at all. And thus I answer the letters with worldly civil reasons, and take your mind and zeal towards me to be as tender as may be; and yet you see that the following of your advice might make me lose my bishopric by mine own act, which I am sure you would I should keep, and so would I, as might stand with my truth and honesty, and none otherwise, as knoweth God, who send you heartily well to fare.

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NUMBER XIV.

*The Conclusion of Gardiner's Letter to the Protector, against the Lawfulness of the Injunctions.*

[Cotton Libr. Vesp. D. 18.]

Whether the king may command against the common law, or an act of parliament, there is never a judge, or other man in the realm, ought to know more by experience, of that the lawyers have said, than I.

First, my lord cardinal had obtained his legacy by our late soveraign lord's request at Rome; yet being it was against the laws of the realm, the judges censured the offence of premunire; which matter I bore away, and take it for a law of the realm, because the lawyers said so, but my reason digested it not.

The lawyers, for the confirmation of their doings, brought in a case of my lord Typtoft, an earl he was, and learned in civil laws; who being chancellor, because in execution of the king's commission, he offended the laws of the realm, he suffered on Towerhill: they brought in the examples of many judges that had fines set on their heads in like case, for transgression of the laws by the king's commandment; and this I learned in this case.

Since that time being of the council, when many proclamations were devised against the carriers out of corn; when it came to punishing the offenders, the judges would answer, it might not be by the laws, because the act of parliament gave liberty, wheat being under a price: whereupon at the last followed the act of proclamations, in the passing whereof were many large words.

When the bishop of Exeter and his chancellor were by one body brought into a premunire, I reasoned with the lord Audley, then chancellor, so far, as he bade me hold my peace, for fear of entering a premunire myself: but I concluded, that although I must take it as of their authority that it is common law, yet I could not see how a man authorised by the king, as since the king's majesty hath taken upon him the supremacy, every bishop is, that man could fall in a premunire.

I reasoned once in the parliament-house, where was free speech without danger; and there the lord Audley, chancellor, then to satisfy me, because I was in some secret estimation as he knew. Thou art a good fellow, bishop, (quoth he,) look the act of supremacy, and there the king's doings be restrained to spiritual jurisdiction: and in another act, no spiritual law shall have place contrary to a common law, or an act of parliament. And if this were not (quoth he), the bishops would enter in with the king, and by means of his supremacy order the law as you listed; but we will provide (quoth he) that the premunire shall never go off your heads. This I bare away there, and held my peace.

Since that time, in a case of jewels, I was fain, with the emperor's ambassador Chapinius when he was here, and in the emperor's court also, to defend and maintain by commandment, that the king's majesty was not above his laws, and therefore the jeweller, although he had the king's bill signed, yet it would not serve, because it was not obtained after the order of the law, in which matter I was very much troubled. Even this time twelvemonth, when I was in commission with my lord great master, and the earl of Southampton, for the altering of the Court of Augmentations, there was my lord Montague, and other of the king's learned council, of whom I learned what the king might do against an act of parliament, and what danger it was to them that meddled. It is fresh in my memory, and they can tell whether I say true or no; and therefore being learned in so notable causes, I wrote in your absence therein, as I had learned by hearing the common lawyers speak (whose judgment rule these matters) howsoever my reason can digest them. When I wrote thereof, the matter was so reasonable, as I have been learned by the lawyers of the realm, that I trusted my lords would have staied till your grace's return.

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NUMBER XV.

*A Letter from the Duke of Somerset to the Lady Mary, in the beginning of King Edward's Reign.*

[Cotton Libr. Faustin. C. 2.]

Madam, my humble commendations to your Grace premised;

These may be to signify unto the same, that I have received your letters of the second of this present, by Jent your servant, acknowledging myself thereby much bound unto your grace; nevertheless I am very sorry to perceive that your grace should have or conceive any sinister or wrong opinion in me and others, which were by the king, your late father, and our most gracious master, put in trust as executors of his will, albeit the truth of our doings being known to your grace, as it seemeth by your said letter not to be. I trust there shall be no such fault found in us, as in the same your grace hath alleged; and for my part, I know none of us that will willingly neglect the full execution of every jot of his said will, as far as shall and may stand with the king our master's honour and surety that now is: otherwise I am sure that your grace, nor none other his faithful subjects, would have it take place; not doubting but our doings and proceedings therein, and in all things committed to our charge, shall be such as shall be able to answer the whole world, both in honour and discharge of our consciences. And where your grace writeth, that the most part of the realm, through a naughty liberty and presumption, are now brought into such a division, as if we executors go not about to bring them to that stay that our late master left them; they will forsake all obedience, unless they have their own will and phantasies, and then it must follow that the king shall not be well served, and that all other realms shall have us in an obloquy and derision, and not without just cause. Madam, as these words written or spoken by you soundeth not well, so can I not persuade myself, that they have proceeded from the sincere mind of so virtuous and so wise a lady, but rather by the setting on and procurement of some uncharitable and malicious persons, of which sort there are too many in these days, the more pity: but yet we must not be so simple so to weigh and regard the sayings of ill-disposed people, and the doings of other realms and countries, as for that report we should neglect our duty to God, and to our sovereign lord and native country, for then we might be justly called evil servants and masters; and thanks be given unto the Lord, such hath been the king's majesty's proceedings, our young noble master that now is, that all his faithful subjects have more cause to render their hearty thanks for the manifold benefits showed unto his grace, and to his people and realm, sithence the first day of his reign until this hour, than to be offended with it; and thereby rather to judge and think that God, who knoweth the hearts of all men, is contented and pleased with his ministers, who seek nothing but the true glory of God, and the surety of the king's person, with the quietness and wealth of his subjects. And where your grace writeth also, that there was a godly order and quietness left by the king our late master, your grace's father, in this realm at the time of his death; and that the spirituality and temporality of the whole realm, did not only, without compulsion, fully assent to his doings and proceedings, especially in matters of religion, but also in all kind of talk, whereof, as your grace wrote, ye can partly be witness yourself; at which your grace's sayings I do something marvel: for it may please you to call to your remembrance what great labours, travels, and pains his grace had before he could reform some of those stiff-necked Romanists or papists: yea, and did not they cause his subjects rise and rebel against him, and constrained him to take the sword in his hand, not without danger to his person and realm? Alas, why should your grace so shortly forget that great outrage done by those generations of vipers unto his noble person only for God's cause? Did not some of the same ill kind also, I mean that Romanist sect, as well within his own realm as without, conspire oftentimes his death, which was manifestly and oftentimes proved, to the confusion of some of their privy assisters. Then was it not that all the spirituality, nor yet the temporality, did so fully assent to his godly orders, as your grace writeth of? Did not his grace also depart from this life before he had fully finished



such orders as he minded to have established to all his people, if death had not prevented him? Is it not most true, that no kind of religion was perfected at his death, but left all uncertain, most like to have brought us into parties and divisions, if God had not only helped us? And doth your grace think it convenient it should so remain? God forbid. What regret and sorrow our late master had, the time he saw he must depart, for that he knew the religion was not established as he purposed to have done, I and others can be witness and testify; and what he would have done further in it, if he had lived, a great many know, and also I can testifie: and doth your grace, who is learned, and should know God's word, esteem true religion, and the knowledge of the Scriptures, to be new-fangledness and fantasie? For the Lord's sake turn the leaf, and look the other while upon the other side, I mean, with another judgment, which must pass by an humble spirit through the peace of the living God, who of his infinite goodness and mercy grant unto your grace plenty thereof, to the satisfying of your conscience, and your most noble heart's continual desire.

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NUMBER XVI.

*Certain Petitions and Requests made by the Clergy of the Lower House of the Convocation, to the most Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, and the residue of the Prelates of the Higher House, for the furtherance of certain Articles following.*

[Ex MS. Dr. Stillingfleet.]

First; That ecclesiastical laws may be made and established in this realm by thirty-two persons, or so many as shall please the king's majesty to name and appoint, according to the effect of a late statute made in the thirty-fifth year of the most noble king, and of most famous memory, king Henry VIII. So that all judges ecclesiastical, proceeding after those laws, may be without danger and peril.

Also that according to the ancient custom of this realm, and the tenour of the king's writ for the summoning of the parliament, which be now, and ever have been, directed to the bishops of every diocese, the clergy of the lower house of the convocation may be adjoined, and associate with the lower house of the parliament; or else, that all such statutes and ordinances as shall be made concerning all matters of religion and causes ecclesiastical, may not pass without the sight and assent of the said clergy.

Also, that whereas by the commandment of king Henry VIII., certain prelats and learned men were appointed to alter the service in the church, and to devise other convenient and uniform order therein; who according to the same appointment, did make certain books, as they be informed: their request is, that the said books may be seen and perused by them, for a better expedition of divine service to be set forth accordingly.

Also, that men being called to spiritual promotions, or benefices, may have some allowance for their necessary living, and other charges to be sustained and borne, concerning the same benefices, in the first year wherein they pay the first fruits.

Whether the clergy of the convocation may liberally speak their minds without danger of statute or law.

NUMBER XVII.

*A second Petition to the same purpose.*

[Ex MS. Dr. Stillingfleet.]

Where the clergy, in this present convocation assembled, have made humble suit unto the most reverend father in God my lord archbishop of Canterbury, and all the other bishops, that it may please them to be a mean to the king's majesty, and lord protector's grace, that the said clergy, according to the tenour of the king's writ, and the ancient laws and customs of this noble realm, might have their room and place, and be associated with the commons in the nether house of this present parliament, as members of the commonwealth, and the king's most humble subjects. And if this may not be permitted and granted unto them, that then no statutes or laws concerning the Christian religion, or which shall concern especially the persons, possessions, rooms, livings, jurisdictions, goods, or chattels of the said clergy, may pass nor be enacted, the said clergy not being made privy thereunto, and their answers and reasons not heard. The said clergy do most humbly beseech an answer and declaration to be made unto them, what the said most reverend father in God, and all other the bishops, have done in this their humble suit and request, to the end that the said clergy, if need be, may chuse of themselves such able and discreet persons, which shall effectually follow the same suit in the name of them all.

And whereas in a statute ordained and established by authority of parliament at Westminster, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of the most excellent prince king Henry VIII., the clergy of this realm submitting themselves to the king's highness, did knowledge and confess, according to the truth, that the convocations of the same clergy have been, and ought to be assembled by the king's writ, and did promise farther, *in Verbo Sacerdotii*, that they never from thenceforth would presume to attempt, allege, claim, or put in use, or enact, promulge, or execute any new canons, constitutions, ordinances, provincials, or other, or by whatsoever other name they shall be called in the convocation, unless the king's most royal assent and license may to them be had to make, promulge, and execute the same. And his majesty to give his most royal assent and authority in that behalf, upon pain of every one of the clergy doing the contrary, and being thereof convict, to suffer imprisonment, and make fine at the king's will. And that no canons, constitutions, or ordinances shall be made or put in execution within this realm, by authority of the convocation of the clergy, which shall be repugnant to the king's prerogative royal, or the customs, laws, or statutes of this realm; which statute is eftsoons renewed and established in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of the most noble king, as by the tenour of both statutes more at large will appear. The said clergy being presently assembled in convocation, by authority of the king's writ, do desire that the king's majesty's license in writing may be for them obtained and granted, according to the effect of the said statutes authorising them to attempt, entreat, and commune of such matters, and therein freely to give their consents, which otherwise they may not do upon pain and peril premised.

Also the said clergy desireth, that such matters as concerneth religion, which be disputable, may be quietly and in good order reasoned and disputed among them in this house, whereby the verities of

such matters shall the better appear, and the doubts being opened and resolutely discussed, men may be fully persuaded with the quietness of their consciences, and the time well spent.

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NUMBER XVIII.

A Paper offered to Q. Elizabeth, and afterwards to K. James, concerning the Inferior Clergy's being brought to the House of Commons.

[Ex MS. Dr. Borlace.]

*Reasons to induce her Majesty, that Deans, Archdeacons, and some other of her grave and wise Clergie, may be admitted into the Lower House of Parliament.*

1. In former times, when causes ecclesiastical were either not at all, or else very rarely treated of in that assembly, the clergy were thought men most meet to consult and determine of the civil affairs of this realm.

2. The supreme authority in church causes is not newly granted, but reunited and restored to the crown; and an order is by law already established, how all abuses in the church are to be reformed: so as no cause concerning religion may be handled in that house without her majesty's special leave, but with the manifest impeaching of her prerogative royal, and contempt of the said order.

3. If it shall please her highness to give way to this course, that church-matters be there debated, and in part concluded: how much more necessary is it now than it was in former times, that some of the clergy should be there present at the same!

4. * It doth not appear why they were excluded, but as it is thought either the king, offended with some of them, did so grievously punish the whole body, or else the ambition of one of them meeting with the subtilty of an undermining politic, did occasion this causeless separation.

5. They are yet to this day called by several writs, directed into their several dioceses under the great seal, to assist the prince in that high court of parliament.

6. Though the clergy and the universities be not the worst members of this commonwealth, yet in that respect they are of all other in worst condition; for in that assembly every shire hath their knights, and every incorporate town their burgesses, only the clergy and the universities are excluded.

7. The wisdom and justice of this realm doth intend, that no subject should be bound to that law whereunto he himself (after a sort) hath not yielded his consent; but the clergy and the universities may now be concluded by law, without their consent, without their just defence, without their privity.

8. The many motions made so prejudicial to the state and being of the clergy and universities, followed now with so great eagerness in that house, would then be utterly silenced, or soon repressed, with the sober and sufficient answers of the clergy present.

9. It would much repair the reputation and credit of the clergy, which now is exposed to great contumely and contempt, as generally abroad in this land, so particularly in that house. And whoso is religious and wise may observe, that the contempt of the clergy is the high way to atheism and all profaneness. Men are flesh and not spirit, led by ordinary outward means, and not usually overwrought by extraordinary inspirations; and therefore do easily despise their doctrine whose persons they have in contempt.

10. Look into the whole world, Christian or unchristian, and see if the civil state in every place be not supported and maintained by the dignity and authority of their clergies, subordinate and subjected unto them: as, on the contrary, where the clergy is base and contemptible, there grows an anarchy and confusion. It is conscience that works obedience to the temporal magistrate, not constitutions, nor constraint; the one may command it, the other may correct the breach of it, only religion effects a peaceable subjection.

11. It concerneth the clergy, most of all men in England, that the present state be continued, as now it is happily established without any alteration. Whereas some others in that house may think it would be good for them to fish in troubled waters, or that any change would be better to them than their present estate wherein they live so malecontent, through their own unthriftiness or malignity of nature, or perverseness of opinion.

12. If hereafter God in justice should plague us for our sins, by taking away the joy of our hearts, yet how greatly would it tend to his glory, the good of this land, and the honour of her blessed memory, if it shall please her majesty to leave a portion of the clergy interest in that house, where they may stand for the godly government established in her days, against all innovation of popery or puritanism!

13. In the mean time (which God in mercy grant may be for many generations) her majesty shall be sure of a number more in that assembly, that ever will be most ready to maintain her prerogative, and to enact whatsoever may make most for her highness' safety and contentment, as the men that next under God's goodness do most depend upon her princely clemency and protection.

14. It would much recover the ancient estimation and authority of that assembly, if it might be increased with men of religion, learning, and discretion; which now is somewhat imbased by youths, serving men, and outlaws, that injuriously are crept into the honourable house.

15. And it is the more necessary that there were some more men of sobriety and judgment in that meeting, that might counterpoise the haste and headiness of others that have intruded themselves, especially considering that a cipher is as sufficient to promote a single figure of one into the place of ten, as the best man that giveth voice in that house, when they come to calculating.

* In the same paper written over to be presented to K. James, this article is thus varied. It is thought the clergy falling into a præmunire, and so not in the king's protection, it did afterwards please the king to pardon them, but not to restore them. So began this separation, as far forth as can be collected; then the wisdom of a great politician, meeting with the ambition of as great a prelate, wrought the continuance of the said separation, under this pretence, that it should be most for the honour of him and his clergy, to be still by themselves in two assemblies of convocation, answerable in proportion to the two houses of parliament. There are many other inconsiderable amendments made by bishop Ravis's own hand.

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NUMBER XIX.

*A Letter of Martin Bucer's to Gropper.*

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

Gratiam et Pacem Doctissime et Amicissime Vir.

Quod tam sero respondeo ad tuas Literas, quanquam etiam occupationes Ministerii mei, tamen id magis in causa fuit, quod non satis liqueret, quomodo respondere conveniret, simul meæ in te Charitati, meoq; Ministerio, et præsenti temporis conditioni. Sed tamen quia Charitati Deus facile omnia secundat, et frugifera facit, hac incitatus nunc respondeo, et respondeo ex ejus dictatione.



Et primum de eo, quod te de meo adventu et Ministerio non prænouerim. Quod per totam Germaniam increbuerat, etiam anteaquam Ego certus de vocatione ista essem, non putavi te latere posse. Mox etiam ut adveni et priusquam aliquid Ministerii inivissem, tuum colloquium expetii. Certe nihil maluissem quam a te ante omnia doceri et institui. Novit Christus quid tibi Tribuam.

Quod scribis te cupere meam conditionem sic esse ut Clero et Populo Vestræ Coloniæ Agrippinæ gratus esse et placere possem, nunc cum secus se res habeant, non esse quod tibi quid imputem. Tibi optime Groppere nihil hujus imputo, confido enim te, me, quo ipse loco habes, eo etiam studere apud alios collocare.

Sed cogitemus juxta, cui, Ego Clero istic, cui populo et cur gratus minus sim, et non placeam, Clerus et Populus Christi cum Domino suo, Personam nullam in invocantibus Christum, in iis præsertim, quos aliqua Religionis Nostræ opinio commendat, aversatur: quamvis deprehensi in contumelia Christi, in desertione verbi ejus, in Scandalo objecto Ecclesiæ ejus; Lex nostra non Judicat quenquam nisi audierit prius ab eo, et cognoverit quid fecerit. Audiant, cognoscant, tum Judicent: si audire et cognoscere nolunt nec Judicare jure possunt. Vulgata est hæc Responsio, sed nosti etiam Jure Divino, Naturæ, et scripto ab hominibus niti.

Sed O Clerum, O fortem Domini, et habentes Christum sortem suam. Gratias ago Christo Domino nostro quod in me nihil deprehendet vester Clerus et Populus, cur me ullo Jure abjicere, nedum prosequi queant. Assumpsit me Dominus, Servorum non est rejicere: posuit me in Ministerium suum Christus, depelli me eo nemo de Clero Christi postulabit. Agnoscunt se invicem et amant, atq; in opere eodem promovent, quicunq; Christi Spiritu vivunt et aguntur, qui hunc non habent, Christi non sunt, quicquid ipsi se, vel alii eos vocent.

Displicet in me quod videor aliquid Canonum, sed humanitus tantum Conditorum, transgressus. Hoc si propter Ecclesiam Christi, vel ejus ædificationem vel ornatum displiceret, non tolerata fuissent tam diu, et hodie tolerarentur, tam horrendæ et Manifestæ Simoniæ, Sacrilegia, et vitæ totius tanta, adeoq; et Canonibus, et Divinis Legibus graviter damnata fœditas. Christi igitur veritas, et libertas in me istis displicet, non transgressio Canonum, quam in summis necessariis Sanctionibus penitus et tot jam sæculis pro ridiculo habent.

Consolabor itaq; me in Domino, Beati estis, cum vos odio habuerint homines, et a se excluserint, atq; convitiis prosciderint et rejecerint nomen vestrum tanquam nefandum, Causa Filii hominis, Qui in Cœlis sedet. Pater videt profecto hosce conatus contra Regnum Filii sui, et brevi loquetur illis in ira sua. Avertat misericordia ejus, quæ sequuntur.

Deploranda profecto Cæcitas, non videre hanc Dei clarissimam Lucem, infanda stupiditas, ista Dei Judicia non sentire. Quotidie enim vident et audiunt ut collidantur, qui impingunt in hanc Petram Scandali, et ut commolat illa, in quos ipsa ceciderit, et tamen conantur adhuc rejicere hunc lapidem, quem Pater in Zion pro fundamento et angulo posuit. Sed dolent hæc et tibi, ac mecum ea deploras, provides enim quid ista malorum invehant, et adhuc invectura sint.

Audio plerosq; multo quam antea solitum fuit concionari purius, audivi etiam quosdam ipse, in quorum concionibus nihil reprehendendum audiebatur, aut quam multa desiderabantur. Nam pro Amplitudine Majestatis Christi, prædicanda Christi omnia sunt: hoc est summa perspicuitate, libertate et virtute, non enim ut multa præclara cogitemus, aut loquamur, sed ut Domino magis magisq; fidamus, nomen ejus celebremus: idq; verbis et factis omnibus, sacræ Conciones habendæ sunt. Quare etiam opposita juxta se ponenda sunt ut magis illucescant, sed ad singularia Sermo dimittendus est ut plus moneat.

In Templo D. Columbæ, aiunt Idolo ejus Imaginis parari vestem majoris pretii quam Centum Florenorum. Si jam Pastor hujus Parochiæ Christum pure et ἐνεργῶς cum effectu prædicat, qui fert tam pudendam Idololatriam? Et si ornari statuam posse aliquo colore dicere conetur, quare non eum cultum præscribet, quem gratum Martyribus et S. Patres testantur, cultum qui Cruci Christi sit consentaneus: Sed sicut ipsi verbis Christo omnia tribuunt, facto autem quærunt et prosequuntur tam multa contra Christum, ita faciunt etiam populum delectari nonnihil Saniore Doctrina. Omni autem Vita et Religione permanere in omnibus Superstitionibus et Vitæ impuritate in qua antea hærebat.

Jactatur magna populi devotio istis et erga Pastores suos reverentia, hoc autem gravius peccatur, cum illis Christus non quam simplicissime in omnibus etiam Ceremoniis prædicatur. Sed O spinas existimationis et commoditas mundialis, O fundum tenuem, et humorem malignum, in quo æstus Crucis enatum semen tam cito arefacit! Hæc de iis scribo ad quos pertinent.

De te non dubito Gloriam Christi et propugnationem Regni ejus tibi quoq; ut scribis, cordi esse: tamen te rogo per Christum id quod subjicis diligenter et coram Christo Domino excutias.

Sed nolui tamen sic urgere Causam Christi, ut dum promotam eam velim, magis remorer. Zelum oportet esse secundum scientiam. Recte hæc, si rite intelligantur. Sed scientia Spiritus, non Carnis, hic opus est. Causa Christi nec debet nec potest per se quidem urgeri nisi assiduis precibus, et modesta, leni, Religiosa, sed libera, sed clara, sed integra confessione et prædicatione Christi, eaq; quæ non verbis tantum sed etiam factis constet. Hoc si scimus et agimus, Zelum habemus secundum scientiam, et Causam Christi tantum promovere, et remorari non possumus. Nam Christo tradita est omnis potestas in Cœlo et in Terra, igitur nihil est Potestatis per se Pontifici, cucullatis et personatis, ac quibusvis titulis titulatis hominibus, qui scilicet ægreferant liberam et puram Christi Prædicationem. Est quidem aliquando tacendum Evangelium Christi, sed apud canes et porcos, imo nec apud hos tacendum est, cum Gloria Christi agitur: sed animose confitendum est, quanquam non sit illis late explicandum, id est, Sanctum hoc projiciendum et Margaritæ istæ spargendæ.

Sunt qui ferre nos Lutheranos non possunt, et tamen a Regno Christi non abhorrent? Ubi quæso sunt et qui? Qui enim aliquid Christi habent, ii neminem odisse et condemnare sustinent, non auditum, non cognita causa; nam Filii Dei agnoscunt loquelam Christi, oves ejus sequuntur vocem ejus, per quemcunq; eam insonari fecerit.

Si Reformatio Ecclesiæ per istos ulla quæritur, indubie id quærent, ut Membra Christi omnia sub Capite Christo recolligantur et reconcinnentur et cooptentur. Quare nemo horum, qui vero Reformationis veræ studio tenetur, ullum hominem sub ullo titulo, quamvis odiosum invidia Crucis Christi, cuiquam imposuerit, ab hoc sancto opere instaurandi Ecclesias rejiciat, præsertim cum luce meridiana constet clarius, Pontificios nihil prorsus passuros mutari. Quid ergo? non quæremus ut Patria nostra tam pernitiosis desidiis aliquando liberaretur, ut uno tandem ore Christum glorificemus.

Ne resecemus vites, et uvas queramus a spinis. Valeat apud nos præjudicium Christi; quosq; ille assumpsit, eos conservi ne repudiemus. Quid cuiq; datum sit facile videre est: arbor quælibet ut plantata est, ut ingenium habet, ita fert fructum. Ne fugiamus Scandalum Crucis cum quo Christus est. Et si Christi nos non pudet, nec servorum ejus nos pudeat. Paulus scribit Timotheo, ne pudet te Testimonii Domini nostri, neq; mei vincti ejus: ita dum nos negotia Domini agimus sinceriter, nec nostri quisquam, quamtumlibet nos Mundus inter damnatos numeret, qui Christi sit, pudebit. Non est res ulla, ad quam quisquis eam sincere agit, magis expetat adjuvari se, etiamsi fieri possit ab omnibus Creaturis, atq; est negotium Reformationis Christianæ.

Irascentur quidam, tumultuabuntur graviter credo, et impedient negotium Domini; hoc non credo, neq; enim poterunt. Et ut Dominus eis gravissima contra Regnum suum facere concedat, tamen nobis Filiis Dei propterea nihil tacendum, nihil dissimulandum, nihil remittendum est in hac Causa Christi.

Jubes me non suspicari te sic mundo inescatum, ut refugias Crucem Domini ferre, si ita res postulet, et fructum facturus videare: de te profecto hoc bonis apud quos convenit semper Testor, te mihi multo plura in Causa Christi hactenus semper reipsa præstitisse, quam promisisses aut etiam verbis præ te tulisses: apud me quidem, cum contrarium nunc accidat a quodam, nisi te Christi membrum et præclaris dotibus ornatum suspicerem, crede, ita dedit mihi Dominus sublimia Mundi non mirari, tuam amicitiam et familiaritatem tantopere non quæsivissem, nec tali studio colerem: sed valde oro Dominum det tibi videre ubi, quando et qua ratione fructum pro Regno facere possis; et animet te ac corroboret forti contemplatione Potestatis et Majestatis suæ, ut vere dicas, absit mihi gloriari nisi in Cruce Domini Nostri Jesu Christi per quem mihi Mundus Crucifixus est et ego mundo. Tantæ opes, honores, Curæ rerum sæcularium, tamen spinæ sunt, tamen onera sunt. Presbyter es Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, cujus præcipuum munus est prædicare Christum. Clericum veteres Sancti non patiebantur, vel tutelam pupillorum, vel curam viduarum suscipere, tam liberum volebant esse curis hujus Sæculi omnem Clericum: at quantis tu ac etiam privatis causis, nec tamen semper Pupillorum et Viduarum prægravaris, id dolet indubie et tibi ipsi. Acceptabile Tempus nunc est et Dies Salutis, sed tempus breve, visitationem Nostram tempore agnoscamus et sequamur.

Hæc dum non datur commentari tecum coram, quia te vere diligo, quia colo sinceriter, cum hunc certum haberem nuncium, ad te scribere volui.

Quod magnificum D. Cancellarium meis Verbis diligenter Salutasti, gratias ago, utinam autem et resalutare ille, vel hic cum fuit, quod usq; ad eam Diem quo iterum abiit clam me fuit, admittere me ad pium colloquium dignatus esset. Tamen rogo salutes illum officiose meis verbis.

Dominus Jesus qui solus et efficit et largitur omne bonum, donet ut omnia in ipso quæramus, et ab ipso expectemus: Sic facile nos in ipso agnoscemus et complectemur, quicquid odiosorum Titulorum Diabolus et Membra ejus injiciant. In Christo enim nec Mas quidem et Fœmina, Judæus et Ethnicus, nedum Lutherani et Romani; sed omnes unum sunt. In hoc bene vale, et fac pro Christi Charitate ut tandem nos aliquando videamus, et Sancto Colloquio nos mutuo recreemus. Optime mi et colende atq; vere dilecte Cordi meo Groppere. Bonn. pridie Calendas Februarii 1543. Deditus Tibi in Domino,

M. Bucerus.

Præcipuum oblitus eram, te per Christum rogo et obtestor, mone ad hunc me, versantem in Negotio Christi. Debes hoc Christo; et apud me tuto depones omnia nec unquam frustra monebis.

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NUMBER XX.

*Questions and Answers concerning the Divorce of the Marquess of Northampton.*

[Ex MS. Dr. Stillingfleet.]

1. Quid dirimit Matrimonii Vinculum?
2. Quas ob causas dirimi poterit?
3. An dirimi poterit Conjugium a thoro, non a vinculo?
4. Quibus casibus possit sic dirimi?
5. An exceptio illa ("excepta Fornicationis causa") etiam in Lucæ, Marci et Pauli locis, qui de his rebus tractant, est subaudienda?
6. An etiam Uxor, repudiata propter Adulterium, alteri poterit nubere?
7. An redire ad priorem maritum, repudiatæ Adulteræ liceat?
8. An Maritus, propter Adulterium, ab Uxore casta possit repudiari?

Ad primam Respondemus; Ipso Adulterii facto Matrimonii vinculum dirimi. Nam alioquin, ob solum Adulterium non liceret viro Uxorem repudiare: voluntas viri solicitat judices, Judices palam faciunt Ecclesiæ, virum licite talem repudiare Uxorem.

Ad secundam Resp. Quod ob solam causam stupri dirimitur Matrimonii vinculum: cujus ipso quidem facto, Conjugii dissolvitur nodus, et loquimur his, qui Sacrosancti Matrimonii jus agnoscunt.

Ad tertiam Resp. Quod non; quia Mulier quamdiu vixerit, "alligata est viro," Rom. vii, "item ne fraudetis vos invicem," 1 Cor. vii; item in eodem loco Uxori Vir debitam benevolentiam reddat similiter, et Uxor viro, "item Vir non habeat potestatem sui corporis," sed Uxor similiter; "nec Uxor habeat potestatem sui corporis, sed Vir."

Ad quartam patet in responsione ad tertiam.

Ad quintam Respondemus; quod exceptio ista, viz. "Nisi causa stupri;" est subaudienda in Luca, Marco, et Paulo: alioquin manifesta erit repugnantia inter Matthæum et eos.

Ad sextam Respond. Quod repudiata propter Adulterium, quia Uxor repudiantis desiit esse, ob idq; libera est sicut aliæ omnes post obitum virorum potest alii nubere; æquo jure quo illæ juxta illud Pauli, "si non contineant, contrahant Matrimonium," 1 Cor. vii.

Ad septimam Respond. Quod non licet repudiatæ Adulteræ redire ad repudiantem, tanquam alligatæ ei Jugi vinculo Matrimonii.

Ultima Questio Nihil ad Nos.

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NUMBER XXI.

*Injunctions given by the King's Majesty's Visitors, to all and every the Clergy and Laity now resident within the Deanry of Doncastre.*

[Ex MS. Dr. Johnson.]

*Item.* You shall not hereafter, in the pulpit or elsewhere, on the Sunday, or any other day, give knowledge to your parishioners when or what day of the week any of the abrogate holy-days were solemnized or kept in the church, but omit the same with silence as other working days, for the utter abolishing of the remembrance thereof.

*Item.* You shall teach your parishioners, that



fasting in the Lent, and other days, is a meer positive, that is to say, man's law; and by the magistrates, upon considerations, may be altered, changed, and dispensed with: and that therefore all persons having just cause of sickness, or other necessity, or being licensed thereto, may temperately eat all kinds of meat, without scruple or grudge of conscience.

*Item.* You shall every day that an high mass is said or sung at the high altar, before the same mass, read openly in your churches the English suffrages for the preservation and safeguard of the king's majesty's people, and prosperous success of his affairs.

*Item.* You shall every Sunday, at the time of your going about the church with holy water, into three or four places where most audience and assembly of people is, for the declaration of the ceremonies, say, distinctly and plainly, that your parishioners may well hear and perceive the same, these words:

> "Remember Christ's blood-shedding, by the which most holy sprinkling, of all your sins you have free pardon."

And in like manner, before the dealing of the holy bread, these words:

> "Of Christ's body this is a token, which on the cross for our sins was broken; wherefore, of his death if you will be partakers, of vice and sin you must be forsakers."

And the clarke, in the like manner, shall bring down the paxe, and standing without the church-door, shall say loudly to the people these words:

> "This is a token of joyful peace, which is betwixt God and men's conscience: Christ alone is the peace-maker, which straitly commands peace between brother and brother."

And so long as ye use these ceremonies, so long shall ye use these significations.

*Item.* The church-wardens of every parish church shall, some one Sunday, or other festival day, every month, go about the church, and make request to every of the parish for their charitable contribution to the poor; and the sum so collected shall be put in the chest of alms for that purpose provided. And forasmuch as the parish clark shall not hereafter go about the parish with his holy water as hath been accustomed, he shall, instead of that labour, accompany the said church-wardens, and in a book register the name and sum of every man that giveth any thing to the poor, and the same shall intable; and, against the next day of collection, shall hang up somewhere in the church, in open place, to the intent the poor having knowledge thereby by whose charity and alms they be relieved, may pray for the increase and prosperity of the same.

*Item.* The church-wardens, for the better relief of honest poverty, shall, upon sufficient surety found for the repayment of the same, lend to some young married couple, or some poor inhabitants of their parish, some part of the said alms, whereby they may buy some kind of stuff; by the working, sale, and gains whereof they may repay the sum borrowed, and also well relieve themselves; or else the said church-wardens to buy the stuff themselves, and pay the poor for their working thereof; and after sale of the same, to return the sum, with the gain, to the said chest, there to remain to such-like use.

*Item.* Forasmuch as heretofore you have not, by any means, diligence, or study, advanced yourselves unto knowledge in God's word and his scriptures, condignly, as appertaineth to priests and dispensators of God's testament; to the intent you may hereafter be of better ability to discharge yourselves towards God, and your offices to the world, you shall daily, for your own study and knowledge, read over diligently, and weigh with judgment, two chapters of the New Testament, and one of the Old, in English; and the same shall put in use and practice, as well in living as preaching, at times convenient, when occasion is given.

*Item.* Forasmuch as drunkenness, idleness, brawls, dissention, and many other inconveniences, do chance between neighbour and neighbour, by the assembly of people together at wakes, and on the Plough-Mondays; it is therefore ordered and enjoined, that hereafter the people shall use, make, or observe no more such wakes, Plough-Mondays, or drawing of the same, with any such assembly or rout of people, or otherwise, as hath been accustomed, upon pain of forfeiting to the king's highness 40*s.* for every default, to be paid by the owner of the plough and householder whereunto the said plough is drawn, or wakes are kept.

The names of the visitors:—Sir John Markham. John Hearn. Thomas Gragrave. Roger Tongue. William Moreton. Edmund Farley.

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NUMBER XXII.

*A Proclamation against those that do innovate, alter, or leave undone any Rite or Ceremony in the Church of their private authority; and against them which preach without License. Set forth the 6th day of February, in the second year of the King's Majesty's most gracious Reign.*

[Ex Reg. Cranmer. Fol. 111.]

The king's majesty, by the advice of his most entirely beloved uncle, the duke of Somerset, governor of his most royal person, and protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, and others of his counsel; considering nothing so much to tend to the disquieting of this realm as diversity of opinions, and variety of rites and ceremonies concerning religion, and worshipping of Almighty God; and therefore studying all the ways and means which can be to direct this church, and the cure committed to his highness, in one and most true doctrine, rite, and usage; yet is advertised, that certain privat curats, preachers, and other lay-men, contrary to their bounden duties of obedience, do rashly attempt, of their own and singular wit and mind, in some parish churches, and otherwise, not only to persuade the people from the old and accustomed rites and ceremonies, but also themselves bringeth in new orders every one in their church, according to their phantasies; the which, as it is an evident token of pride and arrogance, so it tendeth both to confusion and disorder, and also to the high displeasure of Almighty God, who loveth nothing so much as order and obedience. Wherefore his majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person, of what estate, order, or degree soever he be, of his private mind, will, or phantasie, do omit, leave undone, change, alter, or innovate any order, rite, or ceremony, commonly used and frequented in the church of England, and not commanded to be left undone at any time in the reign of our late soveraign lord, his highness' father, other than such as his highness, by the advice aforesaid, by his majesty's visitors, injunctions, statutes, or proclamations, hath already, or hereafter shall command to be omitted, left, innovated, or changed; but that they be observed after that sort as before they were accustomed, or else now sith prescribed by the authority of his majesty, or by the means aforesaid, upon pain that whosoever shall offend contrary to this proclamation, shall incur his highness' indignation, and suffer

imprisonment, and other grievous punishments, at his majesty's will and pleasure. Provided always, that for not bearing a candle upon Candlemass-day, not taking ashes upon Ash-Wednesday, not bearing palm upon Palm-Sunday, not creeping to the cross, not taking holy bread or holy water, or for omitting other such rites and ceremonies concerning religion and the use of the church, which the most reverend father in God, the archbishop of Canterbury, by his majesty's will and commandment, with the advice aforesaid, hath declared, or hereafter shall declare, to the other bishops, by his writing under seal, as heretofore hath been accustomed to be omitted or changed, no man hereafter be imprisoned, nor otherwise punished, but all such things to be reputed for the observation and following of the same, as though they were commanded by his majesty's injunctions. And to the intent that rash and seditious preachers should not abuse his highness' people, it is his majesty's pleasure, that whosoever shall take upon him to preach openly in any parish, church, chappel, or any other open place, other than those which be licensed by the king's majesty, or his highness' visitors, the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocess where he doth preach, except it be bishop, parson, vicar, dean, warden, or provost, in his or their own cure, shall be forthwith, upon such attempt and preaching, contrary to this proclamation, be committed to prison, and there remain until such time as his majesty, by the advice aforesaid, hath taken order for the further punishment of the same. And that the premises should be more speedily and diligently done and performed, his highness giveth straitly in commandment to all justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, constables, headboroughs, churchwardens, and all other his majesty's officers and ministers, and rulers of towns, parishes, and hamlets, that they be diligent and attendant to the true and faithful execution of this proclamation, and every part thereof, according to the intent, purport, and effect of the same. And that they of their proceedings herein, or if any offender be, after they have committed the same to prison, do certific his highness the lord protector, or his majesty's council, with all speed thereof accordingly, as they tender his majesty's pleasure, the wealth of the realm, and will answer to the contrary at their uttermost perils. God save the king.

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NUMBER XXIII.

*An Order of Council for the Removing of Images.*

[Regis. Cran. Fol. 32.]

After our right-hearty commendations to your good lordship, where now of late, in the king's majesty's visitation, among other godly injunctions commanded to be generally observed throughout all parts of this his highness' realm, one was set forth for the taking down all such images as had at any time been abused with pilgrimages, offerings, or censings. Albeit, that this said injunction hath in many parts of the realm been well and quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much strife and contention hath arisen, and daily ariseth, and more and more encreaseth, about the execution of the same: some men being so superstitious, or rather wilful, as they would by their good wills retain all such images still, although they have been most manifestly abused; and in some places also, the images which by the said injunctions were taken down, be now restored and set up again; and almost in every place is contention for images, whether they have been abused or not. And whiles these men go about on both sides contentiously to obtain their minds, contending whether this or that image hath been offered unto, kissed, censed, or otherwise abused, parties have in some places been taken, in such sort, as further inconvenience is very like to ensue, if remedy be not provided in time. Considering, therefore, that almost in no places of the realm is any sure quietness, but where all images be wholly taken away and pulled down already; to the intent that all contention in every part of the realm for this matter may be clearly taken away, and that the lively images of Christ should not contend for the dead images, which be things not necessary, and without which the churches of Christ continued most godly many years, we have thought good to signify unto you, that his highness' pleasure, with advice and consent of us the lord protector and the rest of the council, is, that immediately upon the sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give order that all the images remaining in any church or chappel within your diocess be removed and taken away, but also by your letters signify unto the rest of the bishops within your province, this his highness' pleasure, for the like order to be given by them, and every of them within their several diocess; and in the execution hereof we require both you and the rest of the said bishops to use such foresight as the same may be quietly done, with as good satisfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good lordship well. From Somerset House, the 21st of February, 1547. Your lordship's assured friends,

E. Somerset. Jo. Russell. Henricus Arundel. T. Seymour. Anthony Wingfield. William Paget.

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NUMBER XXIV.

*The Copy of a Letter sent to all those Preachers which the King's Majesty hath licensed to preach, from the Lord Protector's Grace, and other of the King's Majesty's most honourable Council, the 13th day of May, in the second year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth.*

After our right hearty commendations as well for the conservation of the quietness and good order of the king's majesty's subjects, as that they should not, by evil and unlearned preachers, be brought unto superstition, error, or evil doctrine, or otherwise be made stubborn and disobedient to the king's majesty's godly proceedings, his highness, by our advice, hath thought good to inhibit all manner of preachers, who have not such license, as in the same proclamation is allowed, to preach, or stir the people, in open and common preaching of sermons, by any means, that the devout and godly homilies might the better, in the mean while, sink into his subjects' hearts, and be learned the sooner, the people not being tossed to and fro with seditious and contentious preaching, while every man, according to his zeal—some better, some worse—goeth about to set out his own phantasie, and to draw the people to his opinion. Nevertheless it is not his majesty's mind hereby clearly to extinct the lively teaching of the word of God, by sermons made after such sort, as for the time the Holy Ghost shall put into the preacher's mind, but that rash, contentious, hot, and undiscreet preachers should be stopped; and that they only which be chosen and elect, be discreet and sober men, should occupy that place, which was made for edification, and not for destruction; for the honour of God, and peace and quietness of conscience to be set forward, not for private glory to be advanced; to appease, to teach; to instruct the people



with humility and patience, not to make them contentious and proud; to instil into them their duty to their heads and rulers, obedience to laws and orders appointed by the superiors who have rule of God; not that every man should run before their heads have appointed them what to do, and that every man should chuse his own way in religion: the which thing yet being done of some men, and they being rather provoked thereto by certain preachers, than dehorted from it, it was necessary to set a stay therein; and yet forasmuch as we have a great confidence and trust in you, that you will not only preach truly and sincerely the word of God, but also will use circumspection and moderation in your preaching, and such godly wisdom as shall be necessary and most convenient for the time and place: We have sent unto you the king's majesty's license to preach; but yet with this exhortation and admonishment, that in no wise you do stir and provoke the people to any alteration or innovation, other than is already set forth by the king's majesty's injunctions, homilies, and proclamations; but contrariwise, that you do in all your sermons exhort men to that which is at this time more necessary; that is, to the emendation of their own lives, to the observance of the commandments of God, to humility, patience, and obedience to their heads and rulers; comforting the weak, and teaching them the right way; and to flee all old erroneous superstitions, as the confidence in pardons, pilgrimages, beads, religious images, and other such of the bishop of Rome's traditions and superstitions, with his usurped power; the which things be here in this realm most justly abolished; and straitly rebuking those who, of an arrogancy and proud hastiness, will take upon them to run before they be sent, to go before the rulers, to alter and change things in religion without authority, teaching them to expect and tarry the time which God hath ordained, to the revealing of all truth, and not to seek so long blindly and hidlings after it, till they bring all orders into contempt. It is not a private man's duty to alter ceremonies, to innovate orders in the church; nor yet it is not a preacher's part to bring that into contempt and hatred which the prince doth either allow or is content to suffer. The king's highness, by our advice, as a prince most earnestly given to the true knowledge of God, and to bring up his people therein, doth not cease to labour and travel by all godly means, that his realm might be brought and kept in a most godly and Christian order, who only may and ought to do it. Why should a private man, or a preacher, take this royal and kingly office upon him, and not rather, as his duty is, obediently follow himself, and teach likewise others to follow and observe that which is commanded? What is abolished, taken away, reformed, and commanded, it is easy to see by the acts of parliament, the injunctions, proclamations, and homilies; the which things most earnestly it behoveth all preachers in their sermons to confirm and approve accordingly; in other things which be not yet touched, it behoveth him to think that either the prince doth allow them, or else suffer them; and in those it is the part of a godly man not to think himself wiser than the king's majesty and his council, but patiently to expect and conform himself thereto, and not to intermeddle further to the disturbance of a realm, the disquieting of the king's people, the troubling of men's consciences, and disorder of the king's subjects.

These things we have thought good to admonish you of at this time, because we think you will set the same so forward in your preaching, and so instruct the king's majesty's people accordingly, to the most advancement of the glory of God and the king's majesty's most godly proceedings, that we do not doubt but much profit shall ensue thereby, and great conformity in the people the which you do instruct; and so we pray you not to fail to do. And having a special regard to the weakness of the people what they may bear, and what is most convenient for the time; in no case to intermeddle, in your sermons or otherwise, with matters in contention or controversion, except it be to reduce the people in them also to obedience, and following of such orders as the king's majesty hath already set forth, and no others, as the king's majesty and our trust is in you, and as you tender his highness's will and pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at your peril. Fare you well.

*Printed at London, June* 1, 1548.

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NUMBER XXV.

*Queries put concerning some Abuses of the Mass; with the Answers that were made by many Bishops and Divines to them.*

[Ex MS. Dr. Stillingfleet.]

Question 1.

*Whether the Sacrament of the Altar was instituted to be received of one Man for another, or to be received of every Man for himself?*

*Answers.*

The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for another, but to be received by every man for himself.—*Cantuarien.*

The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for one other, but of every man for himself.—*Eboracen.*

I think that the sacrament of thanks was not instituted to be received of one man for another, but of every man for himself.—*London. Hereford. Cicestren. Worcester. Norvicen. Assaven.*

The sacrament of the altar was instituted to be received of every man by himself, to make him a member of Christ's mystical body, and to knit and unite him to Christ our head; as St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. x. "Unus panis, et unum corpus, multi sumus omnes qui de uno pane participamus."—*Dunelm.*

The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for another sacramentally, no more than one man to be christened for another: notwithstanding the grace received by him that is housled, or christened, is profitable and available to the whole mystical body of Christ, and therefore to every lively member thereof.—*Sarisburien.*

The sacrament (as they call it) of the altar was not instituted to be received of one for another, but of every man for himself: for Christ, the institutor of this sacrament, saith, with manifest words, "Take, eat," &c. Matt. xxvi. And also, John vi. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life." Nor the receiving of one man doth avail or profit any other, otherwise than by the way of example, whereby the people present are provoked to the imitation of the thing that is good.—*Lincoln.*

The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for another, but of every man for himself.—*Elien.*

I think and suppose that the sacrament of the altar was instituted to be received of every man for himself; for so are the words of Christ, "Comedite et bibite," speaking to them present, and to every one of them. —*Covent. et Litchfield.*

The sacrament of the altar was not ordained or instituted to be received of one man alone, but of all,

and for all, because it is the general and continual remedy, help, and succour of all, which maketh no let or stop of themselves, and their own unfaithful or sinful life.—*Carliolen.*

Of every man for himself.—*Roffen.*

The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for another sacramentally, no more than one man to be christened for another; but every man to receive it in faith and cleanliness of life for himself.—*Bristollen.*

The sacrament of the body and blood of Christ was not instituted that one man should receive it for another, but every man for himself. "Probet autem seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat, et de populo illo bibat." Cor. xi.—*Meneven.*

The sacrament of thanks was instituted to be received of every man for himself, and not of one for another.—*Dr. Cox.*

Of every man for himself.—*Dr. Tyler.*

Question 2.

*Whether the receiving of the said Sacrament of one Man doth avail and profit any other?*

*Answers.*

The receiving of the said sacrament by one man doth avail and profit only him that receiveth the same.—*Cantuarien.*

The receiving of the sacrament only availeth the receivers thereof, except it be by reason of such communion as is among the members of the mystical body of Christ.—*Eboracen.*

I think that the receiving of the said sacrament doth not avail or profit any other, but only as all other good works done of any member of Christ's church be available to the whole mystical body of Christ, and to every lively member of the same, by reason of mutual participation, and spiritual communion between them. And also it may be profitable to others, as an example whereby others may be stirred to devotion and to like receiving of the same.—*London. Worcester. Hereford. Norvicen. Cicestren. Assaven.*

The receiving of the sacrament of one man doth profit another, as the health and good liking of one member doth in part strengthen the body, and other members of the same: for St. Paul saith, "Multi unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra," Rom. xii.; and 1 Cor. xii. "Si gaudet unum membrum, congaudent omnia membra." And in a mystical body, the good living of one man stirreth another to the same.—*Dunelm.*

The oblation made after the consecration in the mass is the offering unto the Father of the body and blood of Christ by the minister, with the commemoration of the Passion, and with thanksgiving for the same, and with the prayers of the minister and people, that it may be available to all Christian people.—*Sarisburien.*

The receiving thereof of one man doth not avail or profit any other, but as all good deeds profit the congregation, and as one member healed or taking nourishment profiteth another member.—*Elien.*

And I suppose also that the receiving of one man doth not avail or profit another, but as every good act or deed of one member doth profit to the whole body.—*Covent. et Litchfield.*

The receiving of the sacrament, as it noteth the act of him who receiveth, it may be that it neither availeth or profiteth him who receiveth nor any other, but also hurts the receiver, if he presume to take it rashly or unworthily. But as touching the thing which is sacred, offered, and distributed by the common minister in the mass, representing the Holy Church, or mystical body of Christ, and is received both of him and other that will, whatsoever the receiving or receiver be, it availeth and profiteth all present, absent, living, and dead.—*Carliolen.*

No; but as the receipt of wholesome doctrine, the receipt of the fear of God, the receipt of any godly gift that is profitable to any one member of Christ's mystical body, may be said generally to profit the whole body, because there is a mystical communion and a spiritual participation amongst all the members of Christ in all godliness; as there is in the natural body a natural participation of all natural affections, both good and evil.—*Roffen.*

It appeareth, by the words of St. Cyprian, Epist. vi. lib. 3, that it should be profitable and available to others; forasmuch as he wrote these words of the faithful Christians which departed this world in prison, and said, "Quanquam fidelissimus et devotissimus frater noster, inter cætera solicitudinem et curam suam cum fratribus in omni obsequio operationis impertitur, qui nec illic curam corporum—scripserit ac scribat ac significat mihi dies quibus in carcere beati fratres nostri ad immortalitatem gloriosæ mortis exitu transeant et celebrentur, hic a nobis Oblationes et Sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum, quæ cito vobiscum, domine prosperante, celebrabimus. Ita enim docuit Apostolus Christi unus Panis et unum Corpus multi sumus omnes, qui de uno Pane, et de uno Calice participamus." 1 Cor. i. "Nec loquitur de his solis qui eo tempore Corinthi conveniebant, et Sacramentum ab unius Sacerdotis manu recipiebant; Verum potius de scipso tunc procul a Corintho agente, et Corinthiis ipsis omnibusq; in Christum credentibus ubi tandem constituti essent quos omnes significat unum esse Corpus qui toto orbe de uno Pane communicantes participarent."—*Bristollen.*

The sacrament profiteth him only that receiveth it worthily; like as it damnifieth him only that receiveth it unworthily. "Nam qui edit aut bibit indigne, judicium sibi ipsi edit ac bibit," 1 Cor. xi.—*Meneven.*

The receiving of the said sacrament doth avail and profit the receiver only, and none other, but by occasion to do the like.—*Dr. Cox.*

So much as the christening of one man profiteth another, which after my opinion profiteth nothing.—*Dr. Tyler.*

Question 3.

*What is the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass?*

*Answers.*

The oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is not so called because Christ indeed is there offered and sacrificed by the priest and the people (for that was done but once by himself upon the cross); but it is so called because it is a memory and representation of that very true sacrifice and immolation which before was made upon the cross.—*Cantuarien.*

The oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is the presenting of the very body and blood of Christ to the heavenly Father, under the forms of bread and wine, consecrated in the remembrance of his Passion, with prayer and thanksgiving for the universal church.—*Eboracen.*

I think it is the presentation of the very body and blood of Christ being really present in the sacrament; which presentation the priest maketh at the mass, in the name of the church, unto God the Father, in memory of Christ's passion and death upon the cross; with thanksgiving therefore, and devout prayer, that all Christian people—and namely they which spiritually join with the priest in the said oblation, and of



whom he maketh special remembrance—may attain the benefit of the said passion.—*London. Worcester. Hereford. Norvicen. Cicestren. Assaven.*

The oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is the presenting of Christ by the priest, in commemoration of his passion, being our eternal and permanent sacrifice, present in the sacrament by his omnipotent word left to us, to have his death and passion in remembrance, with giving thanks for the same, and prayer of the minister and them which be present, that the same may be available to the whole church of Christ, both quick and dead in the faith of Christ.—*Dunelm.*

Which oblation, commemoration of Christ's passion, giving of thanks and prayer, taketh effect only in them which by their own proper faith shall receive the same effect.—*Sarisburien.*

There is properly no oblation nor sacrifice, but a remembrance of the one oblation of Christ upon the cross, made once for all; a giving of thanks for the same, and the prayer of the public minister for the whole congregation; which prayer only taketh effect in them who by their own proper faith receive the benefit of Christ: and where many of those authors do say there is an oblation and sacrifice, they spoke so because in this sacrament we be admonished of the oblation and sacrifice of Christ upon the cross.—*Lincoln.*

If oblation be taken *pro re oblata*, then, as old ancient doctors write, it is *Corpus et Sanguis, scil. Verum, et Corpus, scil. Mysticum.* If ye take it *pro actu offerendi*, it is a commemoration and representation of Christ's death once suffered upon the cross, with thanksgiving for the same.—*Elien.*

I suppose the very oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is this, that after the benediction—that is to say, the words of consecration spoken by the priest, and the divine working of Christ presently, by the which there is the very precious body and the precious blood of Christ present to be so received; then the priest offereth up the holy memory of our redemption to God the Father, most humbly praying, that as it was once offered up by Christ upon the cross, for the redemption of mankind, so it may take effect now, and at all times, especially in those that with a true faith, with a full trust and hope, shall so worthily receive it.—*Covent. et Litchfield.*

The oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is even the same which was offered by Christ on the cross, ever and everywhere abiding and enduring, of like strength, virtue, and power. The difference is, that on the cross, Christ, being there both priest and sacrifice, offereth himself visibly, and in the mass, being likewise both priest and sacrifice, offereth himself invisibly, by the common minister of the church, who in the name and stead of the whole faithful congregation offereth and presenteth, as he bid and commanded by Christ.—*Carliolen.*

The representation and commemoration of Christ's death and passion, said and done in the mass, is called the sacrifice, oblation, or immolation of Christ: "Non rei veritate," as learned men do write, "sed significandi mysterio."—*Roffen.*

It is in giving thanks unto the Father, as Christ did himself at his supper, taking the bread and wine into his hands, and with the words of consecration consecrating the same, and then making presentation of the very body and blood of Christ unto God the Father, in the name of the church, in the memory of Christ's most painful passion and death, suffered upon the cross; and so worthily receiving the same, and with giving thanks again for the same at the latter end; as the Gospel saith, "Hymno dicto;" but what this hymn or prayer was, I find no mention.—*Bristollen.*

The oblation and sacrifice of Christ mentioned in the mass is a memorial of Christ's only sacrifice upon the cross, once offered for ever; "Unica enim Oblatione, perfectos effecit in perpetuum eos qui sanctificantur," Heb. x.—*Meneven.*

The oblation of the sacrifice of Christ in the mass is the prayer, the praise, the thanksgiving, and the remembrance of Christ's passion and death.—*Dr. Cox.*

There is no oblation, speaking properly; but some ancient doctors, and the use of the church, calleth the receiving of it, with the circumstances then done, an oblation; that is to say, a memorial and remembrance of Christ's most precious oblation upon the cross.—*Dr. Tyler.*

Question 4.

*Wherein consisteth the Mass by Christ's institution?*

*Answers.*

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth in the Evangelists, Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., 1 Cor. x. and xi.—*Cantuarien.*

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in the consecration and oblation of the very body and blood of Christ, with prayer, thanksgiving, and receiving of the same; as appeareth in the Evangelists, Matt. xxvi. xxvii., Mark xiv. and xv., Luke xxii. and xxiii., John vi., 1 Cor. x. and xi., Acts ii.—*Eboracen.*

I think it consisteth principally in the consecration, oblation, and receiving of the body and blood of Christ, with prayers and thanksgiving; but what the prayers were, and what rites Christ used or commanded at the first institution of the mass, the Scripture declareth not.—*London. Worcester. Hereford. Norvicen. Cicestren. Assaven.*

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth by the Evangelists, Matt. xxvi., Mark xix., Luke xxii., and Paul, 1 Cor. x. xi. and xii., and Acts ii., with humble and contrite confession, the oblation of Christ, as before; the receiving of the sacrament, giving of thanks therefore, and common prayer for the mystical body of Christ.—*Dunelm.*

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth in the Evangelists, Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., 1 Cor. x. and xi., Acts ii. and xiii.—*Sarisburien.*

It consisteth in these things which be set forth, Matt. xxvi., Mark xix., Luke xxii., 1 Cor. x. xi., Acts ii.—*Lincoln.*

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth in the Evangelists, Matt. xxvi., Luke xxii., and 1 Cor. x., xi., and Acts ii.—*Elien.*

The mass, by Christ's institution, only expressing the form of Christ by the Scripture, consisteth in the taking of the bread, and giving thanks to God the Father, in the benediction and consecration, in the receiving or distribution, and receiving of them, to whom the distribution is made by the hands of the priest: as the eldest authors affirm, in the renewing of the memory of our redemption by an undoubted faith, and for that to give most humble thanks; so calling to remembrance, as often as it is thus done, the inestimable benefit of our redemption. What thanks that Christ gave before this most holy action, or what thanks that he gave after it, by the general words of Matthew (chap. xxiv.) "Hymno dicto," are not expressed: so that there appeareth, both before this most holy action and also after, to be a certain ceremony appointed by Christ more than is expressed. Moreover, by the doctrine of the apostle (1 Cor. xi.), it behoveth every man to be wise and circumspect, that he receive not this most blessed sacrament unworthily and unreverently, not making difference betwixt

the receiving of the most blessed body of Christ, and other meats.—*Covent. et Litchfield.*

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in consecrating, offering, receiving, and distributing of the blessed body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, according to that he himself did, willed, and commanded to be done. This we have manifested by the Evangelists, St. Paul, and St. Luke, in the Acts. But because Christ was, after his resurrection, long with his disciples, communing and treating of the kingdom of God, what should be done here to come thither, it may be well thought that whatsoever he or his Holy Spirit left with the apostles, and they with others, after which also the whole universal congregation of Christian people useth and observeth, most ancient and holy doctors in like form noteth, may likewise be said and taken as of Christ's institution.—*Carliolen.*

I am not able to say that the mass consisteth, by Christ's institution, in other things than in those which he set forth in the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, in the Acts, and 1 Cor. x. and xi.—*Roffen.*

As I take it, the mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things and rites which be set forth unto us, in the 26th of St. Matthew, the 14th of St. Mark, and the 22nd of St. Luke; and also as mention is made in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. x. and xi., and Acts xi.; any other institution I read not of by Scripture.—*Bristollen.*

Christ's institution compriseth no more in the mass than the communion of the body and blood, to be ministred and received under both kinds, of bread and wine, according as is declared by the Evangelists, Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke, in the Acts ii.—*Menevен.*

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in thanksgiving to the Father, in distributing of the body and blood of Christ to the congregation, to have the death and passion of Christ in remembrance, and in the end to laud and praise God.—*Dr. Cox.*

In giving of thanks to God the Father, and blessing and breaking it, and reverently receiving the holy sacraments, with all such rites and circumstances as Christ did in both the kinds.—*Dr. Tyler.*

### Question 5.

*What time the accustomed Order began first in the Church, that the Priest alone should receive the Sacrament?*

*Answers.*

I think the use that the priest alone did receive the sacrament without the people, began not within six or seven hundred years after Christ.—*Cantuarien.*

The accustomed order that the priest alone should receive the sacrament began about the time of Zepherinus; who, when the common people had left their daily and frequent communion, ordained that they should communicate at the least once in the year—that was at Easter; which ordinance Innocentius the Third confirmed.—*Eboracen.*

I know no further order or commandment of the church, but what time the devotion of the people was so greatly decayed that they would not come to receive the sacrament, then the priests were compelled to receive it alone.—*London. Worcester. Hereford. Norvicen. Cicestren. Assaven.*

The custom began that the priest alone should receive the sacrament of necessity, when the people falling from devotion would not come to the communion, but cared more for their worldly business than for godly receiving the sacrament; for in the beginning they received it daily by frequent devotion; after, thrice a week; after, on the Sundays only; after, thrice in the year, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday; after, only once in the year, at Easter, by coldness of devotion.—*Dunelm.*

The time certain is not known; most men ascribe it unto Gregory, who was more than six hundred years after Christ; for that every bishop of Rome bringing in his portion (some Introitus, some Kyrie Eleison, some Graduale); the mass in the said Gregory's time was grown to the full quantity it is now of, and men's inventions began to step before and get ground of Christ's institution; but from the beginning it was not so, for Christ did not eat and drink alone at his last supper, but gave the bread and cup to all present. In the primitive church one did not eat alone, and the rest look on, but they did eat together and drink together, as it is to be seen Acts ii., 1 Cor. xi. And Anacletus writes thus: "Peracta Consecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerit Ecclesiasticis caveat liminibus." *De Conso. Dist.* 1. *Cum Episcopus*, &c.—*Lincoln.*

The very time I know not, but is to be supposed that that custom crept into the church by negligence and slackness of the lay people, who would not so oft receive it as the priest would; for in the beginning the communion with the laity was *quotidiane*, which the priest observeth still unto this day, and not the laity; and there be canons that bindeth the priest to the receiving of it as oft as he doth consecrate; and the cause why the priests did not receive it after they had consecrated should seem to be, that there was none to receive it with them, which was the occasion of the making of those canons, as I suppose.—*Elien.*

Because Scripture saith, "Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis est," &c. Likewise "de Chalice, cui benedicimus;" and also, "bibite ex eo omnes." And the canons said to be of the apostles, Can. x. and x., and of the Antiochian Council, Can. ii. Anacletus, in an epistle, commandeth the sacrament to be received of more than of the priest alone. Dionyse also declareth the same, and also long after Chrysost. St. Ambrose and St. Austin both complain of the slackness of some, and earnestly exhort the people to the receipt thereof. Therefore I suppose that custom that the priest should receive it alone, where it was celebrated openly, was not received in the church of Christ by the space of four or five hundred years at least after Christ.—*Roffen.*

I know no such order or commandment of the church, but what time the devotion of the people began greatly to decay, and would not come to receive the sacrament, then I think the priests were compelled to receive it alone.—*Bristollen.*

I suppose not long after the apostles' time the godly devotion of the people decaying, who at the beginning used to commune daily, and after that weekly, after that thrice in the year, and at last but once in the year, the priest was forced to receive the sacrament alone.—*Dr. Cox.*

### Question 6.

*Whether it be convenient that the same Custom continue still within this Realm?*

*Answers.*

I think it more agreeable to the Scripture and primitive church, that the first usage should be restored again, that the people should receive the sacrament with the priest.—*Cantuarien.*

I would wish, that at every mass there would be some to receive the sacrament with the priest: nevertheless if none will come to receive it, I think it lawful and convenient, that the priests of this realm of England may say mass, and receive the sacrament alone.



—*London. Worcester. Hereford. Norvicen. Cicestren. Assaven.*

It were much convenient that people were exhorted to come to it oftener, if they could be brought thereto. Nevertheless if none will communicate, it is not meet that the priests stirred to communicate, or should forbear for coldness or lack of other men's devotion.—*Dunelm.*

Nothing can be better or more wisely devised than Christ did ordain, and the apostles, according to his ordinance, did use: we ought therefore to captivate our senses and understandings to the wisdom of Christ, and think that most convenient that to his ordinance is most correspondent: and as St. Paul notes, by eating all of one bread, and drinking all of one cup, we be put in remembrance, that we be all one body in Christ, and have received all one spirit. Nevertheless the slackness of some ought not to be prejudicial to the rest, nor the refusing of one to be impediment to another.—*Lincoln.*

If the laymen could be brought to it, it were better not to continue; but if they cannot, it is not convenient that priests, who would communicate for their own comfort, should be defrauded by other men's slacknesss.—*Elien.*

I suppose it were best, that that custom should be reformed unto the rule of Scripture, and unto the patern of the primitive church.—*Roffen.*

I think it were good, that at every mass there were some to receive the sacrament with the priest; nevertheless, if none will come to receive it, I think it lawful and convenient that the priest say mass, and receive the sacrament alone, when he is disposed, or by the Christian congregation desired.—*Bristollen.*

I think it not convenient that the said custom should continue, if by any godly mean the people might be brought to receive the sacrament with the priest.—*Dr. Cox.*

### Question 7.

*Whether it be convenient that Masses Satisfactory should continue, (that is to say) Priests hired to sing for Souls departed.*

*Answers.*

I think it not convenient that satisfactory masses should continue.—*Cantuarien.*

I think that such of the schoolmen as do write of masses satisfactory, do define them otherwise than is declared in this question: nevertheless I think, that it is not against the word of God, but that priests praying in the mass, both for the quick and dead, and doing other things in the church about the ministration of the sacraments, may take a living for the same.—*London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwich. Chichester. St. Asaph.*

All priests saying mass be bound in the same to pray for the whole mystical body of Christ, quick and dead, though they be not hired thereto; and those that be deputed thereto, if they say mass, must do the same though they were not hired: and yet, as St. Paul saith, those that be partakers of spiritual things with others, ought to minister unto them temporal things in recompence, Rom. xv.—*Dunelm.*

St. Paul saith, Heb. x. that we are made holy by the offering of the body of Jesus once for all; and Heb. ix. that Christ, by his own blood, entred in once to the holy place, and found eternal redemption; which redemption and satisfaction, unless we think insufficient, it were meet masses satisfactory to be taken away, and not to count Christ and his apostles either unlearned or unloving teachers, and who could not or would not teach a thing so necessary. Nauclerus does write, that Gregory III. gave commandment to priests to pray and offer for the dead. And though ancient writers make oft mention of prayer for the dead, yet they never allow any hireling to that purpose. *Lege August. ad Aurel. de coercenda temulentia.*—*Lincoln.*

It is one thing to sing satisfactory, and another to be hired to sing mass for the souls departed: for the first importeth, that the mass should be a satisfaction for the sins of the soul departed; which is not so, but the second, that is, to sing or pray for the souls departed, is a laudable custom, and seemeth to have some ground in Scripture; which custom hath been always continued from the apostles' time, and hath been used in the mass, as appeareth by ancient doctors, *Aust. Amb. Chrys.* and others; and therefore this to continue I think it meet. But to say mass for money, thinking it a commutation or just compensation betwixt the prayer and the money that he is hired for, I think it soundeth to avarice and simonie; and yet, *dignus est operarius mercede sua.* Like as, *Prædicans Evangelium sine sumptu debet ponere Evangelium, et tamen Dominus ordinavit his qui Evangelium annunciant de Evangelio vivere.*—*Elien.*

If by this be meant, that any thing, or action either of the priest, should be a full and perfect satisfaction of sins venial and mortal; I know we read not of any such satisfactory, neither would I say that priests be hired after that common fashion and contracts of the world, to sing for souls departed, but rather that they, as they be ordered to do, do say and sing their mass, having in their remembrance, both generally and specially, as shall most appertain both to the living and the dead; and then, as they be worthy, must have their livings by the altar which they serve, as St. Paul at large declareth. But as for the full and perfect satisfaction of all manner of sins, that is to be attributed only to Christ, his passion and justification; yet after the mind of St. Austin, St. Jerom, with others, *Pro non valde malis propitiationes fiant et levioribus peccatis, cum quibus obligati defuncti sunt, possunt post mortem absolvi*, &c.—*Carlile.*

That masses satisfactory should continue to be sung for souls departed, by priests hired thereunto, I think it not convenient.—*Roffen.*

I think that the word of God, and St. Paul, meant that all priests may offer gifts and sacrifices unto God for the offences of the people, (as it is written in the 5th of the Hebrews,) *Omnis Pontifex*, &c. and may receive and take (ministring the sacrament and sacramentals in the church to the congregation) a living for the same.—*Bristollen.*

Masses to be said for satisfaction of sin, (since Christ is the only satisfaction for all sin,) is an abuse not to be continued: and priests to be hired only to sing for souls departed, seemeth to be a superfluous function in Christ's church.—*Dr. Cox.*

### Question 8.

*Whether the Gospel ought to be taught at the time of the Mass, to the understanding of the People being present?*

*Answers.*

I think it very convenient that the gospel, concerning the death of Christ and our redemption, should be taught to the people in the mass.—*Cantuarien.*

It is expedient that the gospel be taught at the time of the mass, to the understanding of the people being present.—*York.*

I think it not necessary to have a sermon at every mass, but the oftener the same is done to the edifying of the people (so that the service of their vocation be

not thereby defrauded), the more it is to be commended.—*London. &c.*

It is much convenient that the gospel be taught to the understanding of the people being present, when it may be. Howbeit, it is not so of the substance of the mass, but the mass may be done without it, and it is done at other times as well as at the mass.—*Dunelm.*

Christ distributing the sacrament to his disciples, does say, (as it is Luk. xxii.) "Hoc facite in meam commemorationem:" and if St. Paul doth thus write to the Corinthians, "Quotiescunq; manducabitis panem hunc ac Calicem bibitis, mortem Domini annunciabitis donec veniet." The glad tydings therefore, the great benefit that we receive by Christ's death and sufferings (which we see as in a glass, in this holy sacrament), ought to be set forth and preached to the people, so oft as they come to the holy communion. —*Lincoln.*

That the gospel be read or taught at the time of the mass, that the people there present may understand; it is good and godly, and convenient it should be so. —*Elien.*

I think it expedient and necessary, that as the king's most excellent majesty, his most dear uncle my lord protector's grace, with the most honourable council beside, hath already appointed and enjoined to be done, that at all such times as the people (as they ought) be most gathered together, in the principal and high mass, the gospel be taught and declared to the best understanding of the people.—*Carliolen.*

The annunciation of Christ's death and passion, and the benefit of the same, that the forgiveness of sins, to all the true and faithful believers therein, ought evermore to be set forth in the mass to the edification of the people; which thing cannot be done according to St. Paul's mind and meaning, I Cor. xiv. as I suppose, except it be set forth to the people's understanding.—*Roffen.*

I think it is not against God's word, but the oftner the same is done to the edifying of the people, received with devotion, and intending redress of life thereby, the more it is to be affected and used.—*Bristollen.*

In the mass-time, it were convenient to have some doctrines, after the example of the primitive church, that at the blessed communion the people might be edified.—*Dr. Cox.*

Question 9.

*Whether in the Mass it were convenient to use such speech as the people may understand?*

*Answers.*

I think it convenient to use the vulgar tongue in the mass, except in certain secret mysteries, whereof I doubt.—*Cantuarien.*

It were convenient to use such speech in the mass as the people might understand.—*Eboracen.*

To have the whole mass in English, I think it neither expedient, neither convenient.—*London. Hereford. Cicestren. Worcester. Norvicen. Assaven.*

It is convenient that the common Latin tongue to these west parts of Christendom be used in the mass, being the common-prayer of the whole church, namely, in the mysteries thereof, lest rude people should vilely prophane the holy mysteries thereof by contempt. Nevertheless certain prayers might be in the mother tongue, for the instruction and stirring of the devotion of the people, as shall be thought convenient.—*Dunelm.*

St. Paul would all things in the congregation, and publick assembly, so to be spoken that they might edify; and in such a language, that the people present might say Amen to our thanksgiving. And long after the apostles' times, all the people present did answer the priest (he speaking in a language that they did understand), like as the clark or boy doth now answer (as he is taught) in a language that he understands not. *Cypri habet de Cons. distinct.* I *Ca. Quando.*—*Lincoln.*

It was so used in Dalmatia in St. Hierom's time, and in Sclavonia in Cyril's time, who making suit to the court of Rome for the same, and the matter being debated in the consistory, and having many adversaries, suddenly there was heard a voice, as it were, from heaven; "Omnis Spiritus laudet Dominum, et omnis Lingua confiteatur ei." Whereupon Cyrillus had his petition granted him.—*Elien. Hæc jam mea est Opinio, sed, sic ut, auditis melioribus cedam.*

This question was deeply searched and tried for, in the most excellent and of highest memory king Henry the Eighth his time, by the best clerks of his realm, in his presence; and then and there concluded, and upon that same by proclamation commanded, that Holy Scripture should not be evulgate in English. Yet after it was otherwise seen and provided for: therefore therein I would wish, that were most to the quiet edification of Christian people, and shall submit myself to my superiors and betters, submitting mine understanding to their judgments.—*Carliolen.*

I think it not only convenient that such speech should be used in the mass as the people might understand, but also to speak it with such an audible voice, that the people might hear it, that they be not defrauded of their own, which Saint Paul teacheth to belong to them; and also that they may answer, as Cyprian saith, the people did in his days, *Habemus ad Dominum.* Nevertheless, as concerning that part that pertaineth to the consecration, Dyonise and Basil moveth me to think it no inconvenience, that part should be spoken in silence.—*Roffen.*

If the mass should be wholly in English, I think we should differ from the custom and manner of all other regions: therefore if it may stand with the king's majesty's pleasure, I think it not good to be said all in English.—*Per me Paulum Episcopum Bristollensem.*

Question 10.

*When the Reservation of the Sacrament and the hanging up of the same first began?*

*Answers.*

The reservation of the sacrament began, I think, six or seven hundred years after Christ: the hanging up, I think, began of late time.—*Cantuarien.*

Polidore Virgil doth write, that Innocentius the Third decreed the sacrament to be kept, to be in a readiness for the sick. And Honorius the Third confirmed the same; adding, that it ought to be reserved *in loco singulari, mundo, et signato.* Commanding also the priests that they should often instruct the people reverently to bow down at the elevation-time, and when it is born to the sick. As for the hanging up of the sacrament over, or setting it upon the altar, is of a later time, not yet received in divers places of Christendom.—*Lincoln.*

*Some Questions, with Answers made to them by the Bishops of Worcester, Chichester, and Hereford*.*

The Question.

*What or wherein John's Fasting, giving Alms, being baptized, or receiving the Sacrament of Thanks in England, doth profit and avail Thomas dwelling in Italy, and not knowing what John in England doth?*

* These queries were put by Cranmer to those bishops; but this paper is all in Bonner's hand, with whom these three bishops agreed.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.



*The Answer.*

The distance of place doth not lett nor hinder the spiritual communion which is between one and another; so that John and Thomas, wheresoever they be, far asunder, or near together, being both lively members of Christ, receive either of other's goodness some commodity; although to limit what or wherein is unsearchable, and only pertaineth to the knowledge of God.—*Worcester. Chichester. Hereford.*

The Question.

*Whether the said acts in John do profit them that be in heaven, and wherein?*

*The Answer.*

Gaudium est in Cœlo super uno peccatore penitentiam agente, &c.—*Luc.* xv.

The Question.

*Whether it lieth in the said John, to defraud any member of Christ's body of the benefit of his fasting, alms-deeds, baptism, or receiving of the sacrament, and to apply the same benefit to one person more than to another?*

*The Answer.*

Charity defraudeth no man of any such benefit that might come to him; and it lieth in God only to apply the same, and not in any man, otherwise than by desire and prayer; but the better the man is, the more available his prayer is to them for whom he especially prayeth.

The Question.

*What thing is the presentation of the body and blood of Christ in the Mass, which you call the oblation and sacrifice of Christ? and wherein standeth it, in act, gesture, or words? and in what act, gesture, or words?*

*The Answer.*

The presentation, &c. standeth in such words, prayers, supplications, and actions, as the priest useth at the mass, having the body and blood of Christ there present in the sacrament.

The Question.

*Is there any rite or prayer not expressed in the Scripture, which Christ used or commanded at the first institution of the Mass, which we be now bound to use; and what the same be?*

*The Answer.*

That Christ used rites and prayers at the institution and distribution of the sacrament, the Scripture declareth: but what rites and prayers they were we know not; but I think we ought to use such rites and prayers as the catholick church hath, and doth uniformly observe

The Question.

*Whether in the primitive church there were any priests that lived by saying of mass, mattins, and even-song, and praying for souls only? And whether any such state of priesthood be allowed in the Scripture, or be meet to be allowed now?*

*The Answer.*

There were priests in the primitive church which preached not, but exercised themselves in prayer for the quick and the dead, and other spiritual ministrations in the church; and accustomably used common prayers both morning and evening; and such state of priesthood is not against the Scripture.

The Question.

*For what cause it were not expedient nor convenient to have the whole mass in English?*

*The Answer.*

This question is answered by Dyonise and Basil, De Spiritu Sancto; and also an uniformity of all churches in that thing is to be kept*.

NUMBER XXVI.

*A Collection of some of the Chief Indulgences then in the English Offices.*

HORÆ B. Mariæ Virg. ad usum Sarum, printed at Paris, 1526.

Folio 38.—To all them that be in the state of grace, that daily say devoutly this prayer before our blessed Lady of pity, she will shew them her blessed visage, and warn them the day and the hour of death; and in their last end, the angels of God shall yield their souls to heaven; and he shall obtain 500 years, and so many Lents of pardon, granted by five holy fathers, popes of Rome.

Folio 42.—Our holy father Sixtus the 4th, pope, hath granted to all them that devoutly say this prayer before the image of our Lady, the sum of 11,000 years of pardon.

Folio 44.—Our holy father the pope Sixtus hath granted, at the instance of the high-most and excellent princess Elizabeth, late queen of England, and wife to our sovereign liege lord king Henry the 7th, (God have mercy on her sweet soul, and all Christian souls!) that every day in the morning, after three tollings of the Ave-bell, say three times the whole salutation of our Lady, Ave Maria Gratia; that is to say, at six of the clock in the morning, three Ave Maries; at twelve of the clock at noon, three Ave Maries; and at six of the clock at even; for every time so doing, is granted of the spiritual treasure of holy church, 300 days of pardon, *toties quoties.* And also our holy father, the archbishop of Canterbury and York, with other nine bishops of this realm, have granted, three times in the day, forty days of pardon to all them that be in the state of grace, able to receive pardon; the which began the 26th day of March, anno 1492, Anno Henrici 7; and the sum of the indulgence and pardon for every Ave Maria, 860 days, *toties quoties.* This prayer shall be said at the tolling of the Ave-bell.

Folio 47.—Our holy father the pope Boniface hath granted to all them that devoutly say this lamentable contemplation of our blessed Lady, standing under the cross weeping, and having compassion with her sweet

* After these answers follows a reply by Cranmer in other queries; as, "If you cannot tell what and where the acts of John can profit Thomas, being so far distant from him that he can never hear of him; why do you then affirm that to be true which you cannot tell how, nor wherein it can be true?

"Whether our praiers for al the souls departed do profit the apostles, prophets, and martyrs?

"Whether they know all the actions of every man here in earth? and if not, how do they rejoice of those good actions which they know not?

"Whether our evil deeds do them hurt, as our good deeds profit them?

"Whether the presentation of the body and blood of Christ do stand in all the words and actions that the priest useth in the mass which now we do use?

"Whereby is it known that in the primitive church were priests that preached not?

"Why may not we as well alter the mass into the English tongue, or alter the ceremonies of the same, as we alter the communion to be under both kynds, that in other churches is uniformly ministred to the people under one kind; seeing that the uniformity of al churches requireth no more the uniformity in one than in the other?"—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

son Jesus, seven years of pardon, and forty Lents. And also pope John the 22nd hath granted 300 days of pardon.

Folio 50.—These be the fifteen Do's, the which the holy virgin S. Bridget was wont to say daily before the holy rood in S. Paul's church at Rome; whoso says this a whole year, shall deliver fifteen souls out of purgatory of his next kindred, and convert other fifteen sinners to good life; and other fifteen righteous men of his kind shall persevere in good life; and what ye desire of God ye shall have it, if it be to the salvation of your souls.

Folio 54.—To all them that before this image of pity devoutly say five Pater-nosters, and five Ave Maries, and a Credo, piteously beholding those arms of Christ's passion, are granted 32,755 years of pardon; and Sixtus the fourth pope of Rome hath made the fourth and the fifth prayer, and hath doubled his foresaid pardon.

Folio 56.—This epistle of our Saviour, sendeth our holy father Pope Leo to the emperor Carolo Magno; of the which we find written, Who that beareth this blessing upon him, and saith it once a day, shall obtain forty years of pardon and eighty lentings, and he shall not perish with sudden death.

Folio 57.—This prayer made by S. Austin, affirming who that says it daily kneeling, shall not die in sin, and after this life shall go to the everlasting joy and bliss.

Folio 58.—Our holy father the pope John 22d hath granted to all them that devoutly say this prayer after the elevation of our Lord Jesus Christ, 3000 days of pardon for deadly sins.

Ibid.—Our holy father the pope Bonifacius the 6th hath granted to all them that say devoutly this prayer following, between the elevation of our Lord and the three Agnus Dei, 10,000 years of pardon.

Folio 61.—Our holy father Sixtus the 4th hath granted to all them that be in the state of grace, saying this prayer following immediately after the elevation of the body of our Lord, clean remission of all their sins perpetually enduring. And also John the 3d, pope of Rome, at the request of the queen of England, hath granted to all them that devoutly say this prayer before the image of our Lord crucified, as many days of pardon as there were wounds in the body of our Lord in the time of his bitter passion, the which were 5465.

Folio 65.—These five petitions and prayers made S. Gregory, and hath granted unto all them that devoutly say these five prayers, with five Pater-nosters, five Ave Maries, and a Credo, 500 years of pardon.

Folio 66.—These three prayers be written in the chappel of the Holy Cross in Rome, otherwise called *Sacellum Sanctæ Crucis septem Romanorum*; who that devoutly say them, they shall obtain ten hundred thousand years of pardon for deadly sins, granted of our holy father John, 22d pope of Rome.

Folio 68.—Who that devoutly beholdeth these arms of our Lord Jesus Christ, shall obtain 6000 years of pardon of our holy father S. Peter, the first pope of Rome, and of thirty other popes of the church of Rome, successors after him. And our holy father Pope John the 22d hath granted unto all them, very contrite and truly confessed, that say these devout prayers following, in the commemoration of the bitter passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, 3000 years of pardon for deadly sins, and other 3000 for venial sins, and say first a Pater-noster and Ave Maria.

Folio 71.—Our holy father Pope Innocentius the 2d hath granted to all them that say this prayer devoutly in the worship of the wound that our Lord had in his blessed side, when he was dead, hanging in the cross, 4000 days of pardon.

Folio 72.—This most devout prayer, said the holy father S. Bernard, daily kneeling in the worship of the most holy name Jesus. And it is well to believe, that through the invocation of the most excellent name of Jesu, S. Bernard obtained a singular ward of perpetual consolation of our Lord Jesu Christ. And these prayers written in a table that hanged at Rome in S. Peter's Church, nigh to the high altar there, as our holy father the pope evely is wont to say the office of the mass; and who that devoutly, with a contrite heart, daily say this orison, if he be that day in the state of eternal damnation, then his eternal pain shall be changed him in temporal pain of purgatory; then if he hath deserved the pain of purgatory, it shall be forgotten and forgiven, through the infinite mercy of God.

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NUMBER XXVII.

*Injunctions for a Visitation of Chauntries.*

[Ex MS. Dr. Johnson.]

To the parson, vicar, curat, chaunter, priests, churchwardens, and two of the most honest persons of the parish of being no founders, patrons, donors, lessees, nor farmers of the promotions or corporations hereafter recited, nor of any part thereof, and to four of them at the least.

First, ye shall make diligent search and inquiry, immediately upon the receit hereof, of the number; and how many chauntries, hospitals, colleges, free chappels, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds and salaries, or wages of stipendiary priests, being perpetuities now charged, or that ought to be charged, or chargeable, to the paiment of the first fruits and tenths, and of all colleges chargeable and not chargeable to the said paiment of tenths and first fruits, which be within your church and parish.

Also you shall enquire of the orders, ordinances, kinds, qualities, degrees, uses and abuses, or misuses, conditions, estates, and necessities, of and concerning all and every the said chantries, fraternities, guilds, stipends, or wages, and other the premises; and by what names, sir-names, corporations, or titles, they and every of them be taken or known; and to what intents, purposes, and deeds of charity they and every of them were founded, ordained, and made; and ye shall take into your hands, and also bring with you, at the day of your certificate, the foundations, and all other writings which you have or can attain, for the true declaration and proof of the same.

Also you shall enquire, how and what manner or sort the revenues and profits of the lands and possessions of all the aforesaid promotions, and every of them, be used, expended, imploied, or bestowed.

Also how many of the said promotions be parish churches.

Also how far space or distance the said chantries and chappels be, and stand from the parish churches of the parishes wherein they do stand.

Also ye shall enquire of all the houses, lands, tenths, rents, possessions and revenues, united, annexed, or appertaining to the aforesaid chantries, hospitals, guilds, and other promotions above said, and to every of them, and of the yearly value thereof, and shall make a true and perfect rental or other book thereof.

And ye shall enquire of all the resolutes, deductions, and yearly paiments or charges going forth of the premises, and of every part thereof, and shall certify the same in writing; that is to say, for every chantry



or other the aforesaid promotions severally by itself; and over this, to bring with you all such rentals of the same, and every of them, as ye have or may attain or come by.

Also ye shall enquire of all the lands, rents, possessions, and hereditaments, which were or be united, annexed, or pertaining to the aforesaid promotions or corporations, or to any of them, which at any time since the 4th day of February, in the 27th year of the king's majesty's reign, did appertain or belong to them, or any of them, and of the goods, jewels, and ornaments, lately pertaining or belonging to the same.

Also ye shall enquire how many of the aforesaid chantries, hospitals, guilds, and other the aforesaid promotions and corporations, and what lands, rents, or parcels thereof, sithence the 4th day of February, in the 27th year of the reign of our aforesaid sovereign lord, been or have been dissolved, purchased, or by any other means or ways taken, entred unto, or obtained by any of the king's majesty's subjects, by their own authorities without the king's license.

And ye shall enquire of the lands, tenths, rents, and hereditaments thereof, and of the yearly value of the same, and of all the goods and ornaments of the same; and of the yearly resolutes, deductions, and paiments going forth of the same; and shall make a true rental or book thereof, and shall certify the same particularly.

Also ye shall enquire of all the plate, jewels, ornaments, goods, and chattels, meerly and truly pertaining or belonging to all the aforesaid promotions or corporations, and to every of them severally, and shall make one true inventory thereof, with the value of the same, and of every parcel thereof, that is to say, in true weight of all parcels of plate, chalices, and other; and the price or value of all other ornaments, goods, or chattels, and in whose hands or possession the same be or remain.

Also, finally, ye shall make ready and finish your certificate in writing, before the of all and singular the premises, and of every article abovesaid severally, and not in gross, or in one whole article, as ye will answer and be sworn to the same: and that you, and every of you, being resident or remaining within the said parish, shall sign and seal the same; and ye shall send the same your certificate sealed unto us, at such day and place as hereafter shall be assigned unto you, by one of the most honest of the aforesaid church-wardens, and by all the incumbents of the chantries, chappels, hospitals; guilds and promotions aforesaid, if there be but one incumbent in the said promotions, or any of them; and if there be more incumbents than one in the said promotions, or any of them being of one foundation, that then one of the said incumbents, together with the said honest church-wardens, and other incumbents, being but one of one foundation, as is aforesaid. Foreseeing always, that your proceedings and certificate of the premises, and every part thereof, be executed, ordered, and done, with all diligence, substantially and truly, that the same may so appear unto us at our repair to view and survey the premises, as ye will then have condign thanks for the same, and avoiding your extream damage, which may ensue of the contrary.

Robert Archbishop. Sir Michael Stanhope.
Sir Leonard Bekworth. Mr. Robert Henneage. Mr. ——— Babthorp. Mr. Wallay.
Mr. Norton. Mr. Chaloner. Mr. Gargrave.
Mr. ———, Auditor.

NUMBER XXVIII.

*The Protector's Letter to Gardiner, concerning the Points he was to handle in his Sermon.*

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

We commend us unto you: we sent to you yesterday our servant William Cecil, to signify unto you our pleasure and advice, that you should, in this your next sermon, forbear to intreat upon those principal questions, which remain among the number of learned men in this realm, as yet in controversy, concerning the sacrament of the altar, and the mass; as well for that your private argument or determination therein might offend the people, naturally expecting decisions of litigious causes, and thereby discord and tumult arise; the occasions whereof we must necessarily prevent and take away; as also for that the questions and controversies rest at this present in consultation, and, with the pleasure of God, shall be in small time, by publick doctrine and authority, quietly and truly determined. This message we send to you, not thinking but your own wisdom had considered so much in an apparent matter; or at the least, upon our remembrance, ye would understand it and follow it with good will, consulting thereby your own quiet in avoiding offence, as observing our pleasure in avoiding contention. Your answer thereunto, our said servant hath declared unto us in this manner. Ye can no wise forbear to speak of the sacrament, neither of the mass; this last being the chief foundation, as ye say, of our religion, and that without it we cannot know that Christ is our sacrifice; the other being so spoken of by many, that if you should not speak your mind thereof what ye think, you know what other men would think of you; in the end, concluding generally, that you will speak the truth, and that ye doubt not but that we shall be therewith content; adding also, as our said servant reporteth unto us, that you would not wish that we ourselves should meddle or have to do in these matters of religion, but that the care thereof were committed to you the bishops, unto whom the blame, if any should be deserved, might well be imputed.

To this your answer, if so it be, we reply very shortly, signifying unto you our express pleasure and commandment, on our soveraign lord the king's majesty's behalf, charging you, by the authority of the same, to abstain in your said sermon from treating of any matter, in controversy concerning the said sacrament and the mass, and only to bestow your speech in the expert explication of the articles prescribed unto you, and in other wholsome matter, of obedience of the people, and good conversation and living; the same matters being both large enough for a long sermon, and not unnecessary for the time. And the treaty of other, which we forbid you not meet in your private sermon to be had, but necessarily reserved for a publick consultion, and at this present utterly to be forborn for the common quiet.

This our express pleasure, wherein we know how reasonably we may command you, and you (we think) know how willingly ye ought to obey us. For our intermedling with these causes of religion, understand you, that we account it no small part of our charge, under the king's majesty, to bring his people from ignorance to knowledge, and from superstition to true religion, esteeming that the chief foundation to build obedience upon: and where there is a full consent of others, the bishops and learned men, in a truth, not to suffer you, or a few other, with wilful headiness, to dissuade all the rest. And although we presume not to determine articles of religion by ourself, yet from God we knowledge it, we be desirous to defend and

advance the truth, determined or revealed, and so consequently we will not fail, but withstand the disturbers thereof. So fare you well. From Sion, June 28, anno 1548. Your loving friend,

E. SOMERSET.

NUMBER XXIX.

*Some of the Collects and Hymns to the Saints in the Hours* ad usum Sarum, *printed at Paris, Anno* 1520. *In which, immediate Adoration is offered to them, and those things are asked of them which God only gives.*

Folio 4. SANCTA Dei Genetrix, quæ digne meruisti concipere, quem totus orbis nequivit comprehendere; tuo pio interventu, culpas nostras abluc, ut perennis sedem gloriæ, per te redempti, valeamus scandere, ubi manes cum Filio tuo sine tempore.

Fol. 11. S. Panthaleon. Sancte Panthaleon Martyr Christi, militari ordine fuisti, quo promeruisti;—Demum heremiticum vitam acquisisti,—Tu vero hydropicum sanum reddidisti—Missus in equuleo ungues perdidisti—Costas cum lampadibus adustus fuisti—Collum subdens gladio pronus pertulisti—Fundens lac pro sanguine vitam sic finisti—Cunctas febres dilue a plebe tam tristi—Qui Cœlestis Gloriæ Regna meruisti.

Fol. 12. S. Tho. Cant. Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos Christe scandere, quo Thomas ascendit—Versicle gloria et honore coronasti eum Domine: Resp. et constituisti eum supra opera manuum tuarum.

Fol. 12. of Pope Nicolaus. And so in many other places. Ut ejus meritis et precibus a gehennæ incendiis liberemur.

Fol. 30. Sancta Maria succurre miseris, Juva pusillanimes, re fove flebiles, ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto femineo sexu.

Fol. 33. Virgo singularis, inter omnes mitis, non culpis solutos, mites fac et castos: Vitam præsta puram, iter paratutum, ut videntes Jesum, semper collætemur.

Fol. 44. *A Prayer to the Virgin, to the sayers of which Pope Cœlestine granted three hundred days of pardon; a part of which is,*

Consolare peccatorem, et ne tuum deshonorem, alieno vel crudeli; precor te Regina Cœli. Me habeto excusatum, apud Christum tuum natum, cujus iram expavesco, et furorem pertimesco, nam peccavi tibi soli. O Maria Virgo, noli esse mihi aliena, gratia Cœlesti plena; esto custos cordis mei, signa me timore Dei, confer vitæ sanitatem, et da morum honestatem: Et da peccata me vitare, et quod justum est amare. O dulcedo Virginalis, nunquam fuit nec est talis, &c.

Fol. 77. S. George. Georgi Martyr inclite, te decet laus et gloria: prædotatum militia, per quem puella Regia, existens in tristitia, coram Dracone pessimo, salvata est, et animo; te rogamus corde intimo, ut cum cunctis fidelibus, Cœli jungamur civibus, nostris abluti sordibus, ut simul cum lætitia, tecum simus in gloria, nostraq; reddant labia laudes Christo cum gloria.

Ibid. St. Christoph. Martyr Christophore, pro salvatoris honore, fac nos mente fore, dignos Deitatis amore, Promisso Christi, quia quod petis obtinuisti, da populo tristi, bona quæ moriendo petisti: confer solamen, et mentis tolle gravamen; judicis examen, fac mite sit omnibus Amen.

Fol. 78. O Willielme Pastor bone, Cleri pater et patrone, munda nobis in agone, confer opem et depone vitæ sordes, et Coronæ Cœlestis da gaudia,

Fol. 80. 11,000 Virgins. O vos undena millia, puella gloriosæ, virginitatis lilia, Martyrii Rosæ, in vita me defendite, præbendo mihil juvamen, in morte vos ostendite supremum ferendo solamen.

To St. Alban.

Te nunc petimus patrone, præco sedule, qui es nostra vera gloria, solve precum votis, servorum scelera.

To St. Peter and St. Paul.

Beate Petre qui Maxima reseras, claudis verbo Cœli limina, sume pius vota fidelia, peccati cuncta dissolvendo vincula: Sacra Paule ingere dogmata, illustrans plebis pectora.

*In die omnium Sanctorum.*

Mariam primam vox sonet nostra, per quam nobis vitæ sunt data præmia: Regina quæ es Mater, et casta, solve nostra per Filium peccamina: Angelorum concio sacra, et Arch-Angelorum turma inclyta, nostra diluant jam peccata præstando supernam Cœli gloriam.

NUMBER XXX.

*Dr. Redmayn's Opinion concerning the Marriage of the Clergie.—An original.*

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

I THINK that although the word of God does exhort and counsel priests to live in chastity, out of the cumber of the flesh and of the world, that thereby they may wholly attend to their calling; yet the bond of containing from marriage doth only lie upon priests in this realm, by reason of canons and constitutions of the church, and not by any precept of God's word, as in that they should be bound by any vow: which (in as far as my conscience is) priests in this church of England do not make.

I think that it standeth well with God's word, that a man which hath been, or is but once married, being otherwise accordingly qualified, may be made a priest.

And I do think, that forasmuch as canons and rules made in this behalf are neither universal nor everlasting, but upon considerations may be altered and changed; therefore the king's majesty, and the higher powers of the church, may, upon such reasons as shall move them, take away the clog of perpetual continence from priests, and grant that it may be lawful for such as cannot, or will not contain, to marry a wife; and if she die, then the said priest to marry no more, remaining still in the ministration.

JOHN REDMAYN.

NUMBER XXXI.

*Articles of High Treason and other misdemeanours against the King's Majesty and his Crown, objected to Sir Thomas Seymour, Kt. Lord Seymour of Sudley, and High Admiral of England.*

[Ex Libro Concilii, Fol. 236.]

1. WHEREAS the duke of Somerset was made governor over the king's majesty's person, and protector of all his realms and dominions, and subjects; to the which you yourself did agree, and gave your consent in writing; it is objected, and laid unto your charge, that this notwithstanding, you have attempted and gone about, by indirect means, to undoe this order, and to get into your hands the government of the king's majesty, to the great danger of his highness' person, and the subversion of the state of the realm.

2. It is objected and laid to your charge, that by corrupting with gifts, and fair promises, divers of the privy chamber, you went about to allure his highness to condescend and agree to the same your most heinous and perilous purposes, to the great danger of his highness' person, and of the subversion of the state of the realm.

3. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you wrote a letter with your own hand; which letter the king's majesty should have subscribed, or written again after that copy, to the parliament-house; and that you delivered the same to his highness for that intent: with the which so written by his highness, or subscribed, you had determined to have come into the commons-house yourself, and there, with your fautors and adherents before prepared, to have made a broil, or tumult, or uproar, to the great danger of the king's majesty's person, and subversion of the state of this realm.

4. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you yourself spake to divers of the council, and laboured with divers of the nobility of the realm, to stick and adhere unto you for the alteration of the state, and order of the realm, and to attain your other purposes, to the danger of the king's majesty's person, now in his tender years, and subversion of the state of the realm.

5. It is objected, and laid under your charge, that you did say openly and plainly, you would make the blackest parliament that ever was in England.

6. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that being sent for by the authority, to answer to such things as were thought meet to be reformed in you, you refused to come; to a very evil example of disobedience, and danger thereby of the subversion of the state of the realm.

7. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that sith the last sessions of this parliament, notwithstanding much clemency shewed unto you, you have still continued in your former mischievous purposes; and continually, by yourself and other, studied and laboured to put into the king's majesty's head and mind, a misliking of the government of the realm, and of the lord protector's doings, to the danger of his person, and the great peril of the realm.

8. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that the king's majesty being of those tender years, and as yet by age unable to direct his own things, you have gone about to instill into his grace's head, and, as much as lieth in you, perswaded him to take upon himself the government and managing of his own affairs, to the danger of his highness' person, and great peril of the whole realm.

9. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that you had fully intended and appointed to have taken the king's majesty's person into your own hands and custody, to the danger of his subjects and peril of the realm.

10. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that you have corrupted with money, certain of the privy chamber, to perswade the king's majesty to have a credit towards you; and so to insinuate you to his grace, that when he lacked any thing, he should have it of you and none other body, to the intent he should mislike his ordering, and that you might the better, when you saw time, use the king's highness for an instrument to this purpose, to the danger of his royal person, and subversion of the state of the realm.

11. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you promised the marriage of the king's majesty at your will and pleasure.

12. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you have laboured and gone about to combine and confederate yourself with some persons: and specially moved those noblemen, whom you thought not to be contented, to depart into their countries, and make themselves strong; and otherwise to allure them to serve your purpose by gentle promises and offers, to have a party and faction in readiness to all your purposes, to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and peril of the state of the realm.

13. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you have parted, as it were, in your imagination and intent the realm, to set noblemen to countervail such other noblemen as you thought would lett your devilish purposes, and so laboured to be strong to all your devices; to the great danger of the king's majesty's person, and great peril of the state of the realm.

14. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you had advised certain men to entertain and win the favour and good-wills of the head yeomen and ringleaders of certain countries, to the intent that they might bring the multitude and commons, when you should think meet, to the furtherance of your purposes.

15. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that you have not only studied and imagined how to have the rule of a number of men in your hands, but that you have attempted to get, and also gotten, divers stewardships of noblemen's lands, and their manoreds, to make your party stronger, for your purposes aforesaid; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and great peril of the state of the realm.

16. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that you have retained young gentlemen, and hired yeomen, to a great multitude, and far above such number as is permitted by the laws and statutes of the realm, or were otherwise necessary or convenient for your service, place, or estate, to the fortifying of yourself towards all your evil intents and purposes; to the great danger of the king's majesty, and peril of the state of the realm.

17. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that you had so travailed in that matter, that you had made yourself able to make, of your own men, out of your lands, and rules, and other your adherents, 10,000 men, besides your friends, to the advancement of all your intents and purposes: to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and the great peril of the state of the realm.

18. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you had conferred, cast, and weighed so much money as would find the said 10,000 men for a month; and that you knew how and where to have the same sum: and that you had given warning to have and prepare the said mass of money in a readiness; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and great peril to the state of the realm.

19. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you have not only, before you married the queen, attempted and gone about to marry the king's majesty's sister, the lady Elizabeth, second inheritor, in remainder to the crown, but also being then let by the lord protector, and others of the council, sithence that time, both in the life of the queen, continued your old labour and love; and after her death, by secret and crafty means, practised to atchieve the said purpose of marrying the said lady Elizabeth; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and peril of the state of the same.

20. It is objected, and laid to your charge, that you married the late queen so soon after the late king's death, that if she had conceived streight after, it should have been a great doubt whether the child born should have been accounted the late king's or yours; whereupon a marvellous danger and peril might, and was like to have ensued to the king's majesty's succession, and quiet of the realm.

21. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you first married the queen privately, and did dissemble and keep close the same, insomuch that a good space after you had married her, you made labour to the

king's majesty, and obtained a letter of his majesty's hand, to move and require the said queen to marry with you; and likewise procured the lord protector to speak to the queen to bear you her favour towards marriage; by the which colouring, not only your evil and dissembling nature may be known, but also it is to be feared that at this present you did intend to use the same practice in the marriage of the lady Elizabeth's grace.

22. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you not only, so much as lay in you, did stop and lett all such things as, either by parliament or otherwise, should tend to the advancement of the king's majesty's affairs, but did withdraw yourself from the king's majesty's service; and being moved and spoken unto, for your own honour, and for the ability that was in you, to serve and aid the king's majesty's affairs, and the lord protector's, you would always draw back, and feign excuses, and declare plainly that you would not do it.

Wherefore upon the discourse of all these aforesaid things, and of divers others, it must needs be intended, that all these preparations of men and mony, the attempts and secret practices of the said marriage; the abusing and perswading of the king's majesty, to mislike the government, state, and order of the realm that now is, and to take the government into his own hands; and to credit you, was to none other end and purpose, but after a tittle gotten to the crown, and your party made strong both by sea and land, with furniture of men and mony sufficient, to have aspired to the dignity royal, by some hainous enterprise against the king's majesty's person; to the subversion of the whole state of the realm.

23. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you not only had gotten into your hands the strong and dangerous Isles of Silly, bought of divers men; but that so much as lay in your power, you travailed also to have Londay; and under pretence to have victualled the ships therewith, not only went about, but also moved the lord protector, and whole council, that you might, by publick authority, have that, which by private fraud and falshood, and confederating with Sharington, you had gotten, that is, the Mint at Bristol, to be yours wholly, and only to serve your purposes, casting, as may appear, that if these traiterous purposes had no good success, yet you might thither conveigh a good mass of mony; where being aided with ships, and conspiring at all evil events with pirats, you might at all times have a sure and safe refuge, if any thing for your demerits should have been attempted against you.

24. It is also objected, and laid unto your charge, that having knowledge that Sir William Sharington, kt. had committed treason, and otherwise wonderfully defrauded and deceived the king's majesty, nevertheless you both by yourself, and seeking counsel for him, and by all means you could, did aid, assist, and bear him, contrary to your allegiance and duty to the king's majesty, and the good laws and orders of the realm.

25. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that where you owed to sir William Sharington, kt. a great sum of mony, yet to abet, bear, and cloak the great falshood of the said Sharington, and to defraud the king's majesty, you were not afraid to say and affirm, before the lord protector and the council, that the same Sharington did owe unto you a great sum of mony, viz. 2800*l.* and to conspire with him in that falshood, and take a bill of that feigned debt into your custody.

26. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you by yourself and ministers have not only extorted and bribed great sums of mony of all such ships as should go into island, but also as should go any other where in merchandise, contrary to the liberty of this realm, and to the great discouragement and destruction of the navy of the same; to the great danger of the king's majesty, and the state of the realm.

27. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that where divers merchants, as well strangers as Englishmen, have had their goods piratously robbed and taken, you have had their goods in your hands and custody, daily seen in your house, and distributed among your servants and friends, without any restitution to the parties so injured and spoiled; so that thereby forreign princes have in a manner been weary of the king's majesty's amity, and by their ambassadors divers times complained; to the great slander of the king's majesty, and danger of the state of the realm.

28. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that where certain men have taken certain pirats, you have not only taken from the takers of the said pirats all the goods and ships so taken, without any reward, but have cast the said takers, for their good service done to the king's majesty, into prison, and there detained them a great time, some eight weeks, some more, some less, to the discouraging of such as truly should serve the king's majesty against his pirats and enemies.

29. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that divers of the head pirats being brought unto you, you have let the same pirats go again free unto the seas; and taking away from the takers of them, not only all their commodity and profit, but from the true owners of the ships and goods all such as ever came into the pirats' hands, as though you were authorized to be the chief pirat, and to have had all the advantage they could bring unto you.

30. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that where order hath been taken, by the lord protector and the whole council, that certain goods, piratically taken upon the seas, and otherwise known not to be wrecked nor forfeited, should be restored to the true owners, and letters thereupon written by the lord protector and the council; to the which letters, you yourself, among the other, did set to your hand; yet you, this notwithstanding, have given commandment to your officers, that no such letters should be obeyed; and written your private letters to the contrary, commanding the said goods not to be restored, but kept to your own use and profit, contrary to your own hand before in the council-chamber written, and contrary to your duty and allegiance, and to the perilous example of others, and great slander and danger of the realm.

31. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that where certain strangers, which were friends and allies to the king's majesty, had their ships, with wind and weather broken, and yet came unwrecked to the shore; when the lord protector and the council had written for the restitution of the said goods, and to the country to aid and save so much of the goods as might, you yourself subscribing and consenting thereto; yet this notwithstanding, you have not only given contrary commandment to your officers, but as a pirat have written letters to some of your friends to help, that as much of these goods as they could, should be conveyed away secretly by night further off, upon hope that if the same goods were assured, the owners would make no further labour for them, and then you might have enjoyed them; contrary to justice and your honour, and to the great slander of this realm.

32. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you have not only disclosed the king's majesty's secret council, but also where you yourself, amongst the rest, have consented and agreed to certain things for the advancement of the king's affairs, you have spoken and laboured against the same.

33. It is further objected, and laid unto your charge, that your deputy steward, and other your ministers of the Holt, in the county of Denbigh, have now, against Christmass last past, at the said Holt, made such provision of wheat, malt, beefs, and other such things as be necessary for the sustenance of a great number of men; making also, by all the means possible, a great mass of mony; insomuch that all the country doth greatly marvel at it, and the more, because your servants have spread rumours abroad, that the king's majesty was dead; whereupon the country is in a great maze, doubt, and expectation, looking for some broil, and would have been more, if at this present, by your apprehension, it had not been staied.



*The Lord Admiral's Answer to three of the former Articles.*

To the first, he saith, that about Easter-tyde was twelve-months, he said to Fowler, as he supposeth it was, that if he might have the king in his custody as Mr. Page had, he would be glad; and that he thought a man might bring him through the gallery to his chamber, and so to his house: but this he said he spoke merrily, meaning no hurt. And that in the mean time after he heard, and upon that sought out certain precedents, that there was in England at one time, one protector, and another regent of France, and the duke of Exeter, and the bishop of Winchester, governors of the king's person; upon that he had thought to have made suit to the parliament-house for that purpose, and he had the names of all the lords, and totted them whom he thought he might have to his purpose to labour them. But afterwards communing with Mr. Comptroller at Ely-place, being put in remembrance by him of his assenting and agreeing with his own hand, that the lord protector should be governor of the king's person, he was ashamed of his doings, and left off that suit and labour.

To the second he saith, he gave mony to two or three of them which were about the king. To Mr. Cheek he saith, he gave at Christmass-tide was twelve-months, when the queen was at Enfield, 40*l.*, whereof to himself 20*l.*, the other for the king, to bestow where it pleased his grace amongst his servants. Mr. Cheek was very loth to take it, howbeit he would needs press that upon him; and to him he gave no more, at no time as he remembreth, sith the king's majesty was crowned.

To the grooms of the chamber he hath at Newyears-tydes given mony, he doth not well remember what.

To Fowler, he saith, he gave mony for the king, sith the beginning of this parliament now last at London, 20*l.*

And divers times, he saith, the king hath sent to him for mony, and he hath sent it. And what time Mr. Latimer preached before the king, the king sent to him to know what he should give Mr. Latimer, and he sent to him by Fowler 40*l.* with this word, that 20*l.* was a good reward for Mr. Latimer, and the other he might bestow amongst his servants; whether he hath given Fowler any mony for himself he doth not remember.

To the third, he saith, it is true, he drew such a bill indeed himself, and proffered it to the king, or else to Mr. Cheek, he cannot well tell; and before that, he saith, he caused the king to be moved by Mr. Fowler, whether he could be contented that he should have the governance of him as Mr. Stanhope had. He knoweth not what answer he had; but upon that he drew the said bill to that effect, that his majesty was content, but what answer he had to the bill he cannot tell, Mr. Cheek can tell.

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NUMBER XXXII.

*The Warrant for the Admiral's Execution.*

[Ex Libro Concilii, Fol. 247.]

*March* 17.

THIS day, the 17th of March, the lord chancellor, and the rest of the king's council, meeting in his highness' palace of Westminster, heard the report of the bishop of Ely, who by the said lords, and others of the council, was sent to instruct and comfort the lord admiral; after the hearing whereof, consulting and deliberating with themselves of the time most convenient for the execution of the said lord admiral, now attainted and condemned by the parliament, they did condescend and agree, that the said lord admiral should be executed the Wednesday next following, betwixt the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon of the same day, upon Tower-hill. His body and head to be buried within the Tower. The king's writ (as in such cases as heretofore hath been accustomed) being first directed and sent forth for that purpose and effect. Whereupon calling to the council-chamber the bishop of Ely, they willed him to declare this their determination to the said lord admiral; and to instruct and teach him, the best he could, to the quiet and patient suffering of justice, and to prepare himself to Almighty God.

E. Somerset, T. Cantuarien., R. Rich, chancel., W. St. John, J. Russel, J. Warwick, F. Shrewsbury, Thomas Southampton, William Paget, Anthony Wingfield, William Petre, A. Denny, Edward North, R. Sadler.

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NUMBER XXXIII.

*Articles to be followed and observed, according to the King's Majesty's Injunctions and Proceedings.*

[Ex MS. Dr. Johnson.]

1. THAT all parsons, vicars, and curats, omit in the reading of the injunctions all such as make mention of the popish mass, of chantries, of candles upon the altar, or any other such-like thing.

2. *Item.* For an uniformity, that no minister do counterfeit the popish mass, as to kiss the Lord's table; washing his fingers at every time in the communion; blessing his eyes with the paten or sudary, or crossing his head with the paten, shifting of the book from one place to another, laying down and licking the chalice of the communion; holding up his fingers, hands, or thumbs, joined towards his temples; breathing upon the bread or chalice; showing the sacrament openly before the distribution of the communion; ringing or sacrying bells, or setting any light upon the Lord's board at any time; and finally, to use no other ceremonies than are appointed in the king's book of common prayers, or kneeling otherwise than is in the said book.

3. *Item.* That none buy or sell the holy communion, as in trentals and such other.

4. *Item.* That none be suffered to pray upon beads, and so the people to be diligently admonished; and such as will not be admonished to put from the holy communion.

5. *Item.* That after the homily, every Sunday, the minister exhort the people, especially the communicants, to remember the poor men's box with their charity.

6. *Item.* To receive no corpse but at the churchyard, without bell or cross.

7. *Item.* That the common prayer, upon Wednesdays and Fridays, be diligently kept, according to the

king's ordinances, exhorting such as may conveniently come to be there.

8. *Item.* That the curats, every sixth week at the least, teach and declare diligently the catechism, according to the book of the same.

9. *Item.* That no man maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, bedrolls, images, reliques, lights, holy bells, holy beads, holy water, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchres paschal, creeping to the cross, hallowing of the font of the popish manner, oil, chrisme, altars, beads, or any other such abuses and superstitions, contrary to the king's majesty's proceedings.

10. *Item.* That within any church or chappel be not used any more than one communion upon any day, except Christmass-day and Easter-day.

11. *Item.* That none keep the abrogate holydays, other than those that have their proper and peculiar service.

12. *Item.* That the church-wardens suffer no buying nor selling, gaming, or unfitting demeanour, in church or churchyards; especially during the common prayer, the sermon, and reading of the homily.

13. *Item.* That going to the sick with the sacrament, the minister have not with him either light or bells.

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NUMBER XXXIV.

*A Paper written by Luther to Bucer concerning a Reconciliation with the Zuinglians. An Original.*

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

Primo: Ut nullo modo concedamus de nobis dici, quod neutri neutros ante Intellexerunt: Nam isto Pharmaco non medebimur tanto vulneri: cum nec ipsi credamus utrimque hoc verum esse, et alii putabunt a nobis hoc fingi; ut ita magis suspectam reddemus causam, vel potius per totum dubiam faciemus; cum sit communis omnium, ut in tantis animorum turbis et scrupulis non expedit hoc nomine addere offendiculum.

Secundo: Cum hactenus dissenserimus, quod illi signum, nos Corpus Christi asseruerimus plane contrarii: Nihilominus mihi videtur utile, ut mediam, ut novam statuamus sententiam, qua et illi concedant Christum adesse vere, et nos concedamus panem solum manducari. Considerandum certe est, quantum hic fenestram aperiemus in re omnibus communi cogitandi et Orientium hinc fontes questionum et opinionum

*. Ut tutius multo sit illos simpliciter manere in suo signo, cum nec ipsi suam, nec nos nostram partem, multo minus utriq; totum orbem pertrahemus in eam sententiam; Sed potius irritabimus ad varias Cogitationes. Ideo vellem potius ut sopitum maneret dissidium in duabus istis sententiis, quam ut occasio daretur infinitis quæstionibus ad Epicurismum profuturis.

Istis salvis, nihil est quod a me peti possit: nam ut ego hoc dissidium vellem (testis est mihi Christus meus) redemptum Corpore et Sanguine meo. Sed quid faciam? Ipsi forte Conscientia bona sunt in altera sententia. Feramus igitur eos: si sinceri sunt, liberabit eos Christus Dominus. Ego contra captus sum bona mea Conscientia, nisi ipsi mihi sum ignotus, in meam sententiam: ferant et me, si non possunt mihi accedere.

* Here a word is wanting; it is like it should be *excludendi*.

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NUMBER XXXV.

*The Sentence against Joan of Kent, with the Certificate made upon it.*

[Regis. Cran. Fol. 175.]

In Dei Nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas, Permissione Divina Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus, Thomas Smith Miles, Willielmus Cooke Decanus de Arcubus, Hugo Latimer Sacræ Theologiæ Professor, et Richardus Lyell Legum Doctor, illustrissimi, invictissimi in Christo Principis et Domini nostri Domini Edwardi Sexti, Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. per Literas suas Regias Patentes, dat. duodecimo die mensis Aprilis, Anno Regni sui tertio, contra te Joannam Bocher, alias nuncupatam Joannam de Kente, coram nobis super hæretica pravitate, juxta et secundum Commissionem dicti Domini nostri Regis detectam et declaratam, ac in ea parte apud bonos et graves Notorie et Publice, diffamatam, rite et legitime procedentes, auditis, visis, intellectis, cognitis, rimatis, et matura deliberatione discussis et ponderatis dicti negotii meritis et circumstantiis, servatisq; in omnibus et per omnia in eodem negotio de jure servandis in quomodolibet requisitis: judicialiter et pro tribunali sedentes, Christi nomine invocato ac ipsum solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes; Quia per acta inactitata, deducta, probata, confessata, ac per te sæpius coram nobis in eodem negotio recognita, comperimus et clare invenimus te, tum per confessiones, tum per recognitiones tuas coram nobis judicialiter factas, nefandum et intollerabilem errorem, hæresin damnatam et scandalosam opinionem subscriptam, juri Divino et Fidei Catholicæ obviantem, contrariam et repugnantem: viz. "That you believe that the Word was made flesh in the Virgin's belly; but that Christ took flesh of the Virgin, you believe not; because the flesh of the Virgin, being the outward man, was sinfully gotten and born in sin; but the Word, by the consent of the inward man of the Virgin, was made flesh." Manutenuisse quem quidem errorem, hæresin damnatam et scandalosam opinionem juri Divino et Fidei Catholicæ obviantem, contrariam et repugnantem, &c. Idcirco nos Thomas Archiep. &c. te Joannam Bocher, alias Joannam de Kente prædictam, de meritis, culpis, obstinaciis et contumaciis, &c. de et super horrendo hæreticæ pravitatis reatu confessam, ad Ecclesiæ unitatem redire nolentem, hæreticam opinionem credentem, præmissorum prætextu fuisse et esse, cum animi dolore et cordis amaritudine Judicamus, teq; ex nunc tanquam pertinacem et obstinatam hæreticam, judicio sive curiæ seculari ad omnem juris effectum, qui exinde sequi debeat, aut poterit, relinquendam fore decernimus et declaramus, et sic per præsentes de facto relinquimus; Teq; Joannam Bocher, alias Joannam de Kent, memoratam hæreticam, pertinacem, in majoris Excommunicationis sententiam occasione præmissorum incidisse et incurrisse, necnon excommunicatam fuisse et esse, etiam sententialiter et definitive pronunciamus et declaramus, per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, quam ferimus et promulgamus in his scriptis. Lecta fuit hæc sententia per prænominatos, Reverendum, &c.

*Sermo factus Domino Regi contra Joannam Bocher, alias dictam Joannam de Kent, pro Brachio Seculari.*

Illustrissimo et Invictissimo in Christo Principi, Domino nostro Edwardo Sexto, Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. Thomas Permissione Divina Cantuarien. &c. Thomas Smith et Commissarii prædicti et Inquisitores vestræ Celsitudinis, per Literas vestras Regias Patentes, dat. 12 Aprilis, Anno Regni vestri tertio, sufficienter et legitime deputati honorem et perpetuam



fœlicitatem in eo, per quam Reges regnant et principes dominantur. Vestræ Regiæ Celsitudini, Tenore præsentum significamus, quod nos adversus quandam, Joannam Bocher alias Joannam de Kent dictam, subditam vestram de et super nefando Crimine Hæreseos ac detestanda Anabaptistarum Secta apud bonos et graves enormiter defamatam, et super reatu earundem nobis detectam, delatam et denuntiatam, rite et legitime juxta literarum vestrarum Regiarum Commissionalium exigentiam, et tenorem procedentes, eandem Joannam, per nos examinatam, comperimus et invenimus Errores, Hæreses et damnatas Opiniones pertinaciter animo indurato sæpenumero manutenuisse, defendisse et in eisdem permansisse, et ab eisdem nullo modo resipuisse, nec resipiscere curasse; sed ad Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ gremium redire penitus neglexisse: Ideo, cum animi amaritudine et cordis dolere, eandem Joannam, sæpius monitam et per nos ad Ecclesiæ unitatem redire hortatam, salutaribus nostris monitis parere omnino spernentem, de et cum consensu Collegarum nostrorum, tanquam ovem morbidam a grege Domini (ne alios viros subditos sua contagione inficiat) ejiciendam et eliminandam fore decrevimus, ipsamq; Joannam occasione iniquitatis suæ inveteratæ, hæreticam ac hæreticis Opinionibus credentum, mediante nostra sententia definitiva, pronunciavimus et decrevimus. Cum igitur Sancta Mater Ecclesia non habeat, quod ulterius facere et exequi debeat, in hac parte vestræ Regiæ sublimitati et brachio vestro seculari dictam Hæreticam et relapsam relinquimus, condigna animadversione plectendam. In cujus rei testimonium, Nos Thomas Archiep. &c. Commissarius vester humillimus supradictus, de consensu Collegarum nostrorum, hic se subscribentium, Sigillum nostrum Archiepiscopale præsentibus apponi fecimus. Datum ultimo die mensis Aprilis, Anno Dom. 1549, et Regni vestri fœlicissimi Anno tertio.

Folio 178. After this followeth the process and sentence of condemnation of one George van Parre, a Dutchman, for obstinately maintaining the like opinions; together with a petition imploring the execution thereof, and the assistance of the secular power, conform to the tenour of that above written, bearing date the 6th of April, Anno Dom. 1551.

The judges and commissioners of this process were, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas bishop of London, William May, Griffin Leyson, John Oliver, Miles Coverdale, Richard Lyell, John Gosnold, and Christopher Nevison.

His heresy that he believeth is, that "God the Father is only God; and that Christ is not very God, is non-heresie." And being asked by an interpreter, whether he would abjure the said opinion? he answered, "No."

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NUMBER XXXVI.

*A Letter from the Protector to Sir Philip Hobbey, concerning the Rebellions at Home.*

[Cotton Libr. Galba. B. 12.]

Knowing that all such as be ambassadors abroad are not only desirous of news, for the love they bear to their own country naturally, desiring often to hear of the estate of it, but also to confirm and confute such rumours as be spread in the parts where they lie, we have thought good to impart what sith our last letters hath chanced. The Devonshire men are well chastised and appeased; three other of their captains have voluntarily come in, and simply submitted themselves to sir Thomas Pomery, kt., Wise and Harrice, who before were fled, and could not be found; and the country cometh in daily to my lord privy seal by hundreds and thousands, to crave their pardon, and be put in some sure hope of grace. Burry, and some one or two more of their blind guides that escaped from the sword, have attempted, in the mean season, to stir up Somersetshire, and have gotten them a band or camp; but they are sent after, and we trust by this they have as they deserve. The earl of Warwick lieth near to the rebels in Norfolk, which faint now, and would have grace gladly, so that all might be pardoned; Ket, and the other arch-traitors. The number upon that is at a stay, and they daily shrink so fast away, that there is great hope that they will leave their captains destitute and alone, to receive their worthy reward; the which is the thing we most desire, to spare, as much as may be, the effusion of blood, and that namely of our own nation. In Yorkshire a commotion was attempted the week last past; but the gentlemen were so soon upon them, and so forwardly, that it was straight suppressed; and with weeping eyes, the rest upon their knees, they wholly together desired the gentlemen to obtain their pardons; the which the king's majesty hath so granted unto them as may stand with his highness' honour: so that for the inner parts (thanks be to the Almighty God!) the case standeth in good points. The causes and pretences of these uproars and risings are divers and uncertain, and so full of variety almost in every camp (as they call them), that it is hard to write what it is; as ye know is like to be of people without head and rule, and that would have that they wot not what. Some crieth, "Pluck down inclosures and parks;" some for their commons; others pretend the religion; a number would rule another while, and direct things as gentlemen have done; and, indeed, all have conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen, and taketh them all as their enemies. The ruffians among them, and the souldiers, which be the chief doers, look for spoil; so that it seemeth no other thing but a plague and a fury amongs the vilest and worst sort of men: for except only Devonshire and Cornwal, and they not past two or three, in all other places not one gentleman, or man of reputation, was ever amongst them, but against their wills, and as prisoners. In Norfolk, gentlemen, and all serving-men, for their sakes, are as ill handled as may be; but this broil is well asswaged, and in a manner at a point shortly to be fully ended, with the grace of God.

On the other part of the seas, we have not so good news; for the French king taking now his time, and occasions of this rebellion within the realm, is come unto Bullingnois, with a great number of horsemen and footmen, himself in person; and as we are advertised of the letters of the 24th of this present, from Ambletue or Newhaven, the Almain camp, or Almain hill, a piece appertaining to the said Ambletue, was that day delivered to the French, by traiterous consent of the camp; their variance falling out, or feigned, between the captain and the souldiers, so that they are now besieged very near, and in a manner round. Howbeit they write, that they trust the piece itself of Newhaven will be well enough defended, God assisting them, who be in as good and stout a courage as any men may be, and as desirous to win honour, and give a good account of their charge. Thus we bid you heartily farewel. August 24, 1549.

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NUMBER XXXVII.

*A Letter of Bonner's after he was deprived.—An Original.*

*The first part of this Letter is the recommending the Bearer, that they might find a good Marriage for him.*

——The pears were so well accepted in every place, where I had so many thanks for my distribution, that I intend by God's grace, to send down to you your frail again, to have an eching, either of more pears, or else of puddings, &c. ye do know what, &c. doth mean, by that Italian proverb, *Dio me guarda da furia di villani, da conscientia di preti, da chi odi due messe nel giorno, da quasibuglie di medici da &c. di notarii, da chi jura per la conscientia mia.* I do not write to sir John Burne, nor to my lady, for anything, their conscience is not over large; and the like is in Mr. Hornvale, and also my old acquaintance John Badger. But if amongst you I have no puddings, then must I say, as Messer, our priest of the hospital, said to his mad horse, in our last journey to Hostia, *Al diavolo, al diavolo, ai tutti diavolli.* Our Lord preserve you, and all yours, with desire to be recommended to all. *Festo omnium Sanctorum*, in the marshalsea.

Your loving and assured old acquaintance,

EDMUND BONNER.

To my dear beloved friend, the worshipful Richard Lechmore.

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NUMBER XXXVIII.

*Letters and Instructions touching Proceedings with the Emperor, to Sir William Paget, Knight of the Order, sent to the Emperor.* 1549.

[Cotton Libr. Galba. B. 12.]

First, He shall communicate his instructions, and the cause of his coming with sir Philip Hobbey ambassador, resident with the emperor, and accompanied with him at his access to the said emperor, shall deliver his letters of credit; and for his credit shall utter his charge as followeth.

First, He shall declare what good will we have to the continuance of the amity, and the encrease of the same, by such means as may be devised on either party; and how the reciproque hath been promised on their behalf.

*Item.* To the intent they may as well perceive our forwardness therein, as also the world see the same take effect indeed, he is sent to show what we have thought upon for this purpose; and also if they be of a like forwardness, to hear again what they think meet in that behalf; and upon this conference, either to conclude upon both our devices, or such one of them as shall be thought best for both parties.

*Item.* We think good, that the treaty already made between the emperor and the king's majesty of famous memory, deceased, be made perpetual, that is to say, confirmed by the prince, and the countries on both sides, whose commodity depend upon the same treaty.

*Item.* Before the confirmation, the treaty to be revised by him; and the ambassador, and certain other, to be appointed by the emperor, to the intent it may appear whether we have both one understanding of the words of the treaty.

*Item.* Where the debating to and fro of the amity with his ambassador here, occasion hath risen to talk of marriage between the infant of Portugal and the lady Mary; to which thing we perceive the emperor hath sithence been made privy; and that in case the emperor mind to treat further of that matter, he shall say he hath commission to hear and conclude thereof.

*Item.* To declare the state of our affairs in Scotland at this time; and forasmuch as the Scots have been very much aided with victuals, ammunitions, and other necessaries from his dominions, by reason whereof they are more stiff and unwilling to come to reason; the said comptroller declaring this consideration, shall do what he may to procure, that not only all safe-conducts granted by the emperor or the regent may be cassed; but also his consent, that if any his subjects traffique into Scotland, being common enemies, if they be taken beyond Barwick thitherward, it may be lawful for our men to take their goods as forfeit.

*Item.* To declare our proceedings with France at this time, and of our sending commissioners upon the French motion, who shall not conclude anything prejudicial to the amity or treaties already passed, or now to be passed, between us and the emperor, but shall depend wholly upon his proceedings there; so as if the emperor shall, upon consultation of his affairs, determine with us to do anything to France, we will frame our communications with the French thereafter: if otherwise than the said commissioners now sent to the French shall do accordingly.

*Item.* For making the treaty perpetual, we think convenient that the prince of Spain do confirm and sign the same, and the Low Countries comprised therein do also in their general parliaments or assemblies make like confirmation, and in their courts to make decrees thereof; and this, or such form as hath been used in those parts heretofore in like cases, to be done for their part: and for our part, the king to ratify it, the parliament to confirm it, and the courts of Chancery, King's Bench, and Common Pleas, to make decrees thereof.

*Item.* In the revising of the treaty, if any doubt rise for the understanding of it, which shall seem by his and the ambassador's discretion to be for the king's profit, to conclude upon it, if they will agree to the same; and if there arise doubt, which shall seem to their discretions against the king, then to advertise hither.

*Item.* For the case of the marriage, to declare at the first what was left by the king's majesty deceased; and yet nevertheless afterward to offer 100,000 crowns, or the revenue yearly which she hath now upon convenable dower. The said 100,000 crowns, or revenue, to be paid at Calais, if the marriage take place; she to be conveyed to Calais at the king's charges; the marriage to be made in the emperor's court, or elsewhere in the Low Country, by his appointment; and for her dowry to ask by the year to be paid in case of the infant's death, at Calais yearly, at the feasts of and the feast of and she to return into England with jewels, plate, household stuff, such as should be agreed upon. And thus far to enter for the first degree; and in case of further communication, to advertise and receive answer from hence.

*Item.* Touching our proceeding with France, to declare how we have continued in war with them and Scotland these four years alone without help; and that we think it expedient for us, upon this occasion now ministred by France, to give ear; in the which hearing, we mind to attribute much to the emperor's friendship; for loth we are to let slip from the king any one jot of his right, if the emperor will assist; but otherwise we must make such a bargain for the king, as we may with regard to his honour and surety. And in this point the comptroller shall press the said emperor to enter with us, and to put him in a remembrance of his quarrels, and all such other things as he can devise for this purpose; and to put him in hope generally, that we will enter gallantly with him. And if he descend to particulars for the form of the entry, to hear his opinion, and to advertise, and then proceed as answer cometh from hence; but specially to remember to set forth the comprehension of Bulloign for defence, upon a like reciproque, for so shall he be brought to think we mind not to conclude with France, and thereby stay such practices, as upon occasion of the said comptroller's going, either he with France, or France with him, might enter together. And so the commissioners sent to France may make the better bargain for the king. Marry, this point is not to be opened throughly, till he hear some likelihood that our commissioners in France break off without conclusion.

*Item.* The said comptroller shall essay, as of himself, whether they will accept Bulloign at the king's majesty's hands, for some other reasonable recompence.

*Item.* The said comptroller shall use his discretion, to open the points aforesaid to the emperor, Granvela or D'Arras, either at one time or several times, as to his discretion shall seem convenient; and shall address his pacquets to the commissioners for France lying at Calais, to the end they may see his proceedings, and send them over with speed, directing their charge the better hereafter.



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NUMBER XXXIX.

*An Account of a Conference the English Ambassadors had with the Emperor's Ministers, in a Letter to the Protector.*

[Cotton Libr. Galba. B. 12.]

It may like your grace to be advertised, that upon the 20th of this present, came to the lodging of me the comptroller, monsieur D'Arras, and in his company the two presidents of the council, St. Maurice and Viglius; who, after a few words of office passed between them and us, entred the cause of their coming, saying, that the emperor having been informed of such conference as was passed this other day between me and Granvela, hath to declare his readiness to any thing that might satisfy his good will and affection to the intent of the king, sent as here to revisit the treatise, and see how we do agree upon the understanding of the same. I, the comptroller, answered, that it was not amiss, howbeit I had not so opened the matters, nor looked to have it passed in such order. But first to know the emperor's resolution, how he can be contented with the confirmation of the treaty, in the form that I had moved; and then that agreed upon, to proceed to the revisitation of the same. In good faith, (quoth D'Arras,) we did so understand it, and have so reported to the emperor, and this commission hath he now given us. Well, (quoth I,) seeing you are now here, and have brought the treaty with you for that purpose, we may do somewhat in it, and afterwards be advised farther, requiring, that in case anything should be found in the passages of the treaty meet to be considered, that we might, before further wading in the matter, know the emperor's resolution, touching as well the confirmation of the treaty, as in such things as now might be moved: which they thought reasonable. And so we began to read the treaty; and when we came to the sixth article, wherein it is provided for the common enmity in case of invasion, and by the establishment set forth, with what number the invasion must be made; and that both for the invasion, and the number the prince required to join, shall credit the letters of the prince requiring. I put this case, (quoth I,) for the understanding of this matter, that the king my master will signify by his letters to the emperor, that such a day the Scots, our common enemies, to the number of seven thousand men, with the aid of the French king, affronted the borders of England, comprehended in the treaty, and set above two thousand men into the realm to invade: who did indeed invade, and spoil, and burn, and take prisoners; and therefore would require the emperor, according to the treaty, to take the French king, who had aided his enemies, for his enemies; for so doth he, and so will use him for his enemies. Is not the emperor bound to do it? What say you, (quoth I,) how do you understand this article? It should seem yes, (quoth D'Arras,) but we will speak with the emperor in it, and bring you an answer. The words be plain, (quoth I,) and cannot be avoided.

Then in the seventh article, where it is said, that the prince requiring for his aid money instead of men, must, if the invasion made by the enemy cease, restore the money again which remaineth. And afterwards says, that though the invasion cease, yet if he will follow the enemy, he may use the aid for the time appointed in the treaty; saying in generality, (*eo casu subsidiis auxiliaribus, &c.*) I asked, whether in those general words, they mean not the money as well as the men? Whereupon they seemed to doubt, and took a note thereof, to know the emperor's pleasure in the same.

In the ninth article, where it is treated for redress of injuries done by one subject to the other, there we fell into a brawl of half an hour, upon a question that I moved, viz. when they took justice to be denied? And their answer was, that we used none at all. And here at length, I fell into their manner of arresting of one whole nation upon a knave mariner's complaint.

And he, what thieves our nation was upon the sea, and lawless people, and that they never proceed to such extremities, but when their subjects had been in England and justice was denied. That hath never been seen, quoth I; but if any of your subjects think himself grieved, streight he runeth to monsieur le Protecteur; and he, by and by, setting all the king's affairs apart, must attend to the affairs of monsieur le Mariniure, or else home runeth he with open cry, that he cannot have justice in England, and you streight believe; and thereupon cometh these often blusters. And do you think it reason, that monsieur G. or you should attend to every private man's complaint; you should then have a goodly office. No, you send them to the ordinary justices, and so let that take place and way as it will; but you will never impeach yourself more with the matter. And reason, (quoth he,) but the cause is not alike with you in England, for there, (quoth he,) all things come to the lord protector's hand, there is none other judge or justice used or cared for in the realm; no, and his letters sometimes not esteemed, and that our subjects fear full often, and therefore of force they must resort to monsieur Protecteur. And this is not true, (quoth I,) and that monsieur Hobbey knoweth, my lord protector, nor none of the privy council, meddle with no private matters whosoever it be, but only meddle with matters of state, leaving all other things to the ordinary course of justice, except only many times to gratify your ambassador, and to show himself glad to nourish the amity, he troubleth himself with the complaints of your subjects, which, by St. Mary, by my advice, he shall do no more, seeing it is so little considered, but shall refer them to the common justice. Whither is that? (quoth he). To the admiralty, (quoth I).

Marry, a goodly justice, (quoth he,) for so shall the poor man's cause be tried before his adversary. And why not tried in our admiralty (quoth I) as well as in yours? Nay, (quoth he,) both be naught indeed; they were very ordinary courts at the beginning of the redress of matters upon the sea; but now they feel the sweet of the gain such, as they care little for justice, and here, as well for relief of poor men spoiled and robbed upon the seas, as to avoid arrests, and such other troublesome proceedings on either side, we fell to devising, and came to this point: If the princes for their parts, upon their advertisement to the emperor, and we to your grace, shall like it, that commission sufficient be given by the emperor, to two of his privy council, to hear and determine by their discretion, summary, *et de pleno*, all complaints by the king's subjects here for criminal causes upon the sea; and the king's majesty to do the like to two of his privy council, for the complaints in like case of the emperor's subjects.

And this was all passed in open conference, saying, that in the discourse for the confirmation in the treaty by the prince and their countries, as they seemed to shew the emperor's readiness (but yet not so resolved) that the prince should confirm the treaty, and that further any other thing should be done that he might reasonably do, to declare his good will to the entertainment and augmentation of his amity and affection to the king's majesty. So he alleaged divers reasons why the emperor should not seek to his subjects to confirm his treaties with forreign princes. We alleaged the example of the king, and the French king in times past; and what was said in that case at C. in the presence of himself de C. and Chap. Whereunto he answered, that the state of France was more restrained than the emperor's; and that the French king could give no piece of his patrimony, nor bind his country, without the consent of his parliament at Paris, and the three estates; but he thought the king of England to have a greater prerogative, and the emperor, he was sure, had a greater prerogative; and so had all his ancestors, and therefore would be loth now to put himself so far in their danger: they were, he said, fifteen or sixteen parliaments, and if a thing should be proposed unto them, whereof they had never heard the like before, they would not only muse much at the matter, but they would have also the scanning of it; and what would come of it, the emperor could not tell, peradventure dash the matter, and so prejudice his prerogative with them. Yet now where he and his ancestors do, and have always passed treaties with other princes, and bind their subjects thereby without making them privy thereto, it would by this means come to pass, that from henceforth their subjects would look to be privy to every treaty, which were not convenient; marry, for the prince which shall succeed, to confirm the treaty, he thought the emperor could not take it but reasonable, and doubted not to bring a good answer in the same. So as we see for this point, it will come to the confirmation of the king and the prince, and upon any condition or interpretation of the treaty to them also, wherein we intend to go forwards, for so our instruction beareth us, unless that before the conclusion and shutting up of the matter, we hear from your grace to the contrary.

The things being thus far passed, and our open talk at a point, and they ready to depart, monsieur D'Arras taking occasion (as it seemed) to stay because of the rain, took me aside, and asked me if I would command him any other service. I answered, no service, but friendship, and the continuance of his good will to the king's majesty's affairs; whereunto he making large offers, I began to enter with him, how much your grace, and all the rest, reposed themselves in the friendship of the emperor, and the good ministry of his father and him, to the furtherance of the king's majesty's affairs, to whom, as in that behalf, they shewed themselves great friends, so did they, like good servants to their master, for the prosperous success of the affairs of the one, served the turn of the other, and the contrary. Whereupon I discoursed largely, as far as my poor capacity would extend, how necessary it was for the emperor to aid and assist us in all things, so as we are not oppressed by force, or driven, for want of friendship, to take such ways to keep us in quiet, as both we ourselves would be loth, and our friends should afterwards have, peradventure, cause to forethink.

I repeated first how we entred the wars for your sake; for the king might have made his bargain honourable with France, which no man knew better than I: how long we have endured the war, and how long alone; how favourable they are to our common enemies the Scots; how ungentle the French be to us, and by indirect means think to consume us, to make the emperor the weaker.

I recited the practices of the French with the Turk, with the pope, with the Germans, with Denmark; his aid of the Scots; and all upon intent to impeach the emperor when he seeth time, or at the least attending a good hour, upon hope of the emperor's death; the weaker that we be, the easilier shall he do it; if we forgoe any our pieces on this side, we must needs be the weaker; and that so we had rather do, than alone to keep war against Scotland and France. Wherefore if they will both provide for their own strength, and give us courage to keep still that which we have, the emperor must be content to take 13* into defence, as well as other places comprehended in the treaty; which, I said, we meant not, but upon a reasonable reciproque. What reciproque? (quoth he) roundly. Thereupon advise you reasonably (quoth I). O, (quoth he,) I cannot see how the emperor can honourably make a true treaty for that point, without offence of his treaty with France; and we mean to proceed directly and plain with all men (quoth he). Why (quoth I), we may bring you justly, by and by, with us, if we will advertise you, as I did even now put my case. Yea, if your case be true (quoth he); but herein we will charge your honours and consciences, whether the fact be so or no? for your grace shall understand that I talked in the matter so suspiciously, as though such an invasion had been made, and that you would require common enmity.

In fine, sir, after many motions and perswasions, and long discourses used on my behalf, to induce them to take 13 into defence. His refuge was only, that they would fain learn how they might honestly answer the French; albeit I shewed him some forms of answers, which he seemed not to like; yet in the end I said, he was a great doctor, and as he had put the doubt, so he was learned sufficiently, if he listed, to assoil the same. He said, he would open these matters to the emperor, and trusted to bring me such an answer as I should have reason to be satisfied, and so departed; whereof, as soon as we have knowledge, your grace shall be advertised accordingly. And thus we beseech God, to send your grace well to do all your proceedings.

* This is a cipher, and stands, I suppose, for *Bulloign*.



NUMBER XL.

*A Letter from Sir William Paget and Sir Philip Hobbey, concerning their negotiation with the Emperor's Ministers.—An Original.*

[Cotton Libr. Galba. B. 12.]

It may like your grace be advertised, that yesterday at afternoon, monsieur D'Arras, accompanied with two presidents of the council, St. Maurice and Viglius, came unto the lodging of me the comptroller; and after some words of office passed on either part, D'Arras began to set forth the cause of their coming, saying, that the emperor having at good length considered and debated the things proponed and communed of between us since my coming hither, had sent them to report unto me his final answer and resolution to the same.

And first (quoth he) to your case, that at our being together for the revisitation of the treaty, ye put forth upon the sixth article for the common enmity in case of invasion, his majesty museth much, what ye should mean thereby, for seeing the case is not in ure, he thinketh, that doubting of his friendship, ye go about, by these means, to grope and feel his mind; which ye need not do, he having hitherto shewed himself ready in all things to shew the king, his good brother, pleasure, and to observe the treaty in all points to the uttermost; and if this case should happen to come in ure, then will he not fail to do whatsoever the treaty bindeth him unto, till when he can make no other answer therein.

As to your question, moved upon the sixth article of the treaty, viz. whether mony be not meant as well as men by these words, *Subsidiis Auxiliaribus?* his majesty taketh the words to be plain enough, and thinketh they cannot be otherwise interpreted, than to be meant, as well for mony as men, for so doth he understand them.

Unto the order that was communed upon for the administration of justice on both sides, for matter of spoil or piracy upon the sea, his majesty having weighed what is best to be done therein further, he hath good cause first to complain of the over many spoils that your men have made on his poor subjects, and the small justice that hath been hitherto ministred unto them herein, whereof he hath continual complaints, and therefore he thinketh it were meeter, ere ever any further order shall be concluded upon, that his subjects were first recompensed of these wrongs they have sustained, and the matter brought to some equality, and his people put in as much good case as yours are; for I assure you (quoth he) the wrongs our men have sustained are many; among the rest, a poor jeweler, having gotten a safe-conduct of the king that dead is, to bring into England certain jewels, because after he had the king's hand and seal to the license, he had not the same sealed also with the great seal of England, his jewels were taken from him; and he, being not present (although it were so named in the sentence), condemned to lose them by the order of your law, contrary to all equity and justice: which seemeth strange, that the king's hand and seal should not appear to be sufficient for a greater matter than this. The treaties also provide, that the subjects of the one prince may frankly, without impediment, traffique and occupy into the other prince's country; but to shadow the matter with all, one, I cannot tell who, hath been agreed withal, and so the poor man and his heirs put from their right, which his majesty wisheth to be considered. And albeit he thinketh that the king your master, being under age, cannot himself, by the order of the law, conclude upon any thing now in his minority, that shall be of due force and strength, able to bind him and his country when he shall come to his perfect age. Yet taking that his tutors be authorised thereto, by the common assent of your parliament, may go through and conclude upon these, or like things in his name, his majesty thinketh it will do well, when his subjects shall be recompensed of the wrongs they have hitherto sustained, that some order be devised for the administration of justice hereafter in like cases.

As touching the confirmation of the treaty, considering that the same was first made between the emperor and king Henry the Eighth, and not ratified by the king your master since his father's death, his majesty thinketh that he hath most cause to require the same: wherefore because (as I told you even now) he thinketh that these things, the king himself should conclude upon during his minority, cannot be of sufficient force, if his tutors shall be by the authority of your parliament enabled thereto, his majesty is content the treaty be confirmed by them in the king's name, and by the prince of Spain, in such form as shall be thought best for both parties.

As to the comprehension of Bulloign, ye must know, that we have a treaty with France as well as with you, which the emperor cannot, without some touch of his honour, break, without just grounds: and albeit his majesty would be loth to see the king, his good brother, forgoe either that peace, or any other jot of his right, yet can he not enter this defence, unless he would break with France out of hand; which in respect of his other affairs he cannot yet do, howbeit he will gladly assist his good brother in any other thing the best he may, and will not fail to shew him all the pleasure he can with regard to his honour; but with Bulloign he cannot meddle at this time. And here he staying; Is this the emperor's resolute and full answer, monsieur D'Arras? (quoth I). Yea, (quoth he); wherewith he prayeth the king, his good brother, to rest satisfied, and take it in good part. Albeit (quoth I) I have no commission to make any reply thereto, because it was not known to your grace what the emperor's resolution should be; yet in the way of talk I will be bold to say my mind herein. We have, monsieur D'Arras (quoth I), always esteemed the emperor's friendship, and desire the observation of the treaties, and the entertainment of the amity, as a thing necessary and common to both the parties: for the better establishment whereof, and that now and in this time some good fruit, to the benefit of both, might appear to the world to follow of the same, I was sent hither, which was the chiefest cause of my coming: and because that the amity between both princes might be the firmer, and that all doubts being taken away, no cause of quarrel shall be left, we thought best to put you in mind of the confirmation and revisitation of the treaty, to the intent, that by the one, the world might see an establishment of our friendship by our deed; and that by the other, one of us might understand another, and consider whether any thing were to be added for the commodity of both parties, which I suppose standeth you as much upon to desire, as it doth us. And whereas ye say that the king's majesty, because he is under age, cannot conclude or go through with any thing that shall be of sufficient force; I must needs tell you plainly, that ye touch his majesty's honour over-near herein, for we think that the majesty of a king is of such efficacy, that he hath even the same authority, and full power, at the first hour of his birth, that he hath thirty years after. And what your laws are, I know not; but sure I am, that by our laws, whatsoever is done by the king in his minority, or by his ministers in his name, is of no less force and strength, than if it had been done in time of his full age and years: if once the great seal of his realm have passed, there is no remedy but needs

must he stand thereto. Marry, let the ministers take heed what they do, and look that they may be able to discharge themselves towards him of their doings, if he shall require account of them when he cometh to age, for it is they must answer him; but he must needs stand to whatsoever they have counselled him to agree unto during his minority. And to prove that our laws giveth him the same authority now, that he shall have when he cometh to his perfect age; if any man, either for instruction of learning, or any other cause, should presume to lay hands on, or touch his majesty in way of correction, he should by law be taken for a traitor. And if the matter were as ye take it, we should then be in a strange and evil case, for neither might we conclude peace, league, or treaty, nor make laws or statutes, during the king's minority, that should be of sufficient force to bind him and his to the observation of the same. But ye mistake the matter much; and therefore if the emperor mind to proceed to this confirmation, he may, or otherwise do as it shall please him.

And as touching my case, (quoth I), ye must understand, I did not move it without some just ground; for remembring that all your commissioners and all ours being together at Utrecht for the esclarcisement of the treaty, although the words of the treaty were plain enough, and could receive none other interpretation than was there plainly written, yet would ye needs understand the article for common enmity, in case of invasion, after your own minds. And whereas, by the words of the treaty, no mention is made of any number, and therefore with howsoever few in number the invasion be made, ought the invaders to be taken for common enemies? Your commissioners did nevertheless interpret the matter at their pleasure, and would needs prescribe a number of 8,000 men; under which number of invasion were made, the treaties in this case should not stand to any force. And like as ye put a doubt here, where none was to be found, so thought I, ye might do in other things were they never so plain; and that moved me to put this case, to see whether ye understood this point as ye ought to do, after the literal sense; and partly to know your minds therein, because perhaps the matter hath been already in ure. This, I say, was the occasion why I put further this question, and not for any mistrust of the emperor's friendship, whom I must confess we have always found our well-willer, and so we doubt not he will continue; and therefore I need not grope his mind herein, neither did I mean any such thing hereby.

As to your answer to the order of justice, I see not that the emperor hath so much cause to complain of lack of justice in his subjects' cases, as ye seem to set forth; for hitherto there hath not any man complained in our country, and required justice, unto whom the same hath been denied. And although some man abiding the order of our law, or having had some sentence that pleased him not, hath complained hither of delay or lack of justice, ye must not therefore, by and by, judge that he saith true, or that there is not uprightness or equity used in our country, for we have there, as ye have here, and elsewhere, ministers that are wise, and well learned in our law, and men of honesty and good conscience, who deal and proceed justly, as the order of the law leadeth them, without respect to favour or friendship to any man.

And as for the jeweller's case that ye moved, ye must understand, that as ye have laws here in your country for the direction of your common-wealth, so have we also in ours; whereby amongst the rest we do forbid, for good respect, the bringing in or transporting forth of certain things without the king's safe conduct or license. And although, as ye alleaged before, the treaty giveth liberty to the subjects of either prince to traffique into the other's country, it is not for all that meant hereby, that they shall not be bound to observe the law and order of the country whereunto they traffique: for this liberty is only granted for the security of their persons to go and come without impeachment, and maketh them not for all that lawless. And whereas further it is provided by our law, that in certain things to be granted by the king, the same grant must pass under the great seal; then if any of those things pass under any other seal, they be not of due force until they have also passed the great seal of England: wherefore if the jeweller, either by negligence or covetousness, of himself, or of those he put in trust, did not observe this order; but thereto contrary, for sparing a little cost, did presume to bring in his jewels before his license came to the great seal; me thinketh neither he, nor any other, can have just cause to say that he was wronged, if according to our laws he were sentenced to lose the same: and yet, after he was thus condemned, more to gratify the emperor, than for that I took it to be so reasonable, I myself was a suitor to my lord protector's grace, for some recompence to be made to the jeweller's wife, whom we knew, and none other to be party: for she followed the suit, she presented the petitions, in her name were they made; and finally she, and none others, was by the emperor's ambassador commended unto us.

I have seen the sentence, (quoth he,) and do mislike nothing so much therein, as that the man is condemned, and named to have been present at the time of his condemnation, when indeed he was dead a good while before.

He was present, (quoth I,) in the person of his wife, who was his procurator, and represented himself; and I know, that those before whom this matter passed are men both learned and of good conscience, and such as would not have done herein anything against right and order of law.

The sentences that are given in our country by the justices and ministers, they are just and true, and therefore neither can we, nor will we revoke them for any man's pleasure, after they have once passed the higher court, from whence there is no further appellation, no more than you will here call back such final order as hath been in any case taken by your high court of Brabant. And the cause why we for our part misliked not this order of justice, was for the better establishment of the amity, and to avoid the continual arrests that are made on our poor men; to the end also that this sort of suiters might be the sooner dispatched, without troubling either my lord protector in England, or you here, when you are busied in other affairs of more importance.

And as concerning the comprehension of Bulloign, in good faith, because we thought that if the same should happen to be taken from the king's majesty by force, as I trust it shall not, the loss should be common, and touch the emperor almost as near as us! We thought good, for the better security thereof, to move this comprehension, which we take to be as necessary for the emperor as us. And though we are not so wise and well seen in your things as yourselves are, yet do we look towards you, and guess of your affairs afar off, and perhaps do somewhat understand the state of the same, whereof I could say more than I now intend. But ye say this is the emperor's resolution herein. We take it as an answer, and shall do accordingly. Marry, whereas you stick so much upon your honour, in breaking your treaties with the French, I remember monsieur Granvela, your father, at my being with him, did not let to say, that he had his sleeve full of quarrels against the French, whensoever the emperor list to break with them.



Yea, so have we indeed, (quoth he,) but the time is not yet come: we must temporise our things in this case as the rest of our affairs lead us.

Ye say well, (quoth I,) ye have reason to regard chiefly the well-guiding of your own things, and yet me thinketh some respect ought to be given to friends. But seeing this is your answer, I will reply no more thereto.

Yet one thing, monsieur D'Arras, (quoth I,) I moved to your father, which ye make no mention of, and I would gladly know your mind in, which is, the granting of safe-conducts to the common enemy: which the treaty, by plain and express words, forbiddeth either prince to do.

Indeed, monsieur Ambassador, (quoth he,) the words of the treaty are, as ye say, plain enough; and yet the matter were very strait, if it should be taken in such extremity; for hereafter, in time of war, ye might happen to have need of wood, canvas, or wine, and we of the like, and other necessaries; and if in such cases the princes should not have prerogative to grant safe-conducts, it shall be a great inconvenience, and a thing not hereafter seen; howbeit the emperor for his part will not, I think, stick much hereupon, but observe the plain meaning of the treaty. Nevertheless, I cannot say anything expresly on his behalf herein, because monsieur Granvela spake nothing thereof. And yet did we move him of it, (quoth I,) and he bad us grant none, and the emperor for his part would not grant any. No more hath he done, (quoth he,) sithence his coming into this country, nor intendeth not hereafter. He needeth not, (quoth I,) for those that have been given out before are sufficient for a great while. Nay, that they are not, (quoth he,) for the longest was granted but for a year, and now are they expired; and whereas a while sithence, one presuming upon his safe-conduct came into this country to traffique, because the time thereof was expired, he was taken and imprisoned.

The said D'Arras, after this talk, touched further unto me two points, which the emperor, he said, desireth may be reformed. The first was, our merchants, contrary to our entercourse, do enhaunce the prices of their woolls, and will not sell at such prices as they are bound by the entercourse; wherewith the merchants here do find themselves aggrieved, and therefore the emperor desireth some order may be taken herein.

Whereunto I answered, that I understood not the matters, and yet I supposed our men did not this but upon some grounds and just occasion, by reason of other breach of order on their parts here. Howbeit I shewed him I would inform your grace thereof, and doubted not, but if anything were amiss on our parts, it shall be reformed; accordingly looking for the semblable on their behalf.

The other, he said, was, that our men have of late begun to build a bulwark, which standeth half on the king's majesty's ground, and half on the emperor's territory. And although monsieur de Rue have viewed the same, and perceiving the emperor to be wronged thereby, hath required our folks to proceed no further therein; yet cease they not to build still, which the emperor marvelleth much at, and thinks we would not take it well that he should attempt the like fortification upon the king's territory; and therefore requireth that some redress may be given in time therein.

I answered, that I knew not of this thing; howbeit, as I went homeward, I would inform myself of the case, and make report thereof to your grace, who I doubted not would take such order therein as should stand with reason.

And here monsieur D'Arras setting forth with many good words the emperor's amity towards the king, and his readiness to shew his majesty's pleasure in all things that he conveniently may; and that in case we proceed to any further treaty with France, he doubted not but we would have regard to them, according to our treaties; and that also, if we grew to any peace with the Scots, seeing that his majesty is entred in enmity chiefly for our sake, whereby his subjects have been sundry ways endangered, he trusteth he will have consideration to see that convenient recompence be made to them by the Scots, ere ever we go through with any conclusion; the rather, because the Scots have, and cease not still to offer, besides a large recompence, very great conditions, if his majesty would fall to any peace with them, which chiefly for our sakes he hath, and will refuse to do;—we answered hereunto generally, that the king's majesty, in such case, we doubted not, would have due respect to the emperor's amity, and proceed herein as appertaineth.

This was the substance of their cold answer, as your grace may see, of small effect, although interlaced with plenty of good words, which we also thought best to use towards them, and requite them with the like. And thus, after I had required of D'Arras a time to take my leave of the emperor, and his promise to procure the same as shortly as he might, we departed. And thus we beseech God to send your grace as well to do as we do wish.

WILLIAM PAGET.
From Bruges, July 24. PHILIP HOBBEY.

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NUMBER XLI.

*The Council's Letter to the King against the Protector.—An Original.*

[Cotton Libr. Titus, B. 2.]

MOST high and mighty prince, our most gracious soveraign lord. It may please your majesty to be advertised, that having heard such message as it pleased your majesty to send unto us by your highness' secretary, Sir William Petre, like as it was much to our grief and discomfort to understand, that upon untrue informations, your majesty seemed to have some doubt of our fidelities; so do we, upon our knees, most humbly beseech your majesty to think, that as we have always served the king's majesty, your most noble father, and your highness likewise, faithfully and truly, so do we mind always to continue your majesty's true servants, to the effusion of our blood and loss of our lives. And for the surety of your most royal person's safeguard, and preservation of your realms and dominions, have at this time consulted together, and for none other cause, we take God to witness. We have heretofore, by all good and gentle means, attempted to have had your highness' uncle, the Duke of Somerset, to have governed your majesty's affairs, by the advice of us, and the rest of your councellors; but finding him so much given to his own will, that he always refused to hear reason; and therewith doing sundry things as were, and be most dangerous, both to your most royal person, and to your whole realm; we thought yet again to have gently and quietly spoke with him in these things, had he not gathered force about him, in such sort, as we might easily perceive him earnestly bent to the maintenance of his old wilful and troublous doings. For redress whereof, and none other cause, we do presently remain here ready to live and die your true servants. And the assembly of almost all your council being now here, we have, for the better service of your majesty, caused your secretary to remain here with us, most humbly

beseeching your grace to think in your heart, that the only preservation of your person, and your estate, for the discharge of our duties, enforceth us to devise how to deliver your grace from the peril your highness standeth in, and no other respect; for whatsoever is, or shall be said to your highness, no earthly thing could have moved us to have seemed to stand as a party, but your only preservation, which your majesty shall hereafter perceive, and (we doubt not) repute us for your most faithful servants and councellors, as our doings shall never deserve the contrary; as God knoweth, to whom we shall diligently pray for your majesty's preservation, and with our bodies defend your person and estate as long as life shall endure.

R. Rich, Cancel; W. St. John, W. Northampton, J. Warwick, Arundel, F. Shrewsbury, Thomas Southampton, T. Cheyne, William Petre, Secretary; Edward North, John Gage, R. Sadler, Nicholas Wotton, Edward Montague, Richard Southwell.

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NUMBER XLII.

*Articles offered by me the Lord Protector, to the King's Majesty, in the presence of his Highnes' Council, and others his Majesty's Lords and Gentlemen, at Windsor, to be declared on my behalf, to the Lords, and the rest of his Highness' Council remaining at London.*

[Cotton Libr. Caligula, B. 7.]

First, That I do not, nor did not mean to apprehend any of them, or otherwise to disturb or molest them; but hearing tell of their such meetings and assemblies, and gathering of horsemen, and other powers, out of several countries, not being privy of the causes thereof, to avoid further inconveniences and danger which might ensue to your majesty's person, which by many rumours, certain intelligences, and sundry messages, was declared imminent unto your highness, and to me, the lord protector, was forced to seek this defence, as I at the first beginning declared unto your highness.

Secondly, that this force and power which here is assembled about your majesty at this present, is to do none of them which be there at London, or elsewhere, either in person or goods, any damage or hurt, but to defend only, if any violence should be attempted against your highness.

As for any contention and strife betwixt me, the lord protector, and the council there, I do not refuse to come to any reasonable end and conclusion, that should be for the preservation of your majesty, and tranquillity of the realm, if they will send any two of them with commission on their behalfs, to conclude and make a good end betwixt us.

And I most humbly beseech your majesty to appoint any two of such as be here about your majesty, to join with the same: and whatsoever those four or three of them shall determine, I do and shall wholly and fully submit myself thereunto. And that for more confirmation, if it shall be so thought good to the said persons, their agreement and conclusion to be established and ratified by parliament, or any other order that shall be devised. And I beseech your majesty, that at my humble suit, and by the advice of me, and other of your council here, for the better proceedings herein, and to take away all doubts and fears that might arise, to grant to them four, or any such two of them which they shall send for the purpose above-said, free passage for themselves, and with each of them twenty of their servants, to safely come, tarry here, and return at their pleasure. And I most humbly beseech your majesty, that this bill, signed with your majesty's hands, and ours, may be a sufficient warrant therefore. Given and exhibited at the castle of Windsor, Octob. 8, 1549.

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NUMBER XLIII.

*Letters sent from the Lords at London, to the King's Majesty.*

[Ex Libro Concilii.]

Most high and mighty prince, our most gracious soveraign lord, we have received, by Mr. Hobbey, your majesty's most gracious letters of the 8th of this instant, and heard such further matter as it pleased your majesty to will to be declared by him. And sorry we be, that your majesty should have these occasions to be troubled, especially in this kind of matter; the beginning and only occasion whereof, as we be well able to prove to your majesty, hath proceeded of the duke of Somerset. It is much discomfort to us all, to understand that your royal person should be touched with any care of mind; and most of all it grieveth us, that it should be perswaded your majesty, that we have not that care that beseemeth us of the pacifying of these uproars, and conservation of your majesty's commonwealth and state from danger; wherein whatsoever is informed your highness, we humbly beseech your majesty to think, we be as careful as any men living may be; and do not, nor (we trust) shall not forget the benefits received of your majesty's most noble father, nor any of our bounden duties of allegiance; the consideration, and the special care whereof, forced us to consult seriously, and to join in this sort: which thing, if we had not presently followed, not only your most royal person (whom Almighty God long preserve), but this your whole estate being already much touched, and in great towardness of ruin, was most like to come, in short time, to most imminent danger and peril; the causes whereof, as we do all well know, and can prove to have proceeded from the said duke, so if we should not earnestly provide for the same, we should not be able to answer to your majesty hereafter for not doing our duties therein; therefore do we nothing doubt, but your majesty, of your great clemency and good nature, will not think that all and every of us, being the whole state of your privy council, one or two excepted, should be led in these things by private affections, or would presume to write to your majesty, that whereof we were not most assured; and much more, we trust that your highness, of your goodness, will, without any jealousie or suspicion, think that most expedient, both for your own most royal person, and all your subjects, that by the body of your council may be thought expedient; to whom, and to no one man, your highness' most grave father appointed, by his last will and testament, the care of your majesty, and all your most weighty affairs. We cannot therefore but think ourselves much wronged, that your said most royal person is in this sort by the duke only detained and shut up from us, to all our great heaviness, and the great fear of all other your majesty's true subjects, and wonder of all the world: sooner may one man intend ill, than a multitude of us, who we take God to witness to be a thousand times more careful of your highness' surety, than for all our own lives. We trust also, that of your majesty's good nature, you will not think that wilfulness, which your whole council doth, or shall agree upon, for your majesty's surety and benefit; where the more agreeable we be, the better opinion we trust your majesty will conceive of us and our doings. It comforteth us much to see the great appearance of your majesty's natural



clemency, even in these your young years; and the assured hope which we have thereof encourageth us to be perswaded, that you both do, and will conceive good opinion of us and all our doings; and that your majesty is, and so will continue, our gracious good lord, with whom (as we trust) we never deserve willingly to be called in the standing of any judgment with your majesty.

For the end of this matter, touching the duke of Somerset, if he have that respect to your majesty's surety that he pretendeth; if he have that consideration of his duty to God that his promise and oath requireth; if he have that remembrance of the performance of your majesty's father's will, that to the effect of a good executor appertaineth; if he have the reverence to your law that a good subject ought to have, let him first quietly suffer us, your majesty's most humble servants and true counsellors, to be restored to your majesty's presence; let him, as becometh a true subject, submit himself to your majesty's council, and the order of your highness' laws; let the forces assembled be sent away, and then may we do our duties in giving our attendance upon your majesty; and after consult there with your majesty more freely, for such order as may be thought most meet for your grace's surety: by these means your majesty's subjects may be at quiet, and all occasions of stir taken away. And if the said duke refuse to agree hereunto, we must think him to remain in his naughty and detestable determination. The protectorship and governance of your most royal person was not granted him by your father's will, but only by agreement, first amongst us the executors, and and after of others. Those titles and special trust was committed to him during your majesty's pleasure, and upon condition he should do all things by advice of your council. Which condition, because he hath so many times broken, and notwithstanding the often speaking to, without all hope of amendment, we think him most unworthy those honours or trust. Other particular things, too many and too long to be written to your majesty at this time, may at our next access to your royal presence be more particularly opened, consulted upon, and moderated, for the conservation of your majesty's honour, surety, and good quiet of your realms and dominions, as may be thought most expedient.

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NUMBER XLIV.

*Letters from the Lords at London to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Sir William Paget, &c.*

[Ex Libro Concilii.]

My lords, after our most hearty commendations, we have received your letters by Mr. Hobbey, and heard such credence as he declared on the king's majesty's and your behalfs unto us. The answers whereunto, because they may at more length appear to you both, by our letters to the king's majesty, and by report also of the said Mr. Hobbey, we forbear to repeat here again; most heartily praying, and requiring your lordships and every of you, and nevertheless charging and commanding you in the king's majesty's name, to have a continual earnest watch, respect and care, to the surety of the king's majesty, our natural and most gracious sovereign lord's person; and that he be not removed from his majesty's castle of Windsor, as you tender your duties to Almighty God and his majesty, and as you will answer for the contrary at your uttermost perils. We are moved to call earnestly upon you herein, not without great cause, and amongst many others, we cannot but remember unto you, that it appeareth very strange unto us, and a great wonder unto all true subjects, that you will either assist or suffer his majesty's most royal person to remain in the guard of the duke of Somerset's men, sequestred from his own old sworn servants. It seemeth strange, that in his majesty's own house, strangers should be armed with his majesty's own armour, and be nearest about his highness' person; and those to whom the ordinary charge is committed, sequestred away, so as they may not attend according to their sworn duties. If any ill come hereof, you can consider to whom it must be imputed once; the example is very strange and perilous. And now, my lords, if you tender the preservation of his majesty and the state, join with us to that end: we have written to the king's majesty, by which way things may soon be quietly and moderately compounded. In the doing whereof, we mind to do none otherwise than we would be done to, and that with as much moderation and favour as honourably we may. We trust none of you have just cause to note any one of us, and much less all, of such cruelty as you so many times make mention of. One thing in your letters we marvel much at, which is, that you write that you know more than we know. If the matters come to your knowledge, and hidden from us, be of such weight as you seem to pretend; or if they touch, or may touch, his majesty or the state, we think you do not as you ought, in that you have not disclosed the same unto us, being the whole state of the council. And thus praying God to send you the grace to do that may tend to the surety of the king's majesty's person, and tranquillity of the realm, we bid you heartily farewel, &c.

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NUMBER XLV.

*An Answer to the former Letter.—An Original.*

[Ex Libro Concilii.]

It may like your good lordships, with our most hearty commendations, to understand, that this morning sir Philip Hobbey hath, according to the charge given him by your lordships, presented your letters to the king's majesty, in the presence of us, and all the rest of his majesty's good servants here, which was there read openly, and also the others to them of the chamber, and of the household, much to their comforts, and ours also; and according to the tenours of the same, we will not fail to endeavour ourselves accordingly.

Now touching the marvel of your lordships, both of that we would suffer the duke of Somerset's men to guard the king's majesty's person; and also of our often repeating this word "cruelty;" although we doubt not but that your lordships have been throughly informed of our estates here, and upon what occasion the one hath been suffered, and the other proceeded; yet at our convening together (which may be when and where pleaseth you), we will, and are able to make your lordships such an account, as wherewith we doubt not you will be satisfied, if you think good to require it of us. And for because this bearer, master Hobbey, can particularly inform your lordships of the whole discourse of all things here, we remit the report of all other things to him, saving that we desire to be advertised, with as much speed as you shall think good, whether the king's majesty shall come forthwith thither, or remain still here; and that some of your lordships would take pains to come hither forthwith. For the which purpose, I the comptroller will cause three of the best chambers in the great court to be hanged and made ready. Thus thanking God that all things be so well acquieted, we commit your lordships to his tuition.

Your lordships' assured loving friends,

T. Cant. William Paget. T. Smith.

From Windsor, the 10th of Octob. 1549.

NUMBER XLVI.

*Articles objected to the Duke of Somerset.*

1. That he took upon him the office of protector, upon express condition that he should do nothing in the king's affairs but by assent of the late king's executors, or the greatest part of them.

2. That contrary to this condition, he did hinder justice, and subvert laws, of his own authority, as well by letters as by other command.

3. That he caused divers persons, arrested and imprisoned for treason, murder, manslaughter, and felony, to be discharged, against the laws and statutes of the realm.

4. That he appointed lieutenants for armies, and other officers, for the weighty affairs of the king, under his own writing and seal.

5. That he communed with ambassadors of other realms alone, of the weighty matters of the realm.

6. That he would taunt and reprove divers of the king's most honourable councellors, for declaring their advice in the king's weighty affairs against his opinion; sometimes telling them that they were not worthy to sit in council, and sometimes that he need not to open weighty matters to them; and that if they were not agreeable to his opinion, he would discharge them.

7. That against law he held a court of request in his house, and did enforce divers to answer there for their freehold and goods, and did determine of the same.

8. That being no officer, without the advice of the council, or most part of them, he did dispose offices of the king's gift for money, grant leases, and wards, and presentations of benefices pertaining to the king; gave bishopricks, and made sales of the king's lands.

9. That he commanded alchymie and multiplication to be practised, thereby to abase the king's coin.

10. That divers times he openly said, that the nobility and gentry were the only cause of dearth; whereupon the people rose to reform matters of themselves.

11. That against the mind of the whole council, he caused proclamation to be made concerning inclosures; whereupon the people made divers insurrections, and destroyed many of the king's subjects.

12. That he sent forth a commission, with articles annexed, concerning inclosures, commons, highways, cottages, and such-like matters, giving the commissioners authority to hear and determine those causes, whereby the laws and statutes of the realm were subverted, and much rebellion raised.

13. That he suffered rebels to assemble and lie armed in camp, against the nobility and gentry of the realm, without speedy repressing of them.

14. That he did comfort and encourage divers rebels, by giving them money, and by promising them fees, rewards, and services.

15. That he caused a proclamation to be made against law, and in favour of the rebels, that none of them should be vexed or sued by any for their offences in their rebellion.

16. That in time of rebellion he said that he liked well the actions of the rebels, and that the avarice of gentlemen gave occasion for the people to rise, and that it was better for them to die than to perish for want.

17. That he said the lords of the parliament were loth to reform inclosures and other things, therefore the people had a good cause to reform them themselves.

18. That after declaration of the defaults of Bulloign, and the pieces there, by such as did survey them, he would never amend the same.

19. That he would not suffer the king's pieces of Newhaven and Blackness to be furnished with men and provision; albeit, he was advertised of the defaults, and advised thereto by the king's council, whereby the French king was emboldened to attempt upon them.

20. That he would neither give authority, nor suffer noblemen and gentlemen to suppress rebels in time convenient, but wrote to them to speak the rebels fair, and use them gently.

21. That upon the 5th of October, the present year, at Hampton-Court, for defence of his own private causes, he procured seditious bills to be written in counterfeit hands, and secretly to be dispersed into divers parts of the realm, beginning thus—"Good poople,"—intending thereby to raise the king's subjects to rebellion and open war.

22. That the king's privy council did consult at London to come to him, and move him to reform his government; but he hearing of their assembly, declared, by his letters in divers places, that they were high traitors to the king.

23. That he declared untruly, as well to the king as to other young lords attending his person, that the lords at London intended to destroy the king; and desired the king never to forget, but to revenge it; and desired the young lords to put the king in remembrance thereof, with intent to make sedition and discord between the king and his nobles.

24. That at divers times and places he said the lords of the council at London intended to kill me; but if I die, the king shall die; and if they famish me, they shall famish him.

25. That of his own head he removed the king so suddenly from Hampton-Court to Windsor, without any provision there made, that he was thereby not only in great fear, but cast thereby into a dangerous disease.

26. That by his letters he caused the king's people to assemble in great numbers in armour, after the manner of war, to his aid and defence.

27. That he caused his servants and friends at Hampton-Court and Windsor to be apparalled in the king's armour, when the king's servants and guards went unarmed.

28. That he intended to fly to Guernsey or Wales, and laid post-horses and men, and a boat, to that purpose.

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NUMBER XLVII.

*A Letter written by the Council to the Bishops, to assure them, that the King intended to go forward in the Reformation.*

[Regis. Cran. Fol. 56.]

*By the King.*

RIGHT reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas the book entituled, "The Book of Common Prayers, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England," was agreed upon, and set forth by act of parliament; and by the same act commanded to be used of all persons within this our realm. Yet nevertheless we are informed, that divers unquiet and evil-disposed persons, sithence the apprehension of the duke of Somerset, have noised and bruited abroad, that they should have again their old Latin service, their conjured bread and water, with such-like vain and superfluous ceremonies, as though the setting forth of the said book had been the only act of the said duke. We therefore, by the advice of the body and state of our privy council, not only considering the said book to be our act, and the act of the whole state of our realm assembled together



in parliament, but also the same to be grounded upon the Holy Scripture, agreeable to the order of the primitive church, and much to the re-edifying of our subjects, to put away all such vain expectation, of having the publick service, the administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies again in the Latin tongue; which were but a preferment of ignorance to knowledge, and darkness to light, and a preparation to bring in papistry and superstition again; have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to require, and nevertheless straitly do command and charge you, that immediately upon the receipt hereof, you do command the dean and prebendaries of your cathedral church—the parson, vicar, or curat, and church-wardens of every parish, within your diocess, to bring and deliver unto you, or your deputy, any of them for their church or parish, at such convenient place as you shall appoint, all antiphonals, missals, graylles, processionals, manuels, legends, pies, portasies, journals, and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, or any other private use: and all other books of service, the keeping whereof should be a lett to the using of the said Book of Common Prayers; and that you take the same books into your hands, or into the hands of your deputy, and them so to deface and abolish, that they never after may serve, either to any such use as they were provided for, or be at any time a lett to that godly and uniform order, which by a common consent is now set forth. And if you shall find any person stubborn or disobedient in not bringing in the said books, according to the tenour of these our letters, that then ye commit the said person to ward, unto such time as you have certified us of his misbehaviour. And we will and command you, that you also search, or cause search to be made, from time to time, whether any book be withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenour of these our letters, and the same book to receive into your hands, and to use all in these our letters we have appointed. And further, whereas it is come unto our knowledge, that divers froward and obstinate persons do refuse to pay towards the finding of bread and wine for the holy communion, according to the order prescribed in the said book, by reason whereof the holy communion is many times omitted upon the Sunday: these are to will and command you to convent such obstinate persons before you, and then to admonish and command to keep the order prescribed in the said book; and if any shall refuse so to do, to punish them by suspension, excommunication, or other censures of the church. Fail you not thus to do, as you will avoid our displeasure.

Westminst. Decemb. 25, Regni tertio.

T. Cantuarien. Rich. Chanc. W. St. John.
J. Russel. H. Dorset. W. Northampton.

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NUMBER XLVIII.

*Cardinal Wolsey's Letters to Rome, for procuring the Popedom to himself, upon Pope Adrian's death.*

[Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. Cant.]

MY lord of Bath, Mr. Secretary, and Mr. Hannibal, I commend me unto you in my right hearty manner; letting you wit, that by letters lately sent unto me from you my lord of Bath, and Mr. Hannibal, dated at Rome the 14th day of September; which letters I incontinently shewed unto the king's grace his highness; and I have been advertised, to our great discomfort, that the said 14th day, it pleased Almighty God to call the pope's holiness unto his infinite mercy, whose soul Jesu pardon: news certainly unto the king's grace and to me right heavy, and for the universal weal or quiet of Christendom, (whereunto his holiness, like a devout and virtuous father of holy church, was very studious), much displeasant and contrarious; nevertheless conforming ourselves to the pleasure of Almighty God, to whose calling we all must be obedient, the mind and intention of the king's highness, and of me both, is to put some helps and furtherances, as much as conveniently may be, that such a successor unto him may now, by the holy college of cardinals, be named and elected, as may, with God's grace, perform, atchieve, and fulfil the good and vertuous purposes and intents, concerning the pacification of Christendom; whereunto our said late holy father, as much as the brevity of the time did suffer, was, as it should seem, minded and inclined; which thing, how necessary it is to the state of Christ's religion, now daily more and more declining, it is facile and easy to be considered; and surely amongst other Christian princes, there is none which as ye heretofore have perfectly understood, that to this purpose more dedicated themselves to give furtherance, advice, and counsel, than the emperor and the king's grace, who as well before the time of the last vacation, as sithence, by mouth and by letters, with report of ambassadors and otherwise, had many sundry conferences, communications, and devices, in that behalf. In which it hath pleased them, far above my merits or deserts, of their goodness, to think, judg, and esteem me to be meet and able for to aspire unto that dignity; persuading, exhorting, and desiring me, that whensoever opportunity should be given, I should hearken to their advice, counsel, and opinion in that behalf; and offering unto me, to interpone their authorities, helps, and furtherances therein to the uttermost. In comprobation whereof, albeit the emperor, now being far distant from these parts, could not, nor might in so brief time, give unto the king's grace new or fresh confirmation of his purpose, desire, and intent herein; yet nevertheless my lady Margaret, knowing the inclination of his mind in this same, hath by a long discourse made unto me semblable exhortation; offering, as well on the emperor's behalf, as on her own, that as much shall by them be done, to the furtherance thereof, as may be possible. Besides this, both by your letters, and also by particular most loving letters of the Cardinals de Medicis, Sanctorum Quatuor, and Campegius, with credence shewed unto me on their behalf, by their folks here resident, I perceive their good and fast minds, which they, and divers other their friends, owe unto me in that matter. And finally, the king's highness doth not cease, by all the gracious and comfortable means possible, to insist, that I, for manifold, notable, urgent, and great respects, in any wise shall consent that his grace and the emperor do set forth the thing with their best manner. The circumstances of whose most entire and most firm mind thereunto, with their bounteous, godly, and beneficial offers for the weal of Christendom, which his grace maketh to me herein, is too long to rehearse. For which causes, albeit I know myself far unmeet and unable to so high a dignity, minding rather to live and die with his grace in this his realm, doing honour, service, good or pleasure to the same, than now (mine old days approaching) to enter into new things; yet nevertheless, for the great zeal and perfect mind which I have to the exaltation of the Christian faith, the honour, weal, and surety of the king's grace, and the emperor, and to do my duty both to Almighty God and to the world, I referring everything to God's disposition and pleasure, shall not pretermit to declare unto you such things as the king's highness hath specially willed me to signify unto you, on his grace's behalf, who most effectually willeth and desireth you to set forth the same, omitting nothing that may be to the furtherance thereof, as his special trust is in you.

First, ye shall understand, that the mind and entire desire of his highness, above all earthly things, is, that I should attain to the said dignity, having his perfect and firm hope, that of the same shall ensue, and that in brief time, a general and universal repose, tranquillity, and quietness in Christendom; and as great renown, honour, profit, and reputation to this realm as ever was; besides the singular comfort and rejoice that the king's grace, with all his friends and subjects, should take thereof; who might be well assured thereby, to compone and order their great causes and affairs, to their high benefit, commodity, and most advantage. For this, and other great and urgent causes, the pleasure of his highness is, that like-as ye my lord of Bath, and Mr. Hannibal, have right prudently and discreetly begun, so ye all, or as many of you as be present in the court of Rome, and continue your practices, overtures, motions, and labours, to bring and conduce this the king's inward desire to perfect end and effect.

And because it is not to be doubted, but that before the receipt of these my letters, ye, having former instructions, shall have far entred your devices in this matter, wherein the king's grace trusteth ye do lose no time or opportunity that possibly may be had; I shall therefore briefly and compendiously touch such this thing, as the king's highness would ye should substantially note in this behalf.

One is, that albeit ye both before, and also now, know the king's mind and desire herein, as is aforesaid, taking that for your foundation; yet nevertheless, forasmuch as it appeareth by your said letters, and otherwise, that the cardinal de Medicis, whose preferment (if this may not be had) both the king's grace and I tendereth above all other, mindeth to experiment what may be done for himself, great policy and dexterity is in your labours and communications to be used, so that ye may first, by great ensearch and enquiry, perfectly understand, as nigh as may be, the disposition, mind, affection, and inclination, as well of the said cardinal de Medicis, as of all the residue, if it be possible; which thing, well known, well pondered and considered, ye shall thereby have a great light to the residue of your business, wherein always ye must so order yourselves, that the matter appearing unto you much doubtful and uncertain, your particular practices (the desired intent peradventure failing) shall not be cause of displeasure or unkindness to be noted by any that may be elected; and for your introduction herein, the king's grace sendeth unto you at this time two commissions under his great seal, the one couched under general words, without making mention of any particular person; and in the other, his highness hath made mention of me by special name: besides that, ye shall receive herewith two letters from his grace to the college of cardinals, with the copies of the same; the one in special recommendation of me, and the other in favour of the cardinal de Medicis; beside such other particular letters in my recommendation to certain cardinals, and other, as by the copies of them herewith enclosed ye shall now perceive. After the receipt thereof, if the cardinals before that time shall not be entred into the conclave, ye taking your commodity, as by your wisdom shall be thought most expedient, shall deliver unto the cardinal de Medicis the king's letters, and mine to him addressed, shewing unto him, with as good words and manner as ye can, that for his great vertue, wisdom, experience, and other commendable merits, with the entire love and favour which the king's grace and I bear unto him, thinking and reputing him most meet and able to aspire unto the papal dignity before all other. Ye have commandment, commission, and instruction, specially and most tenderly, to recommend him unto the whole college of cardinals, having also the king's and my letters to them in his favour; upon which declaration ye shall perceive his answer to be made unto you in that behalf; whereupon, and by knowledge of the disposition of the residue, ye may perceive how to govern yourselves in the delivery of the rest of your said letters; for in case it may evidently appear unto you, that any of the cardinals, to whom the king's letters be directed, have firmly established their minds upon the said cardinal de Medicis, the more circumspection is to be used with any such in the delivery to him of the king's letters, and overture of the secretness of your minds touching me; considering, that if the king's intent might in no wise take effect for me, his grace would, before all other, advance and further the said cardinal de Medicis. Nevertheless, if either by his answer to be made unto you, or by other good knowledge, ye shall perceive that he hath so many enemies herein, that of likelihood he cannot attain the same, ye may be the more bold to feel his mind how he is inclined towards me; saying, as indeed the king's grace hath written unto him, that in case he should fail thereof, the king's highness would insist, as much as to his grace were possible, for me; which ye may say were in manner one thing, considering that both the cardinal de Medicis and I bear one mind, zeal, and study, to the weal and quiet of Christendom, the increase and surety of Italy, the benefit and advancement of the emperor's and the king's majesty's causes; and I being pope, he in a manner (whom I above all men love, trust, and esteem) were pope, being sure to have everything according to his mind and desire, and as much honour to be put unto him, his friends and family, as might be devised in such wise: that by these and other good words and demonstrations, ye may make him sure, as I think he be, that failing for himself, he with all his friends do their best for me; and seeing no likelihood for him, ye may then right-well proceed to your particular labour and practices for me, delivering the king's letters, both to the college of cardinals, and to the other, apart, as ye shall see the case then to require; and soliciting them, by secret labours, alleadging and declaring unto them my poor qualities, and how I having so great experience of the causes of Christendom, with the entire favour which the emperor and the king's grace bear unto me; the knowledge also and deep acquaintance of other princes, and of their great affairs; the studious mind that I have ever been in, both to the surety and weal of Italy, and also to the quiet and tranquility of Christendom; not lacking, thanked be God, either substance or liberality to look largely upon my friends; besides the sundry great promotions, which by election of me should be vacant, to be disposed unto such of the said cardinals, as by their true and fast friendship had deserved the same; the loving familiarity also which they should find in me; and that of my nature I am not in great disposed to rigour or austereness, but can be contented, thanked be God, frankly, pleasantly, and courteously, to participate, dispose, and bestow, such things as I have, or shall come to my disposition, not having any such faction, family, or kinsman, to whom I might shew any partiality in bestowing the promotions and goods of the church; and, which is highest to be regarded, that is likely and in manner sure, that by my means, not only Italy shall be put in perfect surety for ever, but also a final rest, peace, and quiet, now most necessary, established betwixt all Christian princes; whereupon the greatest and most notable expedition might be made against the infidels that hath been heard of many years. For the king's highness in that case would be contented, and hath fully promised, God willing, to come in person, when God shall send time, unto Rome; whither



also I should not doubt to bring many more of the Christian princes, being determined, if God should send me such grace, to expone mine own person in God's quarrel; by mean of which my presence many things should be stated, that for superiority and otherwise, in times past, hath been occasion of disagreement amongst princes: albeit peradventure the greatest respect shall not now be had hereunto, nor this be the best elective to win the cardinals' favour; wherein you must therefore use yourself by your wisdoms, as you shall see the time, season, and care to require; assuring them, for the removing of the doubt in changing of the see, or not speedy repair thither; that after the election once passed and notified to me, I would not fail, by God's grace, within three months to be in Rome; there, and in the parts thereabout, to remain during my life, whereof ye may make faithful assurance. By these, and other good means and promises on the king's behalf of large rewards, which his highness referreth to your discretion, and is contented to perform that which ye do therein, it is not to be doubted but that you shall obtain the favours of many of them; so as if respect may be had to the honour of the see apostolick, and the surety of Italy, the tranquillity of Christendom, the defence of the same against the infidels, the exaltation of the faith, the persecution of Christ's enemies, the increase and weal of the college of cardinals, with their advancement and promotion; gentle, frank, and liberal entertainment of them, and generally to the benefit of all holy church. The king's grace supposeth his mind and desire herein, with your good means, diligence, and sollicitations, is not unlike to take good effect; wherein, for the more authority, and better conducing of your purpose, the pleasure of his grace is, that you join with the emperor's ambassadors, as far as you may see and perceive them to favour this the king's intent, like-as his grace thinketh, that according to the often conferences, communications, promises, and exhortations made by the emperor to me in this behalf, and according to my said lady Margaret's desire or offer, they have commandment to do. In the politick handling of all which matters, the king's highness putteth in you his special trust and confidence, so to order yourself in the premises, as you shall perceive to accord with the inward desire of his grace, and the state and disposition of the thing there; for which purpose his grace hath furnished you at this time, jointly or severally, with two sundry commissions, the one general for me, and in my favour, by the which you have ample authority to bind and promise, on the king's behalf, as well gift of promotions, as also as large sums of mony to as many, and such as you shall think convenient; and as sure ye may be, whatsoever ye shall promise, bind his grace, and do in that behalf, his highness will inviolably observe, keep and perform, the other special, as afore letters to the college of two effects, the one for the cardinal de Medicis, and the other for me, with other particular letters in my favour; all which his pleasure is, that you shall use in manner and form aforesaid; that is to say, if you shall perceive the affair of the cardinal de Medicis to be in such perfect train that he is like to have the same dignity, ye then proceed to that which may be his furtherance, using nevertheless your particular labour for me, if you think it may do good, after such sort as ye shall not conceive any ingratitude or unkindness therein. And if you may see that the said cardinal de Medicis be not in such great likelihood thereof; then considering, that as the king's grace, and I think verily he will do his best for me, ye shall effectually set forth your practices for attaining and winning as many friends for me as possible may be, delivering your letters for the intent, as you shall see cause. Wherein you being now furnished for both purposes, and also having one of the commissions general and indifferent, without any person therein specially recommended, things be to be done or omitted, as you shall know to stand with the state or commodity of the affairs there, which the ground of the king's mind to you now declared shall be your best and perfect instruction; and as you shall do or know herein, so the king's grace desireth you often and speedily to advertise me, by your letters, having no doubt but that his highness will see your travels, diligence, and pains in this behalf, so to be considered, as you shall have cause to think the same well employed and bestowed.

And my lord of Bath, as you do know well, because Mr. Pace, at the time of the last vacation, was sent purposely from hence with commission and instruction for that matter; the king, and I, supposing that upon knowledg of this news, he being at Milan, would incontinently repair unto Rome, hath therefore made the aforesaid commissions, and also this letter to be directed unto you, jointly and severally willing you, in such substantial and discreet wise to proceed in that matter, not forbearing anything that may be to the furtherance thereof, as his grace, and my special trust, is in you; and thus most heartily fare you well. At my Mannor of Hampton Court, the 4th day of October.

*The rest is the Cardinal's own hand.*

My lord of Bath, the king hath willed me to write unto you, that his grace hath a marvellous opinion of you; and you knowing his mind as you do, his highness doubteth not but this matter shall be by your policy set forth in such wise, as that the same may come to the desired effect, not sparing any reasonable offers, which is a thing that amongst so many needy persons is more regarded than per-case the qualities of the person; ye be wise, and ye wot what I mean; trust yourself best, and be not seduced by fair words, and specially of those which (say what they will) desire more their own preferment than mine. Howbeit great dexterity is to be used; and the king thinketh that all the imperials shall be clearly with you, if faith be in the emperor. The young men, which for the most part being needy, will give good ears to fair offers, which shall be undoubtedly performed; the king willeth you neither to spare his authority or his good mony, or substance. You may be assured, whatsoever you promise shall be performed; and our Lord send you good speed.

Your loving friend,
T. Cardinalis Eborac.

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NUMBER XLIX.

*A Memorial given by the King's Majesty, with the advice of his Highness' Council, to the Lord Russel, Lord Privy Seal; the Lord Paget of Beaudesert; Sir William Petre, Kt. and one of his Highness' two Principal Secretaries, and Sir John Mason Kt. his Majesty's Secretary for the French Tongue; being sent at this present in Commission, to treat and conclude upon a Peace, with certain Commissioners sent from the French King at this time for the same purpose.—An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Caligula, E. 1.]

Edward R.—First, as touching the place of their meeting, the same to be at Calais or Bulloign, if it may be so brought to pass; otherwise to be at such convenient place, either within our dominion or the French: or some time in theone, and some time the other, as may be best agreed upon. In the appointing whereof, we would no ceremony to be so much

sticked upon, as the same should be any occasion of hindrance to the good success looked for at this meeting.

Secondly, if the French commissioners shall require Bulloign, with the members, and all such grounds and lands as was of late conquered by our late father, of most noble memory, to be restored to the French king, we be pleased our said commissioners shall on our name agree and assent thereunto; so as the said French commissioners do, and will likewise covenant and agree, in the name of the said French king, to any of our requests hereafter ensuing.

First, our said commissioners shall demand, in recompence for Bulloign, and the members and grounds as aforesaid, that the treaties last made between our said father of famous memory, and the realm of Scotland, may in all things be performed; and the person of the young Scotch queen delivered to us, to the intent the marriage between us and her may be performed. They shall also demand, that the fortifications at Newhaven and Blackness may be utterly ruinated, and no fortifications made from henceforth at any of those places. They shall also require the continuance of paiment of our perpetual pension, and all the debts due unto us, by force of any former treaties, before the commencement of these last wars. And this for the first degree, which if it may not be obtained, then for

The second degree, we be pleased to accept for a recompence, if they will covenant for performance of the said treaties with Scotland, to deliver the Scotch queen, and continue from henceforth the paiment of the perpetual pension.

But if that shall also be refused, then for the third degree, our said commissioners shall require the continuance of paiment of our pension, the arrearages due by any former treaties between our said father and the late French king; and that the forts of Newhaven, Hambletue, and Blackness, may be utterly ruinated, and no new fortifications commenced at any of the said places hereafter.

And if this may not be obtained, then for the fourth and last degree our pleasure is, that our said commissioners shall require the continuance of paiment of our said pension, and all such debts as were due unto our said late father before the commencement of his last war.

In the debating and discoursing whereof, we will that our said commissioners shall employ themselves to their uttermost, to make as good and honourable a bargain for us, and to attain all or as much of the premises as they may; remembring unto the French commissioners, our great charges sustained in these last wars commenced by them contrary to the former treaties.

Touching the place, day, time, and other circumstances to be used, as well in the delivery of Bulloign, the Base Town, the Old Man, the Young Man, with the ground, territories, and members, to the said pieces, or any of them belonging; as also of paiment of such sums of mony as shall be agreed upon for the same; our said commissioners shall, by their good discretions, devise with the said French commissioners, all such ways as they can or may think most for our honour and surety: and such overtures or discourses as shall be made by the said French commissioners, touching the premises, our said commissioners shall advertise unto us or to our council.

And if any motion shall be made to have Scotland comprehended in this peace, our said commissioners shall say, that forasmuch as the Scots be common enemies to us and the emperor, we may not assent to the comprehension of them, without the emperor's consent; or at the least, without such respect to our treaties with the emperor and his subjects as the amity between us requireth. And therefore if the Scots will covenant to stand to our arbitrement and judgment for all such matters as be in difference between the said emperor and them, we will be pleased that the Scots shall be comprehended; and one such article, or of like effect, made for comprehension of them, as was made at the conclusion of the last peace. And if the delivery, or razing of any pieces, now by us possessed in Scotland, shall be required, we be pleased that our said commissioners travelling first by all ways and means they may, to induce the other commissioners to assent that all the said pieces, and the lands by us now possessed, may remain to us and our heirs and successors for ever, shall nevertheless, if that may not be received, assent in the end that Borthwickcraig, Lauder, and Dunglass, shall be restored upon a convenient recompence in mony, so as the forts of Roxburgh and Haymouth, with their grounds adjoining, may be covenanted to remain to us and our successors for ever.

If the French commissioners shall make any motion of treaty for marriage between us and the lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to the French king; our said commissioners excusing the present talk thereof, in respect of our young years, and for such other causes as they may think good, shall do all that they may to cut off that talk: but if they shall be much pressed therein in respect of such overtures as have been made already, our pleasure is that our said commissioners shall, by general words, entertain the talk of that matter; and thereof, and of such other matters as shall be proponed touching the same, advertise us, or our council.

In all the treaty it must be remembred, to reserve and have special regard to the preservation of our treaties with the emperor, and other our friends.

And if it shall seem expedient to our said commissioners, for the better expedition of our affairs committed to their charge, that a surceance or abstinence of wars be granted, as well on our behalf, as on the behalf of the French king, we be pleased that our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, the earl of Huntingdon, our lieutenant-general of that side, shall, by the advice of our said commissioners, grant a surceance or abstinence for such time and in such manner and sort as by our said commissioners shall be thought best, so as the like be also granted on the behalf of the said French king.

Finally, our said commissioners shall advertise us, or our council attendant about our person, from time to time, of their proceedings; and further, do as we or our council shall appoint them, either by our letters or the letters of our said council accordingly.

T. Cant.; R. Rich, cancel.; W. St. John, H. Dorset, W. Northampton, J. Warwick, Thomas Southampton, Thom. Eley., Cuth. Duresm. T. Cheyne, T. Wentworth, Anthony Wingfield, W. Herbert, T. Darcy, N. Wotton, J. Baker, Edward North, Edward Montague, Richard Southwell.

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NUMBER L.

*Articles devised by the King's Majesty, with the advice of his Highness' Council, answering to certain doubts moved in the Letters, bearing date the 27th of February last past, sent from his Majesty's Commissioners, being on the other side the seas, for the Treaty of Peace.—An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Caligula, E. 1.]

Edward R.—First, if the French deputies require to have Roxburgh and Aymouth to be rendred unto the Scots, we will that our commissioners shall, by all the best means they can devise, induce them to agree that the said two places may and shall remain to us. And in case the French will not so be persuaded, but require still to have them rendred, our pleasure is, that our commissioners shall stand most stifly in the denial of it, so far forth, that they shall come to the breaking of that day's talk, rather than to condescend unto it. And in case that move not the French to relent of their request, our commissioners shall afterwards send to the French deputies to meet, or to talk again, and then they shall say, that rather than such a good work of peace should fail, they will grant to the razing and abandoning of both the said pieces; with special capitulation, that neither the Scots nor the French shall re-fortify, nor cause to be re-fortified, in neither of those two places; with the like covenant for our part, if the French deputies do require it.

*Item.* We are pleased, that the reservance of our rights and titles, mentioned in our former articles sent to our said commissioners, be in general words, so as severally general reservance be made, as well for our rights and titles as to Scotland, as for our matters with France.

*Item.* We are pleased, that for such sums of mony as shall be agreed upon to be paid unto us for the delivery of Bulloign, our said commissioners shall take hostages of the French, according to our former articles sent unto them in that behalf; the said hostages to remain there, till the whole and last sum so agreed upon be fully answered unto us. And likewise in case the French deputies will ask hostages for the sure delivery of the town of Bulloign, with the members, our said commissioners may agree to the assigning of such hostages as shall be thought sufficient for the same; which hostages nevertheless shall not be bound to remain or continue there any longer than till the said town is delivered, but shall thereupon be suffered to return home at their pleasure.

*Item.* Upon the conclusion between our commissioners and the French deputies for the delivery of Bulloign, our pleasure is, that the term of the delivery of the same be appointed, as short as may be conveniently, having considerance to a reasonable respite for the removing and safe conveyance away of the artillery, munition, armour, and goods belonging to us or our subjects, either by sea or by land, as shall be thought most commodious: and that our men, departing out of the town in the forenoon, the French shall abstain from entry into it till at three or four hours after, for avoiding the inconveniences which may chance upon the coupling of our men with the French.

*Item.* Forasmuch as our said commissioners, being upon the place, can better consider any other thing not touched in the premises, concerning the manner and fashion of the delivery of Bulloign, or retire of our men, artillery, and other things, other than we can do here, we are pleased to remit that to their wisdoms and discretions.

*Item.* As for Alderney and Sark, forasmuch as both those places are ours, reason would that the French should raze their fortifications at Sark, and the fortifications at Alderney, being lawfully done by us upon our own ground, to remain at our arbitrement. That in case the French deputies shall make no mention, neither of the one nor of the other, we are pleased that our commissioners shall also pass it over in silence; but if the French deputies shall mention the same, and without the razing the fortifications at Alderney, will not condescend to a peace, we are pleased, our commissioners shall conclude with them upon the razing and abandoning of the one and the other of the aforesaid fortifications; standing first as much in denial of the French deputies' demands herein as they may.

T. Cant; R. Rich, cancel.; W. Wilts, T. Wentworth, A. Wingfield, T. Darcy, N. Wotton, R. Sadler, J. Warwick, W. Northampton, T. Eley., T. Cheyne, W. Herbert, John Gage, Edward North.

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NUMBER LI.

*The King's Letters Patents to John à Lasco and the German Congregation.*

[Rot. Pat. 4to. Reg. part. 5.]

Edwardus Sextus Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, et in Terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum sub Christo Caput, omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint salutem. Cum magnæ quædam et graves considerationes nos ad præsens specialiter impulerunt, tum etiam cogitantes illud, quanto studio et charitate Christianos Principes in Sacrosanctum Dei Evangelium et Religionem Apostolicam ab ipso Christo inchoatam, institutam et traditam, animatos et propensos esse conveniat, sine qua haud dubie politia et civile Regnum nec consistere diu, neq; nomen suum tueri potest, nisi principes, cæteriq; præpotentes viri, quos Deus ad Regnorum gubernacula sedere voluit, id in primis operam dent, ut per totum Reipub. Corpus, casta sinceraq; Religio diffundatur, et Ecclesia in vere Christianis et Apostolicis opinionibus et ritibus instituta, atq; adulta per sanctos ac carni et mundo mortuos ministros conservetur: pro eo quod Christiani Principis officium statuimus, inter alias suas gravissimas de Regno suo bene splendideq; administrando cogitationes, etiam Religioni et Religionis causa calamitate fractis et afflictis exulibus consulere. Sciatis, quod non solum præmissa contemplantes et Ecclesiam a Papatus Tyrannide per nos vindicatam in pristina libertate conservare cupientes: verum etiam exulum ac peregrinorum conditionem miserantes, qui jam bonis temporibus in Regno nostro Angliæ commorati sunt voluntario exilio, Religionis et Ecclesiæ causa multati: quia hospites et exteros homines propter Christi Evangelium ex Patria sua profligatos et ejectos, et in Regnum nostrum profugos, præsidiis ad vitam degendam necessariis in Regno nostro egere, non dignum esse neq; Christiano homine, neq; principis magnificentia duximus, cujus liberalitas nullo modo in tali rerum statu restricta, clausave esse debet. Ac quoniam multi Germanæ nationis homines, ac alii peregrini qui confluxerunt, et in dies singulos confluunt, in Regnum nostrum Angliæ, ex Germania et aliis remotioribus partibus, in quibus Papatus dominatur, Evangelii libertas labefactari et premi cœpta est, non habent certam sedem et locum in Regno nostro ubi conventus suos celebrare valeant, ubi inter suæ gentis et moderni idiomatis homines Religionis negotia et res Ecclesiasticas pro Patriæ ritu et more intelligenter obire et tractare possint: idcirco de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, necnon de advisamento Concilii nostri volumus, concedimus et ordinamus quod de cætero sit et erit unum templum, sive sacra ædes in Civitate nostra Londinensi, quod vel quæ vocabitur templum Domini Jesu, ubi Congregatio et conventus Germanorum et aliorum peregrinorum fieri et celebrari possit, ea intentione et proposito, ut a Ministris Ecclesiæ Germanorum aliorumq; peregrinorum Sacrosancti Evangelii incorrupta interpretatio, Sacramentorum juxta Verbum Dei et Apostolicam observationem administratio fiat. Ac Templum illud, sive Sacram ædem illam de uno Superintendente et quatuor verbi ministris erigimus, creamus, ordinamus,

et fundamus per præsentes. Et quod idem Superintendens et ministri in re et nomine sint et erunt unum Corpus corporatum et politicum, de se per nomen Superintendentis et Ministrorum Ecclesiæ Germanorum et aliorum peregrinorum ex fundatione Regis Edwardi Sexti in Civitate Londinensi per præsentes incorporamus: ac corpus corporatum et politicum per idem nomen realiter et ad plenum creamus, erigimus, ordinamus, facimus et constituimus per præsentes: et quod successionem habeant.

Et ulterius de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, necnon de avisamento Concilii nostri dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentes damus et concedimus præfato Superintendenti et Ministris Ecclesiæ Germanorum et aliorum peregrinorum in Civitate Londinensi, totum illud templum sive Ecclesiam nuperfratrum Augustinensium in Civitate nostra Londinensi, ac totam terram, fundum et solum Ecclesiæ prædictæ, exceptis toto choro dictæ Ecclesiæ, terris fundo et solo ejusdem habendum et gaudendum, dictum Templum sive Ecclesiam ac cætera præmissa, exceptis præexceptis, præfatis Superintendenti et Ministris et Successoribus suis, tenendum de nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris, in puram et liberam eleemosynam.

Damus ulterius de avisamento prædicto, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris prædictis per præsentes concedimus præfatis Superintendenti et Ministris et successoribus suis plenam facultatem, potestatem et autoritatem ampliandi et majorem faciendi numerum ministrorum et nominandi et appunctuandi de tempore in tempus, tales et hujusmodi subministros, ad serviendum in Templo prædicto, quales præfatis Superintendenti et Ministris necessarium visum fuerit. Et quidem hæc omnia juxta beneplacitum regium.

Volumus præterea quod Joannes a Lasco natione Polonus, homo propter integritatem et innocentiam vitæ, ac morum et singularem eruditionem, valde celebris, sit primus et modernus Superintendens dictæ Ecclesiæ, et quod Gualterus Deloenus, Martinus Flandrus, Franciscus Riverius, Richardus Gallus, sint quatuor primi et moderni Ministri. Damus præterea et concedimus præfatis Superintendenti et Ministris et successoribus suis facultatem, autoritatem, et licentiam, post mortem vel vacationem alicujus Ministri prædictorum, de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi, et surrogandi alium, personam habilem et idoneam in locum suum; ita tamen quod persona sic nominatus et electus præsentetur et sistatur coram nobis, hæredibus vel successoribus nostris, et per nos, hæredes vel successores nostros, instituatur in Ministerium prædictum.

Damus etiam et concedimus præfatis Superintendenti, Ministris, et successoribus suis, facultatem, autoritatem, et licentiam, post mortem seu vacationem Superintendentis de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi, et surrogandi alium, personam doctam et gravem in locum suum; ita tamen quod persona sic nominatus et electus præsententur et sistatur coram nobis, hæredibus vel successoribus nostris, et per nos, hæredes vel successores nostros, instituatur in officium Superintendentis prædictum.

Mandamus et firmiter injungendum præcipimus, tam Majori, Vicecomitibus et Aldermanis Civitatis nostræ Londinensis et successoribus suis, cum omnibus aliis Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Justiciariis, Officiariis et Ministris nostris quibuscunque, quod permittant præfatis, Superintendenti et Ministris, et sua, suos libere et quiete frui, gaudere, uti, et exercere ritus et ceremonias suas proprias, et disciplinam Ecclesiasticam propriam et peculiarem, non obstante quod non conveniant cum ritibus et cæremoniis in Regno nostro usitatis, absq; impeditione, perturbatione, aut inquietatione eorum, vel eorum alicujus, aliquo statuto, actu, proclamatione, injunctione, restrictione, seu usu in contrarium inde antehac habitis, factis, editis, seu promulgatis, in contrarium non obstantibus. Eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo, aut de certitudine præmissorum, sive eorum alicujus, aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos præfatis Superintendenti, Ministris et successoribus suis ante hæc tempora factis, in præsentibus minime facta existit, aut aliquo statuto, actu, ordinatione, provisione, sive restrictione inde in contrarium factis, editis, ordinatis seu provisis, aut aliqua alia re, causa vel materia quacunq; in aliquo non obstante. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes. Teste Meipso, apud Leighes, vicesimo quarto die Julii, Anno Regni nostri quarto, per Breve de privato Sigillo, et de datis prædicta Autoritate Parliamenti.

R. Southwell. Vn. Harrys.

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NUMBER LII.

*Injunctions given in the Visitation of the Reverend Father in God, Nicholas, Bishop of London, for an Uniformity in his Diocess of London, in the 4th year of our Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God, King of England, &c.*

[Regist. Ridl. Fol. 305.]

*London, Anno Dom.* 1550.

First, That there be no reading of such injunctions as extolleth and setteth forth the popish mass, candles, images, chauntries: neither that there be used any superaltaries, or trentals of communions.

*Item.* That no minister do counterfeit the popish mass, in kissing the Lord's board, washing his hands or fingers after the gospel, or the receipt of the holy communion; shifting the book from one place to another; holding up the forefingers; laying down and licking the chalice after the communion; blessing his eyes with the sudarie thereof, or patten, or crossing his head with the same, holding his forefingers and thumbs joined together toward the temples of his head, after the receiving of the sacrament, breathing on the bread or chalice; saying the Agnus before the communion; shewing the sacrament openly before the distribution, or making any elevation thereof; ringing of the sacrying bell, or setting any light upon the Lord's board; and finally, that the minister, in the time of the holy communion, do use only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the popish mass.

*Item.* That none be admitted to receive the holy communion but such as will, upon request of the curat, be ready, with meekness and reverence, to confess the articles of the creed.

*Item.* That none make a mart of the holy communion, by buying and selling the receipt thereof for mony, as the popish mass in times past was wont to be.

*Item.* Whereas in divers places some use the Lord's board after the form of a table, and some of an altar, whereby dissension is perceived to arise among the unlearned; therefore wishing a godly unity to be observed in all our diocess, and for that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old superstitious opinions of the popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's Supper, we exhort the curats, churchwardens, and questmen here present, to erect and set up the Lord's board, after the form of an honest table, decently covered, in such place of the quire or chancel as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers, with the communicants, may have their place separated from the rest of the people; and to take down and abolish all other by-altars or tables.



*Item.* That the minister, in the time of the communion, immediately after the offertory, shall monish the communicants, saying these words, or such-like: "Now is the time, if it please you, to remember the poor men's chest with your charitable almes."

*Item.* That the homilies be read orderly, without omission of any part thereof.

*Item.* The Common Prayer be had in every church upon Wednesdays and Fridays, according to the king's grace's ordinance; and that all such as conveniently may, shall diligently resort to the same.

*Item.* That every curat be diligent to teach the catechism, whensoever just occasion is offered, upon the Sunday or holyday; and at least every six weeks, once shall call upon his parishioners, and present himself ready to instruct and examine the youth of the same parish, according to the book of service touching the same.

*Item.* That none maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the Six Articles, bedrowls, images, reliques, rubrick primars, with invocation of saints, justification of man by his own works, holy bread, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchre paschal, creeping to the cross, hallowing of the fire or altar, or any other such-like abuses and superstitions, now taken away by the king's grace's most godly proceedings.

*Item.* That all ministers do move the people to often and worthy receiving of the holy communion.

*Item.* That every minister do move his parishioners to come diligently to the church; and when they come, not to talk, or walk, in the sermon, communion, or divine service time, but rather at the same to behave themselves reverently, godly, and devoutly in the church; and that they also monish the churchwardens to be diligent overseers in that behalf.

*Item.* That the churchwardens do not permit any buying, selling, gaming, outragious noise or tumult, or any other idle occupying of youth in the church, church-porch, or church-yard, during the time of common prayer, sermon, or reading of the homily.

*Item.* That no persons use to minister the sacraments, or, in open audience of the congregation, presume to expound the Holy Scriptures, or to preach before they be first lawfully called and authorised in that behalf. God save the King.

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NUMBER LIII.

*Dr. Oglethorp's Submission and Profession of his Faith.*

I did never preach or teach openly anything contrary to the doctrine and religion set forth by the king's majesty, and authorised by his grace's laws, since the making and publishing of the same.

I suppose, and think his grace's proceedings (concerning religion) to be good and godly, if they be used accordingly, as his grace hath will'd they should, by his laws and instructions.

And further, I suppose the order and form of doctrine and religion now set forth by his grace, and used, in many things to be better and much nearer the usage of the apostolick and primitive church, than it was before-times: if it be used godly and reverently, accordingly as I think it to be meant by his grace's highness, and his most honourable council.

Namely, in these things, in prohibiting that none should commune alone, in making the people whole communers, or in suffering them to commune under both kinds, in the catechisation of young chaplains in the rudiments of our faith, in having the Common Prayer in English, in setting forth the homilies, and many other things, which I think very good and godly if they be used as is aforesaid.

The lately-received doctrine concerning the sacrament, and namely the attribute of transubstantiation, I do not like, and I think it not consonant to the Scriptures and ancient writers, although I suppose that there is a certain and an ineffable presence of Christ's body there, which I can neither comprehend nor express, because it so far passes the compass and reach of my wit and reason, wherefore I think it ought to be both ministred and received with a godly and reverent fear, and not without great premeditation and examination aforesaid, as well of the minister as of the receiver. 1550.

Your grace's poor well-willer, with his prayer and service, as he is bound,

Owing Oglethorp.

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NUMBER LIV.

*A Letter from Dr. Smith to Archbishop Cranmer. An Original.*

[Ex MS. Col. Cor. Cant.]

Right Honourable and my Special Good Lord—I commend me to your grace most humbly, giving to the same thanks as I am bound, for your grace's kindness toward my sureties; for the which you have (and shall whiles I live) my good word and prayer. *Ignatii Epistolæ adhuc extant in Gymnasio Magdalenæ.* If it might please your lordship, I would very gladly see some part of your collection against my book, "De Cœlibatu Sacerdotum," which I wrote then to try the truth out, not to the intent it should be printed, as it was, against my will. Would God I had never made it, because I took then for my chief ground, that the priests of England made a vow when they were made, which now I perceive is not true.

My lord, I received my cap-case, &c.—*Sed tribus nummorum meorum partibus sublatis; Quod damnum æquo animo est ferendum, quod furti revinci non possit, qui abstulit.* My lord, I am glad that your grace is reported both gentle and merciful, of all such which have had to do with you for religion of this university. For my part, if ever I may do your grace's basest servant any pleasure, I will do it indeed. *Si aliter, atqui sentio, loquor, dispeream. Ignoscat hæc Honorandæ Dominatio tam diutinum silentium mihi, quippe quod crebrioribus literis posthac pensabo. Deus optimus maximus tuam amplitudinem diu servet incolumem Christianæ Pietati propagandæ ac provehendæ. Oxonii* 28.

Tibi addictissimus,

Richardus Smithæus.

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NUMBER LV.

*Articles agreed upon by the Bishops and other Learned Men, in the Convocation held at London, in the year* 1552, *for the avoiding diversities of Opinions, and stablishing Consent touching True Religion.*

Published by the King's authority.

With Marginal Notes of the Differences between these and those set out by Queen Elizabeth, anno 1562.

I.—*Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.*

There is but one living and true God everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in the

unity of this godhead, there are three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity,—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II.—*The Word of God made very Man.*

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man; who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, &c.

III.—*Of the going down of Christ into Hell.*

As Christ died for us, and was buried; so also is it to be believed that he went down into hell: * for his body lay in the grave till his resurrection, but his soul being separate from his body, remained with the spirits which were detained in prison, that is to say in hell, and there preached unto them; as witnesseth that place of Peter.

IV.—*The Resurrection of Christ.*

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth till he return to judge all men at the last day.

*Of the Holy Ghost.*

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Substance, Majesty, and Glory with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

V.—*The Doctrine of the Holy Scripture is sufficient to Salvation.*

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, although sometimes it may be admitted by God's faithful people as pious, and conducing unto order and decency, yet is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought necessary or requisite to salvation.

In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church; that is to say, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1st of Samuel, 2nd of Samuel, &c. And the other Books (as Hierom saith) the Church doth read for example of life, and instruction of manners, but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine; such are these following:—the 3d of Esdras, the 4th of Esdras, the Book of Tobias, the Book of Judeth, the rest of the Book of Hester, the Book of Wisdom, &c. All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them Canonical.

VI.—*The Old Testament is not to be rejected.*

The Old Testament is not to be rejected, as if it were contrary to the New, but to be retained. Forasmuch as in the Old Testament, as in the New, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator betwixt God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, who feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises.

Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.

VII.—*The Three Creeds.*

The three creeds,—Nice creed, Athanasius' creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' creed, ought thoroughly to be received;† for they may be proved by most certain warrants of the Holy Scripture.

VIII.—*Original Sin.*

Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk, *and at this day is affirmed by some Anabaptists*‡,) but it is the fault and corruption of every man that naturally is engendred of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil; so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek *φρόνημα σάρκος*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

IX.—*Of Free-Will.*

We have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will and working with us when we have that good will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God. Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable unto God, &c.

X.—*Of Grace.*

The grace of Christ, or the Holy Ghost which is given by him, doth take from man the heart of stone, and giveth him a heart of flesh. And though it rendereth us willing to do those good works which before we were unwilling to do, and unwilling to do those evil works which before we did, yet is no violence offered by it to the will of man; so that no man when he hath sinned can excuse himself, as if he had sinned against his will, or upon constraint; and therefore that he ought not to be accused or condemned upon that account.

XI.—*Of the Justification of Man.*

Justification by faith only in Jesus Christ, in that sense wherein it is set forth in the homily of justification, is the most certain and most wholesome doctrine for a Christian man.

We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the homily of justification.

* These words were left out.

† And believed. ‡ Left out.



*Of Good Works.*

Albeit the good works which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable unto God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

XII.—*Works before Justification.*

Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ; neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

XIII.—*Works of Supererogation.*

Voluntary works besides, over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererrogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety; for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, When you have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.

XIV.—*None but Christ without Sin.*

Christ, in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things, sin only excepted, from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh and in his spirit: he came to be a lamb without spot, who, by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world; and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him: but all we the rest (although baptized and born in Christ), yet offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

XV.—*Of the Sin against the Holy Ghost.*

Not every deadly sin, willingly committed after baptism, is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God (we may) arise again and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned which say, they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the * place of penance to such as truly repent.

XVI.—*The Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.*

The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is then committed when any man, out of malice and hardness of heart, doth wilfully reproach and persecute in an hostile manner the truth of God's word, manifestly made known unto him. Which sort of men, being made obnoxious to the curse, subject themselves to the most grievous of all wickednesses; from whence this kind of sin is called unpardonable, and so affirmed to be by our Lord and Saviour.

XVII.—*Of Predestination and Election.*

Predestination unto life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret unto us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen† out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpose, by his Spirit working in due season, they through grace obey the calling, they be justified freely, they are made sons of ‡ adoption, they are made like the image of § the only begotten Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good works; and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of predestination and election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation, to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: so for curious and carnal persons, lacking the spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfal, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchlesness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, *though the decrees of predestination be unknown to us*, yet ‖ must we receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture; and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.

XVIII.—*Everlasting Salvation to be obtained only in the Name of Christ.*

They also are to be had accursed, that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature: for Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

XIX.—*All Men are bound to keep the Precepts of the Moral Law.*

Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any common-wealth; yet, notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral. Wherefore they are not to be heard which teach, that the Holy Scriptures were given to none but to the weak, and brag continually of the Spirit, by which they do pretend, that all whatsoever they preach is suggested to them, though manifestly contrary to the Holy Scripture.

XX.—*Of the Church.*

The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the church of Rome hath erred, not only in their livings, and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

XXI.—*Of the Authority of the Church.*

It is not lawful for the church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word written; neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another: wherefore although the church be a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation.

The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith. It is not lawful for the church, &c.

* Place of forgiveness. † In Christ.

‡ God by. § His. ‖ I eft out.

XXII.—*Of the Authority of General Councils.*

General councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes. And when they are gathered together, forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, (whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and word of God,) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them, as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared, that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.

XXIII.—*Of Purgatory.*

The doctrine of the school-men concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping, and adoration, as well of images as of reliques, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather perniciously repugnant to the word of God.

XXIV.—*No Man to minister in the Church except he be called.*

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of publick preaching, or ministring the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men, who have publick authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

XXV.—*All things to be done in the Congregation in such a Tongue as is understood by the People.*

It is most fit, and most agreeable to the word of God, that nothing be read or rehearsed in the congregation, in a tongue not known unto the people; which Paul hath forbidden to be done, unless some be present to interpret.

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to have publick prayers in the church, or to minister the sacraments, in a tongue not understood by the people.

XXVI.—*Of the Sacraments.*

Our Lord Jesus Christ gathered his people into a society, by sacraments very few in number, most easy to be kept, and of most excellent signification; that is to say, baptism, and the supper of the Lord.

The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them: and in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation; not as some say, *Ex opera operato*, which terms, as they are strange and utterly unknown to the Holy Scripture, so do they yield a sense which savoureth of little piety, but of much superstition: but they that receive them unworthily receive to themselves damnation.

The sacraments ordained by the word of God be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession; but rather they be certain sure witnesses, effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us; and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

Sacraments ordained of Christ, be not only badges and tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

There are two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the gospel, that is to say, baptism, and the supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called sacraments, that is to say, confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony, and extream unction, are not to be counted for sacraments of the gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of sacraments with baptism and the Lord's supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed on, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as St. Paul saith.

XXVII.—*The Wickedness of the Ministers takes not away the Efficacy of Divine Institutions.*

Although in the visible church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the word and sacraments; yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their ministry both in hearing the word of God, and in receiving of the sacraments: neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such as by faith rightly do receive the sacrament, ministred unto them, which be effectual because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministred by evil men.

Nevertheless it appertaineth to the discipline of the church, that inquiry be made after * them, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally, being found guilty, by just judgment be deposed.

XXVIII.—*Of Baptism.*

Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christned; but it is also a sign of regeneration, or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased, by virtue of prayer unto God. The custom of the Church for baptizing young children is both to be commended, and by all means to be retained in the church.

The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the church, as most agreeable to the institution of Christ.

XXIX.—*Of the Lord's Supper.*

The supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have amongst themselves one to another; but rather it is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

But it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

Since the very being of human nature doth require, that the body of one and the same man cannot be at one and the same time in many places, but of necessity must be in some certain and determinate place; therefore the body of Christ cannot be present in many different places at the same time. And since (as the

* Evil ministers.



Holy Scriptures testify) Christ hath been taken up into heaven, and there is to abide till the end of the world; it becometh not any of the faithful to believe or profess, that there is a real or corporeal presence (as they phrase it) of the body and blood of Christ in the holy eucharist.

The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the supper, is faith.

The sacrament of the Lord's supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

XXIX.—*Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the Lord's Supper.*

The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as St. Austin saith) the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.

XXX.—*Of both kinds.*] The cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay-people: for both the parts of the Lord's sacrament (by Christ's ordinance and commandment) ought to be ministred to all Christian people alike.

XXX.—*Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.*

The offering of Christ once made, is a perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone: wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in which it was commonly said that the priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were fables*, and dangerous deceits.

XXXI.—*A Single Life is imposed on none by the Word of God.*

Bishops, priests, and deacons, are not commanded by God's law, either to vow the estate of a single life, or to abstain from marriage.

Therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

XXXII.—*Excommunicated Persons are to be avoided.*

That person, which by open denunciation of the church, is rightly cut off from the unity of the church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful, as an heathen and publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the church, by a judge that hath authority thereunto.

XXXIII.—*Of the Tradition of the Church.*

It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one and utterly alike; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word. Whosoever through his private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like,) as he that offendeth against the common order of the church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national church hath authority to ordain, change, or abolish ceremonies or rites of the church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

* Blasphemous.

XXXIV.—*Of the Homilies.*

The homilies lately delivered and commended to the church of England by the king's injunctions, do contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and fit to be embraced by all men; and for that cause they are diligently, plainly, and distinctly to be read to the people.

The second book of homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for the times; as doth the former book of homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth: and therefore we judge them to be read in churches by the Ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people.

*The Names of the Homilies.*

Of the right use of the church. Of repairing churches. Against the peril of idolatry. Of good works, &c.

XXXV.—*Of the Book of Common Prayer, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England.*

The book lately delivered to the church of England by the authority of the king and parliament, containing the manner and form of public prayer, and the ministration of the sacraments, in the said church of England, as also the book published by the same authority for ordering ministers in the church, are both of them very pious, as to truth of doctrine, in nothing contrary but agreeable to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel, which they do very much promote and illustrate. And for that cause they are by all faithful members of the church of England, but chiefly of the ministers of the word, with all thankfulness and readiness of mind, to be received, approved, and commended to the people of God.

The book of consecration of archbishops and bishops, and ordering of priests and deacons, lately set forth in the time of King Edward the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering. Neither hath it any thing that of itself is superstitious and ungodly; and therefore whosoever are consecrated and ordered according to the rites of that book, since the second year of the afore-named King Edward, unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered, according to the same rites, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

XXXVI.—*Of the Civil Magistrates.*

The king of England is, after Christ, the supream head on earth of the church of England and Ireland.

The bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

The civil magistrate is ordained and approved by God, and therefore is to be obeyed, not only for fear of wrath, but for conscience' sake.

Civil or temporal laws may punish Christian men with death for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to wear weapons, and to serve in the wars.

The queen's majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all cases doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any forreign jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the queen's majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our princes the ministry, either of God's word, or of the sacraments; the which thing the injunctions lately set forth by Elizabeth our queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scriptures by God himself,—that is, that they should rule all estates committed to their charge by God, whether they be

ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

The bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

The laws of this realm may punish Christian men with death, &c.

XXXVII.—*The Goods of Christians are not common.*

The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

XXXVIII.—*It is lawful for a Christian to take an oath.*

As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James his apostle; so we judge that Christian religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth.

THESE ARTICLES WERE LEFT OUT IN QUEEN ELIZABETH'S TIME.

XXXIX.—*The Resurrection of the Dead is not past already.*

The resurrection of the dead is not past already, as if it belonged only to the soul, which by the grace of Christ is raised from the death of sin, but is to be expected by all men in the last day; for at that time (as the Scripture doth most apparently testify) the dead shall be restored to their own bodies, flesh, and bones; to the end that man, according as either righteously or wickedly he hath passed this life, may, according to his works, receive rewards or punishments.

XL.—*The souls of men deceased do neither perish with their bodies, nor sleep idly.*

They who maintain that the souls of men deceased do either sleep, without any manner of sense, to the day of judgment, or affirm that they die together with the body, and shall be raised therewith at the last day, do wholly differ from the right faith and orthodox belief, which is delivered to us in the Holy Scriptures.

XLI.—*Of the Millenarians.*

They who endeavour to revive the fable of the Millenarians are therein contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and cast themselves down headlong into Jewish dotages.

XLII.—*All men not to be saved at last.*

They also deserve to be condemned, who endeavour to restore that pernicious opinion, that all men (though never so ungodly) shall at last be saved, when for a certain time, appointed by the divine justice, they have endured punishment for their sins committed.

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NUMBER LVI.

*Instructions given by the King's Highness to his right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, Francis Earl of Salop, and Lord President of his Grace's Council, resident in the north parts; and to all others hereafter named and appointed by his Highness to be of his said Council, to be observed by the said Counsellors, and every of them, according as the same hereafter is declared.*

[Ex MS. Dr. Johnson.]

FIRST, his majesty much desiring the quietness and good governance of the people and inhabitants in the north parts of this realm of England, and for the good, speedy, and indifferent administration of justice to be there had, betwixt party and party, intendeth to continue in the said north parts his right honourable council, called, *The King's Majesty's Council in the North Parts.* And his highness knowing the approved wisdom and experience of his said cousin, with his assured discretion and dexterity in the execution of justice, hath appointed him to be lord president of the said council; and by these presents doth give unto him the name of lord president of the said council, with power and authority to call together all such as be, or hereafter shall be, named and appointed to be of the said council, at all times, when he shall think expedient: and otherwise by his letters to appoint them, and every of them, to do such things for the advancement of justice, and for the repression and punishment of malefactors, as, by the advice of such of the said council as then shall be present with him, he shall think meet, for the furtherance of his grace's affairs, and for the due administration of justice between his highness' subjects.

And further, his majesty giveth unto the said lord president, by these presents, a voice negative in all councils, where things shall be debated at length for the bringing forth of a most perfect truth or sentence, which his highness would have observed in all cases that may abide advisement and consultation, to the intent that doubtful matters should as well be maturely consulted upon, as also that the same should not pass without the consent and order of the said lord president.

And his highness willeth and commandeth, that all and every of the said counsellors, named and to be named hereafter, shall exhibit and use to the said lord president all such honour, reverend behaviour, and obedience, as to their duty appertaineth; and shall receive and execute in like sort all the precepts and commandments to them, or any of them, for any matter touching his majesty, to be addressed, or any process to be done or served in his grace's name.

And his highness' pleasure is, that the said lord president shall have the keeping of his grace's signet, therewith to seal letters, processes, and all such other things as shall be thought convenient by the said lord president, or by two of the council, being bound by those articles to daily attendance upon the said lord president, with his assent thereunto.

And to the intent the said lord president thus established, for the above-said purposes, may be furnished with such numbers and assistants, as be of wisdom, experience, gravity, and truth, meet to have the name of his grace's councellors; his majesty, upon good advisement and deliberation, hath elected those persons whose names ensue hereafter to be his counsellors, joined in the said council in the north parts, with the said lord president; that is to say, the right trusty and well-beloved cousins, Henry earl of Westmoreland, Henry earl of Cumberland; his right trusty and well-beloved Cuthbert bishop of Duresm; William lord Dacres of the north; John lord Conyers; Thomas lord Wharton; John Hind, kt., one of his majesty's justices of the common pleas; Edmond Moleneux, kt., serjeant at law; Henry Savel, kt.; Robert Bowes, kt.; Nicholas Fairfax, kt.; George Conyers, kt.; Leonard Becquith, kt.; William Babthorp, kt.; Anthony Nevill, kt.; Thomas Gargrave, kt.; Robert Mennel, serjeant at law; Anthony Bellasis, esquire; John Rockely, doctor of law; Robert Chaloner, Richard Morton, and Thomas Eymis, esquires.

And his highness, by these presents, doth appoint the said Thomas Eymis to be secretary to the said council, diligently and obediently to exercise the same room as he shall be appointed by the said lord president, or by two of the council, whereof the one to be of the



quorum, with the assent of the lord president. And his highness' pleasure is, that the said lord president, and two others of the said council, being of the quorum, shall be sworn masters of the chancery, to the intent that every of them may take recognisance in such cases as by the said lord president, or by two of the said council, being of the quorum, shall be thought convenient, and the case so requiring. All which number of counsellors before specified, as his majesty doubteth not but that they, and every of them, according to his grace's expectation and trust reposed in them, will be, at all times, diligent and willing towards, and ready to do unto his grace such service as they can devise or imagine may be best to his contentation, and to the discharge of their duties towards his highness, leaving apart all respects and affections in all matters that may touch their nighest kinsman, friend, servant, tenant, or others, when the same shall come in question before the same lord president or council: so his grace trusteth that every of the same will have such regard to malefactors as appertaineth, and to bring all such unto the said lord president and council, when they shall be thereunto appointed, or may otherwise do it of themselves; informing the said lord president and council of their offences, as the same shall happen, in place where they have rule and authority, within the limits of their commission.

And forsomuch as it should be very chargeable to many of the said counsellors, if they should continually attend upon the said lord president and council, therfore his highness, of his grace's goodness, minding to ease that charge, and to instruct every of the said counsellors how to demean themselves for their attendance; that is, to wit, who shall be bound to continual attendance upon the same council, and who shall attend but at times most requisite, at their pleasures, unless the same lord president shall require them to remain for a time, for some weighty affairs or purposes; the which requests, in such cases, every of them shall accomplish. His majesty therefore ordaineth that his cousins, the earls of Westmoreland and Cumberland, the bishop of Duresm, the lord Dacres, the lord Conyers, the lord Wharton, sir John Hinde, sir Edmond Molineux, sir Henry Savell, sir Nicholas Fairfax, George Conyers, Anthony Nevil, knights; Robert Mennel, serjeant at law; Anthony Bellasis; John Rockbey, doctor of law, and Richard Norton, shall not be bound to continual attendance, but to go and come at their pleasures, unless they be required by the said lord president to remain with him for a time, for some weighty and great causes which then they shall accomplish.

And further, his grace's pleasure is, that they shall be present at such of the general sittings as shall be kept near unto their dwelling-places, and at other sittings and places, where they shall be commanded by the said lord president, all excuses set apart as appertaineth. And because it shall be convenient that a number shall be continually abiding with the said lord president, with whom he may consult and commit the charge and hearing of such matters as shall be exhibited unto him for the more expedition of the same, his highness, by these presents, doth ordain, that sir Robert Bowes, sir William Babthorp, sir Leonard Becquith, sir Thomas Gargrave, knights; Robert Chaloner, and Thomas Eymis, secretary, esquires, shall give their continual attendance on the said lord president, or at the least two of them; and that none of them, appointed to continual attendance on the said lord president, shall depart at any time from him, without his special license, and the same not to exceed above six weeks at one season.

And his highness, by these presents, for the better entertainment of the said lord president and council of both sorts, when they are, or any of them, shall be present, doth give a yearly stipend of 1000*l.* by the year to the said lord president, towards the furniture of the diet of himself and the rest of the said counsellors, with such number of servants as hereafter shall be appointed and allowed to every of them; that is, to wit, every knight, being bound to continual attendance, four servants; and every esquire, being bound to like attendance, three servants. And his highness ordaineth every of the said counsellors to sit with the said lord president at his table, or in some other place in his house, to be by him conveniently prepared for their degrees and behaviours; and their servants allowed, as is before said, to have sitting and diet in the said lord president's hall, or in some other convenient place in his house.

And further, his highness, of his mere goodness, and great benignity, for the better entreatment, as well of such of the said council as be not well able to forbear their own affairs, and attend upon the said council, without further help for the charge of the horse-meat and lodgings, when they shall attend in council to serve his highness, as for such others that might better themselves with their learning and policies, if they were not detained there about his grace's affairs, doth by these presents limit and appoint, to divers of the aforesaid counsellors hereafter named, certain particular fees, as ensueth; that is to say, to sir Robert Bowes, kt. in respect of his attendance, and towards his horse-meat and other charges, 100 merks yearly; to sir William Babthorp, kt. for the like, 50*l.* yearly; to sir Leonard Becquith, for the like causes, 100 merks yearly; to sir Thomas Gargrave, kt. for the like, 50*l.* yearly; to Robert Chaloner, esquire, for the like, 50*l.* yearly; to Richard Norton, esquire, for his fee, 40*l.*; to Thomas Eymis, secretary, for the like yearly fee, 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* And further, his grace doth appoint one messenger to serve the said council, who shall give continual attendance upon the said lord president, and have his meat, drink, and lodging in the said lord president's house, and to have yearly for his fee 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* And further, his grace's pleasure is, that the said 1000*l.* for the lord president, and all the said other fees, shall be paid yearly at the feasts of the Annunciation of our Lady, and St. Michael the Archangel, by even portions, of the revenues of his grace's lands in those parts; and that for that purpose an assignment and warrant to be made to the receiver-general of his grace's revenues there.

And to furnish the said lord president and council in all things with authority sufficient to execute justice, as well in causes criminal, as in matters of controversy between party and party, his majesty hath commanded and appointed two commissions to be made out, under his grace's great seal of England, by virtue whereof they shall have full power and authority, in either case, to proceed as the matter occurrent shall require.

And for the more speedy expedition to be used in all causes of justice, his majesty's pleasure is, that the said lord president and council shall cause every complainant and defendant that shall have to do before them, to put and declare their whole matter in their bill of complaint and answer, without replication, rejoinder, or other plea or delay to be had or used therein; which order the said lord president and council shall manifest unto all such as shall be counsellors in any matter to be intreated and defined before them; charging and commanding the said counsellors and pleaders to observe this order, upon such penalties as they shall think convenient, as they will eschew the danger of the same; and not in any ways to break it, without the special license of the said lord president, and that only in some special causes.

And further, his highness, by these presents, doth give full power and authority to the said lord president and council, as well to punish such persons as in anything shall neglect, contemn, or disobey their commandments, or the process of the council, as all other that shall speak seditious words, invent rumors, or commit such-like offences (not being treason), whereof any inconvenience might grow, by pillory, cutting their ears, wearing of papers, imprisonment, or otherwise at their discretions. And the said lord president and council, at their discretions, shall appoint counsellors, and other requisites, to poor suitors having no money, without paying fees or other things for the same. And his highness giveth full power and authority to the said lord president and council being with him, or four of them at the least; whereof the said lord president, sir John Hind, sir Edmond Molineux, sir Robert Bowes, sir Leonard Becquith, sir Anthony Nevill, sir Thomas Gargrave, knights; Robert Mennell and Robert Chaloner, to be two with the lord president, to assess fines of all persons that shall be convict or indicted of any riot, how many soever they be in number, unless the matter of such riot shall be thought unto them of such importance, as the same shall be meet to be signified unto his majesty, to be punished in such sort, by the order of his council attending upon his grace's person, as the same may be noted for an example to others. And his grace giveth full power and authority to the said lord president and council, or four of them at the least, whereof the lord president and two others bound to continual attendance to be three, to award and assess costs and damages, as well to the plaintiffs as to the defendants, by their discretions, and to award execution of their decrees and orders; and to punish the breakers of the same, being parties thereunto, by their discretions: all which decrees and orders, the secretary shall be bound incontinently, upon the promulgation of the same, to write, or cause to be written, in one fair book, which shall remain in the hands and custody of the said lord president.

And to the intent it may appear to all persons there what fees shall be paid and taken for all processes and writings to be used by the said council, his majesty therefore appointeth, that there shall be a table affixed in every place where the said Lord President and council shall sit, at any sessions; and a like table to hang openly, that all men may see it, in the office where the said secretary and the clerks shall commonly sit and expedite the said writings; wherein shall be declared what shall be paid for the same. That is to say, for every recognisance, wherein one alone or more standeth bounden, 12*d*. For the cancelling of every like recognisance, 12*d*. For the entring of every decree, 6*d*. For the copy of the same, if it be asked, 6*d*. For every letter, commission, attachment, or other precept or process sent to any person, 4*d*. For every dismission before the said council (if it be asked), 4*d*. For the copies of bills, and answers, and other pleas, for every ten lines, reasonably writ, 1*d*. For the examination of every witness, 4*d*. And his grace's pleasure is, that the examination of witnesses, produced in matters before the said council, shall be examined by such discreet person and persons as shall be thought convenient and meet by the said lord president, and two of the said council, bound to continual attendance: and that the said lord president, with such-like two of the said council, shall reform, appoint, and allow such persons to write bills, answers, copies, or other process in that court, as they shall think convenient, over and beside the said secretary and his two clerks; which clerks also the said lord president and council shall reform and correct, as they shall have cause and occasion. In which reformation and appointments, the said lord president shall have a voice negative.

And for the more certain and brief determination of matters in those parts, his majesty, by these presents, ordaineth, that the said lord president and council shall keep four general sittings or sessions in the year, every of them to continue by the space of one whole month; whereof one to be at York, another at Kingston upon Hull, one at Newcastle, and another at Duresme; within the limits whereof, the matters rising there shall be ordered and decreed, if they conveniently so may be. And they shall, in every of the same places, keep one gaol delivery; before their departure from thence, his grace nevertheless referring it to their discretions, to take and appoint such other place and places for their said four general sittings, as they, or the said lord president, with three of the council, bounden to continual attendance, shall think most convenient for the time and purpose; so that they keep the full term of one month in every such place, if they may in any wise conveniently so do.

And forsomuch as a great number of his majesty's tenants and farmers have been heretofore retained with sundry persons by wages, livery, badge, or connysance; by reason whereof, when his grace should have had service of them, they were rather at commandment of other men, than (according to their duties of allegiance) of his highness, of whom they have their livings; his majesty's pleasure and express commandment is, that none of his said council, nor others, shall by any means retain or entertain any of his grace's tenants or farmers in such sort, as they, or any of them, should account themselves bounden to do him or them any other service, than as to his highness' officers, having office, or being appointed in service there: unless the same farmers and tenants be continually attendant in the house of him that shall retain them. And the said lord president and council shall, in every their general sittings, give special notice and charge, that no nobleman, nor other, shall retain any of the said tenants and farmers, otherwise than is aforesaid; charging also the said farmers and tenants, upon pain of the forfeiture of their farms and holds, and incurring of his majesty's further displeasure and indignation, in nowise to agree to any such retainers, other than is beforesaid, but wholly to depend upon his highness, and upon such as his highness hath, or shall appoint to be officers, rulers, or directors over them.

And his grace's pleasure further is, that in every such sitting, and in all other places where the said lord president and council shall have any notable assemblies before them, they shall give strait charge and commandment to the people, to conform themselves in all things to the observation of such laws, ordinances, and determinations, as be made, passed, and agreed upon by his grace's parliament touching religion, and the most godly service, set forth in their own mother tongue, for their comforts: And likewise to the laws touching the abolishing of the usurped and pretended power of the Bishop of Rome, whose abuses they shall so beat into their heads, by continual inculcation, as they may smell and understand the same; and may perceive the same to be declared with their hearts, and not with their tongues only for a form.

And likewise they shall declare the order and determination taken and agreed upon, for the abrogation of certain vain holy days, being appointed by the Bishop of Rome to blind the world; and to persuade the same, that they might make saints at their pleasures; and thereby, through idleness, do give occasion of the increase of many and great vices and inconveniences: which points his majesty doth earnestly require and



straitly command the said lord president and council to set forth with all dexterity, and to punish extremely, for example, all offenders in the same.

And his majesty willeth the said council, as he doubteth not but they will most earnestly set forth all such other things and matters, as for the confirmation of the people in those matters, and other the king's majesty's proceedings, and things convenient to be remembered, be, or shall be set forth or devised, and sent unto them for that purpose.

Further, his highness' pleasure is, that the said lord president and council shall, from time to time, make diligent inquisition of the wrongful taking in and inclosing of commons, and other grounds, and who be extreme therein; and in taking and exacting of unreasonable fines and gressomes, and overing or raising of rents; and to call the parties that have so evil used themselves therein before them; and leaving all respects and affections apart, they shall take such order for the redresses of enormities used in the same, as the poor people be not oppressed; but that they may live after their sorts and qualities.

And if it shall chance that the said lord president and council shall vary in opinion, either in the law, or for any order to be taken in any matter or fact before them, if the case be of very great weight and importance, then the opinion of the greater, or more part of the number of counsellors appointed to give continual attendance, shall take place, and determine the doubt; and if they be of like number of counsellors, bounden to continual attendance, then that party whereunto the lord president shall give his assent shall be followed and take place. And if the case and matter be of great importance, and the question of the law, then the lord president and council shall signify the case and matter to the judges at Westminster, who shall, with diligence, advertise them again of their opinions therein. And if the matter be of great importance, and an order to be taken upon the fact, then the said lord president and council, attendant upon his person upon the same, whereupon they shall have knowledge again how to use themselves in that behalf.

And the said lord president and council shall take special regard, upon complaint of spoil, extortions, or oppressions, to examine the same speedily, that the party grieved may have due and undelayed remedy and restitution. And for want of ability in the offenders thereunto, they to be punished to the example of others. And if any man, of what degree soever he be, shall, upon a good, lawful, and reasonable cause or matter, and so appearing to the lord president and council, by information, or otherwise, demand surety of peace or justice against any great lord or nobleman of that country, the said lord president and council shall, in that case, grant the petition of the poorest man against the richest or greatest lord, being of the council or no, as they should grant the same (being lawfully asked) against men of the meanest sort, degree, and behaviour.

And forasmuch as it may chance the said lord president to be sometime diseased, that he shall not be able to travel, for the direction of such matters as then shall occur; or to be called to the parliament, or otherwise to be employed in the king's majesty's affairs, or about other business, for good reformation or order within this rule, or for other reasonable cause by his discretion; to the intent therefore that the said council may be and remain ever full and perfect, and that they may be at all times in the same, one person to direct and use all things in such and the same order, sort, and form, as the said lord president should and might do, by virtue of the aforesaid's commissions, and these injunctions, his majesty's pleasure is, that when the said lord president shall be so diseased, absent, or letted, as is beforesaid, that he cannot conveniently supply his room himself, that then he shall name and appoint one of the said commissioners, being appointed, to give continual attendance, to supply his room for that season, during his said disease, absence, or lett; and shall deliver the signet to the person so appointed to keep, during the same time. And the king's highness, during the same time, giveth unto the said person so appointed the name of vice-president; which name nevertheless he shall no longer continue, than during the time that the said lord president shall so be sick, absent, or letted, as is beforesaid. And his majesty's pleasure is, that for the time only that any of the said council, as is before-said, shall occupy the said room and place as a vice-president, that all the rest of the council shall in all things use him in like sort, and with like reverence, as they be bound by those injunctions to use the lord president himself; whereunto his grace doubteth not but every of them will conform themselves accordingly.

And further, his majesty by these presents giveth full power and authority to the said lord president and council, that when the condition of any recognisance taken before them shall be fulfilled, they shall, in open court, cause the same to be cancelled for the discharge of the parties: provided that no recognisance be in any wise cancelled but before the lord president, or vice-president, and three others at the least, sitting in open court with him.

And further, his highness ordaineth, that no attorney shall take, in one sitting or sessions, for one matter, above 12*d*., nor no counsellor above 20*d*.

The rest are wanting.

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NUMBER LVII.

*The Memorial of the Charge committed by the King's Majesty to Sir Richard Morison, Kt., his Majesty's Ambassador with the Emperor, the 24th September.—An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Galba. B. 12.]

First, you, Sir Richard Morison, shall, with all diligence, procure audience of our good brother the emperor; and at your access to him, deliver our letters of credence herewith sent to you, with our most hearty commendations, and earnest declaration, that we be most glad to have understanding of his good estate and health. After the same delivery and salutation, you shall further say, that we understanding his good and honourable advancement towards his Low Countries, to the great comfort of the same; and having also the same love and good-will towards the prosperous success of his said countries, that our late father and our other progenitors have had these many years passed; have willed you expressly in our names to congratulate this his coming thitherward, and to shew him, that the good success which we wish to him, and his affairs and enterprises, is as much as we would to ourselves, and our own countries and patrimonies.

*Item.* When you shall have opened this much, with as good words as you may devise, ye shall begin to descend to this that followeth, using therein your earnestness and frankness, as ye shall see by the former sayings occasion given to you by our said brother's acceptation thereof, either by his good words, or other behaviour in his gesture. Ye shall say, that where we have lately understood of the great murders, spoils, and cruelties done and committed, both in Hungary, and upon the coasts of Naples, and in other parts of Italy, by the Turks, the old common enemy to the

name and religion of all Christianity; likeas, we cannot but from our very heart lament the same, so we will, for our part, as may be thought expedient for the weal-publick of Christendom, shew ourself willing to accord with our said good brother, and other Christian princes and states, for the repulse of the said Turk. And if any such good means may, by the great wisdom and policy of our said good brother the emperor, be thought good and devised to bring the same to some good purpose and effect; we for our part will shew ourself so ready and well-willing thereto, as our said good brother shall well perceive, that we have not only that zeal to the conservation and surety of Christendom, which in a Christian prince is duly required; but also such consideration and regard to our said good brother, and our ancient amity with the house of Burgundy, as to honour and reason appertaineth.

Thus much being declared in such good sort as you shall see occasion doth require, we would that you should stay and pause awhile, as it were, looking for some answer to be made hereto by our said good brother; and if you shall perceive he taketh it in thankful part, then may you entertain the talk modestly, with such good words as may seem to your wisdom best to confirm our good affection to the continuance of the amity, and our great offence and grief, with the entry of the Turks in Christendom.

And if you shall perceive that the emperor doth in so good part receive this our overture, that he shall shew himself willing to enter any further talk, or devise for the further proceeding in the same, you may, as of yourself, shew your readiness and goodwill to do all that you any ways well may, as a good minister, for the bringing this purpose to some profitable effect; which you may say, in your own opinion, shall the better take good entry and success, if, by some special man to be sent hither, we might understand more fully our said good brother's mind in this matter.

*Item.* If ye shall perceive that the emperor doth not regard this overture, either in not liking the matter itself, or not so regarding our amity as reason would, and as it is on our part offered, then may you use yourself more coldly, and diminish the declaration of our earnestness, in like sort as our said brother sheweth himself; and conclude, that thus having done the message committed to your charge, you will leave the consideration hereof to him as he shall think good.

And if, in the opening of the premises, our said brother shall make any mention or interpretation against the French king, referring the Turk's invasions to the said French king as some occasion thereof; and so shall demand, directly or indirectly, whether this our overture be meant to extend against the French king, or any others of Christian name that shall join in league or amity with the said Turks; you may thereto say, that you had no more in charge presently than ye have said; and therefore, for further opening of our mind therein, you think the same might be best had here.

And if at any time of this your talk, our said brother shall gather occasion to ask you, what we will do for giving aid against these invasions made by the French king upon the Low Countries? you may answer, you have nothing to say therein, but that you think the answer that was declared to his ambassador here resident upon the letters sent to us from our good sister the queen of Hungary hath both been signified to him long before his time, and also as ye trust in reason contented her. And in this point, although ye know what was answered, yet would we not ye should enter into the dispute thereof, meaning in this and the rest of things to be treated with our said brother, that ye would rather procure the sending of some special man hither, than to treat anything by his ambassador here, who hitherto hath not appeared the fittest man to encrease or enlarge the amity betwixt us and our said brother.

Finally, our pleasure is, that you shall, in the execution of this present charge, wholly extend your good policy and wisdom, to mark and well-advise all such words of moment, as the emperor shall utter to you in this talk, by what order, behaviour, gesture, or other passion of joy or grief the same shall be spoken, so as we may simply, plainly, and very orderly have the true declaration thereof from you; wherein we desire so express and special a report of this matter, as upon the same we may better conceive what shall be expedient to be further done in this, and other our weighty affairs.

Winchester. Northumberland. J. Bedford. F. Huntingdon. E. Clinton. W. Northampton. J. Cobham. T. Darcy. Richard Cotton. John Gate.

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NUMBER LVIII.

*A Letter written by B. Ridley, setting out the sins of that time.*

[Regist. Ridl. Fol. 239.]

To this well-beloved, the preachers within the diocess of London.

After hearty commendations, having regard, especially at this time, to the wrath of God, who hath plagued us diversly, and now with extreme punishment of sudden death poured upon us, for causes certain, known unto his high and secret judgment, and as may seem unto man for our wicked living; daily encreasing unto such sort, that not only in our conversations the fear of God is, alas, far gone from before our eyes, but also the world is grown into that uncharitableness, that one, as it appeareth plainly, goeth about to devour another; moved with insatiable covetousness, both contrary to God's word and will, and to the extreme peril and damnation of Christ's flock, bought so dearly with his precious blood, and to the utter destruction of this whole common-wealth, except God's anger be shortly appeased; wherein, as according to my bounden duty I shall, God willing, in my own person be diligent and labour; so I exhort and require you, first in God's name, and by authority of him committed unto me in that behalf, and also in the king's majesty's name, from whom I have authority and special commandment thus to do, that as you are called to be setters forth of God's word, and to express in your livings the same, so now in your exhortations and sermons you do most wholesomely and earnestly tell unto men their sins, *Juxta illud annuncia populo meo scelera eorum*, with God's punishments lately poured upon us for the same, now before our eyes; and specially to beat down and destroy, with all your power and wit, that greedy and devouring serpent of covetousness, that doth so now universally reign: calling upon God for repentance, and provoking to common prayer, and amendment of life, with most earnest petitions, that hereby God's hands may be stayed, the world amended, and obedience of subjects and faithfulness of ministers declared accordingly. Thus I bid you heartily well to fare. From London, July 25, 1551.

Yours in Christ,

Nic. London.



NUMBER LIX.

*Bishop Ridley's Letter to the Protector, concerning the Visitation of the University of Cambridge.*

[Ex Chartophylacro Regio.]

Right Honourable—I wish your grace the holy and wholesome fear of God, because I am persuaded your grace's goodness to be such unfeignedly, that even wherein your grace's letters doth sore blame me, yet in the same the advertisement of the truth shall not displease your grace; and also perceiving that the cause of your grace's discontentation was wrong information, therefore I shall beseech your grace to give me leave to shew your grace wherein it appeareth to me that your grace is wrong informed.

Your grace's letters blameth me, because I did not (at the first, before the visitation began, having knowledge of the matter) shew my mind: the truth is, before God, I never had, nor could get any foreknowledge of the matter, of the uniting of the two colleges, before we had begun, and had entred two days on the visitation, and that your grace may plainly thus well perceive.

A little before Easter, I being at Rochester, received letters from Mr. secretary Smith, and the dean of Paul's, to come to the visitation of the university, and to make a sermon at the beginning thereof; whereupon I sent immediately a servant up to London, to the dean of Paul's, desiring of him to have had some knowledge of things there to be done, because I thought it meet that my sermon should somewhat have savoured of the same.

From Mr. Dean I received a letter, instructing me only that the cause of the visitation was to abolish statutes and ordinances, which maintained papistry, superstition, blindness, and ignorance; and to establish and set forth such as might further God's word and good learning; and else, the truth is, he would shew me nothing, but bad me be careless, and said there was informations how all things was for to be done, the which, I take God to witness, I did never see, nor could get knowledge what they were, before we were entred in the visitation two days, although I desired to have seen them in the beginning.

Now, when I had seen the instructions, the truth is, I thought peradventure the master and company would have surrendred up their college; but when their consent, after labour and travel taken therein two days, could not be obtained, and then we began secretly to consult (all the commissioners thinking it best that every man should say his mind plainly, that in execution there might appear but one way to be taken of all), there when it was seen to some, that without the consent of the present incumbents, by the king's absolute power, we might proceed to the uniting of the two colleges, I did in my course simply and plainly declare my conscience, and that there only secretly, among ourselves alone, with all kind of softness, so that no man could be justly offended. Also, I perceive by your grace's letters I have been noted of some for my barking there; and yet to bark, lest God should be offended, I cannot deny; but indeed it is a part of my profession, for God's word condemneth the dumb dogs that will not bark and give warning of God's displeasure.

As for that that was suggested to your grace, that by my aforesaid barking I should dishonour the king's majesty, and dissuade others from the execution of the king's commission, God is my judge, I intended according to my duty to God and the king, the maintenance and defence of his highness' royal honour and dignity. If that be true, that I believe is true, which the prophet saith, *Honor Regis Judicium diligit*; and as the commissioners must needs, and I am sure will all testify, that I dissuaded no man, but contrariwise, exhorted every man (with the quiet of other) to satisfy their own conscience; desiring only, that if it should otherwise be seen unto them, that I might, either by my absence or silence, satisfy mine. The which my plainness, when some, otherwise than according to my expectation did take, I was moved thereupon (both for the good opinion I had, and yet have, in your grace's goodness; and also specially, because your grace had commanded me so to do) to open my mind, by my private letters, freely unto your grace.

And thus I trust your grace perceiveth now, both that anon, after knowledge had, I did utter my conscience; and also that the matter was not opened unto me before the visitation was two days begun.

If in this I did amiss, that before the knowledge of the instructions I was ready to grant to the execution of the commission, truly, I had rather herein acknowledge my fault, and submit myself to your grace's correction, then after knowledge had, then wittingly and willingly commit that thing whereunto my conscience doth not agree, for fear of God's displeasure.

It is a godly wish that is wished in your grace's letters, that flesh, and blood, and country, might not more weigh with some men than godliness and reason; but the truth is, country in this matter (whatsoever some men do suggest unto your grace) shall not move me; and that your grace shall well perceive; for I shall be as ready as any other first thence to expel some of my own country, if the report which is made of them can be tried true.

And as for that your grace saith of flesh and blood, that is, the favour or fear of mortal man. Yea, marry, sir, that is a matter of weight indeed, and the truth is, (alas! my own feebleness,) of that I am afraid; but I beseech your grace, yet once again, give me good leave, wherein here I fear my own frailty, to confess the truth.

Before God, there is no man this day (leaving the king's majesty for the honour only excepted) whose favour or displeasure I do either seek or fear, as your grace's favour or displeasure; for of God, both your grace's authority and my bound duty for your grace's benefits bind me so to do. So that if the desire of any man's favour, or fear of displeasure, should weigh more with me than godliness and reason,

Truly, if I may be bold to say the truth, I must needs say, that I am most in danger to offend herein, either for desire of your grace's favour, or for fear of your grace's displeasure. And yet I shall not cease (God willing) daily to pray God so to stay and strengthen my frailty with holy fear, that I do not commit the thing for favour or fear of any mortal man, whereby my conscience may threaten me with the loss of the favour of the living God, but that it may please him, of his gracious goodness, (howsoever the world goes,) to blow this in the ears of my heart, *Deus dissipavit ossa eorum qui hominibus placuerint.* And this, *Horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis.* And again, *Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus.*

Wherefore I most humbly beseech your grace, for God's love, not to be offended with me for renewing of this my suit unto your grace, which is that whereunto my conscience cannot well agree; if any such thing chance in this visitation, I may, with your grace's favour, have license, either by mine absence or silence, or other-like means, to keep my conscience quiet. I wish your grace, in God, honour and endless felicity. From Pembrook-hall in Cambridge, June 1, 1549.

Your grace's humble and daily orator,

Nich. Roffen.

NUMBER LX.

*The Protector's Answer to the former Letter.*

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

After our right hearty commendations to your lordship, we have received your letters of the first of June, again replying to those which we last sent unto you. And as it appeareth, ye yet remaining in your former request, desires, if things do occur so, that, according to your conscience, ye cannot do them, that you might absent yourself, or otherwise keep silence. We would be loth anything should be done by the king's majesty's visitors, otherwise than right and conscience might allow and approve: and visitation is to direct things to the better, not to the worse; to ease consciences, not to clog them. Marry, we would wish that executors thereof should not be scrupulous in conscience, otherwise than reason would. Against your conscience it is not our will to move you, as we would not gladly do, or move any man to that which is against right and conscience; and we trust the king's majesty hath not in this matter. And we think in this ye do much wrong, and much discredit the other visitors, that ye should seem to think and suppose that they would do things against conscience. We take them to be men of that honour and honesty, that they will not. My lord of Canterbury hath declared unto us, that this maketh partly a conscience unto you, that divines should be diminished. That can be no cause; for, first, the same was meant before in the late king's time, to unite the two colleges together; as we are sure ye have heard, and sir Edward North can tell: and for that cause, all such as were students of the law, out of the new-erected cathedral church, were disappointed of their livings, only reserved to have been in that civil college. The king's hall being in manner all lawyers, canonists were turned and joined to Michael-house, and made a college of divines, wherewith the number of divines was much augmented, civilians diminished. Now at this present also, if in all other colleges, where lawyers be by the statutes or the king's injunctions, ye do convert them, or the more part of them, to divines, ye shall rather have more divines upon this change than ye had before. The King's college should have six lawyers; Jesus college some; the Queen's college, and other, one or two apiece; and as we are informed by the late king's injunctions, every college in Cambridge one at the least: all these together do make a greater in number than the fellows of Clare-hall be, and they now made divines, and the statutes in that reformed divinity shall not be diminished in number of students, but encreased, as appeareth, although these two colleges be so united. And we are sure ye are not ignorant how necessary a study that study of civil law is to all treaties with forreign princes and strangers, and how few there be at this present to do the king's majesty's service therein; for we would the encrease of divines as well as you. Marry, necessity compelleth us also to maintain the science; and we require you, my lord, to have consideration how much you do hinder the king's majesty's proceedings in that visitation, if now you, who are one of the visitors, should thus draw back and discourage the other, ye should much hinder the whole doings; and peradventure that thing known, maketh the master and fellows of Clare-hall to stand the more obstinate; wherefore we require you to have regard of the king's majesty's honour, and the quiet performings of that visitation, most to the glory of God and benefit of that university; the which thing is only meant in your instructions. To the performing of that, and in that manner, we can be content you use your doings as ye think best, for the quieting of your conscience. Thus we bid you right heartily farewell.—From Richmond, the 10th of June, 1549.

Your loving friend,

E. Somerset.

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NUMBER LXI.

*A Letter of Cranmer's to King Henry the Eighth, concerning a further Reformation, and against Sacrilege.*

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

It may please your highness to be advertised, that forasmuch as I might not tarry myself at London, because I had appointed, the next day after that I departed from your majesty, to be at Rochester, to meet the next morning all the commissioners of Kent at Sittinghourn; therefore the same night that I returned from Hampton-Court to Lambeth, I sent for the bishop of Worcester incontinently, and declared unto him all your majesty's pleasure, in such things as your majesty willed me to be done. And first, where your majesty's pleasure was, to have the names of such persons as your highness, in times past, appointed to make laws ecclesiastical for your grace's realm; the bishop of Worcester promised me, with all speed, to enquire out their names, and the book which they made, and to bring the names, and also the book, unto your majesty, which I trust he hath done before this time.

And as concerning the ringing of bells upon Alhallow-day at night, and covering of images in Lent, and creeping to the cross, he thought it necessary that a letter of your majesty's pleasure therein should be sent by your grace unto the two archbishops, and we to send the same to all other prelats within your grace's realm. And if it be your majesty's pleasure so to do, I have for more speed herein drawn a minute of a letter, which your majesty may alter at your pleasure. Nevertheless, in my opinion, when such things be altered or taken away, there would be set forth some doctrine therewith, which should declare the cause of the abolishing or alteration, for to satisfy the conscience of the people: for if the honouring of the cross, as creeping and kneeling thereunto, be taken away, it shall seem to many that be ignorant that the honour of Christ is taken away, unless some good teaching be set forth withal to instruct them sufficiently therein; which if your majesty command the bishops of Worcester and Chichester, with other your grace's chaplains to make, the people shall obey your majesty's commandment willingly, giving thanks to your majesty that they know the truth, which else they would obey with murmuration and grutching. And it shall be a satisfaction unto all other nations, when they shall see your majesty do nothing but by the authority of God's word, and to the setting forth of God's honour, and not diminishing thereof. And thus Almighty God keep your majesty in his preservation and governance. From my mannor at Beckisbourn, the 24th of January, 45.

Your grace's most bounden chaplain and beadsman.

*Postscript.*

I beseech your majesty that I may be a suitor unto the same, for your cathedral church of Canterbury, who to their great unquietness, and also great charges, do alienate their lands daily, and, as it is said, by your majesty's commandment. But this I am sure, that other men have gotten their best lands, and not your majesty. Wherefore this is mine only suit, that when your majesty's pleasure shall be to have any of their lands, that they may have some letter from your majesty, to declare your majesty's pleasure, without the which they be sworn, that they shall make no alienation. And that the same alienation be not made at other men's pleasures, but only to your majesty's use. For now every man that list to have any of their lands makes suit to get it into your majesty's hands; not that your majesty should keep the same, but by sale, or gift from your majesty, to translate it from your grace's cathedral church unto themselves.

T. Cantuarien.

*The Draught of a Letter which the King was to send to Cranmer against some superstitious practices.*

To the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Forasmuch as you, as well in your own name as in the name of the bishops of Worcester and Chichester, and other our chaplains and learned men, whom we appointed with you to peruse certain books of service, which we delivered unto you, moved us, that the vigil and ringing of bells all the night long upon Alhallow-day at night, and the covering of images in the church in the time of Lent, with the lifting up the veil that covereth the cross upon Palm-Sunday, with the kneeling to the cross at the same time, might be abolished and put away, for the superstition, and other enormities and abuses of the same. First, forasmuch as all the vigils of Our Lady, and the apostles, and all other vigils, which in the beginning of the church were godly used, yet for the manifold superstition and abuses which after did grow, by means of the same, they be many years past taken away throughout all Christendom, and there remaineth nothing but the name of the vigil in the calendar, the thing clearly abolished and put away, saving only upon Alhallows-day at night; upon which night is kept vigil, watching, and ringing of bells all the night long. Forasmuch as that vigil is abused as other vigils were, our pleasure is, as you require, that the said vigil shall be abolished as the other be, and that there shall be no watching nor ringing but as be commonly used upon other holy-days at night. We be contented and pleased also, that the images in churches shall not be covered, as hath been accustomed in times past, nor no veil upon the cross, nor no kneeling thereto upon Palm-Sunday, nor any other time. And forasmuch as you make no mention of creeping to the cross, which is a greater abuse than any of the other; for there you say, *Crucem tuam adoramus, Domine;* and the ordinal saith, *Procedant Clerici ad crucem adorandum nudis pedibus;* and after followeth in the same ordinal, *Ponatur Crux ante aliquod Altare, ubi a populo adoretur;* which by your own book, called "A Necessary Doctrine," is against the second commandment. Therefore our pleasure is, that the said creeping to the cross shall likewise cease from henceforth, and be abolished, with the other abuses before rehearsed. And this we will, and straitly command you to signify unto all the prelats and bishops of your province of Canterbury, charging them, in our name, to see the same executed, every one in his diocese, accordingly.

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BOOK II.

NUMBER I.

*The Proclamation of Lady Jane Gray's Title to the Crown.**

Jane, by the grace of God queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England, and also of Ireland, under Christ in earth the supreme head. To all our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, and to every of them, greeting. Whereas our most dear cousin Edward the 6th, late king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith; and in earth supreme head, under Christ, of the church of England and Ireland; by his letters patents, signed with his own hand, and sealed with his great seal of England, bearing date the 21st day of June, in the seventh year of his reign; in the presence of the most part of his nobles, his counsellors, judges, and divers other grave and sage personages, for the profit and surety of the whole realm, thereto assenting and subscribing their names to the same, hath, by the same his letters patents, recited, that forasmuch as the imperial crown of this realm, by an act made in the 35th year of the reign of the late king, of worthy memory, king Henry the 8th, our progenitor, and great uncle, was, for lack of issue of his body lawfully begotten; and for lack of issue of the body of our said late cousin king Edward the 6th, by the same act, limited and appointed to remain to the lady Mary his eldest daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten: and for default of such issue, the remainder thereof to the lady Elizabeth, by the name of the lady Elizabeth his second daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten; with such conditions as should be limited and appointed by the said late king of worthy memory, king Henry the 8th, our progenitor, our great uncle, by his letters patents under his great seal, or by his last will in writing, signed with his hand. And forasmuch as the said limitation of the imperial crown of this realm being limited, as is aforesaid, to the said lady Mary, and lady Elizabeth, being illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten, for that the marriage had, between the said late king, king Henry the 8th, our progenitor, and great uncle, and the lady Katherine, mother to the said lady Mary; and also the marriage had between the said late king, king Henry the 8th, our progenitor, and great uncle, and the lady Ann, mother to the said lady Elizabeth, were clearly and lawfully undone, by sentences of divorce, according to the word of God, and the ecclesiastical laws; and which said several divorcements have been severally ratified and confirmed by authority of parliament, and especially in the 28th year of the reign of king Henry the 8th, our said progenitor, and great uncle, remaining in force, strength, and effect, whereby, as well the said lady Mary, as also the said lady Elizabeth, to all intents and purposes, are, and been clearly disabled, to ask, claim, or challenge the said imperial crown, or any other of the honours, castles, manours, lordships, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, as heir or heirs to our said late cousin king Edward the 6th, or as heir or heirs to any other person or persons whatsoever, as well for the cause before rehearsed, as also for that the said lady Mary, and lady Elizabeth, were unto our said late cousin but of the half-blood, and therefore by the ancient laws, statutes, and customs of this realm, be not inheritable unto our said late cousin, although they had been born

* This seems not to be the proclamation declaring Jane Grey to be queen, but rather her letters-patent declarative of her right of succession.—Strype's Correct.

in lawful matrimony; as indeed they were not, as by the said sentences of divorce, and the said statute of the 28th year of the reign of king Henry the 8th, our said progenitor, and great uncle, plainly appeareth. And forasmuch also, as it is to be thought, or at the least much to be doubted, that if the said lady Mary, or lady Elizabeth, should hereafter have or enjoy the said imperial crown of this realm, and should then happen to marry with any stranger born out of this realm, that then the said stranger, having the government and imperial crown in his hands, would adhere and practise, not only to bring this noble, free realm into the tyranny and servitude of the bishops of Rome, but also to have the laws and customs of his or their own native country or countries, to be practised and put in ure within this realm, rather than the laws, statutes, and customs here of long time used; whereupon the title of inheritance, of all and singular the subjects of this realm do depend, to the peril of conscience, and the utter subversion of the common-weal of this realm: whereupon our said late dear cousin, weighing and considering within himself which ways and means were most convenient to be had for the stay of the said succession, in the said imperial crown, if it should please God to call our said late cousin out of this transitory life, having no issue of his body; and calling to his remembrance, that we, and the lady Katherine, and the lady Mary, our sisters (being the daughters of the lady Frances, our natural mother, and then, and yet, wife to our natural and most loving father, Henry duke of Suffolk; and the lady Margaret, daughter of the lady Elianor, then deceased, sister to the said lady Frances, and the late wife of our cousin Henry earl of Cumberland) were very nigh of his grace's blood, of the part of his father's side, our said progenitor, and great uncle; and being naturally born here, within the realm; and for the very good opinion our said late cousin had of our said sisters' and cousin Margaret's good education, did therefore, upon good deliberation and advice herein had, and taken, by his said letters patents, declare, order, assign, limit, and appoint, that if it should fortune himself, our said late cousin king Edward the Sixth, to decease, having no issue of his body lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown of England and Ireland, and the confines of the same, and his title to the crown of the realm of France; and all and singular honours, castles, prerogatives, privileges, preheminencies, and authorities, jurisdictions, dominions, possessions, and hereditaments, to our said late cousin king Edward the Sixth, or to the said imperial crown belonging, or in any-wise appertaining, should, for lack of such issue of his body, remain, come, and be to the eldest son of the body of the said lady Frances, lawfully begotten, being born into the world in his life-time, and to the heirs males of the body of such eldest son lawfully begotten; and so from son to son, as he should be of vicinity of birth of the body of the said lady Frances, lawfully begotten, being born into the world in our said late cousin's life-time, and to the heirs male of the body of every such son lawfully begotten. And for default of such son born into the world in his life-time, of the body of the said lady Frances, lawfully begotten; and for lack of heirs males of every such son lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown, and all and singular other the premises, should remain, come, and be to us, by the name of the lady Jane, eldest daughter of the said lady Frances, and to the heirs males of our body lawfully begotten, and for lack of such issue, then to the lady Katherine aforesaid, our said second sister, and the heirs male of her body lawfully begotten, with divers other remainders, as by the same letters-patents more plainly and at large it may and doth appear. Sithence the making of our letters patents, that is to say, on Thursday, which was the 6th day of this instant month of July, it hath pleased God to call unto his infinite mercy our said most dear and entirely beloved cousin Edward the Sixth, whose soul God pardon; and forasmuch as he is now deceased, having no heirs of his body begotten; and that also there remaineth at this present time no heirs lawfully begotten, of the body of our said progenitor, and great uncle, king Henry the Eighth; and forasmuch also as the said lady Frances, our said mother, had no issue male begotten of her body, and born into the world, in the life-time of our said cousin king Edward the Sixth, so as the said imperial crown, and other the premises to the same belonging, or in any-wise appertaining, now be, and remain to us, in our actual and royal possession, by authority of the said letters patents: we do therefore by these presents signify, unto all our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, that likeas we for our part shall, by God's grace, shew ourself a most gracious and benign sovereign queen and lady to all our good subjects, in all their just and lawful suits and causes; and to the uttermost of our power, shall preserve and maintain God's most holy word, Christian policy, and the good laws, customs, and liberties of these our realms and dominions; so we mistrust not but they, and every of them, will again, for their parts, at all times, and in all cases, shew themselves unto us, their natural liege queen and lady, most faithful, loving, and obedient subjects, according to their bounden duties and allegiance, whereby they shall please God, and do the things that shall tend to their own preservation and sureties; willing and commanding all men, of all estates, degrees, and conditions, to see our peace and accord kept, and to be obedient to our laws, as they tender our favour, and will answer for the contrary at their extreme perils. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourself, at our Tower of London, the tenth day of July, in the first year of our reign.

God save the Queen.

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NUMBER II.

*A Letter sent by Queen Katherine, to the Lady Mary her Daughter.*

[Ex MS. Norfolcianis in Col. Cresham.]

DAUGHTER, I heard such tidings this day, that I do perceive (if it be true) the time is near that Almighty God will provide for you, and I am very glad of it, for I trust that he doth handle you with a good love; I beseech you agree to his pleasure with a merry heart, and be you sure, that without fail he will not suffer you to perish, if you beware to offend him. I pray God, you good daughter, to offer yourself to him; if any pangs come to you, shrive yourself, first make yourself clean; take heed of his commandments, and keep them as near as he will give you grace to do, for then are you sure armed. And if this lady do come to you, as it is spoken, if she do bring you a letter from the king, I am sure, in the self-same letter, you shall be commanded what you shall do. Answer you with few words, obeying the king your father in every thing, save only that you will not offend God, and lose your soul, and go no further with learning and disputation in the matter; and wheresoever, and in whatsoever company you shall come, obey the king's commandments, speak few words, and meddle nothing. I will send you two books in Latin, one shall be, "De Vita Christi," with the declaration of the gospels; and the other, "The Epistles of St. Hierome," that he did write always to Paula and Eustochium, and in them trust you shall see good things. And sometimes, for your recreation, use your virginals, or lute, if you have any. But one thing specially I desire you, for the love that you owe unto God and unto me, to keep your heart with a chaste mind, and your body from all ill and wanton company, not thinking or desiring any husband, for Christ's passion; neither determine yourself to any manner of living, until this troublesome time be past, for I dare make you sure that you shall see a very good end, and better than you can desire. I would God, good daughter, that you did know with how good a heart I do write this letter unto you: I never did one with a better, for I perceive very well that God loveth you; I beseech him of his goodness to continue it: and if it shall fortune that you shall have nobody to be with you of your acquaintance, I think it best you keep your keys yourself, for whosoever it is, so shall be done as shall please them. And now you shall begin, and by likelihood I shall follow, I set not a rush by it, for when they have done the uttermost they can, then I am sure of the amendment. I pray you recommend me unto my good lady of Salisbury, and pray her to have a good heart, for we never come to the kingdom of heaven but by troubles. Daughter, wheresoever you become, take no pain to send to me, for if I may I will send to you.

By your loving mother,

KATHERINE THE QUEEN.

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NUMBER III.

*A humble Submission made by Queen Mary to her Father. Anno* 1536.—*An Original.*

[Cotton Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

MOST humbly prostrate before the feet of your most excellent majesty, your most humble, faithful, and obedient subject, which hath so extremely offended your most gracious highness, that mine heavy and fearful heart dare not presume to call you father, nor your majesty hath any cause by my deserts, saving the benignity of your most blessed nature, doth surmount all evils, offences, and trespasses, and is ever merciful and ready to accept the penitent, calling for grace in any convenient time. Having received, this Thursday at night, certain letters from Mr. Secretary, as well advising me to make my humble submission immediately to yourself; which because I durst not, without your gracious license, presume to do before, I lately sent unto him; as signifying that your most merciful heart, and fatherly pity, had granted me your blessing, with condition, that I should persevere in that I had commenced and begun, and that I should not eft-soons offend your majesty by the denial or refusal of any such articles and commandments, as it may please your highness to address unto me, for the perfect trial of my heart and inward affection. For the perfect declaration of the bottom of my heart and stomach:

First, I acknowledge myself to have most unkindly and unnaturally offended your most excellent highness, in that I have not submitted myself to your most just and vertuous law. And for mine offences therein, which I must confess were in me a thousand fold more grievous than they could be in any other living creature, I put myself wholly and entirely to your gracious mercy, at whose hand I cannot receive that punishment for the same that I have deserved.

Secondly, to open mine heart to your grace, in these things which I have heretofore refused to condescend unto, and have now written with mine own hand, sending the same to your highness herewith, I shall never beseech your grace to have pity and compassion of me, if ever you shall perceive that I shall privily or apertly vary or alter from one piece of that I have written and subscribed, or refuse to confirm, ratify, or declare the same, where your majesty shall appoint me.

Thirdly, as I have, and shall, knowing your excellent learning, virtue, wisdom, and knowledge, put my soul into your direction; and by the same hath, and will in all things from henceforth direct my conscience, so my body I do wholly commit to your mercy and fatherly pity, desiring no state, no condition, nor no meaner degree of living, but such as your grace shall appoint me: knowledging and confessing, that my state cannot be so vile, as either the extremity of justice would appoint unto me, or as mine offences have required or deserved.

And whatsoever your grace shall command me to do, touching any of these points, either for things past, present, or to come, I shall as gladly do the same, as your majesty shall command me. Most humbly therefore beseeching your mercy, most gracious sovereign lord and benign father, to have pity and compassion of your miserable and sorrowful child, and with the abundance of your inestimable goodness so to overcome mine iniquity towards God, your grace, and your whole realm, as I may feel some sensible token of reconciliation, which, God is my judge, I only desire, without other respect; to whom I shall daily pray for the preservation of your highness, with the queen's grace, and that it may please him to send you issue.—From Hunsdon, this Thursday, at eleven of the clock at night.

Your grace's most humble and obedient daughter and handmaid,

MARY.

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NUMBER IV.

*Another of the same strain, confirming the former. An Original.*

[Cotton Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

MOST humbly, obediently, and gladly lying at the feet of your most excellent majesty, my most dear and benign father, and sovereign lord, I have this day perceived your gracious clemency and merciful pity to have overcome my most unkind and unnatural proceedings towards you, and your most just and virtuous laws. The great and inestimable joy whereof, I cannot express, nor have anything worthy to be again presented to your majesty for the same your fatherly pity extended towards me, most ingrately on my part abandoned, as much as in me lies, but my poor heart, which I send unto your highness to remain in your hand, to be for ever used, directed, and framed, whiles God shall suffer life to remain in it at your only pleasure, most humbly beseeching your grace to accept and receive the same; being all that I have to offer, which shall never alter, vary, or change, from that confession and submission which I have made unto your highness, in the presence of your council, and other attending upon the same; for whose preservation, with my most gracious mother the queen, I shall daily pray to God, whom eft-soons I beseech to send you issue, to his honour, and the comfort of your whole realm.—From Hunsdon, the 26th day of June.

Your grace's most humble and obedient daughter and handmaid,

MARY.

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NUMBER V.

*Another Letter written to her Father, to the same purpose.—An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

MY bounden duty most humbly remembred to your most excellent majesty: whereas I am unable and insufficient to render and express to your highness those

most hearty and humble thanks for your gracious mercy and fatherly pity, surmounting mine offences at this time extended towards me, I shall prostrate at your most noble feet, humbly and with the very bottom of my stomach, beseech your grace to repute that in me, which in my poor heart remaining in your most noble hand, I have conceived and professed towards your grace, whiles the breath shall remain in my body; that is, that as I am now in such merciful sort recovered, being more than almost lost with mine own folly, that your majesty may as well accept me justly your bounden slave by redemption, as your most humble, faithful, and obedient child and subject, by the course of nature planted in this your most noble realm; so shall I for ever persevere and continue towards your highness, in such uniformity and due obedience, as I doubt not but, with the help of God, your grace shall see and perceive a will and intent in me, to redouble again that hath been amiss on my behalf, conformably to such words and writings as I have spoken and sent unto your highness, from the which I will never vary during my life, trusting that your grace hath conceived that opinion of me, which to remember is mine only comfort. And thus I beseech our Lord to preserve your grace in health, with my very natural mother the queen, and to send you shortly issue, which I shall as gladly and willingly serve with my hands under their feet, as ever did poor subject their most gracious sovereign.—From Hundson, the 8th day of July.

Your grace's most humble and obedient daughter and handmaid,

MARY.

NUMBER VI.

*A Letter written by her to Cromwell, containing a full Submission to the King's Pleasure, in all the Points of Religion.—An Original.*

[Cotton Libr. Otho. C. 10.]

GOOD Mr. Secretary, how much am I bound unto you, which have not only travelled, when I was almost drowned in folly, to recover me before I sunk, and was utterly past recovery, and so to present me to the face of grace and mercy; but also desisteth not sithence, with your good and wholesome counsels, so to arm me from any relapse, that I cannot, unless I were too wilful and obstinate,(whereof now there is no spark in me,) fall again into any danger. But leaving the recital of your goodness apart, which I cannot recount; for answer to the particularities of your credence, sent by my friend Mr. Wriothsley; first, concerning the princess, (so I think I must call her yet, for I would be loth to offend,) I offered, at her entry to that name and honour, to call her sister; but it was refused, unless I would also add the other title unto it; which I denied not then more obstinately than I am now sorry for it, for that I did therein offend my most gracious father and his just laws. And now that you think it meet, I shall never call her by other name than sister. Touching the nomination of such women as I would have about me; surely, Mr. Secretary, what men or women soever the king's highness shall appoint to wait on me, without exception, shall be to me right-heartily, and without respect, welcome; albeit, to express my mind to you, whom I think worthy to be accepted for their faithful service done to the king's majesty, and to me, sithence they came into my company, I promise you, on my faith, Margaret Baynton and Susanna Clarencieux have, in every condition, used themselves as faithfully, painfully, and diligently, as ever did women in such a case; as sorry when I was not so conformable as became me, as glad when I enclined anything to my duty as could be devised. One other there is that was sometime my maid, whom, for her virtue, I love, and could be glad to have in my company, that is, Mary Brown, and here be all that I will recommend; and yet my estimation of this shall be measured at the king's highness, my most merciful father's pleasure and appointment, as reason is.

For mine opinion touching pilgrimages, purgatory, reliques, and such-like, I assure you I have none at all, but such as I shall receive from him that hath mine whole heart in keeping, that is, the king's most gracious highness, my most benign father, who shall imprint in the same touching these matters, and all other, what his inestimable virtue, high wisdom, and excellent learning shall think convenient, and limit unto me; to whose presence I pray God I may once come ere I die, for every day is a year till I may have the fruition of it. Beseeching you, good Mr. Secretary, to continue mine humble suit for the same, and for all other things whatsoever they be, to repute my heart so firmly knit to his pleasure, that I can by no means vary from the direction and appointment of the same; and thus mostly heartily fare you well.—From Hunsdon, this Friday, at ten of the clock at night.

Your assured loving friend, during my life,

MARY.

NUMBER VII.

*A Letter of Bonner's, upon his being restored to his Bishoprick.—An Original.*

To my most loving and dearly beloved friends, my cousin Thomas Shirley, the worshipful Richard Leechmore, and Roger Leechmore his brother.

IN most hearty wise I commend me unto you, ascertaining, that yesterday I was, by sentence, restored again to my bishoprick, and reposed in the same, even as fully as I was at any time before I was deprived; and by the said sentence, my usurper, Dr. Ridley, is utterly repulsed; so that I would ye did order all things at Kidmerly and Bushley at your pleasures, not suffering Sheeps-head, or Ships-side, to be any medler there, or to sell or carry away anything from thence; and I trust, at your coming up now at the parliament, I shall so handle both the said Sheeps-heads, and the other Calves-heads, that they shall perceive their sweet shall not be without sour sauce. This day is looked that Mr. Canterbury must be placed where is meet for him; he is become very humble and ready to submit himself in all things, but that will not serve; in the same predicament is Dr. Smith, my friend, and the dean of Paul's, with others. Commend me to your bedfellows most heartily, and remember the liquor that I wrote to you for; this bearer shall declare the rest, and also put you in remembrance for beeves and muttons for my house-fare. And thus our blessed Lord long and well keep you all.—Written in haste, this 6th of September.

Assuredly all your own,

EDMOND LONDON.

NUMBER VIII.

*A Manifesto set out by Cranmer, declaring his readiness to maintain the Reformation in a public dispute.*

[From the Copy printed that year.]

Purgatio Reverendissimi in Christo Patris ac Domini D. Thomæ Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, adversus infames sed vanos rumores a quibusdam sparsos, de Missa restituta Cantuariæ.

QUANQUAM Satan vetus Christi hostis, mendax ipse atq; mendacii parens, nullis unquam temporibus abstinuit suis armandis mancipiis et membris adversus Christum et veram ipsius Religionem, variis subinde excogitatis mendaciis: idem tamen his nostris temporibus agit sane perquam sedulo. Nam cum Rex Hen. 8. Princeps illustrissimæ memoriæ deprehensis erroribus atq; infandis abusibus Latinæ Missæ, ipsam aliquousq; cæpisset corrigere, deindeq; filius qui proxime secutus est supremus Dominus noster Rex Edwardus 6. non ferens hos tantos, tamq; manifestos errores atq; abusus omnes pœnitus sustulisset, restituta Sacros. Christi cæna et plane ad ipsius institutum atq; Apostolorum et Ecclesiæ Primitivæ exemplum; Diabolus contra tentavit nuper si posset, rursum ejecta dominica cæna, Latinam ac Satisfactoriam Missam (suum ipsius inventum et institutum scilicet) rursum hominibus nostris obtrudere. Atq; id quod facilius posset effici, ausi sunt quidam abuti nomine nostro Thomæ Cantuarien. Archiepiscopi, spargentes in vulgum Missam meo jussu Cantuariæ restitutam, meq; adeo cantaturum fuisse Missam in funere nuper Principis nostri summi Edwardi 6. Regis, imo idem quoq; facturum recepisse coram Majestate Reginea, et ad Paulum, et nescio ubi præterea.

Porro tametsi jam 20. ab hinc annis multos ejusmodi rumores de me vanos et falsos pertulerim, utcunq; fortiter et modeste, nunquam data hactenus significatione ulla commoti animi ob res ejusmodi; Attamen si quando in fraudem atq; injuriam veritatis Dei talia jactarentur, haud quaquam diutius perferri posse judico. Quæ res me impulit*, ut scripto hoc testatum universo orbi facerem nunquam me autore Missam Cantuariæ cantatam, sed vanum quendam adulatorem, mendacem atq; hypocritam Monachum, me nec consultore, neq; conscio ibidem hoc ausum fuisse: Dominus illi reddat in die illo. Quod porro meipsum obtulerim ad legendam Missam coram Majestate Reginea aut usquam alibi, quam id vanum sit satis novit ipsius Majestas; A qua si potestatem impetro, palam omnibus faciam, contraq; omnes diversum putantes probabo, omnia, quæ in Communione (quam restituit innocentissimus idemque optimus Princeps Rex Edwardus 6. in Comitiis Regni) leguntur respondere institutioni Christi atq; Apostolorum et Primitivæ Ecclesiæ exemplo, multis annis observato. Missam contra in plurimis non tantum hoc fundamento carere Christi et Apostolorum et Primitivæ Ecclesiæ, sed imo adversari prorsus atq; ex diametro pugnare, undiquaq; erroribus atq; abusibus refertissimam. Quamvis autem a nonnullis imperitis et malevolis Dicatur D. Petrus Martyr indoctus, si tamen nobis hanc libertatem det Majestas Reginea, ego cum Petro Martyre atq; aliis quatuor, aut quinq; quos mihi delegero, favente Deo confido, nos idem omnibus approbaturos, non solum preces communes Ecclesiasticas, Administrationem Sacram, cum cæteris Ritibus et Ceremoniis: Verum Doctrinam quoq; universam, ac religionis ordinem constitutum a supremo nostro Domino Rege Edwardo sexto, puriora hæc esse et Verbo Dei magis consentanea, quam quidquid mille retro annis in Anglia usurpatum novimus. Tantummodo judicentur omnia per Verbum Dei, ac describantur partis utriusq; argumenta, quo primum possit orbis Universus ea examinare et Judicare, deinde nequeat pars ulla dicta factave sic descripta inficiari.

Quoniam vero gloriantur illi et jactant Ecclesiæ fidem quæ fuit 1500. abhinc annis, nos hac quoq; in parte cum illis pericliari audebimus quod eadem doctrina atq; idem ordo ab omnibus servari debeat, qui fuit illo seculo ante Annos 1500. ac præterea docebimus argumentis firmis, totam rationem cultus divini Ecclesiastici, quæ nunc in hoc Regno servatur, Autoritate Comitiorum eandem esse, atq; illam ipsam quæ fuit ante Annos 1500. id quod alii de suis nunquam probaverint.

*Finis.*

Lecta publice in vico Mercatorum ab amico qui clam Autographum surripuerat 5. Septemb. Anno Dom. 1553.

* Thortoneus Suffraganeus Dovorensis.

NUMBER IX.

*The Conclusion of Cardinal Pole's Instructions to Mr. Goldwell, sent by him to the Queen.—An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Titus. B. 2.]

FOR the conclusion of all that is comprised in your instruction, as that the which containeth the whole sum of my poor advice and counsel, it pleaseth her grace to ask of me, you shall say, that my most humble desire is, that in all deliberation her grace shall make touching the maintenance of her state, the same will ever well ponder and consider, what the providence of God hath shewed therein, above that which hath been shewed in her predecessors, kings of this realm, in this one point; which is to have the crown, not only as a king's daughter and heir, but hath ordered, that this point of right inheritance shall depend as it doth, of the authority he hath given to his church, and of the see of Rome, which is the see apostolick, approving her mother to be legitimate wife of king Henry the Eighth; whereby she is bound, afore God and man, as she will show herself the very daughter of the said king Henry the Eighth, right heir of the crown; so also to shew herself right daughter of the church, and of them that be resident in the see apostolick, who be the right heirs to Peter; to whom, and his successors, Christ, chief head of the church in Heaven and in earth, hath given in earth to bear his place, touching the rule of the same church, and to have the crown thereof; which well considered and pondered, her grace shall soon see how in her person, the providence of God hath joined the right she hath by her father in the realm, with the right of the church, that she cannot prevail by the one, except she join the other withal; and they that will separate these two, take away not only half her right, but her whole right, being not so much heir, because she is king Henry's only daughter, without issue male, as she is his lawful daughter, which she hath by the authority of the church.

Which thing, prudently and godly considered, she cannot but see what faithful counsel this is, that above all acts that in this parliament shall be made, doth advertise her grace to establish that, the which pertaineth to the establishing of the authority of the church, and the see of the same; what rendering to him that is right successor to Peter therein, his right title of head in the church in Earth, without the which she cannot be right head in the realm; and this established, all controversy is taken away; and who will repine unto this, he doth repine unto her right of the crown.

Wherefore this is my first advice, that this point, above all other, should be entreated and enacted in the parliament; and so, I know her grace's full mind was, and is, that it should be: but she feareth difficulties, and hereupon dependeth, that her grace asketh my poor advice, how these difficulties may be taken away.

Unto this you may say, that they must be taken away by the help of him, that by his high providence, above man's expectance, hath given her already the crown. Which will have as well this second act known, of the maintenance thereof to depend of him, as the first in attaining thereto. And to have his help, the mean is by humble prayer, wherein I would advertise her highness, not only to give herself to prayer, but also, by

alms to the needy, excitate the minds of others to prayer; these be the means of most efficacy; and with this to take that ardent mind, to establish the authority of the church, casting away all fear of man, that she took to have her crown; and not so much for her own sake, as for the honour of God which gave her the crown. And if any difficulty should be feared in the parliament herein, leave the honour to take away the difficulty thereof to none other, but assume that person to herself, as most bound thereto; and to propone that herself, which I would trust to be of that efficacy, that if inwardly any man will repugn; outwardly the reasons be so evident for this part, that joined with the authority of her person, being proponent, none will be so hardy, temerarious, nor impious, that will resist. And if in this deliberation it should seem strange to put forth these matters in the parliament, as I have said in the instructions, without communicating the same with any of her council, I would think it well her grace might confer it with two of the chiefest that be counted of the people most near her favour, one spiritual, and another temporal; with declaring to them, first, how touching her conscience afore God, and her right afore the world, she can never be quiet until this matter be stablished touching the authority of the church, requiring their uttermost help in that, as if she should fight for the crown, her majesty may be sure, she putting the same forth with that earnest manner, they will not lack to serve her; and they may serve quietly in the parliament, after her grace hath spoken to prosecute and justify the same, with efficacy of words, to give all others example to follow her grace; leaving this part unto them, that if the name of obedience to the pope should seem to bring, as it were, a yoke to the realm, or any other kind of servitude beside, that it should be profitable to the realm, both afore God and man, that her grace that bringeth it in again, will never suffer it, nor the pope himself requireth no such thing. And herein also, that they say, that my person being the mean to bring it in, would never agree to be an instrument thereof, if I thought any thraldom should come thereby, they shall never be deceived of me. And if they would say beside, I would never have taken this enterprize upon me, except I thought by the same to bring great comfort to the country; wherein the pope's authority being accepted, I would trust, should be so used, that it might be an example of comfort, not only to that country, but to all other that have rejected it afore, and for that cause hath been ever since in great misery.

This is the sum of all my poor advice at this time in this case; whereof I beseech Almighty God so much may take effect, as shall be to his honour, and wealth to her grace, and the whole realm besides. Amen.

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NUMBER X.

*A Copy of a Letter, with Articles sent from the Queen's Majesty unto the Bishop of London; and by him and his Officers, at her gracious Commandment, to be put in speedy execution with effect in the whole Diocess, as well in places exempt, as not exempt whatsoever, according to the Tenour and Form of the same.*

*Sent by the Queen's Majesty's Commandment, in the Month of March, Anno Dom.* 1553.

*By the Queen.*

RIGHT reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas heretofore, in the time of the late reign of our most dearest brother, king Edward the Sixth, (whose soul God pardon) divers notable crimes, excesses, and faults, with divers kinds of heresies, simony, advoutry, and other enormities, have been committed within this our realm, and other our dominions; the same continuing yet hitherto in like disorder, since the beginning of our reign, without any correction or reformation at all; and the people, both of the laity and clergy, and chiefly of the clergy, have been given to much insolence and ungodly rate, greatly to the displeasure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil contentation, and to the no little slander of other christian realms, and in a manner to the subversion and clear defacing of this our realm. And remembering our duty to Almighty God, to be to foresee, as much as in us may be, that all vertue and godly living should be embraced, flourish, and encrease. And therewith also, that all vice and ungodly behaviour should be utterly banished and put away; or at the least wise, so nigh as might be, so bridled and kept under, that godliness and honesty might have the overhand: understanding, by very credible report, and publick fame, to our no small heaviness and discomfort, that within your diocess and jurisdictions, as well in not exempted as in exempted places, the like disorder and evil behaviour hath been done and used; like also to continue and encrease, unless due provision be had and made to reform the same, (which earnestly in very deed we do mind and intend) to the uttermost all the ways we can possible, trusting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf. For these causes, and other most just considerations us moving, we send unto you certain articles of such special matter, as among other things be most special and necessary to be now put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by us desired, and the reformation aforesaid; wherein ye shall be charged with our special commandments, by these our letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earnestly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any presumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any such our laws, as by your doings, of that is in the said articles contained, might anywise grieve you, whatsoever be threatened in any such case; and therefore we straitly charge and command you, and your said officers, to proceed to the execution of the said articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will answer to the contrary.—Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 4th day of March, the first year of our reign.

*Articles.*

1. That every bishop, and his officers, with all other having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall, with all speed and diligence, and all manner and ways to them possible, put in execution all such canons and ecclesiastical laws, heretofore in the time of king Henry the Eighth used, within this realm of England, and the dominions of the same, not being direct and expressly contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm.

2. *Item.* That no bishop, or any his officer, or other person aforesaid hereafter, in any of their ecclesiastical writings, in process, or other extra-judicial acts, do use to put in this clause or sentence, *Regia Auctoritate fulcitus.*

3. *Item.* That no bishop, or any his officers, or other person aforesaid, do hereafter exact or demand in the admission of any person to any ecclesiastical promotion, orders, or office, any oath touching the primacy, or succession, as of late in few years passed hath been accustomed and used.

4. *Item.* That every bishop, and his officers, with all other persons aforesaid, have a vigilant eye, and use special diligence and foresight, that no person be admitted or received to any ecclesiastical function, benefit, or office, being a sacramentary, infected or



defamed with any notable kind of heresy, or other great crime; and that the said bishop do stay, and cause to be stayed, as much as lieth in him, that benefices, and ecclesiastical promotions, do not notably decay, or take hinderance, by passing or confirming of unreasonable leases.

5. *Item.* That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travel for the repressing of heresies, and notable crimes, especially in the clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same.

6. *Item.* That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do likewise travel for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred among the people, and discord amongst the same: and that school-masters, preachers, and teachers, do exercise and use their offices and duties, without teaching, preaching, or setting forth any evil corrupt doctrine; and that doing the contrary, they may be, by the bishop and his said officers, punished and removed.

7. *Item.* That every bishop, and all the other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and speed, may and shall deprive, or declare deprived, and amove, according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who contrary to the state of their order, and the laudable custom of the church, have married, and used women as their wives, or otherwise, notably and slanderously disordered or abused themselves; sequestering also, during the said process, the fruits and profits of the said benefits, and ecclesiastical promotions.

8. *Item.* That the said bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose wives be dead, than with other, whose women do yet remain in life. And likewise such priests, as with the consents of their wives, or women, openly, in the presence of the bishop, do profess to abstain, to be used the more favourably; in which case, after penance effectually done, the bishop, according to his discretion and wisdom, may, upon just consideration, receive, and admit them again to their former administration, so it be not in the same place, appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice, whereof they be deprived, by discretion of the said bishop, or his officers, as they shall think may be spared of the said benefice.

9. *Item.* That every bishop, and all persons aforesaid, do foresee, that they suffer not any religious man, having solemnly profest chastity, to continue with his woman, or wife: but that all such persons, after deprivation of their benefice, or ecclesiastical promotion, be also divorced, every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.

10. *Item.* That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do take order and direction, with the parishioners of every benefice, where priests do want, to repair to the next parish for Divine Service; or to appoint, for a convenient time, till other better provision may be made, one curat to serve *Alternis Vicibus*, in divers parishes; and to allot to the said curat, for his labour, some portion of the benefice that he so serveth.

11. *Item.* That all and all manner of processions of the church be used, frequented, and continued, after the old order of the church, in the Latin tongue.

12. *Item.* That all such holydays and fasting days be observed and kept, as was observed and kept in the late time of king Henry the Eighth.

13. *Item.* That the laudable and honest ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented, and observed in the church, be also hereafter frequented, used, and observed.

14. *Item.* That children be christened by the priest, and confirmed by the bishops, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

15. *Item.* Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new sort and fashion of orders, considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocess finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before, and then, according to his discretion, admit them to minister.

16. *Item.* That by the bishop of the diocess an uniform doctrine be set forth by homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of all people; and that the said bishop, and other persons aforesaid, do compel the parishioners to come to their several churches, and there devoutly to hear divine service, as of reason they ought.

17. *Item.* That they examine all schoolmasters and teachers of children, and finding them suspect in any ways to remove them, and place catholick men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their children, so as they may be able to answer the priest at the mass, and so help the priest to mass as hath been accustomed.

18. *Item.* That the said bishop, and all persons aforesaid, have such regard, respect, and consideration of and for the setting forth of the premises, with all kind of vertue, godly living, and good example, with repressing also and keeping under of vice and unchristiness, as they and every of them may be seen to favour the restitution of true religion; and also to make an honest account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, our good contentation, and the profit of this realm, and dominions of the same.

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NUMBER XI.

*A Commission to turn out some of the Reformed Bishops.*

[Rot. pat. prim. Mariæ pars septim.]

REGINA Dei Gratia, &c. perdilectis et fidelibus Consiliariis suis, Stephano Winton Episcopo, summo suo Angliæ Cancellario et Cudberto Dunelmen. Episcopo, necnon Reverend. et dilectis sibi in Christo Edmund. London. Episcopo, Roberto Assaven. Episcopo, Georgio Cicestren. Episcopo, et Antonio Landaven. Episcopo salutem. Quia omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se crimen habet, quanto qui peccat major habetur, et quoniam certis et indubitatis testimoniis, una cum facti notorietate et fama publica referente, luculenter intelleximus et manifesto comperimus Robertum Archiepiscopum Ebor. Robertum Meneven. Joan. Cestren. et Paulum Bristolen. Episcopos, aut certe pro talibus se gerentes, Dei et animarum suarum salutis immemores, valde gravia et enormia dudum commisisse et perpetrasse scelera atq; peccata, et inter cætera quod dolenter certe, et magna cum amaritudine animæ nostræ proferimus, post expressam professionem castitatis, expresse, rite et legitime emissam, cum quibusdam mulieribus nuptias de facto, cum de jure non deberent, in Dei contemptum et animarum suarum peccatum manifestum necnon in grave omnium ordinum, tam Clericorum quam Laicorum scandalum; Deniq; cæterorum Omnium Christi fidelium perniciosissimum exemplum contraxisse et cum illis tanquam cum Uxoribus cohabitasse. Ne igitur tantum scelus remaneat impunitum ac multos alios pertrahat in ruinam, vobis tenore præsentium committimus et mandamus, quatenus vos omnes, aut tres saltem vestrum qui præsentes Literas Commissionales duxerint exequend. dictos Archiepiscopum Ebor. Episc. Meneven. Episc. Cestren. et

Episc. Bristollen. diebus, horis et locis, vestro, aut trium vestrum arbitrio, eligend. et assignand. ad comparand. coram vobis, ceu tribus vestrum, vocetis aut vocari faciatis, vocent, aut vocari faciant, tres vestrum (ceu saltem): si ita vobis aut tribus vestrum videatur, eosdem Archiep. et Episc. prædict. adeatis, aut tres vestrum adeant et negotio illis summarie et de plano sine ullo strepitu et figura judicii exposito et declarato, si per summariam examinationem et discussionem negotii per vos aut tres vestrum fiendam eundem Archiep. et Episc. prædictos sic contraxisse, aut fecisse constiterit; eosdem a dignitatibus suis prædictis, cum suis juribus pertinen. Universis, omnino amoveatis, deprivetis et perpetuo excludatis, ceu tres vestrum sic amoveant, deprivent, perpetuo excludant: pœnitentiam salutarem et congruam pro modo culpæ vestro aut trium vestrum arbitrio imponend. eisdem injungentes, cæteraq; in prædictis cum eorum incidentibus emergentes annexis et connexis quibuscunq; facientes quæ necessaria fuerint, ceu quomodolibet opportuna. Quæ omnia et singula faciend. expedient. et finiend. Nos tam Autoritate nostra Ordinaria, quam absoluta, ex mero motu certaq; scientia nostra, vobis et tribus vestrum potestatem, Autoritatem et licentiam concedimus, et impertimur per præsentes cum cujuslibet coercionis et castigationis severitate et potestate in contrarium facientes non obstant. quibuscunque. In cujus rei, &c.—Apud Westm. 16 die Martii.

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NUMBER XII.

*Another Commission to turn out the rest of them.*

MARY, by the grace of God, &c. To the right reverend fathers in God, our right trusty and right well-beloved counsellors, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, our chancellor of England; Cuthbert, bishop of Duresm; Edmond, bishop of London; Robert, bishop of St. Asaph; George, bishop of Chichester; our almoner; and Anthony, bishop of Landaff, greeting. Whereas John Tailour, doctor of divinity, naming himself bishop of Lincoln; John Hooper, naming himself bishop of Worcester and Glocester; John Harley, bishop of Hereford;—having these said several pretended bishopricks given to them by the letters-patents of our late deceased brother, king Edward the Sixth, to have and to hold the same during their good behaviours, with the express clause, (*quamdiu se bene gesserint,*) have sithence, as hath been credibly brought to our knowledge, both by preaching, teaching, and setting forth of erroneous doctrine, and also by inordinate life and conversation, contrary both to the laws of Almighty God and use of the universal Christian church, declared themselves very unworthy of that vocation and dignity in the church.

We minding to have these several cases duly heard and considered, and thereupon such order taken with them as may stand with justice and the laws, have, for the special trust we have conceived of your wisdoms, learning, and integrity of life, appointed you, four, three, or two of you, to be our commissioners in this behalf: giving unto you four, three, or two of you, full power and authority to call before you, if ye shall think so good, the said John Tailour, John Hooper, John Harley, and every of them. And thereupon, either by order of the ecclesiastical laws, or of the laws of our realm, or of both, proceed to the declaring the said bishoprics to be void, as they be already indeed void. To the intent some such other meet personages may be elected thereunto, as for their godly life, learning, and sobriety, may be thought worthy the places. In witness, &c. Apud Westm. 15 die Martii.

NUMBER XIII.

*Bonner's Certificate that Bishop Scory had put away his Wife.*

[Regist. Bon. Fol. 347.]

EDMUNDUS permissione Divina London. Episcopus, Universis et singulis Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsentes literæ nostræ testimoniales pervenerint; ac eis præsertim quos infra scripta tangunt, seu tangere poterint quomodolibet in futurum, salutem in Auctore salutis et fidem indubiam præsentibus adhibere. Quia boni Pastoris officium tunc nos rite exequi arbitramur, cum ad exemplar Christi errantes oves ad caulam dominici gregis reducimus, et Ecclesiæ Christi, quæ redeunti gremium non claudit, restituimus: et quia dilectus Confrater noster Joannes nuper Cicestrien. Episcopus in Dioc. et jurisdictione nostris London. ad præsens residentiam et moram faciens; qui olim laxatis Pudicitiæ et castitatis habenis, contra Sacros Canones et Sanctorum Patrum decreta ad illicitas et prohibitas convolavit nuptias; se ea ratione non solum Ecclesiastic. Sacrament. pertractand. omnino indignum; verum etiam a publica officii sui pastoralis functione privatum et suspensum reddens, transactæ licentiosæ vitæ valde pœnitentem et deplorantem, plurimis Argumentis se declaravit, ac pro commissis pœnitentiam alias per nos sibi injunctam salutarem, aliquo temporis tractu in cordis sui amaritudine et animi dolore peregit, vitam hactenus degens laudabilem, spemq; faciens id se in posterum facturum atq; ob id ad Ecclesiasticæ ac Pastoralis Functionis statum, saltem cum quodam temperamento, justitia exigente, reponend. hinc est quod nos præmissa ac, humilem dicti confratris nostri petitionem pro reconciliatione sua habenda et obtinenda considerantes, ejus precibus, favorabiliter inclinati, eundem Confratrem nostrum ad publicam Ecclesiastici Ministerii et Officii sui Pastoralis Functionem et Executionem, infra Dioc. nostram London. exercend. quatenus de jure possumus et absq; cujusq; præjudicio restituimus, rehabilitavimus et redintegravimus, prout tenore præsentium sic restituimus, rehabilitamus, et redintegramus; Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ clementia et Christiana Charitate id exigentibus. Vobis igitur universis et singulis supradictis præfatum confratrem nostrum, sic ut præmittitur restitutum, rehabilitatum et reintegratum fuisse, et esse ad omnes effectus supradictos significamus et notificamus per præsentes sigillo nostro sigillat. Dat in Manerio nostro de Fulham die mensis Julii Anno Dom. 1554, et nostræ Transla. Anno 15.

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NUMBER XIV.

*A Letter of the Queen's, to the Justices of the Peace in Norfolk.*

MARY THE QUEEN—Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we have heretofore signified our pleasure, both by our proclamation general, and by our letters to many of you, particularly for the good order and stay of that our county of Norfolk, from rebellions, tumults, and uproars; and to have a special regard to vagabonds, and to such as did spread any vain prophesies, seditious, false, or untrue rumours, and to punish them accordingly; we have nevertheless, to our no small grief, sundry intelligences, of divers and sundry lewd and seditious tales, forged and spread by certain malicious persons, touching the estate of our person; with many other vain and slanderous reports, tending to the moving of sedition and rebellion, whose fault, and passing unpunished, seemeth either to be winked at, or at least little considered, which is to us very strange. We have therefore thought good, eftsoons, to require and command you, to be not only more circumspect in the good ordering of that our county, according to our trust conceived of you, but also to use all the best means and ways ye can, in the diligent examining and searching out, from man to man, the authors and publishers of these vain prophesies, and untrue bruits, the very foundation of all rebellions: and the same being found, to punish them as the quality of their offence shall appear to you to deserve; whereby the malicious sort may be the more feared to attempt the like, and our good loving subjects live in more quiet. And for our better service in this behalf, we think good that ye divide yourselves unto several parts of that our county, so that every of you have some part in charge, whereby ye may the better butt out the malicious; and yet nevertheless to meet often together for the better conferring herein. And that ye signify your doings, and the state of that shire, by your general letters, once every month at least, to our privy council. And like-as we shall consider such of you to your advancements, whose diligence shall set forwards our service in this part, so shall we have good cause to note great negligence and fault in them that shall omit their duty in this behalf.—Given under our signet, at our mannor of St. James, the 23rd of May, in the first year of our reign.

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NUMBER XV.

*The Title of Bonner's whole Book.*

Articles to be enquired of in the general visitation of Edmund, bishop of London, exercised by him in the year of our Lord 1554, in the city and diocess of London; and set forth by the same, for his own discharge towards God, and the world, to the honour of God, and his catholick church; and to the commodity and profit of all those, that either are good, (which he would were all) or delighteth in goodness, (which he wisheth to be many) without any particular grudge or displeasure to any one, good or bad, within this realm; which articles he desireth all men, of their charity, especially those that are of his diocess, to take, with as good intent and mind, as the said bishop wisheth and desireth, which is to the best. And the said bishop withal, desireth all people to understand, that whatsoever opinion, good or bad, hath been received of him, or whatsoever usage or custom hath been heretofore, his only intent and purpose, is to do his duty charitably, and with that love, favour, and respect, both towards God and every christian person, which any bishop should shew to his flock in anywise.

*Article* 1.

WHETHER the clergy, to give example to laity, have in their living, in their teaching, and in their doing, so behaved themselves, that they (in the judgment of indifferent persons) have declared themselves to search principally the honour of God and his church, the health of the souls of such as are committed to their cure and charge, the quietness of their parishioners, and the wealth and honour of the king and queen of this realm?

*Article* 2.

*Item.* Whether your parson, vicar, or any other ministering as priest within your parish, have been, or is married, or taken for married, not yet separated from his concubine, or woman taken for wife? or whether the same woman be dead, or yet living; and being living, whether the one resorteth to the other, openly, secretly, or slanderously, maintaining, supporting, or finding the same in anywise to the offence of the people?

*Article* 3.

*Item.* Whether there be any person, of what estate, condition, or degree he be, that doth, in open talk, or privily, defend, maintain, or uphold the marriage of priests, encouraging or bolding any person to the defence thereof?

*Article* 4.

*Item.* Whether you have your parson or vicar resident continually with you upon his benefice, doing his duty in the serving of the cure; and whether being able to do, keep hospitality upon the same, feeding his flock with his good living, with his teaching, and his relieving of them to his power?

*Article* 5.

*Item.* Whether your parson, or vicar, being absent, have a sufficient dispensation and license therein; and whether, in his absence, he do appoint an honest, able, and sufficient learned curat to supply his room and absence to serve his cure?

*Article* 6.

*Item.* Whether your parson, or vicar, by himself, or his good and sufficient deputy for him, do relieve such poor parishioners; repair and maintain his house, or mansion, and things thereunto appertaining: and otherwise do his duty, as by the order of the law, and custom of this realm, he ought to do?

*Article* 7.

*Item.* Whether the said curat, appointed in the absence of your parson, or vicar, do in all points, the best he can, to minister the sacraments, and sacramentals, and other his duty, in serving the same cure, specially in celebrating Divine Service at convenient hours, chiefly upon Sundays, and holy-days, and procession days, and ministering the said sacraments, and sacramentals, as of duty and reason he ought, moving and exhorting earnestly his parishioners to come unto it, and devoutly to hear the same: and whether he himself do reverently celebrate, minister, and use the same as appertaineth?

*Article* 8.

*Item.* Whether he the said curat, parson, or vicar, have been or is of suspect doctrine, erroneous opinion, misbelief, or evil judgment; or do set forth, preach, favour, aid, or maintain the same, contrary to the catholick faith, and order of this realm?

*Article* 9.

*Item.* Whether they, or any of them, do haunt or resort to ale-houses, or taverns, otherwise than for his or their honest necessity and relief; or repair to any dicing-houses, common bowling-allies, suspect houses, or places; or do haunt and use common games, or playes, or behave themselves otherwise unpriestly and unseemly?

*Article* 10.

*Item.* Whether they, or any of them, be familiar, or keep company, and be conversant with any suspected person of evil conversation and living, or erroneous opinion or doctrine, or be noted to aid, favour, and assist the same in anywise, contrary to the good order of this realm, and the usage of the catholick church?

*Article* 11.

*Item.* Whether there be dwelling within any your parishes, any priest, foreigner, stranger, or other, who not presented to the bishop of the diocess, or his officers, examined and admitted by some one of them, doth take upon him to serve any cure, or to minister any sacraments, or sacramentals, within the said parish?

*Article* 12.

*Item.* Whether there be dwelling within any your parishes, or repairing thither, any priest, or other naming himself minister, which doth not come diligently to the church to hear the divine service, or

sermons there; but absenteth himself, or discourageth others by his example, or words, to come unto the same, expressing their name and sir-name, with sufficient knowledge of them?

*Article* 13.

*Item.* Whether there be any married priests, or naming themselves ministers, that do keep any assemblies, or conventicles, with such-like as they are, in office or sect, to set forth any doctrine or usage not allowed by the laws, and laudable customs of this realm; or whether there be any resort of any of them to any place, for any privy letters, sermons, plays, games, or other devices, not expressly in this realm by laws allowed?

*Article* 14.

*Item.* Whether there be any of them, which is a common brawler, scolder, a sower of discord among his parish-churches, a hawker, a hunter, or spending his time idly or unthriftily; or being a fornicator, an adulterer, a drunkard, a common swearer or blasphemer of God or his saints, or an unruly or evil-disposed person; or that hath come to his benefice or promotion, by simony, unlawful suit, or ungodly means, in any ways?

*Article* 15.

*Item.* Whether they, and every each of them, to the best of their powers, at all times have exhorted and stirred the people to quietness and concord, and to the obedience of the king and queen's majesty's and their officers, rebuking all sedition and tumult, with all unlawful assemblies, moving the people to charity and good order; and charging the fathers and mothers, masters and governors of youth, to keep good rule, and to instruct them in virtue and goodness, to the honour of God, and of this realm; and to have them occupied in some honest art and occupation, to get their living thereby?

*Article* 16.

*Item.* Whether they, or any of them, do admit any person to receive the blessed Sacrament of the altar, who are openly known or suspected to be adversaries and speakers against the said sacrament, or any other article of the catholick faith; or to be a notorious evil person in his conversation or doctrine; an open oppressor, or evil-doer to his neighbour, not being confessed, reconciled, and having made satisfaction in that behalf?

*Article* 17.

*Item.* Whether they, or any of them, have of their own authority admitted and licensed any to preach in their cure, not being authorised and admitted thereunto, or have denied and refused such to preach as have been lawfully licensed: and whether they, or any of them, having authority to preach within their cures, doth use to preach, or at the least doth procure other lawful or sufficient persons to do the same, according to the order of this realm?

*Article* 18.

*Item.* Whether they, or any of them, since the queen's majesty's proclamation, hath, or doth use to say, or sing, the Divine Service, minister the sacraments, or sacramentals, or other things, in English, contrary to the order of this realm?

*Article* 19.

*Item.* Whether they, or any of them, in their suffrages, collects, and prayers, doth use to pray for the king and queen's majesty, by the names of king Philip and queen Mary, according to a letter and commandment therein lawfully given now of late unto them by their ordinary?

*Article* 20.

*Item.* Whether they, and every of them, have diligently moved and exhorted their parishioners, how and in what manner children should be baptised in time of necessity; and they the said parishioners, reverently and devoutly to prepare themselves to receive and use the sacraments, especially the sacrament of the altar, or to be confessed and receive at the priest's hand, the benefit of absolution, according to the laudable custom of this realm?

*Article* 21.

*Item.* Whether they, and every each of them, hath diligently visited his and their parishioners, in the time of sickness and need, and ministered sacraments and sacramentals to them accordingly; and whether they have exhorted and monished them to have due respect to their souls' health; and also to set an order in their temporal lands and goods, declaring their debts perfectly, and what is owing unto them; and they so to make their testaments, and last wills, that as much as may be, all trouble and business may be excluded; their wives and children, with their friends, may be holpen and succoured, and themselves decently buried and prayed for; and to have an honest memory and commendations for their so doing?

*Article* 22.

*Item.* Whether they, and every of them, have solemnized matrimony, between his parishioners, or any other persons, the banes not before asked, three several Sundays, or holy-days; or without certificate of the said banes, from the curat of any other parish, if any of them be of another parish: and whether touching the solemnization and use of this sacrament of matrimony, and also of all other the sacraments of the church, they have kept and observed the old the laudable custom of the church, without any innovation or alteration in any of the same?

*Article* 23.

*Item.* Whether they, or every each of them, upon the Sunday at the service-time, doth use to set forth, and to declare unto the people, all such holy-days, and fasting-days, as of godly usage and custom hath heretofore laudably been accustomed to be kept and observed in the week following and ensuing; and whether they, and every of them, doth observe and keep themselves the said holy-days, and fasting-days?

*Article* 24.

*Item.* Whether the parson, or vicar, doth repair and maintain his chancel, and mansion-house, in sufficient reparation; and the same being in decay, whether he doth bestow yearly the fifth part of his benefice, till such time the same be sufficiently repaired; doing also further his duty therein, and otherwise, as by the law he is charged and bound in that behalf, distributing and doing as he is bound by the law?

*Article* 25.

*Item.* Whether there be any person that doth serve any cure, or minister any sacraments, not being priest; or if any do take upon them to use the room and office of the parson, or vicar, or curat, of any benefice or spiritual promotion, receiving the fruits thereof, not being admitted thereunto by the ordinary?

*Article* 26.

*Item.* Whether they, and every each of them, doth go in priestly apparel and habit, having their beards and crowns shaven, or whether any of them doth go in lay-men's habits and apparel, or otherwise disguise themselves, that they cannot easily be discovered or known from lay-men?

*Article* 27.

*Item.* Whether they, or any of them, have many promotions and benefices ecclesiastical, cures, secular services, yearly pensions, annuities, farms, or other revenues, now in title or possession; and what the



names of them be, and where they lie, giving all good instruction, and perfect information therein?

*Article* 28.

*Item.* Whether such as have churches or chappels appropriated, or mansions or houses thereto appertaining, do keep their chancels and houses in good and sufficient reparations; and whether they do all things in distributions and alms, or otherwise, as by law and good order they ought to do?

*Article* 29.

*Item.* Whether any such as were ordered schismatically, and contrary to the old order and custom of the catholick church, or being unlawfully and schismatically married, after the late innovation and manner, being not yet reconciled nor admitted by the ordinary, have celebrated or said, either mass or divine service, within any cure or place of this city or diocess?

*Article* 30.

*Item.* Whether any parson, or vicar, or other, having ecclesiastical promotion, doth set out the same to farm, without consent, knowledge, and license of his ordinary, especially for an unreasonable number of years, or with such conditions, qualities, or manners, that the same is to the great prejudice of the church, and the incumbent of the same, and especially of him that shall succeed therein?

*Article* 31.

*Item.* Whether there be any parson or vicar, curat or priest, that occupieth buying and selling as a merchant, or occupieth usury, or layeth out his money for filthy lucres-sake and gain, to the slander of the priesthood?

*Article* 32.

*Item.* Whether they, or any of them, do wear swords, daggers, or other weapons, in times or places not convenient or seemly?

*Article* 33.

*Item.* Whether any priest, or ecclesiastical person, have reiterated or renewed baptism, which was lawfully done before, or invented or followed any new fashion or forms, contrary to the order of the catholick church?

*Article* 34.

*Item.* Whether the parson, vicar, or curat, do (according to the law) every quarter in the year, upon one solemn day, or more, that is to wit, upon the Sunday, or solemn feast (when the parishioners, by the order of the church do come together), expound and declare by himself, or some other sufficient person, unto the people, in the vulgar, or common tongue, plainly, truly, and fruitfully, the articles of the catholick faith, the Ten Commandments expressly in the old law, the Two Commandments of the gospel, or new law; that is, of earnest love to God, and to our neighbour; the seven works of mercy; the seven deadly sins, with their offspring, progeny, and issue; the seven principal virtues, and the seven sacraments of the church?

*Article* 35.

*Item.* Whether that every priest, having cure, do admonish the women, that are with child, within his cure, to come to confession, and to receive the sacrament, especially when their time draweth nigh, and to have water in readiness to christen the child, if necessity so require it?

*Article* 36.

*Item.* Whether stipendiary priests do behave themselves discreetly and honestly, in all points, towards their parson, or vicar, giving an oath, and doing according to the law, and ecclesiastical constitutions, ordinances, and laudable customs in that behalf?

*Article* 37.

*Item.* Whether any parson, vicar, or other, having any ecclesiastical promotion, have made any alienation of anything pertaining to their church, benefice, or promotion; what it is, and what warrant they had so to do?

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NUMBER XVI.

*An Address made by the Lower House of Convocation to the Upper House.*

[Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. Cant.]

Right Reverend Fathers in God—We the clergy of the province of Canterbury, of the lower house, do most humbly pray your good lordships, that touching the submission and order of the lands and possessions which sometimes did appertain to divers bishops, cathedral churches, and to the late suppressed monasteries, priories, colleges, chauntries, and free chapels and other churches within this realm, and be now in the possession of the temporality, that it may please your good lordships, by your discreet wisdoms, to foresee and provide, that by this our grant, nothing pass which may be prejudicial or hurtful to any bishop, or other ecclesiastical person, or their successors, for or concerning any action, right, title, or interest, which by the laws of this realm are already grown, or may hereafter grow or rise to them, or any of them, and their successors, for any lands, tenements, pensions, portions, tithes, rents, reversions, service, or other hereditaments, which sometime appertained to the said bishops, or other ecclesiastical persons, in the right of their churches, or otherwise, but that the same right, title, and interest, be safe and reserved to them, and every of them and their successors, according to the said laws.

And further, whereas in the statute passed in the first year of Edward the Sixth, for the suppressing of all colleges, &c., proviso was made by the said statute in respect of the same surrender, that schools and hospitals should have been erected and founded in divers parts of this realm, for the good education of youth in vertue and learning, and the better sustentation of the poor; and that other works, beneficial for the common-weal, should have been executed, which hitherto be not performed, according to the meaning of the said statute, it may please your good lordships to move the king's and the queen's most royal majesty, and the lord cardinal, to have some special consideration for the due performance of the premises; and that as well the same may the rather come to pass, as the church of England, which heretofore hath been honourably endowed with lands and possessions, may have some recovery of so notable damages and losses which she hath sustained.

It may please their highness, with the assent of the lords and commons in this parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, to repeal, make frustrate and void, the statute of mortmayn, made in the seventh year of Edward the First, otherwise intituled "De Religiosis," and the statute concerning the same, made the fifteenth year of king Richard the Second. And all and every other statute and statutes at any time heretofore made concerning the same. And forasmuch as tithes and oblations have been at all times assigned and appointed for the sustentation of ecclesiastical ministers; and in consideration of the same, their ministry and office, which as yet cannot be executed by any lay person, so it is not meet that any of them should perceive, possess, or enjoy the same; that all impropriations, now being in the hands of any lay person or persons, and impropriations made to any secular use, other than for the mainte-

nance of ecclesiastical ministers, universities, and schools, may be, by like authority of parliament, dissolved, and the churches reduced to such state as they were in before the same impropriations were made. And in this behalf we shall most humbly pray your good lordships to have in special consideration how lately the lands and possessions of prebends, in certain cathedral churches within this realm, have been taken away from the same prebends, to the use of certain private persons; and in the lieu thereof, benefices of notable value, impropriated to the cathedral churches in which the said prebends were founded, to the no little decay of the said cathedral churches and benefices, and the hospitality kept in the same.

Farther, right reverend fathers, we perceiving the godly forwardness in your good lordships, in the restitution of this noble church of England to the pristine state and unity of Christ's church, which now of late years have been grievously infected with heresies, perverse and schismatical doctrines, sown abroad in this realm by evil preachers, to the great loss and danger of many souls, accounting ourselves to be called hither by your lordships, out of all parts of the province of Canterbury, to treat with your lordships concerning, as well the same as of other things touching the state and quietness of the same church, in doctrine and in manners, have, for the furtherance of your godly doing therein, devised these articles following to be further considered and enlarged, as to your lordships' wisdoms shall be thought expedient. Wherein, as you do earnestly think many things meet and necessary to be reform'd; so we doubt not but your lordships, having respect to God's glory, and the good reformation of things amiss, will no less travel to bring the same to pass. And we, for our part, shall be at all times ready to do everything, as by your lordships' wisdoms shall be thought expedient.

1. We design to be resolved, whether that all such as have preach'd in any part within this realm, or other the king and queen's dominions, any heretical, erroneous, or seditious doctrine, shall be called before the ordinaries of such places where they now dwell, or be beneficed, and upon examination, be driven to recant openly such their doctrine in all places where they have preached the same? And otherwise, whether any order shall be made, and process to be made herein against them, according to the canons and constitutions of the church in such case used?

2. That the pestilent book of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, made against the most blessed sacrament of the altar, and the schismatical book, called "The Communion Book," and the book of "Ordering of Ecclesiastical Ministers;" all suspeat translations of the Old and New Testament, the authors whereof are recited in a statute made the year of king Henry the Eighth, and all other books, as well in Latin as in English, concerning any heretical, erroneous, or slanderous doctrine, may be destroyed and burnt throughout this realm. And that public commandment be given in all places to every man having any such books, to bring in the same to the ordinary, by a certain day, or otherwise to be taken and reputed as a favourer of such doctrine. And that it may be lawful to every bishop, and other ordinary, to make enquiry and due search, from time to time, for the said books, and to take them from the owners and possessors of them, for the purpose abovesaid.

3. And for the better repress of all such pestilent books, that order may be taken with all speed, that no such books may be printed, uttered, or sold, within this realm, or brought from beyond the seas, or other parts, into the same, upon grievous pains to all such as shall presume to attempt the contrary.

4. And that the bishops, and other ordinaries, may, with better speed, root up all such pernicious doctrine and the authors thereof, we desire that the statutes made, *Anno quinto* of Richard the Second, *Anno secundo* of Henry the Fourth, and *Anno secundo* of Henry the Fifth, against hereticks, lollards, and false preachers, may be by your industrious suit, reviv'd and put in force, as shall be thought convenient. And generally, that all bishops, and other ecclesiastical ordinaries, may be restored to their pristine jurisdiction against hereticks, schismaticks, and their fautors, in as large and ample manner as they were in the first year of king Henry the Eighth.

5. And that the premises may be the better executed by the presence of beneficial men in their cures, the statutes made *Anno* 21 of Henry the Eighth, concerning pluralities of benefices and non-residence of beneficed men; by reason whereof a larger liberty or license is given to a great multitude of priests and chaplains to be absent from their benefices with cure, than was ever permitted by the canon laws, and all other statutes touching the same, may be repealed, void, and abolished; and that the bishops and other ordinaries may call all beneficed men to be resident upon their cures, as before the making of that act they might have done.

6. *Item.* That the ordinaries do, from time to time, make process for punishment of all simoniacal persons, of whom it is thought there were never so many within this realm. And that not only the clerks, but also the patrons, and all the mediators of such factions, may be punish'd. Wherein we think good that order were taken, that the patrons should lose their patronage during their natural lives, according to the ecclesiastical constitutions of this realm.

7. *Item.* That the ancient liberty, authority, and jurisdiction, be restored to the church of England, according to the article of the great charter, called *Magna Charta*; at the least-wise, in such sort as it was in the first year of Henry the Eighth: and touching this article we shall desire your lordships to be with us most humble suitors to the king's and queen's majesty, and to the lord legat, for the remission of the importable burdens of the first-fruits, tenths, and subsidies. In which suit, whatsoever advancement your lordships shall think good to be offered unto their majesties for the same, we shall therein be always glad to do as shall be thought good.

8. *Item.* That no attachment of premunire be awarded against any bishop, or other ordinary ecclesiastical from henceforth in any matter, but that a prohibition be first brought to the same; and that it may please the king's and queen's majesty to command the temporal judges of this realm, to explicate and declare plainly, all and singular articles of the premunire, and to make a certain doctrine thereof.

9. *Item.* That the statutes of the provisors be not drawn by unjust interpretation out of their proper cases, nor from the proper sense of the words of the same statutes.

10. *Item.* That the statute of submission of the clergy, made *Anno* 25 of Henry the Eighth, and all other statutes made during the time of the late schism, in derogation of the liberties and jurisdictions of the church, from the first year of king Henry the Eighth, may be repealed, and the church restored *in integrum*.

11. *Item.* That the statute made for finding of great horses by ecclesiastical persons may likewise be repealed.

12. *Item.* That usurers may be punished by the common laws, as in times past hath been used.



13. *Item.* That those which lay violent hands upon any priest, or other ecclesiastical minister, being in orders, may be punish'd by the canon laws, as in times past hath been used.

14. *Item.* That all priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, and all other having prebends, or other ecclesiastical promotions or benefices, from henceforth use such priestlike habit, as the quality of his state and benefice requireth.

15. *Item.* That married priests may be compelled to forsake their women, whom they took as their wives.

16. *Item.* That an order may be taken for the bringing up of youth in good learning and virtue; and that the schoolmasters of this realm may be catholick men, and all other to be removed that are either sacramentaries, or heretics, or otherwise notable criminous persons.

*17. *Item.* That all exempt and peculiar places may from henceforth be immediately under the jurisdiction of that archbishop, or bishop, and arch-deacon, within whose several diocess and arch-deaconry the same are presently constitute and situate. And whereas divers temporal men, by reason of late purchases of certain abbies, and exempt places, have, by their letters-patents or otherwise, granted unto them ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the said places; that from henceforth the said jurisdiction be devolv'd to the archbishop, or bishop, and arch-deacon, within whose diocess and arch-deaconry the same now be.

18. *Item.* Where the mayor of London, by force of a decree made *Anno* of Henry the Eighth, hath attributed unto him the cognition of causes of tythes in London; that from henceforth the same cognition and jurisdiction may utterly cease, and be reduced immediately to the bishop of London ordinary there.

19. *Item.* That tythes may be henceforth paid according to the canon laws.

20. *Item.* That lands and places impropriated to monasteries, which at the time of dissolution and suppression thereof were exempt from payment of tythes, may be now allotted to certain parishes and there chargeable to pay like tythes as other parishioners do.

21. *Item.* That there be a streight law made, whereby the reparations of chancels which are notoriously decay'd through the realm, may be duly repaired, from time to time, by such as by the law ought to do the same; and namely, such as be in the king's and queen's hands; and that the ordinaries may lawfully proceed in causes of dilapidations, as well of them as of all other parsonages, vicarages, and other ecclesiastical benefices and promotions.

22. *Item.* That order be taken for the more speedy paiment of pensions to all priests, pensionaries; and that they may have the same, without long suits or charges.

23. *Item.* That an order be taken for paiment of personal tythes, in cities and towns, and elsewhere, as was used in *Anno* 21 of Henry the Eighth.

24. *Item.* That such priests as were lately married, and refuse to reconcile themselves to their order, and to be restored to ministration, may have some special animadversion, whereby, as apostates, they may be discern'd from other.

25. *Item.* That religious women which be married, may be divorced.

26. *Item.* That in divorces which are made from bed and board, provision may be made, that the innocent woman may enjoy such lands and goods as were hers before the marriage, or that happened to come to her use at any time during the marriage; and that it may not be lawful for the husband, being for his offence divorced from the said woman, to intermeddle himself with the said lands or goods, unless his wife be to him reconciled.

27. *Item.* That the wardens of churches and chapels may render their accounts before the ordinaries, and may be by them compell'd to do the same.

28. *Item.* That all such ecclesiastical persons as lately have spoiled cathedral, collegiat, and other churches, of their own heads and temerity, may be compelled to restore all and singular things so by them taken away, or the true value thereof; and farther, to re-edify such things as by them are destroy'd and defaced.

* This article is in the original scratched out and crossed.—Strype's Correct.

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NUMBER XVII.

*A Bull, constituting Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Legate a Latere in the Kingdom of Scotland.—An Original.*

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

Paulus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, dilecto Filio Davidi, et Sancti Stephani in Celiomonte Presbytero Cardinali Sancti Andreæ nuncupato, apud Charissimam in Christo Filiam nostram Mariam Scotorum Reginam Illustrem, et in toto Scotiæ Regno, et Universis et singulis Provinciis, Civitatibus, Terris, Castris, et Locis præfatæ Mariæ Reginæ mediate vel immediate Subjectis, nostro Apostolicæ sedis Legato, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Licet potestatis plenitudo desuper nobis sit commissa, et Universi Gregis Domini, divina disponente Clementia, curam habeamus; fines tamen humanæ possibilitatis excedere non valentes, considerantesq; quod circa singula per nos ipsos Apostolicæ servitutis Officiū absolvere non possumus, nonnunquam aliquos, et præcipue Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinales, in Sollicitudinis partem assumimus, ut ipsis vices nostras supplentibus, eorum co-operatione laudabili nostri oneris gravitatem alleviantes, ministerium nobis Commissum, Divina favente gratia, facilius et efficacius exequamur; Animo itaq; volventes multa quotidie eventura ob quæ opportunum atq; necessarium erit, cum charissima in Christo Filia nostra Maria Scotorum Regina Illustri, super pluribus Decus, Dignitatem ac Statum Christianæ Reipublicæ, Sanctæq; sedis Apostolicæ concernentibus pertractare; ac nobis persuadentes quod Circumspectio tua, quæ rerum maximarum usu et experientia, ac singulari in agendo studio et dexteritate, nec minori prudentia et ingenii Acrimonia ita præstat, quod quæcunq; contigerint cum illa Majestate, nostro et prædictæ sedis nomine communicanda, tractanda, et peragenda, quæ nostrum et dictæ sedis honorem ipsamq; dignitatem respiciunt, necnon illa quæ eidem Circumspectioni tuæ duxerimus committenda, ea cura, industria, et solertia prosequeris, et adimplere curabis ut voluntas nostra, quæ non nisi ad Gregem custodiæ nostræ commissum, tuendum, et ampliandum invigilat, optatum finem sortiatur; Habita super his cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus, matura deliberatione, de ipsorum Fratrum Consilio, Circumspectionem tuam apud dictam Mariam Reginam, necnon in toto Scotiæ Regno, ac universis et singulis Provinciis, Civitatibus, Terris, Castris, et Locis eidem Mariæ Reginæ mediate vel immediate subjectis, nostrum et sedis prædictæ Legatum, ad beneplacitum nostrum, Creamus, Constituimus et Deputamus. Circumspectione igitur tua munus hujusmodi devota mente suspiciens, se in illius executione sic sollicitam, ac verbo et opere studiosam diligentemq; exhibeat, quod ex tuis laboribus divina favente gratia optati fructus, quod

speramus, succedant: Tuq; per sollicitudinem tuam præter æternæ retributionis præmium, possis apud nos et sedem eandem merito commendari. Nos autem, ut ipsi expectati fructus quantocius emanent, et tu erga Personas Regni, Provinciarum, Civitatum, Terrarum, Castrorum, et Locorum prædictorum, necnon familiares tuos continuos, commensales, undecunq; originem et ubicunq; Domicilium habentes, tuis obsequiis insistentes, et tibi servientes, te possis reddere gratiosum, Circumspectioni tuæ Matrimoniales et Beneficiales, ac alias Ecclesiasticas necnon spirituales et prophanas causas quaslibet, ad forum Ecclesiasticum quomodolibet pertinentes, tam primæ instantiæ, quem Appellatione quorumcunque, etiam a quibuscunq; Judicibus, Ordinariis et Delegatis, etiam per nos et sedem prædictam, seu quoscunq; alios etiam a Latere Legatos, et Judices interpositarum pro tempore, et durante dicta Legatione interponendarum, etiam Summarie, simpliciter, et de plano sine strepitu et figura Judicii, sola facti veritate inspecta; cum potestate citandi, et inhibendi, ac sequestrandi, et exequendi, etiam per edictum publicum constituto, summariæ et extrajudicialiter, de non tuto accessu, etiam sub censuris et pœnis Ecclesiasticis etiam pecuniariis, tuo vel morum Delegatorum arbitrio moderandis, exigendis et applicandis, per te, vel alium seu alios, audiendas, cognoscendas, et sine debito terminandas, delegandi; aliasq; etiamsi per nos aut alios Autoritate Apostolica delegatæ forent, seu alias coram quocunq; penderent, cum tibi placuerit, ad te advocandi, et aliis etiam simpliciter committendi, et adversus quascunq; sententias, et res Judicatas, ac Contractus, et Læsiones quascunque, dictis tuis familiaribus Beneficium Restitutionis in integrum concedendi. Ac Officium Tabellionatus quibuscunq; personis idoneis, recepto ab eis in forma solita juramento, concedendi: illosq; Tabellionis creandi, et Notariatus Officio investiendi, alias juxta formam in Quinterno Cancellariæ Apostolicæ descriptam: Ac Milites auratos, Comitesq; Palatinos, et Poetas Laureatos creandi, constituendi, et deputandi: Ac personas sufficientes et idoneas ad Doctoratus, seu Licenciaturæ, et Baccalaureatus in utroq; vel altero Jurium, et etiam ad Magisterii tam in Theologia quam Artibus, et Medicina, vel alios gradus hujusmodi promovendi; eisq; insignia solita et debita, conferendi, et exhibendi, seu exhiberi et conferri faciendi, eisq; quod omnibus et singulis Gratiis, Privilegiis, Libertatibus, immunitatibus, exemptionibus, et indultis, quibus alii Milites aurati, Poetæ Laureati, et Comites Palatini, per nos et sedem prædictam, creati et instituti, necnon ad hujusmodi Gradus in Universitatibus Studiorum generalium, juxta illos actus et mores, ac servatis servandis promoti utuntur, potiuntur et gaudent; seu uti, potiri, et gaudere poterunt, quomodolibet in futurum, uti, potiri et gaudere, libere et licete possint, et debeant indulgendi. Ac cum Nobilibus et Graduatis, ut quæcunq; Tria, et si cum eis ad Duo incompatibilia Beneficia Ecclesiastica, insimul ad vitam obtinenda dispensatum foret; cum eis ut quodcunq; Tertium, cum aliis vero non Nobilibus aut Graduatis, ut quæcunq; Duo Curata, seu alias invicem incompatibilia, etiam si dignitas, Personatus, Administrationes, vel Officia in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis, vel Collegiatis: et Dignitates ipsæ in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis, post Pontificiales Majores, seu Collegiatis Ecclesiis hujusmodi Principales, aut duo ex eisdem Parrochiales Ecclesiæ, vel earum perpetuæ Vicariæ fuerint: Et ad dignitates, personatus, administrationes, vel officia hujusmodi consueverint, qui per electionem assumi, eisq; cura immineata nimarum, necnon quæcunq; duo dissimilia, vel similia, sub uno, duobus vel tribus tectis dictarum vel aliarum Ecclesiarum consistentia: Ac cum quibusvis Personis, cujusvis Ordinis, Monachis, Canonicis, et Religiosis, ut quæcunq; duo Beneficia Ecclesiastica, cum cura vel sine cura regularia, et cum eorum altero, seu sine illis, unum curatum seculare, et cum quibusvis Clericis Secularibus, ut unum Beneficium Ecclesiasticum cum cura, vel sine cura cujusvis Ordinis regulare, etiam si beneficia regularia hujusmodi Prioratus, præposituræ, præpositatus, Dignitates, Personatus, Administrationes vel Officia fuerint; et ad illos illas vel illa consueverint, qui per electionem assumi, eisq; cura immineat animarum: Regulares, videlicet unum ex dictis regularibus beneficiis quod maluerint, si Prioratus, præpositura, aut alia Dignitas Conventualis, aut officium claustrale fuerit, in titulum et ipsi regulares reliquum, ac seculare vel alterius Ordinis regulare; necnon Clerici Seculares unum quod Conventuale aut Claustrale non sit, in commendam quoad vixerint, vel ad tempus de quo tibi videbitur retinere, ac de ipsius commendandi beneficii, fructibus, redditibus, et proventibus disponere, et ordinare, sicuti illud in titulum pro tempore obtinentes, de illis disponere et ordinare potuerunt, seu etiam debuerunt; Alienatione tamen quorumcunque bonorum immobilium, et preciosorum mobilium, dicti Beneficii in Commendam retinendi, eis penitus interdicta: Necnon cum petentibus defectum Natalium etiam regularibus, ut ad omnes etiam Sacros Ordines promoveri, et quæcumque, quotcumque, et qualiacumque Beneficia Ecclesiastica cum cura vel sine cura, ac se invicem compatientia, etiam si Canonicatus, et Prebendæ in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis vel Collegiatis Ecclesiis, hujusmodi ac alias ut præfertur qualificata fuerint; dummodo dignitates in Metropolitanis vel aliis Cathedralibus, post Pontificales Majores et in Collegiatis Ecclesiis hujusmodi Principales non existant; ac etiam cum eis si graduati non fuerint, ut præfertur, ad duo, si vero graduati fuerint, ad tria incompatibilia beneficia hujusmodi, non tamen dignitates majores ut præfertur, nec Principales, vel cum dispensatis ad duo ut tertium Curatum, vel alias incompatibile ut supradictum est, et cum regularibus etiam ad beneficia regularia ut præfertur, qualificata, et competentibus, ætatis defectum etiam regularibus, supra decimum septimum suæ ætatis Annum, et seculare quodcunq; Beneficium Ecclesiasticum Curatum, vel alias incompatibile, etiam si dignitas, personatus, administratio, vel Officium in Cathedrali, vel Metropolitana vel Collegiata, etiam si dignitas ipsa in Cathedrali vel Metropolitana post Pontificialem majori, et in Collegiata Ecclesia hujusmodi Principalis seu Parochialis Ecclesia, vel ejus perpetua Vicaria fuerit; et ad dignitates, personatus, administrationes, vel officia tam secularia quam regularia, hujusmodi consueverunt, quæ per electionem assumi, eisq; cura immineat animarum, Regulares vero beneficium etiam seculare ut præfertur qualificatum, si eis alias canonice conferatur, aut ipsi eligantur, præsententur, vel alias assumantur ad illa et instituantur, in eis recipere et insimul quoad vixerint retinere, illaq; simul vel successive, simpliciter vel ex causa permutationis, quoties sibi placuerit dimittere, et commendæ hujusmodi cedere, ac loco dimissi vel dimissorum, aliud vel alia, simile vel dissimile, ut similia vel dissimilia, beneficium seu beneficia, Ecclesiasticum vel Ecclesiastica, quæcunque, quotcunque et qualiacunque compatientia, seu duo aut tria vel tertium curata, seu alias invicem incompatibilia, ac duo alia similia vel dissimilia, sub uno vel duobus aut tribus tectis consistentia, ac quæcunque, quotcunque et qualiacunque cum cura vel sine cura, se invicem et cum prædictis compatientia, aut supra dictum decimum septimum Annum agentes, curatum vel alias incompatibile Beneficium Ecclesiasticum respective similiter recipere, et dummodo inter ipsa tria incompatibilia plures quam duæ Parochiales Ecclesiæ, vel earum perpetuæ Vicariæ, aut duo Canonicatus et Prebendæ, seu duæ dignitates, personatus, administrationes, vel officia, subeodem tecto ac pro dictis patientibus, defectum



Natalium, dignitates ipsæ in eisdem Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis post Pontificales Majores, aut Collegiatis Ecclesiis hujusmodi modo Principales non existent, insimul quoad vixerint vel ad tempus retinere. Quodq; constituto in sexto decimo, ut ad Subdiaconatus, et in decimo octavo ad Diaconatus, ac in vigesimo primo suarum ætatis Annis, etiam si ratione Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum per eos obtentorum arctati fuerint, ad Presbyteratus Ordines, et tam ipsi quam quicunq; alii in ætate legitima constituti, et similiter arctati, promoveri volentes, ut ad omnes ordines prædictos, etiam extra tempora a jure Statuta, quibusvis diebus Dominicis, vel Festivis, et prout necessitas exegerit, ad duos ex ordinibus prædictis eodem die a quocunq; maluerint, Catholico Antistite, gratiam et communionem dictæ sedis habente, alias tamen rite promoveri libere et licite possint. Quodq; obtinentes Beneficia Ecclesiastica curata, seu alias Sacros et Presbiteratus Ordines hujusmodi, tam de jure quam ex Statuto, fundatione, vel alias requirentia, ut ratione illorum, Usque ad septennium a fine Anni eis a jure præfixi computandum, ad aliquem ex Diaconatus et Presbyteratus Ordinibus hujusmodi, dummodo infra primum dicti septennii Biennium ad dictum Subdiaconatus Ordinem promoti fuerint, se promoveri facere minime teneantur, nec ad id a quoquam, quavis Auctoritate inviti valeant coarctari; etiam unum, duo, vel plura septennia, vel alia tempora ad id per nos aut sedem eandem pluries concessa, et prorogata fuerint, et pendeant: Et cum quibusvis Personis tertio aut quarto, aut mixtim, tertio et quarto, etiam multiplici consanguinitatis seu affinitatis gradibus invicem conjunctis, et quocunq; impedimento publicæ honestatis, aut cum his qui per Adulterium se polluissent, dummodo in mortem defuncti conjugis quicquam machinati non fuissent, ut invicem matrionaliter copulari, et in contractis per eos scienter vel ignoranter Matrimoniis, cum absolutione a censuris quas sic scienter contrahendo incurrissent, remanere possint, etiam prolem exinde susceptam legitimam decernendo, dispensandi. Ac Personis quibuscunque, Ecclesiasticis Secularibus et Regularibus, ut quoad vixerint, vel ad aliud tempus in Romana Cura, vel altero Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum per eos obtentorum residendo, aut Literarum Studio in Loco ubi illud vigeat generale insistendo, fructus, redditus et proventus omnium et singulorum Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, cum cura vel sine cura, quæ in quibusvis Ecclesiis sive Locis pro tempore obtinebunt, etiam si ut præfertur, qualificata fuerint cum ea integritate, quotidianis distributionibus duntaxat exceptis, libere percipere valeant, cum qua illos perciperent, si in eisdem Ecclesiis sive locis personaliter residerent, et ad residendum interim in eisdem minime teneantur, nec ad id a quoquam valeant coarctari. Proviso quod beneficia prædicta debitis propterea non fraudentur obsequiis, et animarum Cura in eis quibus illa immineat nullatenus negligatur; sed per bonos et sufficientes Vicarios, quibus de ipsorum beneficiorum proventibus necessaria congrue ministrentur, diligenter exerceatur, et deserviatur inibi laudabiliter in divinis. Ac quibuscunq; personis liceat habere Altare portatile, cum debitis Reverentia, et honore, super quo in locis ad id congruentibus et honestis sive alieni juris præjudicio: Et cum qualitas negotiorum pro tempore ingruentium id exegerit, antequam elucescat dies, circa tamen diurnam lucem, ita quod id nec eis, nec Sacerdoti taliter celebranti ad culpam valeat imputari, et cum eos ad loca Ecclesiastica interdicta supposita contigerit declinare, in illis clausis Januis, Excommunicatis et interdictis exclusis, non pulsatis Campanis, et submissa voce possint etiam per se ipsos, si Ecclesiastici et ad Presbyteratus ordinem rite promoti fuerint, aut per proprium vel alium Sacerdotem, Missas et alia Divina Officia in sua et famulorum suorum domesticorum præsentia celebrare, et celebrari facere; dummodo ipsi vel illi causam non dederint interdicto, nec id ipsis vel illis contigerit specialiter interdici: Proviso etiam quod parce hujusmodi concessione ante diem, celebrandi et celebrari faciendi utantur; quia cum in Altaris Ministerio immoletur Dominus noster Jesus Christus Dei Filius, qui Candor est Lucis æternæ, convenit hoc non noctis tenebris fieri, sed in Luce. Ac quibuscunq; Personis ut Confessorum seu Confessores idoneos eligere possint, qui eos et eorum quemlibet juxta formam in quinterno dictæ Cancellariæ annotatam, poterit absolvere. Necnon quibusvis Personis Ecclesiasticis secularibus ut quoad vixerint, et quoties eis placuerit, per seipsas aut cum uno Presbytero, seu Clerico, socio seu familiari, horas Canonicas diurnas et nocturnas, ac alia divina officia secundum usum et morem Romanæ Ecclesiæ, etiam juxta ritum Breviarii noviter impressi, extra tamen chorum Ecclesiæ, dicere et recitare, libere et licite valeant; et ad alium usum super hoc observandam, etiam ratione beneficiorum per eas obtentorum, minime teneantur, nec ad id compelli possint, indulgendi. Quodq; quilibet Sacerdos aut Religiosus Ecclesiast. Sacramenta ministrare valeat, Juræ Parochialis Ecclesiæ, et cujuslibet alterius in omnibus semper salvo. Concedendi, ac Mulieribus honestis quibuscunque, ut quæcunq; Monasteria, et domos Monialium quarumcunque, etiam observantiæ regularis exempta et non exempta quomodocunq; reclusa, cum aliquibus Matronis etiam honestis, de consensu eorum qui dictis Monasteriis et Domibus præfuerint, dummodo inibi non pernoctent, Devotionis causa ingredi valeant: Ac Rectoribus Parrochialium Ecclesiarum, et aliorum Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, Curatorum, vel quoscunq; eorum, Parochianos utriusq; sexus, ab omnibus et singulis eorum peccatis, et Criminibus, in Casibus in quibus Ordinarii locorum de Jure vel consuetudine, aut alias absolvere possint; Et in illis qui sede prædictæ reservati non fuerint, absolvere, Ac vota quæcunque per eos pro tempore emissa, preterquam sedi prædictæ reservata, in alia pietatis opera commutare valeant: Ac quibuscunq; personis utriusque sexus, Secularibus, Ecclesiasticis, Religiosis, Mendicantibus, quæ Zelo Devotionis accensæ, Sepulchrum Dominicum, et alia pia Loca et Oratoria Terræ Sanctæ, desiderant personaliter visitare, quibusvis prohibitionibus Apostolicis in contrarium factis non obstantibus, Sepulchrum et alia Loca prædicta visitare. Et in locis in quibus usus olei non habetur, ut Butiro et Caseo et infirmi de Consilio utriusq; Medici, Carnibus Vesci, et licite uti valeant, indulgendi. Necnon quæcunq; Juramenta ad effectum agendi, ac etiam simpliciter ut tibi videbitur, dummodo alicui exinde magnum præjudicium non fiat, relaxandi. Ac quoscunq; qui Perjurii Reatum incurrerint, ab illo absolvendi, et ad Priores honores, Statum, et famam restituendi, ac plenarie redintegrandi, omnemq; inhabilitatis et infamiæ maculam sive notam, Præmissorum occasione contractam, pœnitus abolendi: Ac quoscunque per saltum, vel furtive, ad aliquos sacros Ordines promotos, ab excessu quem propterea incurrerint, absolvendi; vel ut ad aliquos alios si promoti non essent, alias rite promoveri, libere et licite possint dispensandi: Absolvendi quoq; omnes et singulos qui Simoniæ labem, tam in beneficiis per eos habitis cujuscunq; qualitatis fuerint, quam Ordinibus per eos susceptis contraxerint, ab illa et excommunicationis aliisq; censuris, et pœnis Ecclesiasticis quas propterea incurrerint; et super Irregularitate si quam illis ligati, Missas et alia Divina Officia, non tamen in contemptum Clavium, Celebrando, seu alias se immiscendo, contraxissent, dispensandi: omnemq; inhabilitatis et Infamiæ maculam, similiter per eos dicta occasione, ac etiam si forsan aliqua beneficia, curata

vel alias incompatibilia, post et contra fœlicis recordationis Johannis Papæ 22, Prædecessoris nostri, quæ incipit, Execrabilis, Constitutionem detinuissent et detinerent, fructus perripiendo, ex eisdem contractam abolendi; dictaq; beneficia eis, facta tamen per eos prius de fructibus male perceptis, debita Compositione pro Camera Apostolica, denuo conferendi: Et eos qui etiam Parochiales Ecclesias, vel alia beneficia Ecclesiastica Presbyteratus vel alium ordinem requirentia, intra Annum vel aliud tempus pacifice possedissent et ea postmodum detinuissent et detineant, ad dictum Presbyteratus ordinem legitimo cessante impedimento, nullaq; per eos desuper dispensatione obtenta, non promoti, fructus etiam percipiendo, absolvendi; omnemq: inhabilitatis et Infamiæ maculam, sive notam, similiter per eos dicta occasione contractam, pœnitus tollendi, eisq: de novo de beneficiis prædictis sic detentis providendi, facta tamen debita de fructibus male perceptis, pro Camera prædicta ut prædictum est compositione. Ac quoscunq; qui in Clericos et Presbyteros, citra tamen membri mutilationem et mortem, manus violentas temere injecissent, ab Excommunicationis sententia, quam propterea incurrerint, si hoc humiliter petierint; Et etiam qui tempore Bellorum, Rapinas, Sacrilegia, Furta, et alia mala perpetrarunt, debita satisfactione prævia, et etiam illos, qui horas Canonicas omiserunt, et debito tempore non recitaverunt, aut inadvertenter dixerunt, cujuscunq; Qualitatis, Ordinis et Conditionis fuerint, ab excessibus et omissione hujusmodi respective; Necnon etiam quoscunq; Religiosos Ordinum quorumcunque, qui ob sui habitus non delationem, aut alias, Reatum sedis Apostolicæ incurrissent, ab illa ac etiam Excommunicationis, aliisq; sententiis, censuris et pœnis Ecclesiasticis, quos propterea etiam juxta instituta suorum ordinum regularia incurrissent, absolvendi: Ac super irregularitate quacunque, præterquam homicidii voluntarii, aut Bigamiæ, quovismodo, etiam per sententiam, etiam sanguinis, ultimi supplicii inde sequuti, aut mutilatione membrorum contracta, ad omnes etiam Sacros et Presbyteratus Ordines, citra tamen Altaris Ministerium, et ad dignitates et beneficia Ecclesiastica, cum cura et sine cura, quæcunque, quotcunq; et qualiacunque, se invicem compatientia, eis alias Canonice conferenda, dispensandi; omnemq; inhabilitatis et Infamiæ maculam sive notam etiam inde contractam, pœnitus abolendi. Et contra quoscunq; tam Ecclesiasticos quam Laicos, Literarum Apostolicarum et Supplicationum ac Commissionum Falsarios, Schismaticos, Hæreticos, Usurarios, Raptores, et aliorum quorumcunque Criminum Reos, cujuscunque dignitatis, status, gradus, ordinis, vel conditionis existentes, inquirendi, procedendi, ac reos juxta criminum et excessuum exigentiam, prout Canonicæ disponunt Sanctiones, ut videbitur Conscientiæ expedire, puniendi: Contradictores quoslibet et rebelles, per Censuram Ecclesiasticam, et alia Juris Remedia, Appellatione postposita, compescendi, et si opus fuerit auxilium Brachii secularis invocandi, seu præmissa fieri faciendi; Et si ad Cor reversi, suum errorem recognoverint, et de præmissis volverint, ipsiq; humiliter postulaverint, seu supplicaverint, et tibi videbitur eos a criminibus, et excessibus ac sententiis, censuris, et pœnis hujusmodi quas propterea incurrerint, absolvendi: Ac cum eis, facta tamen cum dicta Camera Compositione, ad Ordines, Honores et Dignitates, ac etiam Beneficia Ecclesiastica, quæcunque, quotcunque, et qualiacunque, dispensandi, eosque in pristinum statum restituendi, reponendi, et plenarie redintegrandi, omnemq; inhabilitatis et Infamiæ maculam, sive notam per eos præmissorum occasione contractam, etiam pœnitus abolendi. Ac cum dictis Usurariis super male ablatis, et perceptis incertis, pro dicta Camera componendi, eisque, ut facta compositione hujusmodi, ad aliam restitutionem faciendam non teneantur, concedendi. Ac quascunque Ecclesias, Monasteria, Domos, Universitates, et Collegia, ac pia Loca, quæcunq; etiam exempta, et eidem sedi immediate subjecta, per te vel alium, seu alios idoneos, visitandi, et quæ ex eis Correctione et Emendatione tam in Spiritualibus quam Temporalibus indigere cognoveris, tam in Capite quam in membris reformandi, prout secundum Deum, et Canonicas Sanctiones, ac Regularum suarum instituta, noveris expedire: Ac quæcunq; Statuta, et Ordinationes Ecclesiarum, Universitatum, et Studiorum generalium, Monasteriorum, Ordinum, et Conventum, quæ tamen Libertatem Ecclesiasticam non confundant, aut illi derogent vel repugnent, confirmandi, et approbandi; Supplendique omnes et singulos defectus, si qui forsan intervenissent in eisdem, illaq; si tibi expedire videbitur, moderandi, corrigendi, et in melius reformandi, ac illis juxta illorum exigentiam addendi. Necnon quotquot tibi videbitur in nostros et dictæ sedis Accolitos, Capellanos, et Notarios Apostolica Auctoritate recipiendi, et aliorum nostrorum et dictæ sedis Accolitorum, Capellanorum, et Notariorum numero, et consortio favorabiliter aggregandi; Ac eis quod omnibus et singulis Privilegiis, Prærogativis, indultis, honoribus, exemptionibus, gratiis, libertatibus, et immunitatibus, utantur, potiantur, et gaudeant, quibus utuantur potiuntur et gaudent, ac uti, potiri et gaudere poterunt, quomodolibet in futurum alii nostri et dictæ sedis Notarii: Exhibendi quoque, et exhiberi faciendi, eis Insiguia Notariatus hujusmodi, recepto tamen prius ab eis solito Juramento, ac quibusvis personis Ecclesiasticis etiam Prælatis, Secularibus, et Regularibus, utriusq; sexus, etiam juxta formam Quinterni Cancellariæ, hujusmodi licentiam Testandi, concedendi; Ac etiam per te vel alium seu alios quorumcunq; beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum cum cura et sine cura, Secularium vel Regularium, etiam quæ dictæ sedi ex quavis causa præterquam ratione Officialium sedis prædictæ, in Romana Curia officia sua actu exercentium, generaliter reservata fuerint, resignationes simpliciter, vel ex causa permutationis, ac commendatorum et legitiosorum tam in dicta Curia quam extra eam, cessiones litis, causas juris ac commendarum recipiendi, et admittendi, ac Causas desuper pendentes advocandi, et lites hujusmodi penitus extinguendi, dictaq; beneficia tam simpliciter quam ex eadem causa, et alia quæcunque, quotcunque, et qualiacunque, etiam alias, etiam per obitum infra limites dictæ Legationis, et quoad tuos Familiares, continuos, commensales extra dictos limites ubicunq; vacantia, et vacatura, etiam si ut præfertur reservata, vel affecta, et de jure Patronatus Laicorum fuerint, etiam si Dignitatis Majores et Principales, et beneficia etiam regularia manualia, et alias quomodolibet qualificata fuerint, personis idoneis etiam quæcunque, quotcunque, et qualiacunque beneficia Ecclesiastica obtinentibus et expectantibus, etiam secularibus vel regularibus, conferendi, et de illis etiam providendi: Necnon quibusvis ministeriis tam Virorum quam Mulierum, Ordinum quorumcunq; Legationis prædictæ, quorum tamen videlicet Virorum fructus, redditus, et proventus ducentorum fleecnorum Auri, de Camera secundum communem extenuationem, valorem annuum non excedant, nunc et pro tempore vacantibus de Abbatibus et Abbatissis, providendi, ac Monasteria et beneficia hujusmodi quibusvis ad vitam, vel ad tempus, per eos tenenda, regenda, et gubernanda; ita quod liceat eis, debitis et consuetis illorum supportatis oneribus, de residuis illorum fructibus, redditibus, et proventibus, disponere et ordinare, sicuti illa in titulum pro tempore obtinentes, de illis disponere et ordinare potuerunt, seu etiam debue-



runt: Alienatione tamen quorumcunq; bonorum immobilium, et preciosorum mobilium, Monasteriorum et beneficiorum prædictorum eis penitus interdicta. Commendandi necnon invicem, vel ad tempus, etiam quibusvis Mensis, Spiritualibus, Capitularibus, et Conventialibus, uniendi, annectendi, et incorporandi, Ac Canonicos super-numerarios, de consensu Capituli creandi, ac ad sententiarum, rerum judicatarum, Exemptorialium, et Censurarum, per resignantes, seu cedentes in Rota nostri Pallatii Apostolici habitarum, prosecutionem, illos in quorum favorem resignaverint, seu cesserint, admittendi, seu admitti faciendi, et mandandi et ad ulteriorem executionem usque ad realem paritionem contra quoscunq; etiam Pontificali præditos dignitate procedendi, ac verum et ultimum vacationis modum, etiam si ex eo quævis generalis reservatio resultet, pro expressa habend. ac super illorum et quorumcunq; aliorum beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum fructibus, redditibus, et proventibus, quascunq; pensiones Annuas, non tamen medietatem fructuum reddituum et proventuum hujusmodi excedentes, ac etiam omnes fructus loco pensionis, prædictis resignantibus, vel cedentibus, aut aliis personis idoneis, quoad vixerint per prædicta beneficia, pro tempore obtinentes, et eorum successores, annis singulis, in locis et terminis etiam sub privationis et aliis pœnis, sententiis, et censuris Ecclesiasticis, in talibus apponi solitis; persolvendas etiam cum regressu, ingressu, vel accessu, ob non solutionem earum in forma solita de consensu eorum qui dictas pensiones persolvere habebunt, reservandi, constituendi, et assignandi: Ac easdem et alias hactenus et deinceps reservatas et reservandas pensiones, et fructuum reservationes, de consensu etiam anticipata solutione, aliquorum Annorum cassandi, et extinguendi, ac Annullandi. Ac quo ad familiares tuos prædictos qui transferendi facultatem habuerint easdem pensiones, et fructus de eorum consensu, etiam in quoscunq; per eos nominatos, transferendi, etiam cum hoc quod ipsi in quos transferentur, quæcunque transferentium debita persolvere, vel alia onera, et conditiones in ipsis translationibus apposita, adimplere, sub pœna invaliditatis translationis, teneantur: et fructibus hujusmodi clausulam quod earum Litteræ per te concedendæ pro expeditis et intimatis, habeantur, de consensu illorum qui solvere habebunt, apponendi: Ac personas prædictas ad effectum gratiarum prædictarum, quas pro tempore per te eis concedi contigerit, ab omnibus et singulis Excommunicationis, Suspensionis, et Interdicti aliisq; Ecclesiasticis Sententiis, censuris et pœnis, a jure vel ab homine quovis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet immediate fuerint, absolvendi, et absolutas fore censendi. Ac omnia et singula beneficia Ecclesiast. cum cura, et sine cura, quæ etiam ex quibusvis dispensationibus Apostolicis obtinent, et expectant, ac in quibus et ad quævis eis quomodolibet competit, quæcunque, quotcunque, et qualiacunque sint, eorumque, fructuum, reddituum, et proventuum, veros annuos valores, ac hujusmodi dispensationum tenores, in Litteris tuis, pro expressis, absq; eo quod de illis vel eorum aliquo mentionem facere teneantur, aut propter non factam mentionem ipsam, Litteræ per te concedendæ, surreptionis aut nullitatis vitia subjacere censeantur, habendo. Necnon quascunque gratias expectativas, speciales reservationes, uniones, annexiones et incorporationes, nominationes, nominandi, et conferendi facultates et mandata per nos et sedem prædictam, aut Legatos ejusdem, in favorem quarumcunq; personarum, etiam cujuscunq; dignitatis, status, gradus, Ordinis, vel Conditionis, aut Cardinalatus honore fulgentium, sub quibusvis verborum formis ac clausulis, etiam derogatariarum, derogatoribus fortioribus, efficacioribus, et insolitis, etiam motu proprio et ex certa scientia, aut quavis consideratione, intuitu vel respectu etiam quantumcunq; grandi vel excogitabili; etiam Regum, Reginarum aliacunq; Principum et Prælatorum, factas et concessas, ac faciendas et concedendas, imposterum illorumq; vim et effectum omnino suspendendi. Ac visitantibus quascunq; Ecclesias, Seculares vel Regulares, etiam ad illarum fabricas, seu pro conservatione et instauratione earum, manus porrigentibus adjutrices, in duabus festivitatibus duntaxat, septem Annos et totidem Quadragenas, vel infra dictum tempus illud quod tibi videbitur de injunctis Pœnitentiis misericorditer in Domino relaxandi; ita quod perpetuo vel ad tempus prout tibi videbitur durare habeant. Ac quibusvis personis dictæ Legationis, ac etiam familiaribus prædictis, ut bona immobilia eorundem Monasteriorum, Dignitatum, Prioratuum, Administrationum, et Officiorum, aliorumq; beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, quæ obtinent, seu durante Legatione hujusmodi obtinebunt, permutare, vendere, et ad tempus longum locare, ac in feudum et Emphiteosim, seu Censum vel affectum concedere, et alias alienare valeant, cum evidenti Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum et Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, ad quæ pertinent, utilitate: Proviso quod pretia exinde provenientia, in hujusmodi utilitatem convertenda, penes aliquam ædem sacram, aut fide et facultatibus idoneam Personam, cum recognoscibilibus clausulis et cautelis in similibus apponi solitis, fideliter reponantur. Necnon Regularibus Personis utriusq; sexus, etiam Ordinum Mendicantium, ut de eorum Monasteriis, Domibus et Locis ad illa Monasteria, Domos et Loca, etiam aliorum Ordinum, etiam non Mendicantium, in quibus benevolos invenerint receptores, se transferre, et nova loca recipere: Ac Personis quibuslibet, Ecclesias, Monasteria et Domos Ordinum Mendicantium, et beneficia Ecclesiastica quæcunque de novo fundare et dotare et collapsas reparare volentibus, ut illa in Locis ad hoc honestis et commodis fundare et reparare, ac in fundatione hujusmodi licita et honesta onera illa pro tempore obtinentibus, imponere valeant; reservato eis, et dictis tuis familiaribus, etiam quo ad Ecclesias per eos jam ubilibet constructas seu restauratas, et ulterius vel de novo construendas et restaurandas, ac eorum posteris, jure Patronatus, et presentandi personam idoneam, ad illa dum vacabunt, licentiam concedendi; ac locationes et alienationes de bonis immobilibus Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, Prioratuum, Administrationum, vel Officiorum, aliorumq; beneficiorum Ecclesiast corum, et locorum factas, si in evidentem utilitatem illorum cesserint, confirmandi et approbandi: ac singulos defectus, si qui intervenerint, in eisdem supplendi: Necnon tempus præfixum Executoribus ultimarum Voluntatum, ad illas exequendum prorogandi; Ac juri patronatus Laicorum, ad effectum provisionum et commendarum, ac Unionum prædictarum Canonice pro medietate, et si ex causa permutationis fierint, vel lis penderet, aut jus patronatus non ex fundatione vel dotatione acquisitum esset, in totum derogandi. Necnon omnia et singula, quæ Major Penitentiarius noster, in dicta Curia ex speciali vel alia sibi concessa facultate, quomodolibet facere potest et consuevit, ac quæ in prædictis et circa ea necessaria essent, seu quomodolibet opportuna, faciendi, mandandi, ordinandi et decernendi, per te vel alium, seu alios, Auctoritate Apostolica tenore præsentium concedimus facultatem. Decernentes te omnibus et singulis facultatibus prædictis, in quibuscunq; partibus prædictis, et cum illorum seu in illis residentibus personis ac familiaribus tuis, libere uti posse: Non obstantibus defectibus, et aliis prædictis ac Lateranen. Vienen. Pictaven. et Generalium, ac aliorum Consiliorum, necnon piæ memoriæ Bonifacii Papæ VIII. etiam Prædecessoris

nostri, per quam concessionem percipiendi fructus, in absentia, sine præfinitione temporis, fieri prohibentur: ac de una vel duabus Dietis in Concilio generali edita, et aliis Apostolicis, ac in Provincialibus et Sinodalibus Conciliis editis, generalibus vel specialibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus, etiam quibusvis Regulis Cancellariæ Apostolicæ editis et edendis, quarum tempora durantia, ac etiam pluries prorogata et decursa de novo concedere possis: quibus et aliis præmissis, et in specie valeas derogare statutis et consuetudinibus Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, Universitatum, Collegiorum, et Civitatum hujusmodi, necnon ordinum quorumcunque, etiam juramento, confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, etiam si de illis servandis et non impetrandis Literis, contra ea, et illis etiam ab alio vel aliis impetratis, seu alias quovismodo concessis, non utendo personæ quibus indultum de percipiendis fructibus in absentia hujusmodi concessum fuerit prestitissent, eatenus vel imposterum forsan præstare contigerit, juramentum ac quibusvis privilegiis et indultis generalibus vel specialibus, ordinibus quibuscunq; etiam Cluniacens. et Cistercien. quomodolibet concessis, confirmatis et renovatis, quæ præmissis quovismodo obstarent, per quæ præsentibus non expressa vel totaliter non inserta, effectus earum impediri valeat, quomodolibet vel differri, et de quibus quorumq; totis tenoribus de verbo ad verbum habenda sit in nostris Literis mentio specialis, quæ quod hoc nolumus cuiquam suffragari: quibus omnibus et fundationibus quibuscunq; prout expedierit secundum rei et Casus exigentiam ut tibi placuerit valeas derogare; quodq; aliqui super provisionibus sibi faciendis de hujusmodi vel aliis Beneficiis Ecclesiasticis in illis partibus speciales vel generales dictæ sedis vel Legatorum ejus Literas impetratas, etiam si per eas ad inhibitionem, reservationem, et decretum, vel alias quomodolibet, sit processum: quibus omnibus personis, quibus per te de beneficiis prædictis providebitur, in eorum assecutione volumus anteferri; sed nullum per hoc eis quoad assecutionem beneficiorum aliorum præjudicium generari. Seu si Locorum Ordinariis et Collatoribus, vel quibusvis aliis communiter, vel divisim ab eadem sit sede indultum, quod ad receptionem vel provisionem alicujus minime teneantur, et ad id compelli, aut quod interdici, suspendi vel excommunicari non possint, quodq; de hujusmodi vel aliis beneficiis Ecclesiasticis ad eorum collationem, provisionem, præsentationem, electionem, seu quamvis aliam dispositionem, conjunctim vel separatim spectantibus, nulli valeat provideri, seu commenda fieri per Literas Apostolicas; non facientes plenam et expressam, ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujusmodi mentionem, et qualibet alia dictæ sedis indulgentia, generali vel speciali, cujuscunq; tenoris existat, per quam præsentibus non expressam, vel totaliter non insertam effectus Literarum tuarum impediri valeat, quomodolibet vel differri et de qua cujusq; toto tenore habenda sit in nostris Literis mentio specialis. Et quia difficile esset præsentes in singulis Literis tuis super præmissis comedendis inferri, aut ad omnia Loca, in quibus de eis fides facienda esset deferri; volumus et decernimus, earum transumptis etiam per impressionem factis et tuo sigillo munitis; ac manu tui Secretarii aut Regentis Cancellariæ tuæ subscriptis, dictisq; Literis tuis absq; earundem præsentium in toto vel in parte insertione, eam ubiq; fidem in Judicio et extra adhiberi, quæ ipsis præsentibus adhiberetur, si originaliter exhiberentur. Dat Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Domini Millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo tertio. Tertio Kalend. Februarii, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

C. L. de Torres. N. Richardus.

*In Dorso.* Data in Secretaria Apostolica.
De Torres.

NUMBER XVIII.

*A Letter of the Queen's, recommending the promotion of Cardinal Pole to the Popedom; written to the Bishop of Winchester, the Earl of Arundel, and the Lord Paget, then at Calais.—An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Titus. B. 2.]

MARY THE QUEEN—Right reverend Father in God, right trusty and right well-beloved Counsellor; and right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Counsellors, and right trusty and well-beloved Counsellors, We greet you well. And where we do consider that Christ's Catholick Church, and the whole state of Christendom, having been of late so sundry ways vexed, it should greatly help to further some quiet stay and redress of that is amiss, if at this time, of the pope's holiness election, some such godly, learned, and well-disposed person may be chosen to that place, as shall be given to see good order maintained, and all abuses in the church reformed; and known besides, to the world, to be of godly life and disposition. And remembering, on the other side, the great inconveniency that were like to arise to the state of the Church, if (worldly respects being only weighed in this choice) any such should be preferred to that room, as wanting those godly qualities before remembered, might give any occasion of the decay of the catholick faith; we cannot, for the discharge of our duty to God and the world, but both earnestly wish, and carefully travel, that such a one may be chosen, and that without long delay or contention, as for all respects may be most fittest to occupy that place, to the furtherance of God's glory, and quietness of Christendom. And knowing no person in our mind more fit for that purpose than our dearest cousin the lord cardinal Pole, whom the greatest part of Christendom hath heretofore for his long experience, integrity of life, and great learning, thought meet for that place, we have thought good to pray you, that taking some good occasion for that purpose you do, in our name, speak with the cardinal of Lorrain, and the constable, and the rest of the commissioners of our good brother, the French king, praying them to recommend unto our said good brother, in our name, our said dearest cousin, to be named by him to such cardinals as be at his devotion, so as the rather, by his good furtherance and means, this our motion may take place. Whereunto if it shall please him to give his assent, like-as upon knowledge thereof, we shall, for our part, also labour to set forwards the matter the best we may; so doubt we not, but if this our good purpose take effect, both he, and we, and the rest of all Christendom, shall have good cause to give God thanks, and rejoice thereat. Assuring him, that if we had in our conscience thought any other person more fit for that place than our said dearest cousin, we would not, for any private affection, have preferred his advancement, before God's glory, and the benefit of Christendom: the furtherance whereof is (we take God to record) the only thing we seek herein, which moveth us to be the more earnest in this matter. The overture whereof we have taken in hand (as you may assure them on our honour) without our said dearest cousin's other knowledge or consent. And because we need not to remember the wisdom, sincerity of life, and other godly parts, wherewith Almighty God hath endowed our said dearest cousin, the same being well enough known to our said good brother, and his said commissioners, and the rest of the world; we do refer the manner of the opening and handling of the rest of the matter unto your own wisdoms; praying you, we may understand from you, as soon as ye may, what answer ye shall have received herein at the said commissioners hands.



Given under our signet, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 30th of May, the first and second years of our reigns.

NUMBER XIX.

*An Order prescribed by the King and Queen's Majesties, unto the Justices of Peace of the County of Norfolk, for the good government of their Majesties' loving Subjects within the same Shire.—March 25, 1555.—An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Titus. B. 2.]

PHILIP R., MARY the Queen.—First, the said justices of the peace assembling themselves together, and consulting by what good means, good order and quietness may be best continued, shall after divide themselves into eight, ten or twelve parts, more or less, as to their discretions, having regard to the quantity of the shire, and number of themselves, shall seem most convenient; endeavouring themselves, besides their general care, that every particular number may give diligent heed, within their limits appointed to them, for conservation of quietness and good order.

*Item.* The said justices of the peace shall not only be aiding and assisting unto such preachers as be or shall be sent unto the said county, but shall also be themselves present at sermons, and use the preachers reverently, travelling soberly with such, as by abstaining from coming to the church, or by any other open doings, shall appear not persuaded to conform themselves, and to use such as be wilful and obstinate more roundly, either by rebuking them, or binding them to good bearing, or committing them to prison, as the quality of the persons, and circumstance of their doings, may seem to deserve.

*Item.* Amongst all other things, they must lay special weight upon those which be preachers and teachers of heresy, or procurers of secret meetings for that purpose.

*Item.* The said justices of the peace, and every of them, must by themselves, their wives, children, and servants, shew good example; and if they shall have any of their own servants faulty, they must first begin to reform them.

*Item.* The said justices of the peace, and every of them, shall, as much as in them lieth, procure to search out all such as shall by any means spread false tales or seditious rumours, causing them, when they shall be known, to be further apprehended and punished according to the laws.

*Item.* They shall procure to have in every parish, or part of the shire, as near as may be, some one or more honest men, secretly instructed, to give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants amongst, nigh, or about them.

*Item.* They shall charge the constables, and four or more of the most honest and catholick of every parish, with the order of the same parish, unto whom idle men, vagabonds, and such as may be probably suspected, shall be bound to give a reckoning how they live, and where they shall be come from time to time.

*Item.* They shall have earnest regard to the execution and keeping of the statutes against rebellious vagabonds and reteinours, ale-houses, and for keeping of the statute of huy-and-cry; and shall give order for keeping of good and substantial watches, in places convenient, the same to begin the 20th day of April next.

*Item.* As soon as any offenders for murder, felony, or other offences shall be taken, the said justices of the peace shall cause the matter to be forthwith examined and ordered, as to justice shall appertain, according to the tenour of the commission of Oyer and Terminer, addressed presently unto them for that purpose.

Finally, The said justices of peace shall meet and consult together, at the sessions, at the least once every month, and more often, as occasion may require, conferring among themselves upon the state of all particular parts of the shire, and taking such order for all misorders, as to their wisdoms may seem requisite.

NUMBER XX.

*A Letter written by the King and Queen, requiring the Bishop of London to go on in the Prosecution of the Heretics.*

[Regist. Bon. Fol. 363.]

PHILIP R., MARY the Queen.—Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. And where of late we addressed our letters unto the justices of the peace within every of the counties of this our realm, whereby, amongst other instructions given therein, for the good order and quiet government of the country about, therein they are willed to have a special regard unto such disordered persons, as, forgetting their duties towards Almighty God and us, do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions, to shew themselves conformable to the catholick religion of Christ's church; whom, if they cannot by good admonition and fair means reform, they are willed to deliver unto the ordinary, to be by him charitably travelled withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty opinions; or else, if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf: understanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the said disordered persons, being by the justices of the peace for their contempt and obstinacy brought to the ordinaries to be used as is aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither so travelled with as christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice, but are suffered to continue in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others. Like-as we find this matter very strange, so have we thought convenient, both to signify this our knowledge, and therewith also to admonish you, to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the office of a good pastor and bishop, as when any such offenders shall be by the said justices of peace brought unto you, ye do use your good wisdom and discretion, in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be, or else in proceeding against them (if they shall continue obstinate) according to the order of the laws; so as through your good furtherance, both God's glory may be the better advanced, and the commonwealth the more quietly governed.

Given under our signet, at our honour of Lampton-Court, the 24th of May, in the first and second years of our reigns.

NUMBER XXI.

*Sir T. More's Letter to Cromwell, concerning the Nun of Kent.*

[Ex MS. Norfolcianis in Col. Gresham.]

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL—After my most hearty recommendation, with like thanks for your goodness, in accepting of my rude long letter, I perceive, that of your further goodness and favour towards me, it liked your mastership to break with my son Roper, of that,

that I had had communication, not only with divers that were of acquaintance with the lewd nun of Canterbury, but also with herself; and had, over that, by my writing, declaring favour towards her, given her advice and counsel; of which my demeanour, that it liketh you to be content to take the labour and the pain to hear, by mine own writing, the truth, I very heartily thank you, and reckon myself therein right deeply beholden to you.

It is, I suppose, about eight or nine years ago sith I heard of that housewife first; at which time the bishop of Canterbury that then was (God assoil his soul) sent unto the king's grace a roll of paper, in which were written certain words of hers, that she had, as report was then made, at sundry times spoken in her trances; whereupon it pleased the king's grace to deliver me the roll, commanding me to look thereon, and afterwards shew him what I thought therein. Whereunto, at another time, when his highness asked me, I told him, that in good faith I found nothing in these words that I could anything regard or esteem; for seeing that some part fell in rithm, and that, God wots, full rude also; for any reason, God wots, that I saw therein, a right simple woman might, in my mind, speak it of her own wit well enough. Howbeit, I said, that because it was constantly reported for a truth, that God wrought in her, and that a miracle was shewed upon her; I durst not, nor would not, be bold in judging the matter. And the king's grace, as me thought, esteemed the matter as light as it after proved lewd.

From that time, till about Christmas was twelvemonth, albeit that continually there was much talking of her, and of her holiness, yet never heard I any talk rehearsed, either of revelation of hers, or miracle, saying that I heard say divers times, in my lord cardinal's days, that she had been both with his lordship, and with the king's grace, but what she said, either to the one or to the other, upon my faith, I had never heard any one word. Now, as I was about to tell you, about Christmas was twelve-month, Father Risby, friar observant, then of Canterbury, lodged one night at mine house; where, after supper, a little before he went to his chamber, he fell in communication with me of the nun, giving her high commendation of holiness, and that it was wonderful to see and understand the works that God wrought in her; which thing, I answered, that I was very glad to hear it, and thanked God thereof. Then he told me, that she had been with my lord Legat in his life, and with the king's grace too; and that she had told my lord Legat a revelation of hers, of three swords that God hath put in my lord Legat's hand, which if he ordered not well, God would lay sore to his charge. The first, he said, was the ordering the spirituality under the pope, as Legat. The second, the rule that he bore in order of the temporality under the king, as his chancellor. And the third, she said, was the medling he was put in trust with by the king, concerning the great matter of his marriage. And therewithal I said unto him, that any revelation of the king's matters I would not hear of, I doubt not but the goodness of God should direct his highness, with his grace and wisdom, that the thing should take such end as God should be pleased with, to the king's honour, and surety of the realm. When he heard me say these words, or the like, he said unto me, that God had specially commanded her to pray for the king; and forthwith he brake again into her revelations concerning the cardinal, that his soul was saved by her meditation; and without any other communication went unto his chamber. And he and I never talked any more of any such manner of matter, nor since his departing on the morrow, I never saw him afterwards, to my remembrance, till I saw him at Paul's Cross.

After this, about Shrovetide, there came unto me, a little before supper, Father Rich, friar observant of Richmond; and as we fell in talking, I asked him of Father Risby, how he did. And upon that occasion, he asked me, whether Father Risby had any thing shewed me of the holy nun of Kent; and I said, yea; and that I was very glad to hear of her vertue. I would not, quoth he, tell you again that you have heard of him already; but I have heard, and known, many great graces that God hath wrought in her, and in other folk by her, which I would gladly tell you, if I thought you had not heard them already. And therewith he asked me, whether Father Risby had told me any thing of her being with my Lord Cardinal; and I said, yea: Then he told you, quoth he, of the three swords: Yea, verily, quoth I. Did he tell you, quoth he, of the revelations that she had concerning the king's grace? Nay, forsooth, quoth I, nor if he would have done, I would not have given him the hearing; nor verily no more I would indeed, for sith she hath been with the king's grace her self, and told him, me-thought it a thing needless to tell me, or to any man else. And when Father Rich perceived that I would not hear her revelations concerning the king's grace, he talked on a little of her vertue, and let her revelations alone; and therewith my supper was set upon the board, where I required him to sit with me; but he would in no wise tarry, but departed to London. After that night I talked with him twice, once in mine own house, another time in his own garden at the Friars, at every time a great space, but not of any revelations touching the king's grace, but only of other mean folk, I knew not whom of, which things, some were very strange, and some were very childish. But albeit, that he said, he had seen her lie in her trance in great pains, and that he had at other times taken great spiritual comfort in her communication; yet did he never tell me that she had told him those tales her self; for if he had, I would, for the tale of Mary Magdalene which he told me, and for the tale of the Hostie, with which as I have heard she said she was houseled at the king's mass at Calice: If I had heard it of him, as told unto himself by her mouth for a revelation, I would have both liked him and her the worse. But whether ever I heard the same tale of Rich or of Risby, or of neither of them both, but of some other man since she was in hold, in good faith I cannot tell; but I wot well when or wheresoever I heard it, me thought it a tale too marvellous to be true, and very likely that she had told some man her dream, which told it out for a revelation. And in effect, I little doubted but that some of these tales that were told of her were untrue; but yet sith I never heard them reported as spoken by her own mouth, I thought nevertheless that many of them might be true, and she a very vertuous woman too; as some lyes be peradventure written of some that be saints in heaven, and yet many miracles indeed done by them for all that.

After this, I being upon a day at Sion, and talking with divers of the fathers together at the grate, they shewed me that she had been with them, and shewed me divers things that some of them misliked in her; and in this talking, they wished that I had spoken with her, and said, they would fain see how I should like her. Whereupon, afterward, when I heard that she was there again, I came thither to see her, and to speak with her my self. At which communication had, in a little chappel, there were none present but we two: in the beginning whereof, I shewed that my coming to her was not of any curious mind, any think to know of such things as folk talked, that it pleased God to reveal and shew unto her, but for the



great virtue that I had heard so many years, every day more and more spoken and reported of her; I therefore had a great mind to see her, and be acquainted with her, that she might have somewhat the more occasion to remember me to God in her devotion and prayers: whereunto she gave me a very good virtuous answer, that as God did of his goodness far better by her than she, a poor wretch, was worthy, so she feared that many folk yet beside that spoke of their own favourable minds many things for her far above the truth, and that of me she had many such things heard, that already she prayed for me, and ever would; whereof I heartily thanked her. I said unto her, Madam, one Helen, a maiden dwelling about Totnam, of whose trances and revelation there hath been much talking, she hath been with me of late, and shewed me that she was with you, and that after the rehearsal of such visions as she had seen you shewed her, that they were no revelations, but plain illusions of the devil, and advised her to cast them out of her mind: and verily she gave therein good credence unto you, and thereupon hath left to lean any longer unto such visions of her own: whereupon she saith she findeth your words true, for ever since she hath been the less visited with such things as she was wont to be before. To this she answered me, Forsooth, sir, there is in this point no praise unto me, but the goodness of God, as it appeareth, hath wrought much meekness in her soul, which hath taken my rude warning so well, and not grudged to hear her spirit and her visions reproved. I liked her, in good faith, better for this answer, than for many of these things that I heard reported by her. Afterward she told me, upon that occasion, how great need folk have, that are visited with such visions, to take heed, and prove well of what spirit they come of; and in that communication she told me, that of late the devil, in likeness of a bird, was flying and fluttering about her in a chamber, and suffered himself to be taken; and being in hands, suddenly changed, in their sight that were present, into such a strange ugly-fashioned bird, that they were all afraid, and threw him out at a window.

For conclusion; we talked no word of the king's grace, or any great personage else, nor in effect of any man or woman but of herself and myself; but after no long communication had, for or ever we met, my time came to go home, I gave her a double ducat, and prayed her to pray for me and mine, and so departed from her, and never spake with her after. Howbeit, of a truth, I had a great good opinion of her, and had her in great estimation, as you shall perceive by the letter that I wrote unto her. For afterwards, because I had often heard that many right worshipful folks, as well men as women, used to have much communication with her; and many folk are of nature inquisitive and curious, whereby they fall sometimes into such talking, and better were to forbear, of which thing I nothing thought while I talked with her of charity, therefore I wrote her a letter thereof; which sith it may be peradventure that she brake or lost, I shall insert the very copy thereof in this present letter.

*These were the very words.*

Good madam, and my right dearly-beloved sister in our Lord God, after most hearty commendation, I shall beseech you to take my good mind in good worth, and pardon me, that I am so homely as of myself, unrequired, and also without necessity, to give counsel to you, of whom, for the good inspirations and great revelations that it liketh Almighty God of his goodness to give and shew, as many wise, well-learned, and very virtuous folk testify, I myself have need, for the comfort of my soul, to require and ask advice. For surely, good madam, sith it pleased God sometime to suffer, such as are far under and of little estimation, to give yet fruitful advertisement to such other as are in the light of the Spirit so far above them, that there were between them no comparison; as he suffered his high prophet Moses to be in some things advised and counselled by Jethro, I cannot, for the love that in our Lord I bear you, refrain to put you in remembrance of one thing, which in my poor mind I think highly necessary to be by your wisdom considered, referring the end, and the order thereof, to God and his Holy Spirit, to direct you. Good madam, I doubt not but that you remember that in the beginning of my communication with you, I shewed you, that I neither was, nor would be, curious of any knowledge of other men's matters, and least of all of any matter of princes, or of the realm, in case it so were, that God had, as to many good folks before-time, he hath any time revealed unto you such things, I said unto your ladyship, that I was not only not desirous to hear of, but also would not hear of. Now, madam, I consider well that many folk desire to speak with you, which are not all peradventure of my mind in this point; but some hap to be curious and inquisitive of things that little pertain unto their parts; and some might peradventure hap to talk of such things as might peradventure after turn to much harm; as I think you have heard how the late duke of Buckingham moved with the fame of one that was reported for an holy monk, and had such talking with him, as after was a great part of his destruction, and disheriting of his blood, and great slander and infamy of religion. It sufficeth me, good madam, to put you in remembrance of such things, as I nothing doubt your wisdom, and the Spirit of God shall keep you from talking with any person, specially with high persons, of any such manner things as pertain to princes' affairs, or the state of the realm, but only to commune and talk with any person, high and low, of such manner things as may to the soul be profitable for you to shew, and for them to know. And thus, my good lady, and dearly beloved sister in our Lord, I make an end of this my needless advertisement unto you, whom the blessed Trinity preserve and increase in grace, and put in your mind to recommend me and mine unto him in your devout prayers.—At Chelsey, this Tuesday, by the hand of your hearty loving brother and beadsman,

THOMAS MORE, KT.

At the receipt of this letter, she answered my servant, that she heartily thanked me: soon after this there came to mine house the prior of the Charterhouse at Schene, and one brother Williams with him, who nothing talked to me but of her, and of the great joy that they took in her virtue, but of any of her revelations they had no communication. But at another time brother Williams came to me, and told me a long tale of her being at the house of a knight in Kent, that was sore troubled with temptations to destroy himself; and none other thing we talked of, nor should have done of likelihood, though we had tarried together much longer, he took so great pleasure, good man, to tell the tale, with all the circumstances at length. When I came again another day to Sion, on a day in which there was a procession, some of the fathers asked me how I liked the nun; and I answered, that, in good faith, I liked her very well in her talking; howbeit, quoth I, she is never the nearer tried by that, for I assure you, she were likely to be very bad, if she seemed good, ere I should think her other, till she happened to be proved naught; and in good faith, that is my manner indeed, except I were set to search and examine the truth, upon likelihood of some cloaked evil; for in that case, although I nothing suspected the person myself, yet no

less than if I suspected him sore, I would, as far as my wit would serve me, search to find out the truth, as yourself hath done very prudently in this matter; wherein you have done, in my mind, to your great laud and praise, a very meritorious deed, in bringing forth to light such detestable hypocrisy, whereby every other wretch may take warning, and be feared to set forth their own devilish dissembled falsehood, under the manner and colour of the wonderful work of God; for verily this women so handled herself, with help of that evil spirit that inspired her, that after her own confession declared at Paul's Cross, when I sent word by my servant unto the prior of the Charterhouse, that she was undoubtedly proved a false deceiving hypocrite; the good man had had so good opinion of her so long, that he could at the first scantly believe me therein. Howbeit it was not he alone that thought her so very good, but many another right good man besides, as little marvel was upon so good report, till she was proved naught.

I remember me further, that in communication between father Rich and me: I counselled him, that in such strange things as concerned such folk as had come unto her, to whom, as she said, she had told the causes of their coming ere themselves spake thereof; and such good fruit as they said that many men had received by her prayer, he, and such other as so reported it, and thought that the knowledge thereof should much pertain to the glory of God, should first cause the things to be well and sure examined by the ordinaries, and such as had authority thereunto; so that it might be surely known whether the things were true or not, and that there were no letters intermingled among them, or else the letters might after hap to aweigh the credence of these things that were true. And when he told me the tale of Mary Magdalen, I said unto him, Father Rich, that she is a good virtuous woman, in good faith, I hear so many good folk so report that I verily think it true; and think it well-likely that God worketh some good and great things by her; but yet are, you wot well, these strange tales no part of our creed; and therefore, before you see them surely proved, you shall have my poor counsel, not to wed yourself so far forth to the credence of them, as to report them very surely for true, least that if it should hap that they were afterwards proved false, it might minish your estimation in your preaching, whereof might grow great loss. To this he thanked me for my counsel, but how he used it after that I cannot tell.

Thus have I, good Mr. Cromwell, fully declared to you, as far as myself can call to remembrance, all that ever I have done or said in this matter, wherein I am sure that never one of them all shall tell you any further thing of effect; for if any of them, or any man else, report of me, as I trust verily no man will, and I wot well truly no man can, any word or deed by me spoken or done, touching any breach of my legal truth and duty toward my most redoubted soveraign, and natural liege lord, I will come to mine answer, and make it good in such wise as becometh a poor true man to do; that whosoever any such thing shall say, shall therein say untrue: for I neither have in this matter done evil, nor said evil, nor so much as any evil thing thought, but only have been glad, and rejoiced of them that were reported for good; which condition I shall nevertheless keep toward all other good folk, for the false cloaked hypocrisy of any of these, no more than I shall esteem Judas the true apostle, for Judas the false traitor.

But so purpose I to bear myself in every man's company, while I live, that neither good man nor bad, neither monk, friar, nor nun, nor other man or woman in this world, shall make me digress from my truth and faith, either towards God, or towards my natural prince, by the grace of Almighty God; and as you therein find me true, so I heartily therein pray you to continue toward me your favour and good-will, as you shall be sure of my poor daily prayer; for other pleasure can I not do you. And thus the blessed Trinity, both bodily and ghostly, long preserve and prosper you.

I pray you pardon me that I write not unto you of mine own hand, for verily I am compelled to forbear writing for a while, by reason of this disease of mine, whereof the chief occasion is grown, as it is thought, by the stooping and leaning on my breast, that I have used in writing. And thus, eft-soons, I beseech our Lord long to preserve you.

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NUMBER XXII.

*Directions of Queen Mary to her Council, touching the Reformation of the Church, out of her own Original.*

[Ex MS. D. G. Petyte.]

First, That such as had commission to talk with my lord cardinal at his first coming, touching the goods of the church, should have recourse unto him, at the least once in a week, not only for putting these matters in execution, as much as may be, before the parliament, but also to understand of him which way might be best to bring to good effect those matters that have been begun concerning religion, both touching good preaching, I wish that may supply and overcome the evil preaching in time past; and also to make a sure provision, that no evil books shall either be printed, bought or sold, without just punishment. Therefore I think it should be well done, that the universities and churches of this realm should be visited by such persons as my lord cardinal, with the rest of you, may be well assured to be worthy and sufficient persons to make a true and just account thereof, remitting the choice of them to him and you. Touching punishment of hereticks, methinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the mean while to do justice to such, as by learning would seem to deceive the simple; and the rest so to be used, that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion, whereby they shall both understand the truth, and beware to do the like. And especially in London I would wish none to be burnt, without some of the council's presence, and both there and every-where good sermons at the same. I verily believe that many benefices should not be in one man's hand, but after such sort as every priest might look to his own charge, and remain resident there, whereby they should have but one bond to discharge towards God; whereas now they have many, which I take to be the cause that in most part of this realm there is over-much want of good preachers, and such as should with their doctrine overcome the evil diligence of the abused preachers in the time of schism, not only by their preaching, but also by their good example, without which, in mine opinion, their sermons shall not so much profit as I wish. And like-as their good example, on their behalf, shall undoubtedly do much good, so I account myself bound, on my behalf also, to shew such example, in encouraging and maintaining those persons, well-doing their duty, (not forgetting, in the mean while, to correct and punish them which do contrary,) that it may be evident to all this realm how I discharge my conscience therein, and minister true justice in so doing.



NUMBER XXIII.

*Injunctions by Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, to the Prior and Convent of St. Mary House, in Worcester, 1537.*

[L. 3us Reg. Prior. et Convent. Wigorn.]

Hugh, by the goodness of God, Bishop of Worcester, wisheth to his brethren, the prior and convent aforesaid, grace, mercy, peace, and true knowledge of God's word; from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

Forasmuch as in this my visitation I evidently perceive the ignorance and negligence of divers religious persons in this monastery to be intolerable, and not to be suffered; for that thereby doth reign idolatry and many kinds of superstitions, and other enormities; and considering withal that our sovereign lord the king, for some part of remedy of the same, hath granted, by his most gracious license, that the Scripture of God may be read in English, of all his obedient subjects; I therefore, willing your reformation in most favourable manner, to your least displeasure, do heartily require you all, and every one of you, and also in God's behalf command the same, according as your duty is, to obey me as God's minister and the king's, in all my lawful and honest commandments; that you observe and keep inviolably all these injunctions following, under pain of the law.

First. Forasmuch as I perceive that some of you neither have observed the king's injunctions, nor yet have them with you, as willing to observe them; therefore ye shall from henceforth both have and observe diligently and faithfully, as well special commandments of preaching as other injunctions given in his grace's visitation.

*Item.* That the prior shall provide, of the monastery's charge, a whole Bible in English, to be laid fast chained in some open place, either in their church or cloister.

*Item.* That every religious person have, at the least, a New Testament in English, by the feast of the nativity of our Lord next ensuing.

*Item.* Whensoever there shall be any preaching in your monastery, that all manner of singing and other ceremonies be utterly laid aside in his preaching time; and all other service shortened, as need shall be; and all religious persons quietly to hearken to the preaching.

*Item.* That ye have a lecture of Scripture read every day in English amongst you, save holydays.

*Item.* That every religious person be at every lecture, from the beginning to the ending, except they have a necessary lett allowed them by the prior.

*Item.* That every religious house have a layman to their steward, for all former businesses.

*Item.* That you have a continual schoolmaster, sufficiently learned, to teach your grammar.

*Item.* That no religious person discourage any manner of layman or woman, or any other, from the reading of any good book, either in Latin or English.

*Item.* That the prior have at his dinner or supper every day a chapter read, from the beginning of the Scripture to the end, and that in English, wheresoever he be in any of his own places, and to have edifying communication of the same.

*Item.* That the convent sit together, four to one mess, and to eat together in common, and to have Scripture read in like wise, and have communication thereof; and after their dinner or supper, their reliques and fragments to be distributed to the poor people.

*Item.* That the convent and prior provide distributions to be ministered in every parish, whereas ye be parsons and proprietaries, and according to the king's injunctions in that behalf.

*Item.* That all these my injunctions be read every month once in the chapter-house, before all the brethren.

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NUMBER XXIV.

*A Letter of Ann Bolleyn's to Gardner.*

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

Mr. Stephens, I thank you for my letter, wherein I perceive the willing and faithful mind that you have to do me pleasure, not doubting but, as much as is possible for man's wit to imagine you will do. I pray God to send you well to speed in all your matters, so that you would put me to the study how to reward your high service: I do trust in God you shall not repent it, and that the end of this journey shall be more pleasant to me than your first; for that was but a rejoicing hope, which ceasing, the lack of it does put me to the more pain, and they that are partakers with me, as you do know: and therefore I do trust that this hard beginning shall make the better ending.

Mr. Stephens, I send you here cramp-rings for you and Mr. Gregory, and Mr. Peter, praying you to distribute them as you think best. And have me recommended heartily to them both, as she, that you may assure them, will be glad to do them any pleasure which shall lie in my power. And thus I make an end, praying God send you good health.—Written at Greenwich the 4th day of April,

By your assured friend,

Ann Bollein.

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NUMBER XXV.

*The Office of Consecrating the Cramp-Rings.*

[Ex MS. in Biblioth. R. Smith. Lond.]

*Certain Prayers to be used by the Queen's Highness, in the Consecration of the Cramp-Ring.*

Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat nos Deus, illuminet vultum suum super nos et misereatur nostri.

Ut cognoscamus in terra viam tuam, in omnibus gentibus salutare tuum.

Confiteantur tibi Populi Deus, confiteantur tibi populi omnes.

Lætentur et exultent gentes, quoniam judicas populos in equitate, et gentes in terra dirigis.

Confiteantur tibi Populi Deus, confiteantur tibi populi omnes, terra dedit fructum suum.

Benedicat nos Deus, Deus noster, benedicat nos Deus, et metuent eum omnes fines terræ.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.

Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui ad solatium humani generis, varia ac multiplicia miserarium nostrarum levamenta uberrimus gratiæ tuæ donis ab inexhausto benignitatis tuæ fonte manantibus, incessanter tribuere dignatus es, et quos ad Regalis sublimitatis fastigium extulisti, insignioribus gratiis ornatos, Donorumq; tuorum organa atq; canales esse voluisti, ut sicut per te regnant aliisq; præsunt, ita te authore reliquis prosint, et tua in populum beneficia conferant; preces nostras propitius respice, et quæ tibi vota humilime fundimus, benignus admitte, ut quod a te majores nostri de tua misericordia sperantes obtinuerunt, id nobis etiam pari fiducia postulantibus concedere digneris. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

less than if I suspected him sore, I would, as far as my wit would serve me, search to find out the truth, as yourself hath done very prudently in this matter: wherein you have done, in my mind, to your great laud and praise, a very meritorious deed, in bringing forth to light such detestable hypocrisy, whereby every other wretch may take warning, and be feared to set forth their own devilish dissembled falsehood, under the manner and colour of the wonderful work of God; for verily this women so handled herself, with help of that evil spirit that inspired her, that after her own confession declared at Paul's Cross, when I sent word by my servant unto the prior of the Charterhouse, that she was undoubtedly proved a false deceiving hypocrite; the good man had had so good opinion of her so long, that he could at the first scantly believe me therein. Howbeit it was not he alone that thought her so very good, but many another right good man besides, as little marvel was upon so good report, till she was proved naught.

I remember me further, that in communication between father Rich and me; I counselled him, that in such strange things as concerned such folk as had come unto her, to whom, as she said, she had told the causes of their coming ere themselves spake thereof; and such good fruit as they said that many men had received by her prayer, he, and such other as so reported it, and thought that the knowledge thereof should much pertain to the glory of God, should first cause the things to be well and sure examined by the ordinaries, and such as had authority thereunto; so that it might be surely known whether the things were true or not, and that there were no letters intermingled among them, or else the letters might after leap to aweigh the credence of these things that were true. And when he told me the tale of Mary Magdalen, I said unto him, Father Rich, that she is a good virtuous woman, in good faith, I hear so many good folk so report that I verily think it true; and think it well-likely that God worketh some good and great things by her; but yet are, you wot well, these strange tales no part of our creed; and therefore, before you see them surely proved, you shall have my poor counsel, not to wed yourself so far forth to the credence of them, as to report them very surely for true, least that if it should hap that they were afterwards proved false, it might minish your estimation in your preaching, whereof might grow great loss. To this he thanked me for my counsel, but how he used it after that I cannot tell.

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*Item.* That every religious person have, at the least, a New Testament in English, by the feast of the nativity of our Lord next ensuing.

*Item.* Whensoever there shall be any preaching in your monastery, that all manner of singing and other ceremonies be utterly laid aside in his preaching time; and all other service shortened, as need shall be; and all religious persons quietly to hearken to the preaching.

*Item.* That ye have a lecture of Scripture read every day in English amongst you, save holydays.

*Item.* That every religious person be at every lecture, from the beginning to the ending, except they have a necessary lett allowed them by the prior.

*Item.* That every religious house have a layman to their steward, for all former businesses.

*Item.* That you have a continual schoolmaster, sufficiently learned, to teach your grammar.

*Item.* That no religious person discourage any manner of layman or woman, or any other, from the reading of any good book, either in Latin or English.

*Item.* That the prior have at his dinner or supper every day a chapter read, from the beginning of the Scripture to the end, and that in English, wheresoever he be in any of his own places, and to have edifying communication of the same.

*Item.* That the convent sit together, four to one mess, and to eat together in common, and to have Scripture read in like wise, and have communication thereof; and after their dinner or supper, their reliques and fragments to be distributed to the poor people.

*Item.* That the convent and prior provide distributions to be ministered in every parish, whereas ye be parsons and proprietaries, and according to the king's injunctions in that behalf.

*Item.* That all these my injunctions be read every month once in the chapter-house, before all the brethren.

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NUMBER XXIV.

*A Letter of Ann Bolleyn's to Gardner.*

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

Mr. Stephens. I thank you for my letter, wherein I perceive the willing and faithful mind that you have to do me pleasure, not doubting but, as much as is possible for man's wit to imagine you will do. I pray God to send you well to speed in all your matters, so that you would put me to the study how to reward your high service: I do trust in God you shall not repent it, and that the end of this journey shall be more pleasant to me than your first; for that was but a rejoicing hope, which ceasing, the lack of it does put me to the more pain, and they that are partakers with me, as you do know: and therefore I do trust that this hard beginning shall make the better ending.

Mr. Stephens, I send you here cramp-rings for you and Mr. Gregory, and Mr. Peter, praying you to distribute them as you think best. And have me recommended heartily to them both, as she, that you may assure them, will be glad to do them any pleasure which shall lie in my power. And thus I make an end, praying God send you good health.—Written at Greenwich the 4th day of April,

By your assured friend,

Ann Bollein.

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NUMBER XXV.

*The Office of Consecrating the Cramp-Rings.*

[Ex MS. in Biblioth. R. Smith. Lond.]

*Certain Prayers to be used by the Queen's Highness, in the Consecration of the Cramp-Ring.*

Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat nos Deus, illuminet vultum suum super nos et misereatur nostri.

Ut cognoscamus in terra viam tuam, in omnibus gentibus salutare tuum.

Confiteantur tibi Populi Deus, confiteantur tibi populi omnes.

Lætentur et exultent gentes, quoniam judicas populos in equitate, et gentes in terra dirigis.

Confiteantur tibi Populi Deus, confiteantur tibi populi omnes, terra dedit fructum suum.

Benedicat nos Deus, Deus noster, benedicat nos Deus, et metuent eum omnes fines terræ.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.

Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui ad solatium humani generis, varia ac multiplicia miserarium nostrarum levamenta uberrimus gratiæ tuæ donis ab inexhausto benignitatis tuæ fonte manantibus, incessanter tribuere dignatus es, et quos ad Regalis sublimitatis fastigium extulisti, insignioribus gratiis ornatos, Donorumq; tuorum organa atq; canales esse voluisti, ut sicut per te regnant aliisq; præsunt, ita te authore reliquis prosint, et tua in populum beneficia conferant; preces nostras propitius respice, et quæ tibi vota humilime fundimus, benignus admitte, ut quod a te majores nostri de tua misericordia sperantes obtinuerunt, id nobis etiam pari fiducia postulantibus concedere digneris. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

*The Rings lying on one Basin or more, this Prayer to be said over them.*

Deus Cœlestium terrestriumq; conditor creaturarum, atq; humani generis benignissime reparator, Dator spiritualis gratiæ, omniumq; benedictionum largitor, immitte Spiritum Sanctum tuum Paracletum de cœlis super hos Annulos arte fabrili confectos, eosq; magna tua potentia ita emundare digneris, ut omni nequitia livide venenosiq; serpentis procul expulsa, metallum a te bono conditore creatum, a cunctis inimici sordibus maneat immune. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

*Benedictio Annulorum.*

Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, exaudi misericors preces nostras, parce metuentibus, propitiare supplicibus, et mittere digneris Sanctum Angelum tuum de Cœlis qui Sanctificet + et benedicat + annulos istos, ut sint remedium salutare omnibus nomen tuum humiliter implorantibus, ac semetipsos pro conscientia delictorum suorum accusantibus, atq; ante conspectum Divinæ Clementiæ tuæ facinora sua deplorantibus, et serenissimam pietatem tuam humiliter obnixeq; flagitantibus; prosint deniq; per invocationem Sancti tui nominis omnibus istos gestantibus, ad corporis et animæ sanitatem. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

*Benedictio.*

Deus qui in morbis curandis maxima semper potentiæ tuæ miracula declarasti, quiq; annulos in Juda Patriarcha fidei arrabonem, in Aarone Sacerdotale ornamentum, in Dario fidelis custodiæ Symbolum, et in hoc Regno variorum morborum remedia esse voluisti, hos annulos propitius + benedicere et + sanctificare digneris: ut omnes qui eos gestabunt sint immunes ab omnibus Satanæ insidiis, sint armati virtute cœlestis defensionis, nec eos infestet vel nervorum contractio, vel comitialis morbi pericula, sed sentiant te opitulante in omni morborum genere Levamen. In nomine Patris + et Filii + et Spiritus Sancti +. Amen.

Benedic anima mea Domino: et omnia quæ intra me sunt nomini sancto ejus.

*Here follows the rest of that Psalm.*

Immensam clementiam tuam Misericors Deus humiliter imploramus, ut qua animi fiducia et fidei sinceritate, ac certa mentis pietate, ad hæc impetranda accedimus, pari etiam devotione gratiæ tuæ symbola fideles prosequantur; facessat omnis superstitio, procul absit Diabolicæ fraudis suspitio, et in gloria tui nominis omnia cedant; ut te Largitorem bonorum omnium fideles tui intelligant, atque a te uno quicquid vel animis vel corporibus vere prosit, profectum sentiant et profiteantur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

*These Prayers being said, the Queen's Highness rubbeth the Rings between her Hands, saying:*

Sanctifica Domine Annulos istos, et rore tuæ benedictionis benignus asperge, ac manuum nostrarum confricatione, quas olei sacri infusione externa, sanctificare dignatus es pro ministerii nostri modo, consecra, ut quod natura metalli præstare non possit, gratiæ tuæ magnitudine efficiatur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

*Then must Holy Water be cast on the Rings, saying:*

In Nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Domine Fili Dei unigenite, Dei et Hominum Mediator, Jesu Christe, in cujus unius nomine salus recte quæritur, quiq; in te sperantibus facilem ad Patrem accessum conciliasti, quem quicquid in nomine tuo peteretur, id omne daturum, eum certissimo veritatis Oraculo ab ore tuo Sancto, quum inter homines versabaris homo pronunciasti, precibus nostris aures tuæ pietatis accommoda, ut ad thronum gratiæ in tua fiducia accedentes, quod in nomine tuo humiliter postulavimus, id a nobis, te mediante, impetratum fuisse, collatis per te beneficiis, fideles intelligant. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Vota nostra quæsumus Domine, Spiritus Sanctus qui a te procedit, aspirando preveniat, et prosequatur, ut quod ad salutem fidelium confidenter petimus, gratiæ tuæ dono efficaciter consequamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Majestatem tuam Clementissime Deus, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, suppliciter exoramus, ut quod ad nominis tui sanctificationem piis hic Ceremoniis peragitur, ad corporis simul et animæ tutelam valeat in terris, et ad uberiorem fœlicitatis fructum proficiat in Cœlis.

Qui vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

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NUMBER XXVI.

*A Letter of Gardiner's to King Henry the Eighth, concerning the Divorce.—An Original.*

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

Pleaseth it your majesty to understand, that besides all other means used to the pope's holiness, for attaining and atchieving your highness' purpose and intent, such as in our common letters to my lord legate's grace, and my several letters to the same be contained at length. I have also a-part shewed unto the pope's holiness, that which your highness shewed me in your gallery at Hampton-Court, concerning the solicitation of the princes of Almayn, and such other matter as should and ought to fear the pope's said holiness; adding also those reasons which might induce the same to adhere expressly to your highness, and the French king, and so to take the more courage to accomplish your highness' desires: using all ways possible to enforce him to do somewhat, being a man of such nature as he never resolveth any thing but by some violent affection compelled thereunto. And considering we can speed no better at his hands, it agreeth with that your majesty, of your high wisdom before perpended, that his holiness would do nothing which might offend the emperor, unless he first determined himself to adhere to your highness, and the French king, and so to declare himself, containing himself no longer in neutrality; which he will not do: Ne the state of the affairs here considered, it were for his wealth so to do, unless the leagues otherwise proceeded than they yet do, or that his holiness would determine himself to leave these parts, and establish his see in some other place; forasmuch, as here being, he is daily in danger of the imperials, like as we have signified by our other letters. His holiness is in great perplexity and agony of mind, nor can tell what to do: he seemeth in words, fashion, and manner of speaking, as though he would do somewhat for your highness; and yet, when it cometh to the point, nothing he doth: I dare not say certainly, whether it be for fear, or want of good will, for I were loth to make a lie of him, or to your highness, my prince, soveraign lord and master. Finally, I perceive this by the pope, and all other here, that so your highness' cause were determined there by my lord's legates, they would be glad thereof; and, as I think, if the emperor would make any suit against that which shall be done there, they would serve him as they now do your highness, and so drive off the time, for they seem to be so minded, as in this cause they would suffer much, but do very little: wherefore if my lord Campegius will set apart all other respects, and frankly promise your highness to give sentence for you, then must be your highness' remedy short and expedite; nor shall there want wit, by another means, to meet with such delays as this false counterfeit Breve hath caused. For with these men here your highness shall by no suit profit:



which thing I write unto your highness, as of my most bounden duty I ought to do: there shall every day rise new devices, and none take effect, but long delays, and wasted time: wherefore doing what I can yet to get the best, although we be fully answered therein, I shall do what I can to get the commission amplified as much as may be, and at the least, to extend to the reprobation of the brief, if I can, for I dare promise nothing to your majesty at this man's hands; and that which shall be obtained, if any be obtained, shall be, according to your highness' pleasure, sent by Mr. Bryan.

And whereas your highness, in your gracious letters directed to me and my colleagues, marvelleth that I have not ere this advertised the same, of such bulls as your majesty willed me to impetrate here; I thought verily, that forasmuch as the same be to be impetrate at the pope's hand, and that we signified unto your majesty, by our letters, of the pope's great sickness, and how we could not have access unto the same, that it had been superfluous for me, in my letters, to make any mention of the said bulls: signifying unto your highness now, that having those matters as it becometh me to have in good remembrance, I have not yet broken with the pope's holiness in them, nor thought good to interrupt the prosecution of your highness' matter, with the pursuit of those, saving that I spake a word to the pope's holiness, *de Ecclesiis Cathedralibus*, and his holiness said nothing could be done till the *Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor* be recovered. In other things I speak not; for our audience with the pope's holiness hath been so scarce, that we thought it little enough to spend the same in your highness' principal matter.

And to advertise your highness what counsel is here conducted for the defence of your majesty's cause, the same shall understand that this court, as it hath suffered in all other things, so it is also much appeyred in learned men, and of them that be, we dare not trust every one, *ne Causa Majestatis vestræ illis denudata*, they should, *prodere illam Adversariis*; wherefore counselling, as yet only with two, the one called Dominus Michael, the other Dominus Sigismundus; we perceiving nothing to be solicited openly on the other side, and that here as yet hath been no need to dispute openly, have communicate your highness' matter to no more. And as for that article, *Quod Papa non possit dispensare*, the pope himself will hear no disputations in it; and so he might retain your highness' good mind, he seemeth not to care for himself, whether your highness' cause be decided by that article or no, so he did it not: but surely it appeareth, as a man may gather by his fashion and manner, that he hath made his account no further to meddle in your highness' matter, neither with your majesty, nor against the same, but follow that shall be done by his legates there. Wherefore if my lord Campegius would promise your majesty to give sentence frankly and apertly, having *propitium Judicem*, I would trust, being there with such consultations as I should bring from hence to say somewhat to this breve there, *Apud illos et ista est Sacra Anchora Majestatis vestræ*, for from hence shall come nothing but delays; desiring your highness not to show this to my lord Campegius, nor my lord's grace.

Mr. Gregory sendeth presently unto your highness the promise made by the pope's holiness, concerning your highness' cause, at such time as I went to Venice for his cause, which promise in the first three words, viz. *Cum nos justitium ejus Causæ perpendentes*, &c. doth make as much, and more, for the maintenance of that shall be done in your highness' cause, than if the commission decretal, being in cardinal Campegius's hands, should be shewed: and this your highness at your liberty to show to whom of your council it shall please your grace, thinking, in my poor opinion, that it were not the best therefore to move the pope in that matter again in this adverse time.

I most humbly desire your majesty, that I may be a suitor to the same for the said Mr. Gregory; so as by your most gracious commandment, payment may be made there to his factors, of such diets as your highness alloweth him: for omitting to speak of his true, faithful, and diligent service, which I have heretofore and do now perceive in him here; I assure your highness, he liveth here sumptuously and chargeably, to your highness' honour, and in this great scarcity must needs be driven to extremity, unless your highness be a gracious lord unto him in that behalf.

Thus having none other matter whereof privately to write unto your majesty besides that is contained in our common letters to my lord legate's grace, desiring your highness that I may know your pleasure what to do in case none other thing can be obtained here, I shall make an end of these letters, praying Almighty God to preserve your most noble and royal estate, with a short expedition of this cause, according to your highness' purpose and desire.

From Rome, the 21st day of April.

Your highness' most humble subject,
Servant, and daily orator,
Stephen Gardiner.

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NUMBER XXVII.

*The Writ for the Burning of Cranmer.*

[Rot. Pat. 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. 2 Par.]

Philip and Mary, &c.—To our right trusty Nicholas, archbishop of York, lord chancellor of England, greeting. We will and command you, that immediately upon the sight hereof, and by warrant of the same, ye do cause to be made a writ for the execution of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury; and the same so made, to seal with our great seal of England, being in your custody, according to the tenor and form hereafter following.

Philippus et Maria Dei Gratia, &c.—Majori et Ballivis Civitatis Oxon. Salutem. Cum Sanctissimus Pater noster Paulus Papa ejusdem Nominis Quartus, per sententiam definitivam juris Ordine in ea parte requisito in omnibus observato, et juxta canonicas sanctiones judicialiter et definitive, Thomam Cranmer nuper Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, fore hæresiarchum, Anathematizatum, et Hæreticum manifestum, propter suos varios nefandos Errores manifestos et damnabiles Hæreses, et detestandas et pessimas Opiniones, Fidei nostræ Catholicæ, et Universalis Ecclesiæ determinationi obviantes et repugnantes; et prædict. Thomam Cranmer multis modis contract. comiss. dict. affirmat. perpetrat. et publice et pertinaciter tent. et defens. judicavit, declaravit, pronunciavit et condemnavit: et eadem causa idem Sanctissimus Pater noster Papa Paulus quartus judicialiter et definitive, more solito, prædictum Thomam Cranmer a prædicto Archiepiscopatu, aliis Prælaturis, Dignitatibus, Officiis et Beneficiis deprivavit et abjudicavit, prout cunctam inde habemus noticiam: Cumq; etiam Reverendus in Christo Pater Edmundus Londini Episcopus, et Thomas Elien. Episcopus Authoritate ejusdem Santissimi nostri Patris Papæ prædictum Thomam Cranmer ab omni Ordine, Gradu, Officio et Dignitate Ecclesiastica, tanquam Hæresiarcham et Hæreticum manifestum realiter degradaverunt; Vigore cujus idem Thomas Cranmer in presenti Hæreticus et Hæresiarcha juste, legitime, et Canonice Judicatus, condemnatus et degradatus existit; Et cum etiam Mater Ecclesia non habet quod ulterius in hac parte

contra tam putridum et detestabile membrum et hæresiarcham faciat aut facere debeat, Iidem Reverendi Patres eundem Thomam Cranmer damnatum Hæreticum et Hæresiarcham brachiis et potestati nostris secularibus tradiderunt, commisserunt et reliquerunt, prout per Literas Patentes eorundem Reverendorum Patrum superinde confect. nobis in Cancellaria nostra Certificatum est. Nos igitur ut Zelatores Justiciæ, et Fidei Catholicæ Defensores, volentesque Ecclesiam Sanctam, ac Jura et Libertates ejusdem, et Fidem Catholicam manutenere et defendere, hujusmodi Hæreses et Errores ubique, quantum in nobis est, eradicare et extirpare, et prædictum Thomam Hæresiarcham ac convictum, damnat. et degradat. animadversione condigna punire. Attendentesque hujusmodi Hæretic. et Hæresiarch. in forma prædicta convict. damnat. et degradat. juxta Leges et consuetudines Regni nostri Angliæ in hac parte consuetas ignis incendio comburi debere; Vobis Præcipimus quod dictum Thomam Cranmer, in custodia vestra existen. in Loco publico et aperto, infra Libertatem dicti Civitatis nostræ Oxon. ex causa prædicta, coram Populo igni Committi, ac ipsum Thomam Cranmer in eodem igne realiter comburi facietis, in hujusmodi Criminis detestationem, aliorum Christianorum exemplum manifestum: Et hoc sub pœna et periculo incumbente, ac prout nobis subinde respondere volueritis, nullatenus Omittatis. Test. nobis ipsis apud Westmonasterium, Vicesimo quarto Februarii, Annis Regis et Reginæ secundo ac tertio.

And this bill, signed with the hand of us the said Queen, shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge for the same.

NUMBER XXVIII.

*A Commission to Bonner, and others, to search and raze Records.*

[Rot. Pat. 3 & 4 Phil. & Mar. 12. Par.]

PHILIP and MARY, &c.—To the right reverend father in God, Edmond, bishop of London; and to our trusty and well-beloved Henry Cole, doctor of divinity, and dean of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London; and Thomas Marten, esq. doctor of the civil law, greeting. Where is come to our knowledge and understanding, that in the time of the late schism, divers and sundry accompts, books, scroles, instruments, and other writings, were practised, devised, and made, concerning professions against the pope's holiness, and the see apostolick: And also sundry and divers infamous scrutinies were taken in abbeys, and other religious houses, tending rather to subvert and overthrow all good religion, and religious houses, than for any truth contained therein; which writings, and other the premises, as we be informed, were delivered to the custody and charge of divers and sundry registers, and other officers and ministers of this our realm of England, to be by them kept and preserved. And minding to have the said writings, and other the premises, brought to knowledge, whereby they may be considered and ordered, according to our will and pleasure. And trusting in your fidelities, wisdoms, and discretions, we have appointed and assigned you to be our commissioners; and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, or two of you, to call before you, or two of you, all and singular the said registers and other officers and ministers within this our said realm, to whose hands, custody, knowledge, or possession, any of the said accompts, books, scroles, instruments, or other writings concerning the premises, or any part thereof, did, or is come; giving strait charge and commandments to them, and every of them, to bring before you, or two of you, at their several appearance, all and singular the said accompts, books, writings, and other the premises whatsoever: And them, and every of them, to charge by oath, or otherwise, to make a true certificate and delivery of all and singular the said premises, to the hands of you, or two of you; commanding you, or two of you, to attend and execute the premises, with effect, by all ways and means, according to your wisdoms and discretions.

And of all and singular your doings therein, our pleasure and commandment is, ye shall make certificate unto the most reverend father in God, and our dearest cousin Reginald Pole, lord cardinal, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of England, with diligence, to the intent that further order may be taken therein as shall appertain; charging and commanding all and singular justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, to be aiding, helping, assisting, and at our commandment in the due execution hereof, as they tender our pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at their perils.

In witness whereof, &c. Witness the king and queen, at Greenwich, the 29th day of December.

*Per Regem et Reginam.*

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NUMBER XXIX.

*Cromwell's Commission, to be Lord Vicegerent, in all Ecclesiastical Causes.*

[Cotton. Libr. Cleop. F. 2.]

HENRICUS OCTAVUS, Dei Gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ, Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hiberniæ ac in Terris Supremum totius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo Caput, dilectis nobis A. B. C. D. Salutem. In terris, supremam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo Autoritatem, etsi Regiæ Nostræ dignitati, ut præcellenti, jam inde ab adepto primum divina disponente gratia, hujus regni nostri Angliæ Sceptro, jure nobis competierit, nunc denuo exercere quodam modo impellimur; nempe quum hi, qui curam illius et regimen sibi potissimum arrogabant, suis potius ipsorum privatis commodis, quam publicæ illius saluti, aut compendio consulentes, eam tandem eo calamitatis, tum nimia licentia et in Officiis eis commissis oscitantia, tum suis malis exemplis devenire passi sunt, ut non ab re metuendum sit, ne illam Christus nunc suam non agnoscat sponsam. Quamobrem nostræ Regiæ excellentiæ, cui prima et suprema post Deum Auctoritas in quoscunq: hujus Regni nostri incolas, nullo sexus, ætatis, ordinis aut conditionis habito discrimine, sacro testante eloquio, cœlitus demandata est, ex muneris hujusmodi debito potissimum incumbit, dictam Ecclesiam vitiorum vepribus, quantum cum Deo possumus, purgare, et virtutum seminibus et plantis conserere. Porro cum hi, qui in eadem de cæteris antehac censuram sibi vindicabant, de se vero nullam a quovis mortalium haberi sustinebant, tum aliis hominibus plura indies corrigenda committant, tum ex eorum corruptis moribus majori præ cæteris sunt plebi offendiculo; ut non immerito iidem et bonorum omnium, si boni, et malorum omnium, si contra certissimi sint Authores: Ab his igitur veluti fonte et scaturigine ad universalem hujus Regni nostri et Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ reformationem jure auspicandum esse duximus, haud vanam spem habentes, quod, fonte primitus purgato, purus deinde et limpidus decurret rivus. Cæterum quia ad singula hujus Regni nostri loca pro præmissis exequendis nos ipsi personaliter obire non valemus, alios quorum Vicaria fide freti munus hujusmodi veluti



per ministros exequamur, qui quum vices nostras in ea parte suppleant, in partem solicitudinis adstitimus et vocamus. Cum itaque nos alias prædilectum nobis Thomam Cromwell Secretarium nostrum primarium, et Rotulorum nostrorum Magistrum sive custodem, Nostrum, ad Causas Ecclesiasticas quascunq; nostra Autoritate uti supremi capitis dictæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ quomodolibet tractand. seu ventiland. atq; ad exercend. expediend. et exercend. omnem et omnimodam jurisdictionem, Authoritate, sive potestatem Ecclesiasticam, quæ nobis tanquam supremo capiti hujusmodi competit, aut quovismodo competere possit, aut debeat, ubilibet infra Regnum nostrū, Angliæ et loca quæcunq; nobis subjecta, Vicem gerentem, Vicarium Generalem, ac Commissarium specialem et principalem, cum potestate alium vel alios Commissarium sive Commissarios ad præmissa, vel eorum aliqua ordinanda et deputanda, per alias literas nostras Patentes, sigillo nostro majori communitas, constituerimus, deputaverimus et ordinaverimus, prout ex tenore literarum nostrarum hujusmodi plenius liquet. Quia tamen et ipse nostris et totius hujus Regni nostri negotiis præpeditus existit, quominus præmissa personaliter obire et exequi possit; Idem Thomas Cromwell Vicem gerens, Vicarius generalis et Officialis principalis noster hujusmodi vos A. B. C. D. prelibatos ad infra-scripta omnia et singula vice et nomine nostris exequenda Commissarios nostros deputaverit, ordinaverit et constituerit; Nos igitur deputationem, ordinationem, et constitutionem hujusmodi ratam et gratam habentes, ad visitandum tam in Capite quam in Membris, de tam plena, quam vacante, quoties, et quando vobis opportunum visum fuerit, omnes et singulas Ecclesias, etiam Metropoliticas, Cathedrales et Collegiatas, Hospitalia quæque et Monasteria, tam Virorum quam Mulierum, Prioratas, Preceptorias, Dignitates, Officia, Domos et Loca alia Ecclesiastica, tam Scholaria quam Regularia, exempta et non exempta, quæcunque infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ, et Provincias, Civitates, Terras, Dominia et Loca nobis Subjecta, ubicunque sita seu constituta, cujuscunque Dignitatis, Prærogativæ, Ordinis, Regulæ sive conditionis existant: deque statu et conditione eorundem tam in Spiritualibus quam in Temporalibus, necnon vita, moribus et conversatione, tam Præsidentium sive Prælatorum eorundem quocunque nomine et dignitate, etiamsi Archiepiscopali vel Episcopali, præfulgeant, quam aliarum personarum in eis degentium quarumcunque, inquirendum et inquiri faciendum. Ac illos quos in ea parte curiosos vel culpabiles fore compereritis, pro modo culpæ hujusmodi corrigendi, puniendi et coercendi; ac si delicti qualitas poposcerit, officiis sive beneficiis suis pro tempore vel in perpetuum privandi et amovendi, vel ad tempus ab eisdem suspendendi: fructus quoque, redditus et proventus Ecclesiarum et Locorum hujusmodi, si videbitur, sequestrandos, ac sub salvo et tuto sequestro custodiri faciendos, atque mandando sequestrumque hujusmodi relaxandum ac computum calculum et rationem, de receptis et collectis per sequestros hujusmodi tempore sequestri, et de administratione per eosdem exigenda et recipienda, ac bene et fideliter computantes quietando et liberando deque statu dictarum Ecclesiarum et Locorum tempore visitationis hujusmodi, annotationem, necnon de bonis rebus et localibus eorundem inventaria facienda et exigenda.

Statuta insuper, Ordinationes et Injunctiones particulares et generales pro bona et laudabili conservatione, seu reformatione personarum, locorum et ordinum prædictorum, juxta rei exigentiam, Auctoritate nostra faciendo et imponendo: pœnasque convenientes in earum violatores infligendas et irrogandas, Synodosque, Capitula et Convocationes, tam speciales quam generales pro præmissis vel aliis causis, et rationibus quibuscunque, quoties et quando et ubicunque vobis visum fuerit magis expedire nomine et auctoritate nostris concedendos et convocandos ac eas et ea celebranda continuanda et proroganda. Clerumq; et Populum ad Synodos et capitula hujusmodi convocando et congregando ac Synodis capituli, et congregationibus hujusmodi interessendo et præsidendo eaque inibi statuendo et ordinando quæ pro reformatione vel emendatione locorum, personarum et ordinum prædictorum visa fuerint quomodolibet expedire. Dictasque Ecclesias, loca et personas modis omnibus, quibus melius et efficacius valeatis ad statum honestiorem, probatioresque vivendi mores, reducendo et reponendo. Crimina quoque, excessus, et delicta quorumcunque subditorum nostrorum juxta comperta et detecta quæcunque debite reformando, corrigendo et puniendo. Quoscunq; insuper subditos nostros, pro præmissis vel quibuscunque aliis causis ad forum Ecclesiasticum quomodolibet spectantibus et pertinentibus, undecunque et quacunque infra hoc nostrum Angliæ Regnum vobis videbitur melius expedire, ad vos et coram vobis citando et evocando: contumacesq; et rebelles, tam per censuras et pœnas Ecclesiasticas, quam per mulctarum impositionem ac alia juris hujus Regni nostri remedia coercendo et puniendo. Causasq; et negotia Ecclesiastica hujusmodi cognoscendo, examinando ac sine debito terminando: et subditos hujusmodi rei per vos judicatæ stare et acquiescere cogendo et compellendo. Resignationes insuper sive cessiones Ecclesiarum, seu locorum et quascunq: quorumcunq; prædictorum factas sive faciendas recipiendo et admittendo. Ecclesiasq; et loca resignata, Vacantia, et pro vacantibus habenda fore pronunciando et declarando: Licentiasq; ad tractandū et communicandū et concludendū de et super pensionibus et fructibus et emolumentis, necnon dictarum Ecclesiarum et locorum commissorum assignando: necnon de et super, quacunque permutatione fienda quibuscunq; personis idoneis id petentibus concedendo. Pensionesque annuas congruas et moderatas, resignantibus, hujusmodi, assignando et limitando: Ecclesiasq; et loca prædicta de et super pensionum hujusmodi solutione et præstatione onerando et obligando, ac decreta et summas in ea parte necessarias seu requisitas ferendas et promulgandas.

Electionibus quoque Prælatorum, qui per electionem hujusmodi assumi soleant quorumcunque interessendi et presidendi, eligendumq; in eisdem dirigendo et informando. Electiones insuper quascunq; rite factas et celebratas, et personas electas sive eligendas confirmando: ac aliter factas et celebratas cassando et annullando, ac rite electos et confirmatos installando seu installari faciendo. Institutiones quoq: et investituras in quibuscunq; Ecclesiis et locis prædictis pendente visitatione nostra hujusmodi personas idoneis et rite presentatis quibuscunq; conferendo et concedendo, ac eos in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem Ecclesiarum et locorum prædictorum inducendo seu sic induci faciendo atq; mandando, cum suis juribus et pertinentibus universis. Quæcunq; insuper instrumenta, literasq; tam testimoniales, quam mandatores et rescripta alia quæcunq; in ea parte necessaria, opportuna, &c.

*Desunt cætera.*

NUMBER XXX.

*A Letter written by the Monks of Glassenbury, for the new founding of that Abbey.—An Original.*

[Ex MS. Nob. Illustr. Com. de Huntington.]

To the right honourable the lord chamberlain to the queen's majesty.

Right Honourable—In our most humble wise your lordship's daily beadsmen, sometimes at the house of Glassenbury, now here monks in Westminster, with all due submission, we desire your honour to extend your accustomed virtue, as it hath been always heretofore propense to the honour of Almighty God, to the honourable service of the king and queen's majesty; so it may please your good lordship again, for the honour of them, both of God and their majesties, to put the queen's highness in remembrance of her gracious promise, concerning the erection of the late monastery of Glassenbury, which promise of her grace hath been so by her majesty declared. That upon the same, we your lordship's daily beadsmen, understanding my lord cardinal's grace's pleasure to the same, by the procurement hereof, our reverend father abbot hath gotten out the particulars; and through a warrant from my lord treasurer, our friends there have builded, and bestowed much upon reparation. Notwithstanding all now standeth at a stay, we think the cause to be want of remembrance, which cannot so well be brought unto her majesty's understanding, as by your honourable lordship's favour and help. And considering your lordship's most godly disposition, we have a confidence thereof to solicit the same, assuring your lordship of our daily prayers while we live, and of our successors during the world, if it may so please your good lordship to take it in hand.

We ask nothing in gift to the foundation, but only the house and site, the residue for the accustomed rent, so that with our labour and husbandry we may live here a few of us in our religious habits till the charity of good people may suffice a greater number; and the country there being so affected to our religion, we believe we should find more help amongst them, towards the reparations and furniture of the same, whereby we would happily prevent the ruin of much, and repair no little part of the whole, to God's honour, and for the better prosperity of the king and queen's majesties, with the whole realm; for, doubtless, if it shall please your good lordship, if there hath ever been any flagitious deed since the creation of the world, punished of God, in our opinion the overthrow of Glassenbury may be compared to the same, not surrendered, as other, but extorted; the abbot preposterously put to death, with two innocent virtuous monks with him; that if the thing were to be scanned by any university, or some learned counsel in divinity, they would find it more dangerous than it is commonly taken: which might move the queen's majesty to the more speedy erection; namely, that being an house of such antiquity, and of fame through all Christendom, first begun by St. Joseph of Arimathea, (who took down the dead body of our Saviour Christ from the cross) and lieth buried in Glassenbury: and him most heartily we beseech with us, to pray unto Christ for good success unto your honourable lordship, in all your lordship's affairs; and now especially in this our most humble request, that we may do the same in Glassenbury for the king and queen's majesties as our founders, and for your good lordship, as a singular benefactor.

Your lordship's daily beadsmen of Westminster,
John Phagan. John Nott.
William Ailewold. William Kentwyne.

NUMBER XXXI.

*A Letter from Sir Edward Carne from Rome, shewing how the Pope dissembled with him concerning a general Peace.—An Original.*

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

Pleaseth it your most excellent majesty to be advertised, that Francis the post arrived here upon Corpus Christi day with your majesty's most gracious letters, as well for the expedition of the bishopricks of Winchester and Chester, as also for his holiness beside; with your most gracious letters of the 30th of March to me: according to the purport whereof I sued for audience at his holiness' hands the next day following; whereof I had answer, that I should come to his holiness, viz. the 6th of this; and being with his holiness, after the delivery of your majesty's most gracious letters, with your majesty's humble commendations. After he had read your majesty's letter, in the presence of the most reverend lord cardinal Morone, he said how much he was bound to that blessed queen, and most gracious and loving daughter, that had written to him so gratefully and humbly, saying, that he would keep that letter to be read openly in the consistory, before all the most reverend lords his brethren, and said that he was much bound to his legate there, to make that good report of him to your majesty. Whereupon I declared unto him your majesty's pleasure, according to my instructions, with such thanks and congratulations as your pleasure was I should use to his holiness, with the rest of my instructions, leaving no part thereof undeclared and spoken: whereunto he said, that his affection to that blessed queen (making a cross upon your majesty's name contained in the letter) was not neither could be as much as the goodness of her majesty required; but this your majesty should be sure of, he said, that his good affection and good-will should not only continue, but encrease to the utmost, to the satisfaction of your majesty in all that may lie in him.

And as touching the peace to be had perfectly, betwixt the emperor's majesty and the king's most excellent majesty, and the French king, he was wondrous glad to hear that your majesty's furtherance should not want in helping to bring the truce, late concluded, to a perfect peace. And of his part, he said that he sent two legates for that purpose, for his discharge towards God; or else, he said if he should overpass, and not declare unto them the great necessities of the commonweal of all Christendom to have a perfect peace, God would impute his silence therein unto him, being appointed over his flock here as he is; for he said, it is more than time to be doing therein, considering that the realm of Polonia doth so waver, and that the king there neither can nor dare, being compassed with naughty sects round about him, do anything against them. And likewise the king of Romans about him. They call upon his holiness for help, and some provision for amendment, which thing he cannot do without a general council, which, he said, cannot be well done, unless the said peace be made; for though there be an abstinence from war, yet the grudge of the doings heretofore, and the incertainty of peace, will be an occasion to keep men of war, and the one shall be in mistrust of the other, in such sort as the passages cannot be sure for those that should come to the said council: therefore he will travel, as much as is possible for him, to have a peace, without the which it will not be possible to do any good in the council. His holiness is minded to have the general council here in St. John Lateranense, and thinks it the most meetest place, for divers considerations which he declared; for it is the head church of Christendom, and there hath been divers times many wholesome and holy councils in times past. And for that this city is *Communis Patria*, and free to all the world to resort to freely, trusting that all necessaries shall come hither, both by sea and land. And also forasmuch as in divers councils begun in times of his predecessors, little good could be done; and men thought that more good might have been done, if the pope had been present himself in the said councils; therefore his holiness would be present himself in this council; which he cannot, being in a manner decrepit for age, in case it were kept far herehence, he not being able to travel for age, unless it be kept here, where he trusteth to be himself in person. And for to conclude this matter, in such sort as the necessity of Christendom requireth, he hath dispatched the two legates, *de Latere suo*, at this present, wherein he knoweth that your majesty may do more than any others, and doubteth not but your majesty will so do. Concluding that God hath preserved your majesty to help all the world; whereunto I said, that there should not want neither good-will, neither any other thing that your majesty might do for the furtherance thereof.

As touching the provisions of Winchester and Chester, it shall be done with all the speed that may be. And his holiness hath promised all the favour that he can conveniently shew for your majesty's sake. It must have somewhat longer time, for that the process made there by my lord legate's grace for to try the yearly value of Winchester, must be committed to certain cardinals, for to report in the consistory before the new tax can be made; but there shall be no time lost, for it shall be diligently solicited.

Also concerning the pension to my lord cardinal's grace, of a thousand pounds sterling yearly, the pope his holiness will assign it according to your majesty's pleasure; so that all shall be done therein with all the speed that may be, God willing; wherein the most reverend lord cardinal Morone, who rejoiceth much in your gracious letters sent to him, to his great comfort, doth travel, as he is most ready always, in all that toucheth your majesty, or any of your most noble realms.

As concerning the occurrents here, since my last letters of the fifteenth of the last, be none other, but that the cardinal de Caraffa, departed here-hence towards France, the fourteenth of the last, with divers antiquities to be presented to the French king. Some say here, that part of his charge is to move the French king to take the dukedom of Paleano in his protection, as he hath Parma and Mirandula. There be a great number of workmen already gone to fortify Paleano, Neptuno, and Rocca del Papa, and certain captains appointed and gone thither also.

The legate to the emperor's majesty, and the king's majesty, departed the 30th of the last.

The ambassador of Polonia is returned toward his master. His petition, as I am informed, to his holiness, was, to have license for priests to marry, and all lay-folk to receive the communion *sub utraque specie*, in the realm of Polonia, and certain dismes upon the clergy, to be spent against the Turk. His answer, as I hear, was, in general, with relation of all such matters to the general council.

Also there came hither four ambassadors very honourably from the state of Genua, with the obedience of that state to his holiness: which ambassador did visit me, declaring the good-will, amity, and service, that the said state bare towards the king, and your most excellent majesty, desiring me advertise your majesty thereof.



The 24th of the last, the pope's holiness kept the anniversary of his coronation: I was warned to be at the chapel, by the officers appointed for that purpose. Also one of his holiness' gentlemen was sent to invite me to dine with his holiness that day. At my coming to the court, the ambassador of Portugal being there, at his holiness coming forth, would have kept the place, amongst all the ambassadors, from me, that I was wont to stand in, that is, next the French ambasssdor; and next to me would be the ambassador of Polonia. I came to the ambassador of Portugal as gently as I could; and for that he would not give me my place, I took him by the shoulder, and removed him out of that place, saying, that it was your majesty's ambassador's place always. Beneath me he would not stand, neither next me he should not, for the ambassador of Polonia, who claimed next to me: whereupon the Portugal went and complained to the duke of Paleano, who went straight to the pope; and after him went the said ambassador of Portugal to him himself. His holiness willed him to depart therehence. He desired that I should depart likewise. And thereupon the duke came to me, saying, that the pope his pleasure was I should depart also. I asked him why. He said, that his holiness, to avoid dissention, would have me to depart. I told him I made no dissention; for if the other would keep his own place, and not usurp upon the place that always the ambassadors of England in times past were wont to be in, he might be in quiet, and suffer me to be in quiet likewise, and not to seek that seemed him not. All this year he never sought it till now—why now, I cannot tell; but he may be sure he shall not have it of me, unless your majesty command it. Also the master of the household with his holiness said that I was invited, and that Portugal was not, but came upon his own head.

I am much bound to the marquess; he was very angry with the Portugal, being his brother, to attempt any such thing against your majesty's ambassador, and sent to me as soon as he heard of it. Indeed he was not there; I kept my place for him, sending him to seek his place in such sort that all the ambassadors thought it well done, and others that were indifferent said no less. I told the duke that I would not lose a jot of your majesty's honour for no man. For it is the place of ambassadors of England nigh a thousand years before there was any king in Portugal.

Other occurrents here be none. And thus I beseech Almighty God to conserve your most excellent majesty in long and most prosperous life.

From Rome, the 9th of June, 1556.

Your majesty's most humble subject and poor servant, Edward Carne.

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NUMBER XXXII.

*A Commission for a severe way of proceeding against Hereticks.*

[Rot. Pat. in Dorso. Rot. 3 & 4 Phil. & Mar. 2 P.]

Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, Spain, France, both Sicils, Jerusalem, and Ireland, and defenders of the faith; arch-dukes of Austria, duke of Burgundy, Millain, and Brabant; counts of Harspurge, Flanders, and Tyroll. To the right reverend father in God, Edmond bishop of London, and to the reverend father in God, our right trusty and right well-beloved counsellor, Thomas bishop of Ely; and to our right trusty and right well-beloved William Windsor, kt., lord Windsor; Edward North, kt., lord North; and to our trusty and right well-beloved counsellors, John Bourne, kt., one of our chief secretaries;

John Mordaunt, kt.; Francis Englefield, kt., master of our wards and liveries; Edward Walgrave, kt., master of our great wardrobe; Nicholas Hare, kt., master of the rolls in our court of Chancery; and to our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Pope, kt., Roger Cholmley, kt., Richard Read, kt., Thomas Stradling, kt., and Rowland Hill, kt.; William Rastall, serjeant at law; Henry Cole, clerk, dean of Paul's; William Roper, and Randulph Chomley, esquires; William Cooke, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of law; greeting.

Forasmuch as divers devilish and clamorous persons have not only invented, bruited, and set forth divers false rumours, tales, and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown divers heresies and heretical opinions; and set forth divers seditious books within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to move, procure, and stir up divisions, strife, contentions, and seditions, not only amongst our loving subjects, but also betwixt us and our said subjects; with divers other outrageous misdemeanours, enormities, contempts, and offences daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us and our people; we minding and intending the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such-like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours from henceforth, having special trust and confidence in your fidelities, wisdoms, and discretions, have authorised, appointed, and assigned you to be our commissioners; and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, and three of you, to enquire, as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses, and all other means and politick ways you can devise, of all and sundry heresies, heretical opinions, lollardies; heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and of all false rumours, tales, seditious and clamorous words and sayings, raised, published, bruited, invented, or set forth against us, or either of us; or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, letters, tales, or otherwise, in any county, city, borough, or other place or places within this our realm of England, and elsewhere, in any place or places beyond the seas; and of the bringers in, users, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyers of any such letters, books, rumour, or tale; and of all and every their coadjutors, counsellors, consorters, procurers, abetters, and maintainers; giving to you, and three of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to search out, and take into your hands and possession, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, writings, wheresoever they or any of them shall be found, as well in printers' houses and shops as elsewhere; willing you, and every of you, to search for the same in all places, according to your discretions. And also to enquire, hear, and determine, all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, misdemeanours, and negligences, done, suffered, or committed, in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place within this realm. And also for and concerning the taking away, or the withholding of any lands, tenements, goods, and ornaments, stocks of money, or other things belonging to any of the same churches and chapels, and all accompts and reckonings concerning the same. And also to enquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to preach the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or come to their parish, or other convenient places, appointed for divine service; and all such as refuse to go in processions, to take holy water, or holy bread; or otherwise do misuse themselves in any church, or other hallowed place, wheresoever any of the same offences have been, or hereafter shall be, committed within this our said realm. Nevertheless our will and pleasure is, that when, and as often as any person or persons hereafter to be called or convented before you, do obstinately persist or stand in any manner of heresy, or heretical opinions, that then ye, or three of you, do immediately take order, that the same person, or persons, so standing or persisting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws. And also we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority to enquire and search out all vagabonds and masterless men, barretors, quarrellers, and suspect persons, vagrant, or abiding within the city of London, or ten miles' compass of the same; and all assaults and affrays done and committed within the same city and compass. And further, to search out all wastes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages, and vicarages, in whatsoever diocess the same be within this realm. Giving to you, or any three of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to hear and determine the same, and all other offences and matters above specified and rehearsed, according to your wisdoms, and consciences, and discretions; willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to use and devise all such politic ways and means, for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought most expedient and necessary; and upon enquiry, and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses, before you, or three of you, concerning the premises, or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise; and to take such order for redress and reformation of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you, shall be thought meet and convenient. Further willing and commanding you, and any three of you, in case you shall find any person or persons obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment; or else in not accomplishing or not obeying your decrees, orders, and commandments, in any thing or things touching the premises, or any part thereof, to commit the same person, or persons, so offending, to ward, there to remain, till they be by you, or three of you, enlarged and delivered. And we give to you, and any three of you, full power and authority, by these presents, to take and receive, by your discretions, of every offender, or suspect person, to be convented or brought before you, a recognizance or recognizances, obligation or obligations to our use, of such sum or sums of money, as to you, or three of you, shall seem convenient, as well for the personal appearance before you of any such suspect person, or for the performance and accomplishment of your orders and decrees, in case you shall think so convenient, as for the sure and true payment of all and every such fine and fines, as shall hereafter be by you, or three of you, taxed or assessed upon any offender that shall be before you, or three of you, duly convinced, as is aforesaid, to our use, to be paid at such days and times, as by you, or three of you, shall be sealed, limited, or appointed: and you to certify any such recognizance, or obligation, as being taken for any fine or fines, not fully and wholly paid before you, under your hands and seals, or the hands and seals of three of you, into our court of Chancery, to the intent we may be therefore duly answered, as appertaineth.

And furthermore, we give to you, or three of you, full power and authority, by these presents, not only to call afore you all and every offender and offenders, and all and every suspect person and persons in any of the premises, but also all such and so many witnesses as ye shall think meet to be called; and them, and every of them, to examine and compel to answer, and swear, upon the holy evangelist, to declare the truth in all



such things, whereof they or any of them shall be examined, for the better trial, opening, and declaration of the premises, or of any part thereof.

And furthermore, our will and pleasure is, that you, or three of you, shall name and appoint one sufficient person to gather up and receive all such sums of money as shall be assessed or taxed by you, or three of you, for any fine or fines, upon any person or persons, for their offence; and you, or three of you, by bill, or bills, signed with your hands, shall and may assign and appoint, as well to the said person for his pains in receiving the said sums, as also to your clerk, messengers, and attendants upon you, for their travel, pains and charge to be sustained for us about the premises, or any part thereof, such sum and sums of money for their rewards, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought expedient. Willing and commanding you, or three of you, after the time of this our commission is expired, to certify into our exchequer, as well the name of the said receiver, as also a note of such fines as shall be set or taxed before you, to the intent, that upon the determination of the account of the same receiver, we may be answered, that that to us shall justly appertain. Willing and commanding also all our auditors, and other officers, upon the sight of the said bills, signed with the hands of you, or three of you, to make to the said receiver due allowance, according to the said bills upon his account. Wherefore we will and command you, our said commissioners, with diligence to execute the premises, with effect: any of our laws, statutes, proclamations, or other grants, privileges, or ordinances, which be or may seem to be contrary to the premises, notwithstanding.

And moreover we will and command all and singular justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other our officers, ministers, and faithful subjects, to be aiding, helping, and assisting to you, at your commandment, in the due execution hereof, as they tender our pleasure, and will answer to the costs, at their utmost perils.

And we will and grant, that these our letters patents shall be a sufficient warrant and discharge for you, and any of you, against us, our heirs and successors; and all and every other person or persons whatsoever they be, of, for, or concerning the premises, or any parcel thereof, or for the execution of this our commission, or any part thereof.

In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents, and to continue and endure for one whole year next coming after the date hereof. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 8th day of February, the third and fourth years of our reign.

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NUMBER XXXIII.

*A Letter writ by the Council, expressing their Jealousies of the Lady Elizabeth.—An Original.*

[Cotton. Libr. Titus. B. 2.]

Mr. Pope, after our very hearty commendations, ye shall understand, that amongst divers other devilish practices, attempted from time to time, by Dudly, Ashton, and other traitors in France, for the disturbance of the quiet of the realm; they have now lately sent over one Cleyberdo, who (if I the lord chancellor be not deceived in the man) was, whilst I was president in Wales, indicted of a burglary, and should have been, if he had not escaped by the means of certain his complices, who took him from the sheriff's man, as well for the said burglary, as for divers other notable robberies, and other offences, made sure enough from attempting this enterprize now. This man being sent by the foresaid traitors into the extreme parts of Essex and Suffolk; where naming himself to be earl of Devonshire, he hath, by spreading abroad of slanderous letters and proclamations, abused the lady Elizabeth's grace's name; procuring thereby, as much as in him lay, to stir the king and queen's majesties' subjects in those parts to rebellion, as by the copies of the said letters and proclamations, which we send unto you herewith, may at better length appear unto you. And albeit the people there have shewed themselves so true and obedient subjects, as immediately upon the understanding of this enterprize they did of themselves, and without any commandment, apprehend as many of the attempters of this devilish practice as they could come by, whereby their good-will and truth to the king and queen's majesties doth well appear. Yet because this matter is spread already abroad, and that peradventure many constructions and discourses will be made thereof, we have thought meet to signify the whole circumstance of the cause unto you, to be by you opened unto the lady Elizabeth's grace, at such time as ye shall think convenient; to the end it may appear unto her how little these men stick, by falsehood and untruth, to compass their purpose; not letting, for that intent, to abuse the name of her grace, or any others; which their devices nevertheless are (God be thanked) by his goodness discovered from time to time to their majesties' preservation, and confusion of their enemies. And so bid you heartily well to fare.—From Eltham, the 30th of July, 1556.

Nichol. Eborac. Canc. Arundel.
Thomas Ely.
R. Rochester.

*Henry Jernegam.*

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NUMBER XXXIV.

*A Letter from Sir Edward Carne, concerning the Suspension of Cardinal Pole's Legatine Power.—An Original.*

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

Please it your most excellent majesties, according as I advertised your highness in my letters of the 8th of this; so I have informed all the cardinals that be here of the congregation of the inquisition, as the most reverend lord cardinal Morone advised me, informing them of the good proceedings and reformations made by the most reverend lord cardinal's grace there, as well in *Clero* as in *Populo*; not only in things appertaining *ad cultum Dei*, but also in other, pertaining to the common-weal of Christ's church, in such sort as Christ's religion doth so prosper there, that there is good hope all things should come to their perfection in time. And for that purpose his grace had called there a synod of the clergy of the realm, where many good ordinances, for the maintenance of the premises been past already; and many ready in hand for to pass, and not fully ended nor perfected: which should be staid, in case the legacy should be there-hence revoked, which might turn to the great danger and damage of many in that your majesty's realm, in case due reformation throughout and perfectly were not made: Therefore I desired them, that when the matter were moved amongst them, so to weigh it, as such a good beginning, that through your majesty's goodness hath been there, be not brought by their doings here, into no worse terms, than your majesties, with no little pain, have always travelled to bring it unto: adding besides divers cases that daily might fall, which could not be holpen without the authority of this see: and that men newly reduced to the unity of the church, would rather stand in their naughty doings, whose examples might be noisome to

many, than repair hither for any help: but having the legate there, would gladly seek help at his hands being present amongst them.

And likewise for reduction of your majesty's realm of Ireland to the unity of the church, which whether it were past or no I doubted, and ended throughly: and if it were, yet were it most expedient that there should be reformation, as well in *Clero* as in *Populo*; which could not well be, in case the legacy continue not there. This is the effect of the points that I informed them upon, who all thought it most expedient that the legacy should continue there, and would not fail to stay, as much as might lie in them, for these considerations above rehearsed; and thought, being of such importance, that if my lord's grace were not there already, it were most expedient that he should be sent thither, rather than to be revoked; and hereof as well Cardinal Morone as all the other would needs I should move his holiness.

Whereupon the 12th of this, I went to the pope himself, upon pretence to give him thanks for the provision of the church of Chichester, and of the most gracious and honourable report that he made in the consistory the same time, of your highness my sovereign lady the queen; where his holiness declared so much goodness and virtue of your majesty, that he and his see could not, he said, shew so much favour to any of yours as the same required. As undoubtedly, as far as I could here, he doth, whensoever he hath occasion to speak of your majesty, so reverently as more could not be; who prevented me, and said, that he was glad that I was come unto him, and trusted that God had sent me thither: for there had been with him, the day before, Cardinal Pacheco, who shewed him of the good inclination of your majesty, my sovereign lord, to have peace with him and the church. And that also he had received a letter from the most reverend lord cardinal's grace there-hence, who had spoken with your majesty, and found the same so well inclined to have peace with his holiness, as might be desired; which his holiness said he liked very well, and held up his hands beseeching Almighty God to continue your majesty in that good mind. And then he began to declare, how that God provided, and always confirmed you, the queen's majesty, not only to do good to that realm, but to all Christendom also; in whom his holiness had such hope, that the same will so help with the king's majesty, that peace may follow betwixt the church and him: and he of his part coveted nothing more, as it should appear, if the king's majesty would treat of it; yea, he said, though he should sustain great damage thereby, he will win his majesty if he can.

And where his majesty is informed, that his holiness would hear none of those that were sent to him from his majesty, as Francisco Pacheco, and one citizen of Naples; he said, that he never heard that either the said Francisco, or the said citizen, had any letter or word to him from his majesty; if they had had, he, as he said, who giveth audience daily to as many as do seek it at his hands, without denial, would have heard them, or any that had been sent from his highness; and this, he said, all that be about him can testify, and called God to record of it. And yet, he said, that the king's majesty is informed of the contrary; whereupon, he said, that his majesty was brought in belief, that it was sufficient for his highness to offer himself to be heard, and seeing he could not, he was discharged towards God, and so lay the fault in his holiness; from the which error, so his holiness named it, he would and wished that his majesty should be brought: for his holiness caused to be enquired of them, whether they had any letters, or any thing to say of his majesty's behalf to him, and could hear of none; wherefore his holiness desired me to write to your majesty, and to signify the same to your highness; and of his holiness' behalf to pray you to advertise the king's majesty, that therein was no lack of his holiness; saying, if his majesty had sent to him, he would have gladly heard him; or if it may please his majesty yet to send, no man will be more glad thereof than he: and said further, that God, who had called him to that place, knew that he always hath been of mind to have a general council for a reformation throughout Christendom, and in such place as had been meet for it; and doubted not but that he would have seen Christendom in such order, that such enormities as do reign in many parts should have been reformed, if these wars had not troubled him: saying therewith, that the power of the church is not able to maintain wars of itself, but that God had provided aid elsewhere; but if he can have peace, he will embrace it, he said, though it were to his loss. And prayed me to desire your majesty, of his behalf, to put to your good help towards it. To whom after thanks first given to his holiness for the said good opinion that he had of your majesty, and also of the provision made of the said church of Chichester, I said, that I was glad to hear of that good inclination of his holiness to peace; and said, that I would gladly signify to you, the queen's majesty, according to his holiness' pleasure: and that I had heard of divers that his holiness would not give audience to such as you my sovereign lord had sent to him; whereof I was sorry, and yet nevertheless trusted that betwixt his holiness and your majesty should be as great amity as appertaineth; and had not so good hope thereof, sithence this war began, as now hearing his holiness to be so well inclined to it; not doubting but all the world should perceive no lack of your majesty's behalf, as far as any reason required.

Whether this be done for a practice to please, lest any stir be there, against the Frenchmen, which is most feared here, I am not able to say, for there lacketh no practice in this court that they think may serve for their purpose. The truth is, that there is jarring betwixt the pope and the French now; with whom the pope is nothing contented, neither they with him, as it is credibly reported here. All the Italians that the pope had in the French camp be all gone; the French handled them very ill and vile, and especially Don Antonio de Caraffa, the pope's nephew: so that it is thought here, that the pope will turn the leaf, if any were here of your behalf, the king's majesty, that had authority to treat with his holiness; and if it please your majesty to send any hither for that purpose, by the opinion of all your majesty's well-willers here, there can come but good of it.

After this communication, I lamented to his holiness greatly of one thing that I had heard his holiness pretended to do: and forasmuch as your majesty had placed me here with his holiness, and that the case was such that it touched the maintenance of the common-wealth of Christian religion within your majesty's realm there so much, that of duty I could do no less but open it to his holiness, trusting that the same, who had always shewed himself most ready, with all benignity, to do for you, the queen's majesty, and your realm, would so continue still: which thing was, I said, that his holiness would revoke his legate there, which should be too great a prejudice to the church of that realm, to be done before all things were truly stablished there, and opened unto his holiness all the considerations before rehearsed, whereof I had informed the cardinals in as ample manner as I could. Then, he said, that there was nothing that he could do



for you, the queen's majesty, or your said realm, but he would do it most gladly, unless occasion should be given there-hence that he might not. And as touching the revocation of the legate in England, he said, that it was done already, and not for to provide any thing within that realm, but only for because it was not convenient that any legate of his should be within any of the king's majesty's realms or dominions; and therefore he revoked his nuncios from Naples, from Spain, and all other parts of the king's majesty's realms and dominions, and of England therefore: nevertheless, he said, if you the queen's majesty would write to him for the continuance of his legate there, he would restore him to his former authority, or any thing else that your majesty should think expedient for him to do. Then, I said, it would be long time before answer can come from England hither; and if his revocation should be once known in England, what would come of it I doubted. Therefore I besought his holiness not to suffer it to pass, for if it be once known abroad, it shall be a great comfort to the wicked, and discomfort to the good, whereby many inconveniences might ensue. Then, he said, That that is done cannot be undone. I said, that his holiness had not so far gone in his decree, but that he might moderate it, that it need not extend to England. And then I told him, that he had shewed me, that in all his proceedings, he would have your majesty's realm of England separated from all other the king's majesty's realms, and now had set it as far further as any of the other; therefore, I said, his holiness should consider it, and that the decree in nowise should extend thither. Then, he said, that it could not stand with the majesty of the place that he sat in, to revoke any part of the decree solemnly given in the consistory, in the presence of all the cardinals. I said, that his holiness, with his honour, might well do it; considering that when he gave the decree, he was not informed of such inconveniences that might ensue thereof; and now being informed by me, his holiness had not only a just cause to revoke it, but also of congruence ought to do it; considering that his holiness had the cure of all men's souls: and if any inconveniency should follow through his holiness' doings, it could not be chosen but his holiness must answer for it; where his holiness suffering all things to proceed in his due course, as it hath been begun, all dangers that have been before rehearsed might be avoided; therefore now his holiness had a good cause to stay his decree in that behalf: all which he took in good part, and said thus, I must needs do for that realm what I can, and therefore to-morrow is the congregation of the inquisition, and then the matter shall be propounded, where, he said, he would do what he could; and willed me to resort to the Cardinal St. Jacobo to inform him, that he might procure it there. I said, I would; indeed I had been with the said cardinal before, and had informed him fully; nevertheless I went to him again, to shew him the pope's pleasure therein; who said, he would do his duty therein. Indeed that matter occupied the pope and the cardinals all that congregation time. The next morrow, as the cardinals said, the conclusion was, that the pope would make answer to me himself. Indeed he thought to take counsel of the said congregation before I had been with them about the same decree, but not to revoke any part thereof, but to have their advice in framing of it. So that if I had not gone to him, the decree had gone forth, with the intimation thereof, and the inhibition; but being with his holiness this evening, to know what was to be had herein; his holiness, after a long oration, in commendation of you the queen's majesty, he said, that in case your most excellent majesty would write to him for the continuance of his legate, for such causes as should seem good to the same, the legate to be yet expedient therein, he would appoint my lord's grace there to continue, but he could in nowise revoke his decree made in open consistory. I laid many things that his holiness might do it, and that divers of his predecessors had done it, upon causes before not known; with divers examples that I shewed him in law; that at the last, he said plainly, he would not revoke his decree; but for because of my suit, he said he was content to stay, and to go no further till your majesty's letters do come; and charge the datary, and his secretary Berigno, that they send forth no intimation of his decree of the said revocation, without his special commandment; where-else he said, the intimation had been sent forth with an inhibition also: and so all is stayed, that nothing here-hence shall go forth till your pleasure, the queen's majesty, be known therein; which the pope doth look for: until which intimation the legacy there doth continue.

Occurrents here be no other, but that the 10th of this, the late made Duke of Paleano departed here-hence towards the duke's camp, which doth lie yet in the siege of Civitella, within your majesty's realm of Naples. They that seem to bear their good wills here towards your majesty, do say here that they may lie there long before they take it, for they cannot hurt it much with battery. And they say, the Counts de Sancto Flore, and de Sarme, be within the town with two thousand soldiers; many of the Frenchmen be slain there. Nevertheless, others do say, that it standeth in danger of taking; for because the Frenchmen have gotten a hill, from the which they do beat sore into the town, and have withdrawn certain waters from them of the town, and do undermine it; the most part here thinketh they shall lose their labour. for it is very strong.

The gallies of Marseilles arrived at Civita Vechia six or seven days past, and brought twelve ensigns more of French soldiers to reinforce the French army; and as far as I can learn, they return again to fetch more, always to refresh their camp with fresh soldiers, in the lieu of such as be perished: of the which twelve ensigns the French ambassador chose out three, which he hath sent to the Duke of Guise, well furnished; the rest he discharged, but all the other that came be gone to the camp, to such captains as will retain them there, for such of the other as be slain, or otherwise perished. Don Antonio de Caraffa doth not as yet return to the camp, neither intendeth to go as I hear. I heard say, that the Duke of Alva was within sixteen miles of the Frenchmen, with a great army of horsemen and footmen; what he doth is not spoken of here, for there is none that can pass to them, or from them hither; there is such strait keeping and dangerous passing.

Here be ill news from Piedmont, for they say here the Frenchmen in those parts have taken Cherasto, a very strong town in Piedmont, which I trust be not true. The common report is here, that if the Frenchmen be not withstanded in time, they will do much hurt in Italy.

The pope doth set forth a bull for money, that one of every hundred shall be paid of the value of all the lands that be within the church's dominions, which they say will draw to two or three millions, if it be paid.

And having no other at this present, I beseech Almighty God to conserve both your most excellent majesties in long and most prosperous life together.

From Rome, the 15th of May 1557.

Your majesty's most humble subject and poor servant,

EDWARD CARNE.

NUMBER XXXV.

*The Appeal of Henry Chichely, Archbishop of Canterbury, to a General Council from the Pope's Sentence.*

[Ex MS. D. G. Petyt.]

In Dei Nomine. Amen. Per Presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod anno ab incarnatione Domini secundum cursum et computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ 1427. indictione quinta Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri Domini Martini, Divina Providentia Papæ quinti, Anno decimo, mensis vero Aprilis die sexto. Reverendissimus in Christo Pater et Dominus, Dominus Henricus Dei Gratia Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus totius Angliæ Primas, et Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, in Capella Majori Manerii sui de Ford Cantuarien. Diocæseos personaliter existens, mihi Notario Publico, et testibus infra-scriptis presentibus, quandam appellationem in scriptis, redactam fecit, legit et interposuit, ac appellavit sub eo, qui sequuntur, tenore verborum. In Dei Nomine. Amen. Coram vobis authentica persona et testibus hic Presentibus, Ego Henricus dictus Cant. permissione divina Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, dico, allego, et in his scriptis propono, quod fui et sum Ecclesiam Sanctam Cant. cum jure Legationis natæ, prerogativis, consuetudinibus, compositionibus, aliisq; jurisdictionibus, juribus, libertatibus, et pertinentibus suis universis canonice assecutus, ipsamq; sic assecutam nonnullo tempore pacifice et inconcusse possedi, prout sic possideo de presenti; fuiq; et sum Ecclesiæ Romanæ, et Sedis Apostolicæ obedientiæ, Filius Catholicus, ac jurium et libertatum dictarum Ecclesiæ et Sedis juxta posse, assiduus defensor, et promotor; integri status, bonæ famæ et opinionis illæsæ et in possessione eorundem existens, nullisq; suspensionis aut excommunicationis, seu irregularitatis, aut interdicti sententiæ vel sententiis innodatus: Quodq; ex parte mei Henrici Archiepiscopi prædicti in possessione præmissorum omnium, et quasi ex verisimilibus conjecturis ac communicationibus quampluribus mihi et Ecclesiæ meæ, ac juri legationis, prerogativis, consuetudinibus, compositionibus, jurisdictionibus, juribus, libertatibus, et pertinentiis Ecclesiæ, Cantuar. prædictæ factis, circa præmissa et eorum singula grave posse prejudicium generari; Ne Sanctissimus in Christo Pater et Dominus noster Dominus Martinus, divina providentia Papa quintus, vel quivis alius quavis Autoritate, vice vel mandato, scienter vel ignoranter ad sinistram vel minus veram suggestionem, aut informationem emulorum personæ, dignitatis aut Ecclesiæ meæ (quod absit) me non vocato, legitimeve prænomito, causæ cognitione et juris, justitiæq; ordine prætermisso, in prejudicium status mei, dignitatis, legationis, prerogativæ, consuetudinum, compositionum, jurisdictionum, jurium, libertatum et pertinentium jure Metropolitico, vel alias dictam Ecclesiam meam Cantuar. et me ejus nomine concernentium quicquam attemptet, seu faciat aliqualiter attemptari, citando, monendo, mandando, inhibendo, decernendo, suspendendo, interdicendo, excommunicando, privando, sequestrando, pronunciando, definiendo, et declarando, seu quovis alio modo gravando; Ad Sacrosanctum Concilium generale facientes, constituentes et representantes, facturos, constituturos et representaturos, si ipsum celebrari contigerit, et in defectum ipsius Concilii tenendis, et celebrandi, ad tribunal Dei omnipotentis et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cujus idem sanctissimus Pater, Commissarius et Vicarius existit in terris, in his scriptis ob et ad tuitionem, protectionem et defensionem omnium, et singulorum præmissorum fuerit et sit legitime provocatum. Sanctissimus tamen in Christo Pater, et Dominus noster, Dominus Martinus dicta providentia hujus nominis Papa quintus asserens, ut dicta fide dignorum relatione, ad suum pervenisse auditum, quod ego, qui ad defensionum, obedientiam jurium, et honorem Sedis Apostolicæ in Provincia Cantuarien. Legatus natus sum, propter emolumenta Ecclesiastica provenientia ex Ecclesiis Cathedralibus totius Regni Angliæ tempore vacationum eorundem, quæ ex quadam (ut me asserere dicit) consuetudine usibus meis applicare dignoscor ad resistendum provisionibus Apostolicis de Ecclesiis hujusmodi Cathedralibus sum proclivior, Et quod jura et honorem Sedis Apostolicæ non defendo nec protego, imo potius impugno, et impugnantibus assisto, in animæ meæ periculum, prædictæ Sedis contemptum, dictarumque Ecclesiarum Cathedralium præjudicium et scandalum plurimorum; Cum tamen (suæ benedictionis beatitudinis reverentia semper salva) nulla horum quæ sic mihi impinguntur sunt vera, sed notorie minus vera, post et contra præmissam provocationem per me factam, me a Legatione dictæ Sedis, necnon ab omni jurisdictione, superioritate, potestate sive Dominio percipiendi emolumenta Ecclesiastica, aliarum Ecclesiarum Cathedralium dicti Regni usque ad beneplacitum suum, et Sedis Apostolicæ Authoritate Apostolica, et ex certa scientia (ut asserit) nullatenus in ea parte monitum, citatum, convictum vel confessum, sed absentem, non per contumaciam, causæ cognitione juris et judiciorum ac justitiæ ordine in omnibus prætermisso, voluntarie et minus præpropere duxerit suspendendum, hisque non contentus, sed gravamina accumulans mihi in virtute obedientiæ nihilominus injunxerit, ne de legatione Sedis Apostolicæ prædictæ, necnon jurisdictione, Authoritate, et Dominio percipiendi emolumenta hujusmodi tempore vacationum Ecclesiarum prædictarum per me vel per alium, seu alios quovis quæsito ingenio, vel colore de cætero quomodolibet me intromittam: Et insuper jurisdictionem, superioritatem, potestatem, et dominium dictarum Ecclesiarum Cathedralium tempore illarum vacationum ad capitula singularum Ecclesiarum devolvi voluit, singulos processus, necnon excommunicationis suspensionis et interdicti sententias, et alias pœnas ac censuras Ecclesiasticas, si quod per me vel alium seu alios contra capitula Ecclesiarum Cathedralium præfatarum, aut alias personas quascunque occasione consuetudinis memoratæ, ac legationis, officii (dicto durante beneplacito) ferri contigerit quomodolibet, vel haberi, irritos et inanes decrevit (salva semper suæ Sanctitatis reverentia in omnibus) minus juste in personæ meæ, status, dignitatis, juris, legationis natæ, prerogativæ, consuetudinum, compositionum, jurisdictionum, jurium, libertatum et pertinentiarum prædictarum, necnon Ecclesiæ meæ Cantuariensis prædictæ præjudicium non modicum et gravamen. Unde ego Henricus dictus Cantuariæ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus pro prædictis sentiens me, statum, dignitatem et Ecclesiam meam prædictam ex omnibus et singulis gravaminibus prædictis, nimium prægravari, et prægravatum ab eisdem omnibus et singulis, et his, quæ eorum et cujuslibet eorum occasione colligi poterunt, aut debebunt; ad Sacrosanctum Concilium Generale, universalem Ecclesiam representans, et ad personas et status Concilium Generale facientes, constituentes et representantes, facturos, constituturos et representaturos; et ad ipsum Concilium Generale proxime celebrandum, ubicunque ipsum celebrari contigerit, et defectu ipsius Concilii tenendi et celebrandi, ad Tribunal Dei Omnipotentis, et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cujus idem Sanctissimus Pater Commissarius et Vicarius existit in terris, Appello; et Apostolos peto instanter, instantius et instantissime mihi dari, liberari et fieri cum effectu: et juro ad hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia per me corporaliter tacta, quod non sunt decem dies plene elapsæ, ex quo mihi certitudinaliter primo constabat de gravaminibus antedictis; quodque nescio certitudinaliter ubi invenirem dictum Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum ad notificandam eidem Appellationem prædictam, quatenus de jure notificanda est infra tempus a parte juris limitatum: Et Protestor me velle dictam Appellationem meam corrigere et emendare, eidem addere et ab eadem detrahere, ac eam omnibus, quorum interest, notificare et intimare pro loco et tempore opportunis toties, quoties mihi expediens fuerit, juris beneficio in omnibus semper salvo. Super quibus idem Reverendissimus Pater et Dominus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis me Notarium Publicum subscriptum requisivit, sibi unum vel plura conficere instrumentum vel instrumenta. Acta sunt hæc omnia prout subscribuntur et recitantur sub Anno Domini, indictione Pontificatus, mense, die, et loco prædictis; præsentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus, et discretis viris M. W. Lyn Curiæ Cant. Officii, et Thoma B. Archidiacono Sanctarum in Ecclesia Linc. utriusq; juris Doctoribus.

In Dei, &c. Coram vobis, &c. Ego Henricus dictus C. &c. Unde ego H. dictus C. &c. sentiens me, statum, dignitatem et Ecclesiam meam prædictam, ex omnibus et singulis gravaminibus prædictis nimium prægravari, et prægravatum, ab eisdem omnibus et singulis gravaminibus prædictis et his, quæ eorum et cujuslibet eorum occasione colligi poterunt aut debebunt, ad dictum Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, et Sedem Apostolicam melius informandum, et informandam, Appello et Apostolos peto instanter, instantius et instantissime mihi dari, liberari, et fieri cum effectu, &c.

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NUMBER XXXVI.

*Instructions sent by the Privy Council, representing the State of the Nation to King Philip, after the loss of Calais.*

[Cotton. Libr. Titus. B. 2.]

First, to say, That we be most bounden unto his majesty for his good affection towards this realm; and his gracious disposition and offer, to put this force to the field this year, being else otherwise determined for the recovery of that honour and reputation which this realm hath lost by the loss of Calais.

To say, That this offer of his majesty we should not only have, upon our knees, accepted, but also in likewise have sued first for the same.

And so undoubtedly we would have done, if other respects hereafter following, which we trust his majesty will graciously understand, had not been (to our great regret) the lett thereof.

First, We do consider that if we should send over an army, we cannot send under 20,000 men; the levying and sending over whereof will ask a time; before which time, considering also the time the enemy hath had (being now almost a month) to fortify and victual the place, it is thought the same will be in such strength as we shall not be able alone to recover it.

We do consider how unapt and unwonted our people be to lie abroad, and specially in the cold: and what inconveniency might follow also at their hands (besides the loss of charges) if their hope for recovery of Calais should not come to pass.

The charge of this army (if it should go over) would stand the realm in one hundred and seventy thousand pounds at the least, for five months, which sum (having regard to other necessary charges for the defence of the realm, both by land and by sea, which the people only have in their heads, with a wan hope of the recovery of Calais) neither, we doubt, will be granted of the people; nor if it were, can be conveniently levied in time to serve the turn.

Great garrisons continually, and an army for defence against the Scots and Frenchmen by land, must of necessity be maintained, the charge whereof will be one way and another (go the next way we can) ere the year go about, an hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

The defence of the sea-coast and the isles, and the setting forth of an army by sea, will cost the realm in a year (all things accounted) above two hundred thousand pounds; and yet all will be too little that way if the Danes and the Swedes, which we very much doubt, should be our enemies.

The sums amounting in the whole to five hundred and twenty thousand pounds, besides provision of ammunition, which will be chargeable; and furniture of ordnance, whereof we have great lack, by the loss of Calais and Guisnes.

We see not how it can be levied in one year to save us, unless the people should of new have strange impositions set upon them, which we think they would not bear.

The queen's majesty's own revenue is scarce able to maintain her estate.

The noblemen and gentlemen, for the most part receiving no more rent than they were wont to receive, and paying thrice as much for everything they provide, by reason of the baseness of the money, are not able to do as they have done in times past.

The merchants have had great losses of late, whereby the clothiers be never the richer.

The farmers, graziers, and other people, how well-willing soever they be taken to be, will not be acknown of their wealth, and by the miscontentment of this loss be grown stubborn and liberal of talk.

So that considering our wants on every side, our lack of money at home; our want of credit, by reason of this loss abroad; the scarcity of captains and leaders of our men, which be but few; the unwillingness of our people to go abroad, and leave their things at home, without a certain hope of recovering their loss; the need we have to defend home (looking as we do to be assaulted both by land and by sea) how desirous soever we be to recover Calais, and well-willing to serve his majesty (either for that purpose or in any other thing wherein it shall please him to employ us), we see not how we can possibly (at the least for this year) send over an army; nor until we may be assured of fewer enemies than we fear to have cause to doubt; and have time to bring such as be ill men amongst our people, and now be ready (against their duties) to make uproars and stirs amongst ourselves, to order and obedience.

Wherefore, in most humble wise, upon our knees, we shall beseech the king's majesty to accept, in gracious part, this our answer, which we make much against our hearts, if we might otherwise chuse. And as for our own persons, we shall bestow, with all that ever we have, to the death, where and however it shall please him, submitting ourselves to his majesty's judgment in this matter, and to the execution and doing of that whatsoever, either his majesty, or any other man, shall devise to be done, better than we have said in this answer, and more for the honour and surety of their majesties and commonwealth of this realm. Feb. 1, 1577.

NUMBER XXXVII.

*Sir Thomas Pope's Letter concerning the Answer made by the Lady Elizabeth to a Proposition of Marriage sent over by the Elected King of Sweden.*

[Ex MS. D. G. Petyte.]

First, after I had declared to her Grace how well the queen's majesty liked of her prudent and honourable answer made to the same messenger; I then opened unto her grace the effect of the said messenger's credence; which after her grace had heard, I said the queen's highness had sent me to her grace, not only to declare the same, but also to understand how her grace liked the said motion. Whereunto, after a little pause taken, her grace answered in form following:—"Master Pope, I require you, after my most humble commendations to the queen's majesty, to render unto the same like thanks, that it pleased her highness, of her goodness, to conceive so well of my answer made to the same messenger, and here withal, of her princely consideration, with such speed to command you, by your letters, to signify the same unto me, who before remained wonderfully perplexed, fearing that her majesty might mistake the same; for which her goodness, I acknowledge myself bound to honour, serve, love, and obey her highness, during my life: requiring you also to say unto her majesty, that in the king my brother's time, there was offered me a very honourable marriage or two, and ambassadors sent to treat with me touching the same; whereupon I made my humble suit unto his highness, as some of honour yet living can be testimonies, that it would like the same to give me leave, with his grace's favour, to remain in that estate I was, which of all others best liked me or pleased me. And in good faith I pray you say unto her highness I am even at this present of the same mind, and so intend to continue, with her majesty's favour; and assuring her highness I so well like this estate, as I persuade myself there is not any kind of life comparable unto it. And as concerning my liking the said motion made by the said messenger, I beseech you say unto her majesty, that to my remembrance, I never heard of his master before this time; and that I so well like both the message and the messenger, as I shall most humbly pray God, upon my knees, that from henceforth I never hear of the one nor of the other; assure you, that if it should eft-soons repair unto me, I would forbear to speak to him. And were there nothing else to move me to mislike the motion, other than that his master would attempt the same without making the queen's majesty privy thereunto, it were cause sufficient." And when her grace had thus ended, I was so bold as of myself to say unto her grace (her pardon first required), that I thought few or none would believe, but that her grace could be right-well contented to marry, so there were some honourable marriage offered her by the queen's highness, or her majesty's assent. Whereunto her grace answered: "What I shall do hereafter I know not; but I assure you, upon my truth and fidelity, and as God be merciful unto me, I am not at this time otherwise minded than I have declared unto you,—no, though I were offered the greatest prince in all Europe. And yet percase the queen's majesty may conceive this rather to proceed of a maidenly shamefastness than upon any such certain determination."

Tho. Pope.

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BOOK III.

NUMBER I.

*The Device for Alteration of Religion, in the first Year of Queen Elizabeth: offered to Secretary Cecil.*

[Ex MSS. Nob. D. Grey de Ruthen.]

Question 1.

When the queen's highness may attempt to reduce the church of England again to the former purity, and when to begin the alteration?

*Answer.*

At the next parliament; so that the dangers be foreseen, and remedies provided; for the sooner that religion is restored, God is the more glorified, and as we trust, will be more merciful unto us, and better save and defend her highness from all dangers.

Question 2.

What dangers may ensue thereof?

*Answer* 1.

The bishop of Rome, all that he may, will be incensed, he will excommunicate the queen's highness, interdict the realm, and give it in prey to all princes that will enter upon it; and stir them up to it by all manner of means.

2. The French king will be encouraged more to the war, and make his people more ready to fight against us, not only as enemies, but as heretics: he will be in great hope of aid from hence, of them that are discontented with this alteration, looking for tumults and discords: he will also stay concluding of peace, upon hope of some alteration.

3. Scotland also will have the same causes of boldness, and by that way the French king will seem soonest to attempt to annoy us. Ireland also will be very difficultly stayed in the obedience, by reason of the clergy that is so addicted to Rome.

4. Many people of our own will be very much discontented, especially all such as governed in the late queen Mary's time, and were chosen thereto for no other causes, or were then most esteemed for being hot and earnest in that other religion, and now remain unplaced and uncalled to credit, will think themselves discredited, and all their doings defaced, and study all the ways they can to maintain their own doings, destroy and despise all this alteration.

5. Bishops, and all the clergy, will see their own ruin; and in confession, and preaching, and all other means and ways they can, will persuade the people from it; they will conspire with whomsoever will attempt and pretend to do God a sacrifice, in letting the alteration, though it be with murder of Christian men, and treason. Men which be of the papists' sect, which of late were in a manner all the judges of the land; the justices of the peace chosen out by the late queen in all the shires, such as were believed to be of that sect, and the more earnest therein, the more in estimation; these are most like to join and conspire with the bishops, and clergy. Some, when the subsidy shall be granted, and money levied, (as it appeareth that necessarily it must be done,) will be therewith offended, and like enough to conspire and arise, if they have any heed to stir them to do it, or hope of gain or spoil.

6. Many such as would gladly have alteration from the church of Rome, when they shall see peradventure that some old ceremonies be left still, for that their doctrine, which they embrace, is not allowed and commanded only, and all other abolished and disproved, shall be discontented, and call the alteration a cloaked papistry, or a mingle-mangle.



Question 3.

What remedy for the same dangers? what shall be the manner of doing of it? and what is necessary to be done before?

*Answer* 1.

First, for France, to practise a peace; or if it be offered, not to refuse it: if controversy of religion be there amongst them, to kindle it. Rome is less to be feared, from whom nothing is to be feared, but evil will, cursing, and practising. Scotland will follow France for peace, but there may be practice to help forward their division, and especially to augment the hope of them who inclined them to good religion. For certainty, to fortify Berwick, and to employ demi-lances, and horsemen, for safety of the frontiers, and some expenses of money in Ireland. The fourth divided into five parts.

1. The first is of them which were of queen Mary's council, elected or advanced to authority, only or chiefly for being of the pope's religion, and earnest in the same. Every augmentation or conservation of such men in authority or reputation is an encouraging those of their sect, and giveth hope to them that it shall revive and continue, although it hath a contrary shew: lest seeing the pillars to stand still untouched, it be a confirmation of them that are wavering papists, and a discouraging of such as are but half inclined to this alteration. *Dum in dubio est animus, parvo momento huc illuc impellitur.* This must be searched by all law, so far as justice may extend, and the queen's majesty's clemency not to be extended, before they do acknowledge themselves to have fallen into the lapse of the law. They must be abased of authority, discredited in their countries, so long as they seem to repugn the true religion, or to maintain the old proceedings; and if they should seem to allow and bear with the new alteration, yet not lightly to be credited, *quia neophiti*; and no man, but he loveth that time wherein he did flourish, and when he can, and as he can; those ancient laws and orders he will defend and maintain, with whom and in whom he was in estimation and authority, and a doer: for every man naturally loveth that which is his own work and creature. And contrary, as those men be abased, so must her highness' old and sure servants, who have tarried with her, and not shrunk in the late storm, be advanced, with authority and credit, that the world may see that her highness is not unkind, not unmindful. And throughout all England, if such persons as are known to be sure in religion and God's cause shall be slack, yet their own safety and estate should cause to be vigilant, careful, and earnest for the conservation of her estate, and maintenance of this alteration; and in all this she shall do but the same that the late queen Mary did to establish her religion.

2. The second is, the bishops and clergy, being in manner all made and chosen, such as were thought the stoutest and mightiest champions of the pope's church, who in the late queen Mary's time, taking from the crown, impoverishing it, by extorting from private men, and all other means possible, *per fas et nefas*, have sought to enrich and advance themselves. These, her majesty being inclined to use much clemency, yet must seek, as well by parliament as by the just laws of England, in the premunire, or other such penal laws, to bring again in order; and being found in the default, not to pardon, until they confess their fault, put themselves wholly to her highness' mercy, abjure the pope of Rome, and conform themselves to the new alteration; and by these means, well handled, her majesty's necessity of money may be somewhat relieved.

3. The third is to amend, even as all the rest above, by such ways as queen Mary taught, that no such as were, may be in commission of peace in their shires; but rather men meaner in substance, and younger in years, so that they have discretion to be put in place. A sharp law made and extended against assemblies of people, without authority. Lieutenants made in every shire, one or two men known to be sure of the queen's devotion. In the mean time, musters and captains appointed, young gentlemen, which do favour her highness. No office of jurisdiction or authority to be in any discontented man's hands, so far as justice or law may extend.

4. The fourth is to be remedied otherwise than by gentle and dulce handling; it is by the commissioners, and by the readiness and good will of the lieutenants and captains, to repress them, if any should begin a tumult, or murmur, or provide any assembly, or stoutness, to the contrary.

5. The fifth; for the discontentation of such as could be content to have religion altered, but would have it to go too far, for fear the strait laws upon the promulgation of the book, and severe execution of the same, at the first, would so repress them, that it is great hope it shall touch but a few: and better it were that they did suffer, than her highness and common-wealth should shake or be in danger; and to this they must well take heed that draw the book. And herein the universities must not be neglected, and the hurt which the last visitation in queen Mary's time did must be amended: likewise such colleges, where children be instructed to come to the university, as Eton and Winchester, that as well the increase hereafter, as this present time, may be provided for.

Question 4.

What may be done of her highness, for her own conscience, openly, before the whole alteration? or if the alteration must tarry longer?

*Answer.*

This consultation is to be referred to such learned men as be meet to shew their minds therein, and to bring a plot or book hereof ready drawn to her highness; which being approved by her majesty, may so be put in the parliament-house. To which for the time it is thought that these are apt men, Dr. Bill, Dr. Parker, Dr. May, Dr. Cox, Mr. Whitehead, Grindall, Pilkington, and sir Thomas Smith, to call them together, and to be amongst them: and after the consultation with these, to draw in other men of learning, and grave and apt men for your purpose and credit, to have their assents. As for that is necessary to be done before, it is thought to be most necessary that a strait prohibition be made of all innovation, until such time as the book come forth, as well that there should be no often changes in religion, which would take away authority in the common people's estimation, as also to exercise the queen's majesty's subjects to obedience.

Question 5.

What orders be fit to be in the whole realm, as in the interim?

*Answer.*

To alter no further than her majesty hath, except it be to receive the communion, as her majesty pleaseth, at high feasts; and that where there be more chaplains at the mass, that they do always communicate with the executor in both kinds. And for her highness' conscience, till then, if there be some other devout sort of prayer or memory said and the seldomer mass.

Question 6.

What noblemen be fit to be made privy to those proceedings before it be opened to the whole council?

*Answer.*

The marquess Northampton, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembrook, lord John Gray.

Question 7.

What allowance the learned men shall have for the time they are about to review the Book of Common Prayers, and order of ceremonies and service in the church; and where they shall meet?

*Answer.*

Being so many persons as must attend still upon it, two messes of meat is thought yet indifferently to suffice for them and their servants. The place is thought most meet, either in some set place, or rather at sir Thomas Smith's lodging in Cannon-row. At one of those places must provision be laid in, of wood, of coal, and drink.

NUMBER II.

*Dr. Sands' Letter to Dr. Parker, concerning some Proceedings in Parliament.—An Original.*

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

Ye have rightly considered that these times are given to taking, and not to giving; for ye have stretched forth your hands further than all the rest. They never asked us in what state we stand, neither consider that we want; and yet in the time of our exile were we not so bare as we are now brought: but I trust we shall not linger here long, for the parliament draweth towards an end. The last book of service is gone through with a proviso to retain the ornaments which were used in the first and second year of king Edward, until it please the queen to take other order for them; our gloss upon this text is, that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the mean time shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the queen. After this book was past, Boxall* and others quarrelled with it, that according to the order of Scripture, we had not *gratiarum actio;* for, saith he, *Christus accepit panem, gratias egit,* but in the time of consecration we give no thanks. This he put into the treasurer's head, and into count de Soreus' head; and he laboured to alienate the queen's majesty from confirming of the act, but I trust they cannot prevail. Mr. Secretary is earnest with the book, and we have ministered reasons to maintain that part. The bill of supreme government, of both the temporality and clergy, passeth with a proviso, that nothing shall be judged hereafter which is not confirmed by the canonical Scriptures and four general councils. Mr. Lever† wisely put such a scruple into the queen's head, that she would not take the title of supreme head. The bishops, as it is said, will not swear unto it as it is, but rather lose their livings. The bill is in hand to restore men to their livings; how it will speed I know not. The parliament is like to end shortly, and then we shall understand how they mind to use us. We are forced, through the vain bruits of the lying papists, to give up a confession of our faith, to shew forth the sum of that doctrine which we profess, and to declare that we dissent not amongst ourselves. This labour we have now in hand, on purpose to publish that, so soon as the parliament is ended; I wish that we had your hand unto it. Ye are happy that ye are so far from this tossing, and gross alterations and mutations; for we are made weary with them; but ye cannot rest long in your cell, ye must be removed to a more large abbey: and therefore in the mean time take your pleasure, for after ye will find but a little, *Nihil est statutum, de conjugio sacerdotum, sed tanquam relictum in medio.* Lever was married now of late; the queen's majesty will wink at it, but not stablish it by law, which is nothing else but to bastard our children. Other things another time. Thus praying you to commend me to your abbesses, I take my leave of you for this present hastily, at London, April ult. 1559. Yours, Edwin Sands.

* He was dean of Windsor and Peterborough in queen Mary's time.

† A minister at Frankfort, much commended by Calvin to be followed as an example.

NUMBER III.

*The first Proposition, upon which the Papists and Protestants, disputed in Westminster Abbey. With the Arguments which the Reformed Divines made upon it.*

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

It is against the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common-prayers and administration of the sacraments.

By these words (the Word) we mean only the written word of God, or canonical Scriptures.

And by the custom of the primitive church, we mean, the order most generally used in the church for the space of five hundred years after Christ; in which times lived the most notable fathers, as Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Chrysostom, Hierome, Ambrose, Augustine, &c.

This assertion, above-written, hath two parts.

First, That the use of a tongue not understood of the people, in common prayers of the church, or in the administration of the sacraments, is against God's word.

The second, That the same is against the use of the primitive church.

The first part is most manifestly proved by the 14th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, almost throughout the whole chapter; in the which chapter St. Paul intreateth of this matter, *ex professo,* purposely: and although some do cavil, that St. Paul speaketh not in that chapter of praying, but of preaching; yet it is most evident to any indifferent reader of understanding, and appeareth also by the exposition of the best writers, that he plainly there speaketh not only of preaching and prophesying, but also of prayer and thanksgiving, and generally of all other publick actions which require any speech in the church or congregation.

For of praying, he saith, "I will pray with my spirit, and I will pray with my mind; I will sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with my mind." And of thanksgiving (which is a kind of prayer), "Thou givest thanks well, but the other is not edified; and how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen to thy giving of thanks, when he understandeth not what thou sayest?" And in the end, ascending from particulars to universals, concludeth, that all things ought to be done to edification.

Thus much is clear by the very words of St. Paul; and the ancient doctors, Ambrose, Augustine, Hierome, and others, do so understand this chapter, as it shall appear by their testimonies, which shall follow afterwards.

Upon this chapter of St. Paul we gather these reasons following:

1. All things done in the church, or congregation, ought to be so done as they may edify the same.

But the use of an unknown tongue in public prayer, or administration of sacraments, doth not edify the congregation;

Therefore the use of an unknown tongue, in public prayer, or administration of the sacraments, is not to be had in the church.

The first part of this reason is grounded upon St. Paul's words, commanding all things to be done to edification.



The second part is also proved by St. Paul's plain words. First, By this similitude: "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall be prepared to battle? Even so likewise, when ye speak with tongues, except ye speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? for ye shall but speak in the air," that is to say, in vain, and consequently without edifying.

And afterward, in the same chapter, he saith, "How can he that occupieth the place of the unlearned say Amen to thy giving of thanks: seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified."

These be St. Paul's words, plainly proving that a tongue not understood doth not edify.

And therefore both the parts of the reasons thus proved by St. Paul, the conclusion followeth necessarily.

2. Secondly; nothing is to be spoken in the congregation in an unknown tongue, except it be interpreted to the people that it may be understood. "For," saith Paul, "if there be no interpreter to him that speaketh in an unknown tongue, *taceat in ecclesiâ,* let him hold his peace in the church." And therefore the common prayers, and administration of sacraments, neither done in a known tongue nor interpreted, are against this commandment of Paul, and not to be used.

3. The minister, in praying or administration of the sacraments, using language not understood of the hearers, is to them barbarous, an alien, which of St. Paul is accounted a great absurdity.

4. It is not to be counted a Christian common-prayer, where the people present declare not their assent unto it by saying Amen; wherein is implied all other words of assent.

But St. Paul affirmeth, that the people cannot declare their assent, in saying Amen, except they understand what is said, as afore.

Therefore it is no Christian common-prayer, where the people understandeth not what is said.

5. Paul would not suffer, in his time, a strange tongue to be heard in the common-prayer in the church, notwithstanding that such a kind of speech was then a miracle, and a singular gift of the Holy Ghost, whereby infidels might be persuaded and brought to the faith: much less is it to be suffered now among Christian and faithful men, especially being no miracle, nor especial gift of the Holy Ghost.

6. Some will peradventure answer, that to use any kind of tongue in common-prayer, or administration of sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

But St. Paul is to the contrary; for he commandeth all things to be done to edification: he commandeth to keep silence, if there be no interpreter. And in the end of the chapter he concludeth thus: "If any man be spiritual, or a prophet, let him know, that the things which I write are the commandment of the Lord." And so, shortly to conclude, the use of a strange tongue in prayer and administration is against the word and commandment of God.

To these reasons, grounded upon St. Paul's words, which are the most firm foundation of this assertion, divers other reasons may be joined, gathered out of the Scriptures, and otherwise.

1. In the Old Testament, all things pertaining to the public prayer, benediction, thanksgiving, or sacrifice, were always in their vulgar and natural tongue.

In the second book of Paraleipomenon, cap. xxix., it is written, "that Ezechias commanded the Levites to praise God with the Psalms of David, and Asaph the prophet;" which doubtless were written in the Hebrew, their vulgar tongue. If they did so in the shadows of the law, much more ought we to do the like; who, as Christ saith, must pray *in spiritu et veritate.*

2. The final end of our prayer is, (as David saith,) "ut populi conveniant in unum, et annuncient nomen Domini in Sion, et laudes ejus in Hierusalem."

But the name and praises of God cannot be set forth to the people, unless it be done in such a tongue as they may understand.

Therefore common-prayer must be had in the vulgar tongue.

3. The definition of public prayer, out of the words of St. Paul; "Orabo spiritu, orabo et mente." "Publicè orare, est vota communia mente ad Deum effundere, et ea spiritu hoc est, linguâ testari." Common-prayer is, to lift up our common desires to God with our minds, and to testify the same outwardly with our tongues. Which definition is approved of by St. Augustine de Magist. c. 1. "Nihil opus est (inquit) loquutione, nisi forte ut sacerdotes faciunt, significandæ mentis causâ, ut populus intelligat."

4. The ministrations of the Lord's last supper, and baptism, are, as it were, sermons of the death and resurrection of Christ.

But sermons to the people must be had in such language as the people may perceive, otherwise they should be had in vain.

5. It is not lawful for a Christian man to abuse the gifts of God.

But he that prayeth in the church in a strange tongue, abuseth the gift of God; for the tongue serveth only to express the mind of the speaker to the hearer. And Augustine saith, de Doct. Christ. lib. 4, cap. 10: "Loquendi omnino nulla est causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intelligant, loquimur." There is no cause why we should speak, if they for whose cause we speak understand not our speaking.

6. The heathen, and barbarous nations of all countries and sorts of men, were they never so wild, evermore made their prayers, and sacrifice to their gods, in their own mother-tongue; which is a manifest declaration, that it is the very light and voice of nature.

Thus much upon the ground of St. Paul, and other reasons out of the Scriptures; joining therewith the common usage of all nations, as a testimony of the law of nature.

Now, for the second part of the assertion, which is, "that the use of a strange tongue, in publick prayer, and administration of sacraments, is against the custom of the primitive church;" which is a matter so clear, that the denial of it must needs proceed either of great ignorance, or of wilful malice.

For, first of all, Justinus Martyr*, describing the order of the communion in his time, saith thus: "Die Solis urbanorum et rusticorum cætus fiunt, ubi apostolorum, prophetarumq; literæ, quoad fieri potest, prælleguntur: deinde cessante lectore præpositus verba facit adhortatoria, ad imitationem tam honestarum rerum invitans. Post hæc consurgimus omnes, et preces offerimus, quibus finitis, profertur (ut diximus) panis, vinum et aqua, tum præpositus quantum potest preces offert, et gratiarum actiones; plebs vero amen accinit." Upon the Sundays assemblies are made both of the citizens and countrymen; whereas the writings of the disciples and of the prophets are read as much as may be. Afterwards when the reader doth cease, the head minister maketh an exhortation, exhorting them to follow so honest things. After this we rise all together, and offer prayers; which being ended, (as we have said,) bread, wine and water, are

* Justinus, Apol. 2.

brought forth; then the head minister offereth prayers and thanksgivings as much as he can, and the people answereth Amen.

These words of Justin, who lived about 160 years after Christ, considered with their circumstances, declare plainly, that not only the Scriptures were read, but also that the prayers, and administration of the Lord's supper, were done in a tongue understood.

Both the liturgies of Basil and Chrysostom declare, that in the celebration of the communion, the people were appointed to answer to the prayer of the minister, sometimes "Amen;" sometimes, "Lord have mercy upon us;" sometimes, "and with thy spirit;" and, "we have our hearts lifted up unto the Lord," &c. Which answers they would not have made in due time if the prayers had not been made in a tongue understood.

And for further proof, let us hear what Basil* writeth in this matter to the clerks of Neocesarea; "Cæterum ad objectum in psalmodiis crimen, quo maximè simpliciores terrent calumniatores," &c. "As touching that is laid to our charge in psalmodies and songs, wherewith our slanderers do fray the simple, I have this to say, that our custom and usage in all churches be uniform and agreeable. For in the night, the people with us riseth, goeth to the house of prayer: and in travel, tribulation, and continual tears, they confess themselves to God; and at the last rising again, go to their songs or psalmodies, where being divided into two parts, sing by course together, both deeply weighing and confirming the matter of the heavenly saying; and also stirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means be alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the song, the rest follow; and so with divers songs and prayers, passing over the night at the dawning of the day, all together, even as it were with one mouth and one heart, they sing unto the Lord a new song of confession, every man framing to himself meet words of repentance.

"If ye will flee us from henceforth for these things, ye must flee also the Egyptians, and both the Libyans, ye must eschew the Thebans, Palestines, Arabians, the Phenices, the Syrians, and those which dwell besides Euphrates. And to be short, all those with whom watchings, prayers, and common singing of psalms are had in honour."

These are sufficient to prove, that it is against God's word, and the use of the primitive church, to use a language not understood of the people, in common-prayer and ministration of the sacraments.

Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how such an untruth and abuse crept at the first into the church, but also how it is maintained so stiffly at this day; and upon what ground these that will be thought guides and pastors of Christ's church are so loath to return to the first original of St. Paul's doctrine, and the practice of the primitive catholic church of Christ.

The God of patience and consolation give us grace to be like-minded one towards another in Christ Jesus, that we all agreeing together may, with one mouth, praise God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen†.

J. Scory, D. Whithead, J. Juel, J. Almer, R. Cox, E. Grindal, R. Horn, E. Gest.

* Basil, Epist. 63.

† At the end of this paper there is added in the MS. testimonies confirming it, out of Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, Dionysius, Cyprian, and Austin, and the Constitution of Justinian; and they are to be seen printed in Fox's first edition. The names at the end are not subscriptions: they are added in Parker's hand, who forgot to write Sands among them, for he was one of them.—STRYPE'S CORRECT.

NUMBER IV.

*The Answer of Dr. Cole to the first Proposition of the Protestants, at the Disputation before the Lords at Westminster.*

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

Est contra Verbum Dei, et consuetudinem veteris Ecclesiæ Linguâ Populo ignotâ uti in publicis precibus, et Administratione Sacramentorum.

MOST HONOURABLE,—Whereas these men here present have declared openly, that it is repugnant and contrary to the word of God to have the common prayers and ministration of the sacraments in the Latin tongue here in England, and that all such common-prayer and ministration ought to be and remain in the English tongue; ye shall understand, that to prove this their assertion, they have brought in as yet only one place of Scripture, taken out of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xiv., with certain other places of the holy doctors; whereunto answer is not now to be made: but when the book which they read shall be delivered unto us according to the appointment made in that behalf, then, God willing, we shall make answer, as well to the scripture as other testimonies alleged by them, so as all good men may evidently perceive and understand the same scripture to be misconstrued, and drawn from the native and true sense; and that it is not St. Paul's mind there to treat of common-prayer, or ministration of any sacraments. And therefore we now have only to declare and open before you briefly (which after, as opportunity serves in our answer, shall appear more at large) causes which move us to persist and continue in the order received, and to say and affirm, that to have the common-prayer or service with the ministration of the sacraments in the Latin tongue is convenient and (as the state of the cause standeth at this present) necessary.

*Second Section.*

1. And this we affirm, first, because there is no scripture manifest against this our assertion and usage of the church. And though there were any, yet it is not to be condemned that the church hath received. Which thing may evidently appear in many things that were sometime expressly commanded by God and his holy apostles.

2. As for example (to make the matter plain) ye see the express command of Almighty God, touching the observation of the Sabbath-day, to be changed by authority of the church (without any word of God written for the same) into the Sunday. The reason whereof appeareth not to all men; and howsoever it doth appear, and is accepted of all good men, without any controversy of Scripture; yea, without any mention of the day, saving only that St. John in his Apocalypse nameth it *Diem Dominicam*: in the change whereof all men may evidently understand the authority of the church, both in this cause and also in other matters, to be of great weight and importance, and therein esteemed accordingly.

3. Another example we have given unto us by the mouth of our Saviour himself, who washing the feet of his disciples, said, "I have herein given you an example, that as I have done, even so do you." Notwithstanding these express words, the holy church hath left the thing undone, without blame: not of any negligence, but of great and urgent causes, which appeareth not to many men, and yet universally without the breach of God's commandment (as is said) left undone. Was not the fact also, and, as it seemeth, the express commandment of Christ our Saviour, changed and altered, by the authority of the church, in the highest mystery of our faith, the blessed sacrament of the altar? For he ministereth the same (as the Scripture witnesseth) after supper. And now if a contentious man would strain the fact to the first institution, St. Augustine answereth (not by Scripture, for there is none to improve it, but indeed otherwise) even as the apostles did, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto, ut in honorem tanti sacramenti, in os Christiani hominis prius intret corpus Dominicum quam exteri cibi.* It is determined (saith St. Augustine) by the Holy Ghost, that in the honour of so great a sacrament the body of our Lord should enter first into the mouth of a Christian man before other external meats. So that notwithstanding it was the fact of Christ himself, yet the church, moved by the Holy Ghost (as is said), hath changed that also, without offence likewise. By the which sentence of St. Augustine manifestly appeareth that this authority was derived from the apostles unto this time; the which same authority, according to Christ's promises, doth still abide and remain with his church.

4. And hereupon also resteth the alteration of the sacrament under one kind, whenas the multitude of the Gentiles entered, the church, instructed by the Holy Ghost, understood inconveniences, and partly also heresy to creep in through the ministration under both kinds; and therefore, as in the former examples, so in this now (the matter nothing diminished neither in itself nor in the receivers, and the thing also being received before, by a common and uniform consent, without contradiction), the church did decree, that from henceforth it should be received under the form of bread only; and whosoever should think and affirm that whole Christ remained not under both kinds, pronounced him to be in heresy.

5. Moreover, we read in the Acts, whereas it was determined in a council holden at Hierusalem by the apostles, that the Gentiles should abstain from strangled and blood, in these words, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto, et nobis*, &c.—"It is decreed by the Holy Ghost, and us" (say the apostles), "that no other burden be laid upon you than these necessary things, that ye abstain from things offered up unto idols, and from blood; and from that is strangled, and from fornication." This was the commandment of God (for still it is commanded, upon pain of damnation, to keep our bodies clean from fornication), and the other, joined by the Holy Ghost with the same, not kept nor observed at this day.

6. Likewise, in the Acts of the Apostles it appeareth, that among them in the primitive church all things were common. They sold their lands and possessions, and laid the money at the feet of the apostles, to be divided to the people as every man had need; insomuch that Ananias and Sapphira, who kept back a part of their possession, and laid but the other part at the apostles' feet, were declared, by the mouth of St. Peter, to be tempted by the devil, and to lie against the Holy Ghost, and, in example of all other, punished with sudden death. By all which examples, and many other, it is manifest that though there were any such scripture which they pretend, as there is not, yet the church wherein the Holy Ghost is always resident may order the same, and may therein say as truly, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto, et nobis*, as did the apostles; for Christ promised unto the church, that the Holy Ghost should teach them all truth, and that he himself would be with the same church until the world's end. And hereupon we do make this argument with St. Augustine, which he writeth in his epistle *ad Januarium*, after this sort,—*Ecclesia Dei inter multam paleam multaque Zizania constituta, multa tolerat; et tamen quæ sunt contra fidem vel bonam vitam non approbat, nec tacet, nec facit.*



To this major we add this minor; but the catholick church of God neither reproveth the service or common-prayer to be in the learned tongue, nor yet useth it otherwise.

Therefore it is most lawful and commendable so to be.

*Third Section.*

Another cause that moveth us to say and think, is, that otherwise doing (as they have said) there followeth necessarily the breach of unity of the church, and the commodities thereby are withdrawn and taken from us; there follows necessarily an horrible schism and division.

In alteration of the service into our mother-tongue, we condemn the church of God which hath been heretofore, we condemn the church that is present, and namely the church of Rome.

To the which, howsoever it is lightly esteemed here among us, the holy saint and martyr Irenæus saith, in plain words, thus: *Ad hanc ecclesiam propter potentiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnes uti as ecclesias convenire; hoc est omnes undiq; fideles.* It is necessary (saith this holy man, who was nigh to the apostles, or rather in that time; for he is called σύγχρονος *apostolorum*) that all churches do conform themselves and agree with the see or church of Rome; all churches, that is to say (as he declareth himself), all Christian and faithful men. And he allegeth the cause why it is necessary for all men to agree therewith (*propter potentiorem principalitatem*), for the greater pre-eminence of the same, or for the mightier principality.

From this church, and consequently from the whole universal church of Christ, we fall undoubtedly into a fearful and dangerous schism, and therewith into all incommodities of the same.

That in this doing we fall from the unity of the church, it is more manifest than that we need much to stand upon. St. Augustine, *Contra Cresconium Grammaticum*, putting a difference between Heresis and Schisma, saith, *Schisma est diversa sequentium secta heresis autem schisma inveteratum.*

To avoid this horrible sin of schism, we are commanded, by the words of St. Paul, saying, *Obsecro vos ut id ipsum dicatis omnes et non sin in vobis schismata.*

And that this changing of the service out of the learned tongue is doing contrary to the form and order universally observed, is plain and evident to every man's eye.

They are to be named heretics (saith he) which obstinately think and judge in matters of faith otherwise than the rest of the church doth. And those are called schismaticks which follow not the order and trade of the church, but will invent of their own wit and brain other orders, contrary or diverse to them which are already by the Holy Ghost universally established in the church. And we being declined from God by schism, note what follows:—there is then no gift of God, no knowledge, no justice, no faith, no works, and finally, no virtue that could stand us in stead, though we should think to glorify God by suffering death (as St. Paul saith), 1 Cor. xiii. Yea, there is no sacrament that availeth to salvation in them that willingly fall into schism, that without fear separate and divide themselves from the sacred unity of Christ's holy spouse the church, as St. Augustine plainly saith—*Quicunque ille est, qualiscunque ille est, Christianus non est qui in ecclesia Christi non est:* that is, whosoever he be, whatsoever degree or condition he be of, or what qualities soever he hath,

though he should speak with the tongues of angels—speak he never so holily, show he never so much virtue, yet is he not a Christian man that is guilty of that crime of schism; and so no member of that church.

Wherefore this is an evident argument; every Christian man is bound, upon pain of damnation, by the plain words of God, uttered by St. Paul, to avoid the horrible sin of schism.

The changing of the service-book out of the learned tongue, it being universally observed through the whole church from the beginning, is a cause of an horrible schism, wherefore every good Christian man is bound to avoid the change of the service.

Now, to confirm that we said before, and to prove that to have the common-prayer and ministration of the sacraments in English, or in other than is the learned tongue, let us behold the first institution of the west church, and the particulars thereof.

And first, to begin with the church of France:—Dionysius, St. Paul's scholar, who first planted the faith of Christ in France; Martialis, who (as it is said) planted the faith in Spain; and others which planted the same here in England, in the time of Eluthérius; and such as planted the faith in Germany and other countries; and St. Augustine, that converted this realm afterwards, in the time of Gregory, almost a thousand years ago: it may appear that they had interpreters, as touching the declaration and preaching of the gospel, or else the gift of tongues; but that ever, in any of these west churches, they had the service in their own language, or that the sacraments other than matrimony were ministered in their own vulgar tongue; that does not appear by any ancient historiographer. Whether shall they be able ever to prove that it was so generally, and thereby by continuance, in the Latin, the self-same order and words remain still; whereas all men do consider, and know right well, that in all other inferior and barbarous tongues great change daily is seen, and specially in this our English tongue, which *in quovis seculo fere*, in every age, or hundred years, there appeareth a great change and alteration in this language.

For the proof whereof there hath remained many books of late in this realm (as many do well know), which we, that be now Englishmen, can scarcely understand or read. And if we should so often (as the thing may chance, and as alteration daily doth grow in our vulgar tongue), change the service of the church, what manifold inconveniences and errors would follow we leave it to all men's judgments to consider. So that hereby may appear another invincible argument, which is, the consent of the whole catholick church, that cannot err in the faith and doctrine of our Saviour Christ, but is (by St. Paul's saying) the pillar and foundation of all truth.

Moreover, the people of England do not understand their own tongue better than Eunuchus did the Hebrew; of whom we read in the Acts, that Philip was commanded to teach him; and he reading there the prophecy of Esay, Philip (as it is written in the 8th chapter of the Acts) enquired of him whether he understood that which he read or no. He made answer saying, *Et quomodo possum, si non aliquis ostenderit mihi;* in which words are reproved the intolerable boldness of such as will enterprise without any teacher; yea, contemning all doctors to unclasp the book, and thereby, instead of eternal food, drink up deadly poison. For whereas the Scripture is misconstrued, and taken in a wrong sense, that it is not the Scripture of God, but as St. Hierom saith, writing upon the Epistle to the Galatians, it is the scripture of the devil: and we do not contend with hereticks for the Scripture, but for the true sense and meaning of the Scripture.

We read of ceremonies in the Old Testament, as the circumcision, the bells and pomegranates; of Aaron's apparel, with many other and kinds of sacrifices, which all were, as St. Paul saith unto the Hebrews, *justitia carnis*; and did not inwardly justify the party before God, that objected, in protestation of their faith in Christ to come; and although they had the knowledge of every fact of Christ, which was signified particularly by those ceremonies. And it is evident and plain that the high-priest entered into the inner part of the temple (named *Sanctum Sanctorum*), whereas the people might not follow, nor was it lawful for them to stand, but there where they could neither see nor hear what the priest either said or did, as St. Luke, in the first chapter of his Gospel, rehearseth in the history of Zachary.

Upon conference of these two testaments may be plainly gathered this doctrine, that in the school of Christ many things may be said and done the mystery whereof the people knoweth not, neither are they bound to know. Which things, that is, that the people did not hear and understand the common prayer of the priest and minister, it is evident and plain, by the practice of the ancient Greek church, and that also that now is at Venice, or elsewhere.

In that east church, the priest standeth, as it were, in a travice, or closet, hanged round about with curtains, or vails, apart from the people. And after the consecration, when he sheweth the blessed sacrament, the curtains are drawn, whereof Chrysostom speaketh thus: *Cum vela videris retrahi, tunc superne cælum aperiri cogita;* When thou seest the vails or curtains drawn open, then think thou that heaven is open from above.

It is also here to be noted, that there is two manners of prayings, one public, another private; for which cause the church hath such considerations of the public prayer, that it destroyeth not nor taketh away the private prayer of the people in time of sacrifice, or other divine service; which thing would chance, if the people should do nothing but hearken to answer and say *Amen*. Besides, the impossibility of the matter; whereas in a great parish every man cannot hear what the priest saith, though the material church were defaced, and he left the altar of God, and stood in the midst of the people.

Furthermore, if we should confess that it were necessary to have common prayer in the vulgar tongue, these two heresies would follow upon it; that prayer profiteth no man but him that understandeth it, and him also that is present and heareth it; and so, by consequent, void was the prayer for St. Peter in prison, by the church abroad.

Now consider the practice of this realm.

If we should grant the service to be in English, we should not have that in the same form that it is in now, being in Latin; but belike, we should have that, as it was, of late days: the matter of which service is taken out of the Psalms, and other part of the Bible, translated into English, wherein are manifest errors and false translations, which all are by depravation of God's Scripture, and so *verè mendacia*. Now, if the service be so framed, then may men well say upon us, that we serve God with lies.

Wherefore we may not so travel and labour to alter the form of our common prayer, that we lese the fruit of all prayer, which by this barbarous contention no doubt we shall do. And the church of God hath no such custom, as St. Paul allegeth, in such contentions. And may not the whole world say unto us, as St. Paul said unto the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xiv.,—



*An à vobis Verbum Dei processit, aut in vos solos pervenit?* As though the whole church had been ever in error, and never had seen this chapter of St. Paul before: and that the Holy Ghost had utterly forsaken his office, in leading that into all truth, till now of late, certain, boasting of the Holy Ghost, and the sincere word of God, hath enterprised to correct and overthrow the whole church.

*Augustinus* (lib. i.), *contra Julianum Pelagium, à Græcis pro suâ heresi profugum, querentem, ad hunc modum, respondit: Puto (inquit) tibi eam partem orbis debere sufficere, in quâ primum apostolorum suorum voluit Dominus gloriosissimo martyrio coronari. Et idem paulo post: Te certe (Julianum alloquitur) Occidentalis terra generavit, Occidentalis regeneravit ecclesia. Quid ei quæris inferre, quod in eâ non invenisti, quando in ejus membra venisti? Imò, Quid ei quæris auferre, quod in eâ tu quoque accepisti? Hæc ille.*

A number of authorities out of the doctors we could rehearse, that maketh for the unity of the church, and for not disturbing the quiet government of the same, which all impugn this their first assertion by way of argument. But because they have framed their assertion so that we be compelled to defend the negative (in the probation whereof the doctors use not directly to have many words); therefore, of purpose we leave out a number of the sayings of the doctors (which all, as I said before, would prove this first matter by way of argument) lest we should be tedious, and keep you too long in a plain matter.

And therefore now to conclude, for not changing the divine service, and the ministration of the sacraments from the learned tongue (which thing doth make a schism, and a division between us and the catholic church of God), we have brought in the Scripture that doth forbid all such schism. And also the consent and custom of the whole church, which cannot err, and maketh us bold to say as we do; with other things, as ye have heard, for confirmation of the same. And in answering to the first matter, we intend (God willing) to say much more; beseeching Almighty God so to inspire the heart of the queen's majesty, and her most honourable council, with the nobility of this realm, and us that be the pastors of the people in these causes, that so we may dispose of the service of God as we may therein serve God: and that we do not, by altering the said service from the uniform manner of Christ's church, but also highly displease God, and procure to us infamy of the world, the worm of conscience, and eternal damnation, which God forbid: and grant us grace to acknowledge, confess, and maintain his truth. To whom be all glory. Amen.

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NUMBER V.

*The Declaration of the Proceedings of a Conference begun at Westminster, the last of March, 1559, concerning certain Articles of Religion; and the breaking up of the said Conference, by default and contempt of certain Bishops, Parties of the said Conference.*

[Ex Chartophylac. Regio.]

THE queen's most excellent majesty having heard of diversities of opinions in certain matters of religion amongst sundry of her loving subjects, and being very desirous to have the same reduced to some godly and christian concord, thought it best, by advice of the lords, and others of her privy council, as well for the satisfaction of persons doubtful, as also for the knowledge of the very truth, in certain matters of difference, to have a convenient chosen number of the best learned of either part, and to confer together their opinions and reasons; and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement. And hereupon, by her majesty's commandment, certain of her said privy council declared this purpose to the archbishop of York, being also one of the said privy council, and required him, that he would impart the same to some of the bishops, and to make choice of eight, nine, or ten of them; and that there should be the like number named of the other part; and further also declared to him (as then was supposed) what the matters should be: and as for the time it was thought upon; and then after certain days past, it was signified by the said archbishop, that there was appointed (by such of the bishops to whom he had imparted this matter) eight persons; that is to say, four bishops and four doctors, who were content, at the queen's majesty's commandment, to shew their opinions, and, as he termed it, render account of their faith in those matters which were mentioned, and that specially, in writing: although, he said, they thought the same so determined, as there was no cause to dispute upon them. It was hereupon fully resolved, by the queen's majesty, with the advice aforesaid, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts, for avoiding of much alteration in words. And that the said bishops should, because they were in authority of degree superiors, first declare their minds and opinions to the matter, with their reasons, in writing. And the other number, being also eight men of good degree in schools, (and some having been in dignity in the church of England,) if they had anything to say to the contrary, should the same day declare their opinions in like manner. And so each of them should deliver their writings to the other to be considered what were to be improved therein; and the same to declare again in writing at some other convenient day; and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters.

All this was fully agreed upon with the archbishop of York, and so also signified to both parties; and immediately hereupon divers of the nobility, and states of the realm, understanding that such a meeting and conference should be, and that in certain matters, thereupon the present court of parliament consequently following, some laws might be grounded, they made earnest means to her majesty, that the parties of this conference might put and read their assertions in the English tongue, and that in the presence of them, the nobility, and others of her parliament-house, for the better satisfaction and enabling of their own judgments to treat and conclude of such laws as might depend thereupon. This also being thought very reasonable, was signified to both parties, and so fully agreed upon. And the day appointed for the first meeting to be the Friday in the forenoon, being the last of March, at Westminster-church, where both for good order, and for honour of the conferences by the queen's majesty's commandment, the lords and others of the privy council were present, and a great part of the nobility also.

And notwithstanding the former order appointed and consented unto by both parties, yet the bishop of Winchester, and his colleagues, alleging, that they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so only recited out of the book, said, their book was not then ready written, but they were ready to argue and dispute, and therefore they would for that time repeat in speech, that which they had to say to the first proposition.

This variation from the former order, and specially from that which themselves had by the said archbishop

in writing before required, (adding thereto the reason of the apostle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing but to the subversion of the hearers,) seemed to the queen's majesty somewhat strange; and yet was it permitted, without any great reprehension, because they excused themselves with mistaking the order, and argued, that they would not fail, but put it in writing, and according to the former order, deliver it to the other part.

And so the said bishop of Winchester and his colleagues appointed Dr. Cole, dean of Paul's, to be their utterer of their minds, who partly by speech only, and partly by reading of authorities written, and at certain times being informed of his colleagues what to say, made a declaration of their meanings and their reasons to the first proposition.

Which being ended, they were asked, by the privy council, if any of them had any more to be said; and they said, no. So as then the other part was licensed to shew their minds, which they did accordingly to the first order, exhibiting all that which they meant to propound in a book written. Which, after a prayer and invocation made most humbly to Almighty God for the enduing of them with his Holy Spirit, and a protestation also to stand to the doctrine of the catholick church, builded upon the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles, was distinctly read by one Robert Horn, bachelor in divinity, late dean of Duresm. And the same being ended, (with some likelihood, as it seemed, that the same was much allowable to the audience,) certain of the bishops began to say contrary to their former answer, that they had now much more to say to this matter; wherein, although they might have been well reprehended for such manner of cavillation, yet for avoiding any more mistaking of orders in this colloquy, or conference, and for that they should utter all that which they had to say, it was both ordered, and thus openly agreed upon of both parts, in the full audience, that upon the Monday following the bishops should bring their minds and reasons in writing to the second assertion, and the last also, if they could, and first read the same; and that done, the other part should bring likewise theirs to the same; and being read, each of them should deliver to other the same writings. And in the mean time the bishops should put in writing, not only all that which Dr. Cole had that day uttered, but all such other matters as they any otherwise could think of for the same; and as soon as might possible, to send the same book, touching the first assertion to the other part; and they should receive of them that writing which master Horn had there read that day; and upon Monday it should be agreed what day they should exhibit their answer touching the first proposition.

Thus both parts assented thereto, and the assembly was quietly dismissed. And therefore upon Monday the like assembly began again at the place and hour appointed; and there, upon what sinister or disordered meaning is not yet fully known, (though in some part it be understanded,) the bishop of Winchester, and his colleagues, and specially Lincoln, refused to exhibit or read, according to the former notorious order on Friday, that which they had prepared for the second assertion; and thereupon, by the lord keeper of the great seal, they being first gently and favourably required to keep the order appointed, and that taking no place, being secondly, as it behoved, pressed with the more earnest request, they neither regarding the authority of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cause, utterly refused that to do.

And finally, being again particularly every one of them apart, distinctly by name required to understand their opinions therein; they all (saving one, which was the abbot of Westminster, having some more consideration of order and his duty of obedience than the other) utterly and plainly denied to have their book read, some of them as more earnestly than other some, so also some others more indiscreetly and irreverently than others

Whereupon giving such example of disorders, stubbornness, and self-will, as hath not been seen and suffered in such an honourable assembly, being of the two estates of this realm, the nobilities and commons, besides the persons of the queen's majesty's most honourable privy council, the same assembly was dismissed, and the godly and most christian purpose of the queen's majesty made frustrate: and afterwards, for the contempt so notoriously made, the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, who have most obstinately disobeyed both common authority and varied manifestly from their own order, specially Lincoln, who shewed more folly than the other, were condignly committed to the Tower of London; and the rest, saving the abbot of Westminster, stand bound to make daily their personal appearance before the council, and not to depart the city of London and Westminster, until further order be taken with them for their disobedience and contempt.

N. Bacon, Cust. Sigill. F. Shrewsbury. F. Bedford. Pembrook. E. Clynton. E. Rogers. F. Knollys. W. Cecill. A. Cave.

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NUMBER VI.

*An Address made by some Bishops and Divines to Queen Elizabeth, against the use of Images.*

[Ex MSS. C. C. C. Miscellanea B.]

To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.

We knowing your gracious clemency, and considering the necessity of the matter that we have to move, the one doth encourage us and the other compel us (as before) to make our humble petition unto your highness, and to renew our former suit, not in any respect of self-will, stoutness, or striving against your majesty, (God we take to witness) for with David we confess that we are but as *canes mortui, aut pulices*, in comparison. But we do it only for that fear and reverence which we bear to the majesty of Almighty God, in whose hands to fall 'tis terrible; for it lieth in his power to destroy for ever, and to cast both body and soul into hell-fire. And lest in giving just offence to the little ones, in setting a trap of errors for the ignorant, and digging a pit for the blind to fall into, we should not only be guilty of the blood of our brethren, and deserve the wrathful *Væ*, and vengeance of God, but also procure, to our reclaiming consciences, the biting worm, that never dieth, for our endless confusion. For in what thing soever we may serve your excellent majesty, not offending the divine majesty of God, we shall, with all humble obedience, be most ready thereunto, if it be even to the loss of our life; for so God commandeth of us, duty requireth of us, and we with all conformity have put in proof. And as God, through your gracious government, hath delivered unto us innumerable benefits, which we most humbly acknowledge, and with due reverence daily give him thanks; so we doubt not, but that of his mercy he will happily finish in your majesty that good work which of his free favour he hath most graciously begun; that following the examples of the godly princes which have gone before, you may clearly purge the polluted church, and remove all occasions of evil. And for so much as we have heretofore, at sundry times, made petition to your majesty concerning the matter of images, but at no time exhibited any reasons for the removing of the same. Now, lest we should seem to say much, and prove little, to alleage consciences without the warrant of God, and unreasonably require that for the which we can give no reason, we have at this time put in writing, and do most humbly exhibit to your gracious consideration, those authorities of the Scriptures, reasons, and pithy persuasions, which as they have moved all such our brethren as now bear the office of bishops to think and affirm images not expedient for the church of Christ, so will they not suffer us, without the great offending of God, and grievous wounding of our own consciences, (which God deliver us from,) to consent to the erecting or retaining of the same in the place of worshipping; and we trust, and most earnestly ask it of God, that they may also persuade your majesty, by your regal authority, and in the zeal of God, utterly to remove this offensive evil out of the church of England, to God's great glory, and our great comfort.

[Here follow the reasons against them, of which I have given a full abstract in the History, and therefore do not set them down here, for they are very large. The address concludes in these words.]

Having thus declared unto your highness a few causes of many which do move our consciences in this matter, we beseech your highness, most humbly, not to strain us any further, but to consider that God's word doth threaten a terrible judgment unto us, if we, being pastors and ministers in his church, should assent unto the thing, which in our learning and conscience, we are persuaded doth tend to the confirmation of error, superstition and idolatry*; and finally, to the ruin of the souls committed to our charge†, for the which we must give an account to the Prince of pastors at the last day. We pray your majesty also, not to be offended with this our plainness and liberty, which all good and Christian princes have ever taken in good part at the hands of godly bishops.

St. Ambrose, writing to Theodosius the emperor, useth these words: "Sed neque imperiale est libertatem dicendi negare, neque sacerdotale quod sentiat non dicere‡."

And again; "In causa vero Dei quem audies, si sacerdotem non audies, cujus majore peccatur periculo? Quis tibi verum audebit dicere, si sacerdos non audeat §?

These, and such-like speeches of St. Ambrose, Theodosius and Valentinianus, the emperors, did take in good part; and we doubt not but your grace will do the like, of whose, not only clemency, but also beneficence, we have largely tasted.

We beseech your majesty also, in these and such-like controversies of religion, to refer the discusement and deciding of them to a synod of the bishops, and other godly learned men, according to the example of Constantinus Magnus, and other Christian emperors, that the reasons of both parties being examined by them, the judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtful matters.

And to return to this present matter; we most humbly beseech your majesty to consider, that besides weighty causes in policy, which we leave to the wisdom of the honourable counsellors, the establishing of images by your authority shall not only utterly discredit our ministeries, as builders of the thing which we have destroyed, but also blemish the fame of your most godly brother, and such notable fathers as have given their lives for the testimony of God's truth, who by public law removed all images.

* Heb. xiii. † 1 Pet. v. ‡ Epist. lib. 5—Epist. 29. § Ibid.



The almighty and ever-living God plentifully endue your majesty with His Spirit and heavenly wisdom, and long preserve your most gracious reign, and prosperous government over us, to the advancement of His glory, to the overthrow of superstition, and to the benefit and comfort of all your highness's loving subjects. Amen.

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NUMBER VII.

*The Queen's Commissions to the Visitors that were sent to the Northern Parts.*

[Paper Office.]

Elizabetha Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regina, Fidei Defensor, &c. Charissimis, Consanguineis et Consiliariis nostris Francisco Comiti Salop. Domino Præsidenti Consilii nostri in partibus Borealibus, et Edwardo Comiti de Darbia, ac charissimo Consanguineo nostro Thomæ Comiti Northumb. Domino Guardiano sive custodi Marchiarum nostrarum de Le East March, et middle March versus Scotiam, ac perdilecto et fideli nostro Willielmo Domino Evers, ac etiam dilectis et fidelibus nostris Henrico Piercy, Thomæ Gargrave, Jacobo Crofts et Henrico Gates Militibus, necnon dilectis nobis Edwino Sandys Sacræ Theologiæ Professori, Henrico Harvy Legum Doctori, Richardo Bowes, Georgio Brown, Christophero Estcot, et Richardo Kingsmell Armigeris, Salutem. Quoniam Deus Populum suum Anglicanum imperio nostro subjecit, cujus regalis suscepti muneris rationem perfecte reddere non possumus, nisi veram religionem et sincerum numinis divini cultum in omnibus Regni nostri partibus propagaverimus: Nos igitur regalis et absolutæ potestatis nostræ, nobis in hoc Regno nostro commissæ, respectu, quoniam utrumq; Regni nostri statum, tam Ecclesiasticum, quam Laicum visitare, et certas pietatis ac virtutis regulas illis præscribere constituimus, præfatum Franciscum Comitem Salop. Edwardum Comitem de Darbia, Thomam Comitem Northumb. Willielmum Dominum Evers, Henricum Piercy, Thomam Gargrave, Jacobum Crofts, Henricum Gates, Milites; Edwinum Sandys, Henricum Harvy, Georgium Brown, Christophorum Estcot, Richardum Bowes, et Richardum Kingsmell Armigeros, ad infrascriptum vice, nomine, et Authoritate nostris exequendum, vos quatuor, tres aut duo vestrum ad minimum deputavimus, et substituimus ad visitandum igitur, tam in capite, quam in membris Ecclesias Cathædrales, Civitates et Diocæses Eboracen. Cestrens. Dunelmen. et Carlionen. necnon quascunque alias Collegiatas, Parochiales et Præbendales Ecclesias, ac loca alia Ecclesiastica quæcunque, tam exempta, quam non exempta in et per easdem Civitates et Diocæses visabiliter constitutas, Clerumq; et Populum earundem in eisdem degentes sive residentes; Deque statu Ecclesiarum et locorum hujusmodi, necnon vita, moribus et conversatione, ac etiam qualitatibus personarum in Ecclesiis et locis prædictis degentium, sive commorantium modis omnibus, quibus id melius aut efficacius poteritis inquirendum et investigandum: criminosos, ac susceptæ Religioni subscribere obstinate et peremptorie recusantes, vel quocunque alio modo delinquentes; Atq; culpabiles condignis pænis, etiam usq; ad beneficiorum, dignitatum, sive officiorum suorum privationem, fructuum vel reddituum, et proventionem Ecclesiarum et Locorum, quibus præsunt, sequestrationem, vel quamcunque aliam congruam et competentem coercionem inclusive puniendam et corrigendam; Atq; ad probatiores vivendi mores modis omnibus, quibus ad melius et efficacius poteritis, reducendum; Testamenta quorumcunq; defunctorum infra loca

prædicta decedentium probanda, approbanda et informanda, administrationesq; bonorum eorundem Executorum in eisdem testamentis nominatis committendum, administrationesq; insuper ac sequestrationes bonorum ab intestatis sive per viam intestatorum, etiam descendentes in debita juris forma expediendum et concedendum, ac committendum; Computas quoq; tam executorum, quam administratorum, et sequestratorum quorumcunq; recipiendum, examinandum, admittendum, terminandum : ac insuper eosdem executores, administratores, et sequestratores, omnes et singulas acquietandum, relaxandum et finaliter dimittendum, Causasq; quascunq; examinandum, audiendum et finaliter terminandum. Contumaces autem, et rebelles, cujuscunq; conditionis sive status fuerint, si quos inveneritis, tam per censuras Ecclesiasticas, quam personarum apprehensionem et incarcerationem, ac recognitionem, acceptionem ac quæcunq; alia juris Regni nostri remedia compescendum, necnon injunctiones presentibus annexas personis in eisdem nominatis nomine nostro tradendum, aliasq; injunctiones congruas et competentes vice et authoritate nostris eis indicendum, dandum et assignandum, pænasque convenientes in earum violatores infligendum, et irrogandum; Ecclesiis etiam, et alia loca dimissorum, vacantia et pro vacantibus habenda fore decernendum et declarandum, pensionesq; legitimas, congruas et competentes cedentibus vel resignandis hujusmodi assignandum et limitandum, præsentatosq; ad beneficia Ecclesiastica quæcunq; infra civitates, Ecclesias aut Diocæses prædictas constituta, durante visitatione nostra hujusmodi, si habiles fuerint et idonei, ad eadem admittendum, ac de et in eisdem instituendum et investiendum, cum suis juribus, et pertinentibus universis, eosq; in realem, actualem et corporalem possessionem earundem inducendum, et induci faciendum, atque mandandum, necnon clericorum et beneficiatorum quorumcunq; tam pro ordinibus, quam beneficiis per eos adeptis, literas et munimenta exigendum et recipiendum, eaq; diligenter examinandum, et discutiendum, et quos non sufficienter munitos in ea parte comperitis, ab officio dimittendum, et sic jure munitis declarandum, et pronunciandum. Synodos quoq; et capitula, tam generalia quam specialia, cleri et populi hujusmodi per executionem premissorum aut reformationem quamcunq; faciendum et convocandum : Procurationes quoq; Synodalia ratione nostra hujus visitationis debite petendum, exigendum, et levandum, ac etiam non solventes aut solvere recusantes per censuras Ecclesiasticas compellendum, coercendum et cogendum; necnon concionandi potestatem hujusmodi personis concedendum, quas ad hoc divinum munus suscipiendum aptas esse judicaveritis : Incarceratos quoque, et vinculis commissos ob religionis causam antea licet condemnatos, causis incarcerationis et condemnationis hujusmodi prius examinatis, et plenarie discussis, examinandum, discutiendum ac in integrum, justitia id poscente, restituendum, deliberandum et extra prisonam dimittendum, necnon causas deprivationem examinandum, ac contra statuta et ordinationes hujus Regni nostri Angliæ, vel juris Ecclesiastici ordinem deprivatos restituendum, ac omnia et singula alia, quæ circa hujusmodi visitationis seu reformationis negotia necessaria fuerint, seu quomodolibet opportuna, etiamsi verba magis specialia de se exigunt et requirunt, faciendum, et expediendum. Vobis quatuor, tribus aut duobus vestrum, ut præfertur de quorum eminenti doctrina morumque, et Concilii gravitate, ac in rebus gerendis fide et industria plurimum confidimus, vices nostras committimus ac plenam in dicto tenore præsentium concedimus facultatem, cum cujuslibet congruæ et legitimæ coercionis potestate. Et præterea certos viros prudentes, ac pios assignandum, et nominandum, per quos de statu rerum instruemini et quorum opera presentes utemini, in omnibus causis ad hanc visitationem nostram spectantibus, quantum vobis convenire videbitur. Iidem viri a vobis Commissariis assignati plenam potestatem habebunt, etiam post Commissariorum decessum, et post finitum etiam visitationis tempus, de omnibus articulis, ordinibus et institutis ejusdem visitationis inquirendi, et violatores eorum, cujuscunq; conditionis fuerint, conveniendi et examinandi; Et omnes quærelas, quatenus ullum impedimentum aut offensionem nostræ visitationis continebunt, accipiendi et audiendi, et hujusmodi personas, offensiones, et quærelas Cõmissariis nostris Londini residentibus, et ad Ecclesiasticarum rerum reformationem Delegatis, præsentabunt, et exhibebunt illis viis et modis, quibus hoc convenientissime videbunt fieri posse. Mandantes omnibus, et singulis Majoribus, Vice-comitibus, Justiciariis ac quibuscunque aliis officiariis, ministris et subditis nostris, quatenus nobis in et circa præmissorum executionem effectualiter assistant, auxilientur, et suffragentur, ut insuper sagacitatis, diligentiæ, factorumq; vestrorum omnium evidens et perpetuum specimen nobis, posterisq; nostris remaneat, inventaq; et invenienda pro recordatorum defectu debitam reformationem correctionemve non subterfugiant, aut a memoria prolabantur. Nos suprema ac regali authoritate nostra prædicta dilectos, et fideles subditos nostros Thomam Peircy, et Joanem Hoges, et eorum deputatos per Commissarios nostros approbandos, notarios præcipuos per antea legitime existentes, actorum, instrumentorum, decretorum, summarum, judiciorum, censurarum, cæterorumq; omnium, et singulorum, quæ per vos, vestrumve Aliquem in Visitatione hac nostra Regia peragentur, judicabuntur, decernentur, fient, ferentur, et pronunciabuntur, Scribas, Registrarios nostros præcipuos, et principales conjunctim et divisim ordinamus, nominamus et constituimus; eisq; officium, et officia Registri Scribat nostri presenti, cum omnibus officia prædicta tangentia, eorumq; deputatis per Commissarios nostros approbandis conjunctim et divisim damus, deputamus, assignamus, et decernimus per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teste meipsa apud Westmonast. 24 die Junii, Anno Regni nostri primo.

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NUMBER VIII.

*Ten Letters written to and by Dr. Parker, concerning his promotion to the See of Canterbury.—An Original.*

[Ex MSS. Reverendis. D.D. Gul. Arch. Cant.]

After my right hearty commendations, these are to signify unto you that for certain matters touching yourself, which I trust shall turn you to good, I would wish that you should repair hither to London, with as convenient speed as you can, where you shall find me at Burgeny-house, in Paternoster-row, if it be not over-long ere you come. And if it chance that I be returned into Suffolk before your coming, then I would you should make your repair unto my brother-in-law, sir William Cecil, the queen's secretary, declaring unto him that I appointed you to wait upon him to know his pleasure touching such matters as he and I did talk of concerning you. Thus wishing you well to do, I bid you heartily farewell.

Written the 9th of December, 1558, by
Yours assuredly, N. Bacon.

*Dr. Parker's Answer to the former Letter.—A Copy.*

Right Worshipful—With my thankful duty of commendations, hearing of your sickness still to occupy



you, I was right heartily sorry that I molested you with so long a letter, into which fault, for that I will not fall again at this present, I shall use the fewer words. Sir, if I may know at what time I might, in your return down, wait on your worship at Burgeny, or at Newmarket, I will, by God's grace, so appoint myself to be there first, the rather for that I would not give occasion to have your journey either protracted, or yet diverted out of the right line thereof. In the mean time I shall beseech God to restore your strength, that ye may the sooner be restored to the commonwealth, which in this apparent necessity of worthy persons, I fear, feeleth God's hand in this his visitation to be burdenous. I would wish ye were not much stirring abroad in the distemperance of the air, so contrarious to the state of men's bodies, once pierced with this insolent quartane, as experience sheweth. I think the spring-time, as in natural respects, must be expected, though Almighty God be bound to no time. Thus I heartily commend you to His gracious protection, this 20th of December.

Your most bounden assuredly to command,
M. P.

*A Letter written to him by Secretary Cecil.—An Original.*

After my hearty commendations. The queen's highness minding presently to use your service in certain matters of importance, hath willed me so to signify unto you, to the end you should forthwith, upon the sight hereof, put yourself in order to make your undelayed repair hither unto London; at which your coming up, I shall declare unto you her majesty's further pleasure, and the occasion why you are sent for; and hereof praying you therefore in nowise to fail, I bid you well to fare.

From Westminster, the 30th of December, 1558.
Your loving friend, W. Cecil.

*Another Letter of the Lord Keeper's to him.—An Original.*

After hearty commendations, these are to signify unto you, that ye may assure yourself, that you shall have anything that I can do for you touching the request of your letters, or any other matter being in my power: I do think that ye have received, ere this, a letter from Mr. Secretary, willing you to come up immediately, if your health will suffer, for certain weighty matters touching the queen's service; so as I trust, by your presence, all things to your own contentation shall come the better to pass. If this letter be not come to your hands, and therewith you be not able to come, it shall be behoveful for you to signify so much, because I have been willed also to haste your coming up. Thus right heartily fare ye well. Written the 4th of January, 1558, by

Yours assuredly, N. Bacon.

*Dr. Parker's Answer.—A Copy.*

Right Worshipful—After my duty of commendations. Where of late I received your letters to this effect, that I should repair up unto you at London, upon occasion, as ye wrote, which may turn me to good, so judged by a late conference with the right worshipful sir William Cecil, secretary to the queen's majesty, of long time my special good friend and master, ye shall understand that my quartane hath so much distempered the state of my health, that without apparent danger, I cannot as yet commit myself to the adventure of the air, as by divers essays I have attempted of late, to my greater pain and further hinderance; whereupon, if your opportunity might so serve, I would most heartily pray your worship to signify so much. And further, yet in confidence of your old good heart to me, I would be a suiter to you, as I was once to sir John Cheek, my entire good friend and patron, to the said sir William Cecil, that where he was desirous, by his mediation, to do me good (as here you use to call it) even as I was then framed in mind, so am I at this day. I would be inwardly heavy and sorry that his favourable affection should procure me anything above the reach of mine ability, whereby I should both dishonest myself, and disappoint the expectation of such as may think that in me which I know is not; but specially I might clog and cumber by conscience to Godward, before whom I look every day to appear to make mine answer, which I think, and as I trust, is not far off: notwithstanding though I would most fain wear out the rest of my life in private state, yet concerning that very small talent credited unto me, I would not so unthankfully to God ensue my quiet, that I could not be content to bestow it, so it were there, whether my heart and conscience afore this time and daily yet doth incline me: I mean, to be no further abled, but by the revenue of some prebend (without charge of cure or of government), to occupy myself to dispense God's word amongst the simple strayed sheep of God's fold, in poor destitute parishes and cures, more meet for my decayed voice, and small quality, than in theatrical and great audience: which walk, and wish I would to be near their quarters, where we both were born, by occasion whereof I might have opportunity to wait other-while on you at Redgrave, whither I have vowed my first journey, immediately upon my strength recovered, by the occasion of your friendly request of your letters ye sent me. And if I might be yet bolder with you, as I was with the said sir John Cheek, to disclose my desire of all places in England, I would wish to bestow most my time in the university, the state whereof is miserable at this present, as I have had intelligence from time to time thereof. And if in any respect I could do service, as a weak member of the commonwealth, I think I might do it with them, having long acquaintance and some experience in the doings thereof; which judgment had the said sir John Cheek towards me: and therefore to set me on work, had once, by the favour of the said Mr. Secretary, procured to have me named to the mastership of Trinity College, which yet chanced not to that effect, God otherwise determining the matter in his providence. But to tell you my heart, I had rather have such a thing as Bennet-College is in Cambridge, a living of twenty nobles by the year at the most, than to dwell in the deanery of Lincoln, which is 200 at the least. Now, sir, ye may see herein, yet my ambition in writing thus much, but I shall pray you to accept the circumstances, which ye may better insinuate to Mr. Secretary, than I dare be bold, by my rude letters, to molest his favourable goodness, or yet prescribe to your, or his worship, wisdom and prudence. In conclusion, at the reverence of God, I pray you, either help that I be quite forgotten, or else so appointed, that I be not entangled now of new with the concourse of the world, in any respect of publick state of living, whereby I shall have an unfeigned signification of your very good will to me indeed, and be bound to pray for you during my life.

Some of your scholars at Cambridge, enjoying the benefit of your liberal exhibition, have sent your worship now their letters; some be sick and absent.

Thus reprising the quiet of my mind, and having good hope in your friendliness to the consideration aforesaid, I wish you a full recovery of your health, and a continuance in God's grace and favour, with all your family.

Your beadsman to command, M. P.

*A long Letter of Dr. Parker's, excusing himself from the offer of the Archbishoprick of Canterbury.—An Original.*

Right Honourable—My duty presupposed. It is an old-said proverb, *Ubi quis dolet ibidem et manum frequenter habet*, beseeching you, for God's sake, the rather to bear the importunity of this my hand-writing, supposing that this may be one of the last solicitations that I shall molest you with.

Sir, your signification uttered to me at my first coming to you at London, concerning a certain office ye named to me, did hold me in such carefulness all my time of being there, with the recurring of a dull distemperance, set in my head by the dregs of my quartane, and as yet not remedied, whereby I had no disposition to my book; beside some other displeasant cogitations concerning the state of this time, made me have so little joy of my being at London, as I had never less in my life: most glad when my back was turned thereunto. But to come near to my intent of writing, I shall pray to God, yea, bestow that office well, ye shall need care the less for the residue. God grant it chanceth neither on an arrogant man, neither on a faint-hearted man, nor on a covetous man; the first shall both sit in his own light, and shall discourage his fellows to join with him in unity of doctrine, which must be their whole strength; for if any heart-burning be betwixt them, if private quarrels stirred abroad be brought home, and so shall shiver them asunder, it may chance to have that success which I fear in the conclusion will follow. The second man should be too weak to commune with the adversaries, who would be the stouter upon his pusillanimity. The third man not worth his bread, profitable for no estate in any Christian commonwealth, to serve it rightly.

For my part, I pray God I never fall into his indignation and wisdom; it were not for a subject to deserve his prince's displeasure, and sorry would I be to discontent Mr. Secretary and you, for whose worshipful favours I count myself more bound to pray to God, and to wish well to them for all the men in the realm beside. I speak it sincerely, without flattery; for though I have little wit, yet I can discern betwixt men who delight to be flattered, and who not, though I would not consider how dishonest it were for me to use it. But, sir, except ye both moderate and restrain your overmuch good-will in the former respect to me-ward, I fear, in the end, I shall dislike you both, and that your benevolencies should, by occasion of my obstinate untowardness, jeopard me into prison; yet there shall I bear you my good heart, which I had rather suffer in a quiet conscience, than to be intruded into such room and vocation, wherein I should not be able to answer the charge to God nor to the world—wherein I should not serve the queen's honour, which I wish most heartily advanced in all her wise and godly proceedings; nor yet should I live to the honour of the realm, and so finally should but work a further displeasant contemplation to my good friends who preferred me.

This, this is the thing that makes me afraid, my lord, though I passed not on mine own shame and rebuke; and therefore, by God's favour, and your good helps, I never intend to be of that order, better or worse, higher nor lower: *Non omnia possumus omnes; et tutissimum est ut quisque hanc artem exerceat in qua educatus, et ad quam natura homines formavit.* And as for other furnishments, I am too far behind. When I came first up to London, I had thirty pounds in my purse, not ten shillings more, whereof I have wasted a good part; and if I were placed, as some of my friends wish to me, what would that do to begin, or to furnish my household? And I hear how the citizens of Norwich pray for the soul of their last bishop; for when upon his departure they seized his goods, to answer his debts to them, straightway came the queen's officers and discharged them all, which yet were not able, for all his spare hospitality, to pay half that he owed.

Furthermore, to come to another consideration, of a further imperfection, which I would have dissembled to you and others, but it cannot be but I must open it to you, my assured good master and friend, in secrecy, whose old good will maketh me the less abashed, to be so homely with you at this time. In one of my letters I made a little signification of it, but peradventure ye did not mark it. Sir, I am so in body hurt and decayed, *coram Deo non mentior*, that whatsoever my ability were, either of worldly furniture or inward quality, and though my heart would right feign serve my sovereign lady, the queen's majesty, in more respects than of my allegiance, not forgetting what words her grace's mother said to me of her not six days before her apprehension, yet this my painful infirmity will not suffer it in all manner of services. Flying in a night, for such as sought for me, to my peril, I fell off my horse so dangerously, that I shall never recover it; and by my late journey up, and my being there at London, not well settled, it is increased to my greater pain. I am fain sometime to be idle when I would be occupied, and also to keep my bed when my heart is not sick.

This was one cause why I was importune to you for that room, whereof I made mention in my former letters, by the which I might be abled, by the portion of that stipend, in this my impoverishment, to wear out my life tolerably, and should not by that be occasioned to come up to any convocations, as having no voice in that house; and peradventure being there, I might be a mean for the fewer matters of disturbance, to come up to Mr. Secretary, now chancellor there, to molest him, more than should need, whose gentle affability might provoke some inconsiderate men not to regard his other greater affairs. And yet though I were so placed, I would not forswear London, or the court either, at times, as could stand with my ability and health of body, if my service could be any ways acceptable, and were agreeable to the proportion of my capacity.

Sir, because I may not dissemble with you, I have told you all; now do with me what ye will. I might be ashamed to spend so many words in a cause private of myself; but yet because ye must be partner of some lack, if I answered not the expectation, I could no less do but make you privy beforehand. I pray you think not that the prognostication of Mr. Michael Nostre Dame reigneth in my head. I esteem that fantastical hotch-potch not so well as I credit Lucianus' book "De veris Narrationibus;" nor yet all other vain prophecies of Sands, more than I regard sir Thomas More's Book of Fortune's Answers upon the chance of three dice casting. I would I saw no more cause to fear the likelihood of God's wrath deserved, for dissolute life, to fall upon the realm, by the evidence of his true word, and by God's old practices: and yet no man considereth his ire already begun, *Dum non sinit viros dolosos dimidiare dies suos.* I shall pray to God to defend you and your family, and that ye may revolve in mind Christ's serious admonition,—*Quid proderit homini, si totum mundum lucretur, si animæ suæ detrimentum patiatur. Et non in abundantia cujusquam, est vita hominis ex his quæ possidet* *.

* Mat. xvi.—Luc. xi.



Sir, my duty of heart maketh me bold with you, not otherwise meaning before God, but thanking him many times that Mr. Secretary and you may have the doing of things in this greedy world, and that ye have so good credit, and ready access to the queen's majesty, to comfort her good inclination, whom I beseech the God of Heaven to preserve with her council, yea, and with the seniority of her spiritual ministers also, against whom I see a great charge set before them, to overcome that, must specially go through their hands by diligent watching, upon the unruly flock of the English people, if they were not so much acloyed with worldly collections, temporal commissions, and worldly provisions. I speak this the rather in this respect, which I thought good to put to your understanding; at my last being at London, I heard and saw books printed, which be spread abroad, whose authors be ministers of good estimation; the doctrine of the one is to prove, that a lady woman cannot be, by God's word, a governor in a Christian realm. And in another book going abroad, is matter set out to prove, that it is lawful for every private subject to kill his sovereign, *ferro, veneno, quocunque modo*, if he think him to be a tyrant in his conscience, yea, and worthy to have his reward for his attempt: *Exhorrui cum ista legerem.* If such principles be spread into men's heads, as now they be framed and referred to the judgment of the subject, of the tenant, and of the servant, to discuss what is tyranny, and to discern whether his prince, his landlord, his master, is a tyrant, by his own fancy, and collection supposed, what lord of the council shall ride quietly-minded in the streets, among desperate beasts? what master shall be sure in his bed-chamber? it is the surest way for every man to serve God truly in his vocation, to deserve the rather his protection: and then both the devil and man, foreign and intestine, shall have their malices retorted upon themselves again. But thus goeth the devil about to dull the heretical stomachs of princely men, to do good in their turn of time, to serve God and the common-wealth. They say that the realm is full of anabaptists, Arrians, libertines, free-will men, &c. against whom only I thought ministers should have needed to fight in unity of doctrine. As for the Romish adversaries, their mouths may be stopped with their own books, and confessions of late days; I never dreamed that ministers should be compelled to impugn ministers; the adversaries have good sport betwixt themselves, to prognostick the likelihood. Some protestants peradventure, perceiving how men nip them to disable them, to keep any learned men in house to confer with, and to beat down these seditious sects, if any inconvenience, for want of preaching, shall fall, they may chance to say a verse of David's psalter, *Lætabitque justus, cum viderit vindictam, et manus suas lavabit in sanguine peccatoris*, as not caring for their assurances, who abase them so low: and some peradventure have cast already their starting shifts, and make provision against all adventures. Well, I pray God all be conscience to God, that is sometimes so pretended: men be men, yea, after the school of affliction, men be men, hypocrisy is a privy thief, both in the clergy and in the laity. To make an end of such conference, which I would gladly have told you presently, but I could not wait so much leisure in you, and opportunity; and loth I was to have begun my tale, and not to have ended it, by reason of interruption by others. But as for the principal occasion of my writing, howsoever it may dislike you, yet shall I evermore acknowledge my duty to you, yea, though now ye give me quite up: I reverence you so much, that I had rather ye disliked me utterly by times, with your less repentance, rather than ye and other of my loving friends should bear any envy, or any displeasant unthankfulness, and so too late to repent for your commending of me, (if a persuasion in an appearance, is not surely grounded to be seen,) when experience should have shewed the trial. And therefore I write it to you in time again, after the signification of my very first letters to prevent you, for I know ye may, with a few words, remedy all the towardness yet concluded.

And think not, I pray your honour, that I seek mine private gain, or my idle ease, put me where you will else; and if, as far as my power of knowledge and of health of body will extend, I do not apply myself to discharge my duty, let me be thrust out again like a thief. I thank God my conscience condemneth me not, that I have been aforetime any great gatherer; and now, for the upholding of two or three years more of life, to heap unproportionably, I count it madness; and more than this purpose, by God's grace, I dare promise nothing: and as for such few folks which I may leave behind me, they shall not say by me, I trust, that happy be these children whose fathers go to the devil for their sake. Your lordship knoweth with what patrimony I began the world with, and yet have hitherto lived with enough, yea, when all my livings were taken from me, yet God, I thank him, ministered to me sufficiently, above the capacity of my understanding or foreseeing. And thus commending your good lordship to that merciful governance, I pray your honourable wisdom to put this scribling out of the way, from every man's sight and intelligence.

Right honourable, after my duty of commendations to your lordship, I am bold now to send you a fancy of my head, expressed in these few leaves; which if I had compact in a letter, it would have seemed over-long, and being comprised in leaves, may appear to be but a very little book of one sheet of paper, which yet I so devised, upon consideration of your business, which will not suffer you to be long detained in matters impertinent, and therefore ye may turn in the leaf and read it at divers leisures, if your lordship shall vouchsafe the reading. And thus wishing you joy of heart, which I feel to be a great treasure in this world, as the want, a grievous torment; I pray God preserve your honourable goodness, with my good lady your wife. If ye see ought in my quire worth reformation, ye know I am disciplinable, and have read, *quod meliora sunt vulnere diligentis, quam fraudulenta oscula odentis:* wherefore reserving mine unreasonable determination, as you shall know, I shall yield myself wholly conformable to your honour, *ubi, quomodo, quando, aliquid, vel tandem nihil.* Of an occasion lately ministered, I have sent my letters to Mr. Secretary concerning another matter, *primo Martii.*

Your assured orator, M. P.

*A Letter written to him by the Lord Keeper concerning it.—An Original.*

That before this time I have not sent you answer to your last letters; the cause hath been, for that I could by no mean understand to what end the matter mentioned in those letters would grow unto; but perceiving this day, by a resolution made in the queen's highness' presence, that your friends shall very hardly deliver you of the charge written of in the same letters, I thought it good to make you privy thereunto; and therewith to advise you, to commit to the judgment of your friends, your ability and disability to serve, where and when you shall be called. If I knew a man to whom the description made in the beginning of your letter might more justly be referred than to yourself, I would prefer him before you; but knowing none so meet indeed, I take it to be my duty to prefer you before all others, and the rather also, because otherwise I should

not follow the advice of your own letter. The rest, which is much, I defer until our next meeting. It is like, that ere it be long, you shall receive letters, subscribed by me and others jointly. Thus right heartily farewell.—From the court, the 17th of May, 1559.

Yours assuredly, N. Bacon.

*An Order sent to him, requiring him to come up to London.*

After our hearty commendations. These be to signify unto you, that for certain causes, wherein the queen's majesty intendeth to use your service, her pleasure is, that you should repair up hither with such speed as you conveniently may; and at your coming up, you shall understand the rest. Thus right heartily fare ye well.—From the court, the 19th of May, 1559.

Your loving friends, N. Bacon.
W. Cecil.

*A second Order to the same Effect.—An Original.*

After our hearty commendations. Where before this time we directed our letters unto you, declaring thereby, that for certain causes, wherein the queen's majesty intendeth to use your service, you should repair hither with all convenient speed, whereof we have as yet received none answer; and therefore, doubting lest by the default of the messenger, the letter be not come to your hands, we have thought good again to write unto you, to the intent you should understand her highness' pleasure is, that you should make your repair hither with all speed possible. Thus right heartily farewell.—From the court, the 28th day of May, 1559.

Your loving friends, N. Bacon, C.S.
W. Cecill.

*Dr. Parker's Letter to the Queen, excusing himself. An Original.*

Pleaseth it your most honourable majesty to be gracious lady to my poor suit, which at this time extreme necessity compelleth me to make, both in respect of my constrained conscience to Almighty God, as also in the regard of my duty which I owe to your noble estate, and most high authority. So it is, most gracious and sovereign lady, where I have understanding of your most favourable opinion toward me, your grace's most simple subject, concerning the archbishoprick of Canterbury; in consideration whereof, I ought, and do acknowledge my most bounden duty to be a faithful orator for your grace during my life. Yet calling to examination my great unworthiness for so high a function, which mine disability I might allege at length in particularity, but for molesting your grace's most weighty affairs, I am bold thus, by my writing, to approach to your honour to discharge me of that so high and chargeable an office, which doth require a man of so much wit, learning, virtue, and experience than I see, and perfectly know can be performed of me worthily, to occupy it to God's pleasure, to your grace's honour, and to the wealth of your loving subjects beside. Many other imperfections in me, as well for temporal ability for the furnishing thereof, as were seemly to the honour of the realm; as also of infirmity of body, which will not suffer me to attend on so difficult a cure, to the discharge thereof, in any reasonable expectation. And where, most gracious lady, beside my humble duty of allegiance to your princely dignity, I am otherwise, for the great benefits which sometime I received at your grace's honourable mother's benevolence (whose soul I doubt not but is in blissful felicity with God), most singularly obliged, above many other, to be your most faithful beadsman, both in thanking Almighty God for his fatherly protection hitherto over your noble person, and also furthermore to pray for the continuance of your fortunate reign in all godly prosperity. So I am right sorry, and do lament within myself, that I am so basely qualified inwardly in knowledge, and outwardly in extern sufficiencies, to do your grace any meet service, as I would wish could be acceptable, and to your grace's expectation: assuring your noble estate, that in any other smaller vocation, under the degree of such chargeable offices, and more agreeable to my infirmity, if it shall be so seen, to your high wisdom, and merciful liberality, I shall endeavour myself to attend thereon; referring yet myself wholly to your grace's pleasure, rather than by just allegation of my unworthiness, the loyal duty of my faithful heart should be any ways suspected to your reverend majesty.

Your grace's poor subject,

Matthew Parker.

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NUMBER IX.

*The Instrument of Dr. Parker's Consecration; with some Attestations of the Authenticalness of it.*

[Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.]

Rituum atque Ceremoniarum Ordo, in Consecrando Reverendissimo in Christo Patre, Mattheo Parker, Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, in Sacello suo apud Manerium suum de Lambeth, die Dominico 17. viz. die Mensis Decembris, Anno Dom. 1559. habit.

Principio, Sacellum Tapetibus ad Orientem adornabatur, solum vero panno rubro insternebatur, Mensa quoq; Sacris peragendis necessaria, tapeto pulvinariq; ornata ad Orientem sita erat.

Quatuor preterea Cathedræ, quatuor Episcopis, quibus munus consecrandi Archiepiscopi delegabatur, ad austrum Orientalis Sacelli partis erant positæ.

Scamnum preterea tapeto pulvinaribusq; instratum, cui Episcopi genubus flexis inniterentur, ante Cathedras ponebatur.

Pari quoq; modo Cathedra, scamnumq; tapeto pulvinariq; ornatum, Archiepiscopo, ad Borealem Orientalis ejusdem Sacelli partis plagam posita erant.

Hiis rebus ita ordine suo instructis, Mane circiter quintam aut sextam per Occidentalem portam ingreditur Sacellum Archiepiscopus, toga talari coccinea caputioq; indutus, quatuor precedentibus funalibus, et quatuor comitatus Episcopis, qui ejus consecrationi inservirent (verbi gratia) Guilielmo Barlow olim Bathon. et Wellen. Episcopo, nunc vero ad Cicestren. Episcopatum electo, Johanne Scory olim Cicestriæ Episcopo et nunc ad Herefordensem vocato, Milone Coverdallo olim Exoniense Episcopo, et Johanne Hodgskinne Bedfordiæ Suffraganeo. Qui omnes postquam sedes sibi paratas ordine singuli suo occupassent, Preces continuo matutinæ per Andream Pierson Archiepiscopi Capellanum clara voce recitabantur; quibus peractis, Johannes Scory (de quo supra diximus) suggestum conscendit, atque inde assumpto sibi, in thema, *Seniores ergo* qui in vobis sunt obsecro consenior, &c. non inelegante concionabatur.

Finita concione, egrediuntur simul Archiepiscopus reliquique quatuor Episcopi Sacellum, se ad sacram communionem paraturi, neque mora confestim per borealem portam in vestiarum ad hunc modum vestiti redeunt. Archiepiscopus nimirum linteo superpelliceo (quod vocant) induebatur. Cicestrensis electus, capa serica ad sacra peragenda paratus utebatur. Cui ministrabant operamq; suam prebebant duo Archiepiscopi Capellani, Nicholaus, viz. Bullingham Lincolniæ Archidiaconus, et Edmundus Gest Cantuariensis quoq; Archidiaconus, capis sericis similiter vestiti. Hereford electus et Bedford Suffraganeus, linteis superpelliceis induebantur.

Milo vero Coverdallus non nisi toga lanea talari utebatur.

Atque hunc in modum vestiti et instructi ad communionem celebrandam perrexerunt, Archiepiscopo genubus flexis ad infimum Sacelli gradum sedente.

Finito tandem Evangelio, Hereforden. Electus, Bedfordiæ Suffraganeus et Milo Coverdallus (de quibus supra) Archiepiscopum coram Cicestren. electo apud mensam in Cathedra sedenti hiis verbis adduxerunt; Reverende in Deo Pater, hunc virum pium pariter atq; doctum tibi offerimus atq; presentamus, ut Archiepiscopus consecretur. Postque hæc dixissent, proferebatur illico Reginæ diploma sive mandatum pro consecratione Archiepiscopi, quo per Reverendum Thomam Yale Legum Doctorem perlecto, Sacramentum de Regio Primatu sive suprema ejus authoritate tuenda juxta Statuta I. An. Regni Serenissimæ Reginæ nostræ Elizabeth. promulgata ab eodem Archiepiscopo exigebatur, quod cum ille solemniter tactis corporaliter sacris Evangeliis conceptis verbis prestitisset, Cicestrens. electus quædam præfatus atque populum ad orationem hortatus, ad Litanias decantandas Choro respondente se accinxit. Quibus finitis, post quæstiones aliquot Archiepiscopo per Cicestrien. electum propositas, et post orationes et suffragia quædam juxta formam Libri antedicti Parliamenti editi, apud Deum habita, Cicestriensis, Herefordiensis, Suffraganeus Bedfordiensis et Milo Coverdallus, manibus Archiepiscopo impositis. Accipe (inquiunt Anglicè) Spiritum Sanctum, et gratiam Dei quæ jam per impositionis manuum in te est excitare memento. Non enim timoris, sed virtutis, dilectionis et sobrietatis spiritum dedit nobis Deus. His ita dictis, Biblia Sacra illi in manibus tradiderunt hujusmodi apud eum verba habentes; in legendo, hortando, et docendo vide diligens sis, atque ea meditare assidue quæ in hisce Libris scripta sunt, noli in his segnis esse quo incrementum inde proveniens omnibus innotescat et palam fiat. Cura quæ ad te et ad docendi munus spectant diligenter. Hoc enim modo non teipsum solum, sed et reliquos Auditores tuos per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum salvabis. Postquam hæc dixissent, ad reliqua communionis solennia pergit Cicestrensis, nullum Archiepiscopo tradens pastorale baculum: cum quo communicabant una Archiepiscopus, et illi Episcopi supra nominati cum aliis etiam nonnullis.

Finitis tandem peratisque sacris, egreditur per borealem orientis Sacelli partis portam Archiepiscopus quatuor illis comitatus Episcopis qui eum consecraverant, et confestim iisdem ipsis stipatus Episcopis per eandem revertitur portam albo Episcopali superpelliceo, crimeraque (ut vocant) ex nigro serico indutus, circa collum vero collare quoddam ex pretiosis pellibus sabellinis (vulgo *Sables* vocant) consutum gestabat. Pari quoque modo Cicestrensis et Herefordensis, suis Episcopalibus amictibus, superpelliceo scilicet et crimera uterque induebatur. D. Coverdallus vero et Bedfordiæ Suffraganeus togis solummodo talaribus utebantur. Pergens deinde Occidentalem portam versus Archiepiscopus Thomæ Doyle Economo, Johanni Baker Thesaurario, et Johanni Marche computo Rotulario, singulis singulos Albos dedit Baculos, hoc scilicet modo eis muneribus et officiis suis ornans.

Hiis itaque hunc ad modum ordine suo, ut jam ante dictum est, peractis, per occidentalem portam Sacellum egreditur Archiepiscopus generosioribus quibusque sanguine ex ejus familia eum precedentibus, reliquis vero eum a tergo sequentibus.

Acta gestaque hæc erunt omnia in præsentia Reverendorum Episcoporum, Edmundi Gryndall Londinensis Episcopi electi, Richardi Cockes Eliensis electi, Edwini Sandes Wigorniensis electi, Anthonii Huse Armigeri, Principalis et Primarii Registrarii dicti Archiepiscopali, Thomæ Argal Armigeri Regrarii Cicestriæ Prerogativæ Cantuariensis, Thomæ Willet, et Johannis Incent Notariorum publicorum, et aliorum quoque nonnullorum.

Concordat cum Originali in Bibliotheca Collegii Corp. Christi apud Cantabrigiens. Ita testor Matth. Whinn Notarius Public. et Acad. Cantabr. Registrarius Principalis.—Jan. 8, 1674.

*Cambridge, Jan.* 11, 1674.—We whose names are hereunto subscribed, having seen the original, whereof this writing is a perfect copy, and considered the hand, and other circumstances thereof, are fully persuaded that it is a true and genuine record of the rites and ceremonies of archbishop Parker's consecration, and as ancient as the date it bears. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands, the day and year above written.

Hen. Paman, Orat. Publicus; Hen. More, D. D.; Ra. Widdrington, S. T. D. & D. Marg. P.

C. C. C. C.—We, the master and fellows of Corpus Christi College, in the University of Cambridge, do hereby declare and certify, that this writing, being a narrative of archbishop Parker's consecration, in Lambeth Chapel, is faithfully transcribed from the original record in our college library: and that we are fully satisfied that the said record is as ancient as the date it bears, and the occasion to which it doth refer. Nor can we doubt, but the plain and evident tokens of antiquity which it carries, will as much satisfy any ingenuous persons who shall have a sight thereof: which therefore we shall readily afford to those who shall repair to the college for that purpose.

John Spencer, D.D. Master of the Coll.: John Peckover, B. D.; Erasmus Lanc, B. D.; Ri. Sheldrake, B. D.; Sam. Beck, B. D.; Hen. Gostling, B. D.; Will. Briggs, M. A.; John Richer, M. A.

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NUMBER X.

*An Order set down for the Translating of the Bible, by King James, with the Places and Persons agreed upon for the Hebrew, and the particular Books by them undertaken.*

[Ex MS. D. Borlace.]

Westminster.—Mr. Dean of Westminster; Mr. Dean of Paul's; Mr. Doctor Saravia; Mr. Doctor Clark; Mr. Doctor Leifield; Mr. Doctor Teigh; Mr. Burleigh; Mr. King; Mr. Tompson; Mr. Beadwell.—*Penteteuchon.* The story from Joshua to the first book of Chronicles, exclusive.

Cambridge.—Mr. Lively; Mr. Richardson; Mr. Chatterton; Mr. Dillingham; Mr. Harrison; Mr. Andrews; Mr. Spalding; Mr. Burge.—From the first of the Chronicles, with the rest of the story, and the Hagiographi, viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes.

Oxford.—Doctor Harding; Dr. Reynolds; Dr. Holland; Dr. Kilbye; Mr. Smith; Mr. Brett; Mr. Fairclough.—The four, or greater prophets, with the Lamentations, and the twelve lesser prophets.

Cambridge.—Doctor Dewport; Dr. Branthwait; Dr. Radclife; Mr. Warde, Eman.; Mr. Downes; Mr. Boyes; Mr. Warde, Reg.—The prayer of Manasses, and the rest of the Apocrypha.

*The Places and Persons agreed upon for the Greek, with the particular Books by them undertaken.*

Oxford.—Mr. Dean of Christ Church; Mr. Dean of Winchester; Mr. Dean of Worcester; Mr. Dean

of Windsor; Mr. Savile; Dr. Perne; Dr. Ravens; Mr. Haviner.—The four Gospels. Acts of the Apostles. Apocalypse.

WESTMINSTER.—Dean of Chester; Dr. Hutchinson; Dr. Spencer; Mr. Fenton; Mr. Rabbet; Mr. Sanderson, Mr. Dakins.—The Epistles of St. Paul. The Canonical Epistles.

*The Rules to be observed in Translation of the Bible.*

1. THE ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original will permit.

2. The names of the prophets, and the holy writers, with the other names of the text, to be retained, as nigh as may be, accordingly as they were vulgarly used.

3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz. the word church not to be translated congregation, &c.

4. When a word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most of the ancient fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place, and the analogy of the faith.

5. The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.

6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be exprest in the text.

7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit reference of one scripture to another.

8. Every particular man of each company, to take the same chapter or chapters, and having translated or amended them severally by himself, where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their parts what shall stand.

9. As any one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously, for his majesty is very careful in this point.

10. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, doubt or differ upon any place, to send them word thereof; note the place, and withal send the reasons; to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company at the end of the work.

11. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed, by authority, to send to any learned man in the land, for his judgment of such a place.

12. Letters to be sent from every bishop, to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand; and to move and charge as many as being skilful in the tongues, and having taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company, either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford.

13. The directors in each company to be the deans of Westminster and Chester for that place; and the king's professors in the Hebrew or Greek in either university.

14. These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible, viz., Tindall's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva.

15. Besides the said directors before mentioned, three or four of the most ancient and grave divines, in either of the universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the vice-chancellor, upon conference with rest of the heads, to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek; for the better observation of the 4th rule above specified.

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NUMBER XI.

*A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion, set out by the order of both Archbishops, Metropolitans, and the rest of the Bishops, for the Unity of Doctrine to be taught and holden of all Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, as well in testification of their common Consent in the said Doctrine, to the stopping of the mouths of them that go about to slander the Ministers of the Church, for diversity of Judgment: as necessary for the instruction of their People, to be read by the said Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, at their Possession-taking, or first entry into their Cures. And also after that, yearly, at two several times; that is to say, the Sundays next following Easter-day, and St. Michael the Archangel, or on some other Sunday, within one month after those Feasts, immediately after the Gospel.*

FORASMUCH as it appertaineth to all Christian men, but especially to the ministers and the pastors of the church, being teachers and instructors of others, to be ready to give a reason of their faith when they shall be thereunto required: I for my part now appointed your parson, vicar, or curate, having before my eyes the fear of God, and the testimony of my conscience, do acknowledge for myself, and require you to assent to the same.

I.—First; That there is but one living and true God, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things. And that in unity of this Godhead, there be three persons of one substance, of equal power and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II.—I believe also whatsoever is contained in the holy canonical Scriptures. In the which Scriptures are contained all things necessary to salvation; by the which also, all errors and heresies may sufficiently be reproved and convicted; and all doctrine and articles necessary to salvation established. I do also most firmly believe and confess all the articles contained in the three creeds; the Nicene creed, Athanasius' creed, and our common creed, called the Apostles' creed; for these do briefly contain the principal articles of our faith, which are at large set forth in the Holy Scriptures.

III.—I do acknowledge also that church to be the spouse of Christ, wherein the word of God is truly taught, the sacraments orderly ministered, according to Christ's institution, and the authority of the keys duly used. And that every such particular church hath authority to institute, to change, clean, to put away ceremonies, and other ecclesiastical rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused; and to constitute other, making more to seemliness, to order, or edification.

IV.—Moreover, I confess, that it is not lawful for any man to take upon him any office or ministry, either ecclesiastical or secular, but such only as are lawfully thereunto called by their high authorities, according to the ordinances of this realm.

V.—Furthermore, I do acknowledge the queen's majesty's prerogative and superiority of government of all estates, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within this realm, and other her dominions and countries, to be agreeable to God's word, and of right to appertain to her highness, in such sort as is in the late act of parliament expressed, and sithence by her majesty's injunctions declared and expounded.

VI.—Moreover, touching the bishop of Rome, I do acknowledge and confess, that by the Scriptures, and





word of God, he hath no more authority than other bishops have in their provinces and dioceses: and therefore the power which he now challengeth, that is, to be the supreme head of the universal church of Christ, and so to be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is an usurped power, contrary to the Scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the primitive church; and therefore is, for most just causes, taken away and abolished in this realm.

VII.—Furthermore, I do grant and confess, that the book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Holy Sacraments, set forth by the authority of parliament, is agreeable to the Scriptures, and that it is catholick, apostolick, and most for the advancing of God's glory, and the edifying of God's people; both for that it is in a tongue that may be understanded of the people, and also for the doctrine and form of administration contained in the same.

VIII.—And although, in the administration of baptism, there is neither exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, or hallowing of the water now used; and for that they were of late years abused, and esteemed necessary; where they pertain not to the substance and necessity of the sacrament, they be reasonably abolished, and yet the sacrament full and perfectly ministered, to all intents and purposes, agreeable to the institution of our saviour Christ.

IX.—Moreover, I do not only acknowledge, that private masses were never used amongst the fathers of the primitive church; I mean, publick ministration, and receiving of the sacrament by the priest alone, without a just number of communicants, according to Christ's saying, "Take ye and eat ye," &c.; but also that the doctrine that maintaineth the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and a mean to deliver souls out of purgatory, is neither agreeable to Christ's ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine apostolick. But contrary-wise, most ungodly and most injurious to the precious redemption of our saviour Christ, and his only-sufficient sacrifice offered once for ever upon the altar of the cross.

X.—I am of that mind also, that the holy communion, or sacrament, of the body and blood of Christ, for the due obedience to Christ's institution, and to express the virtue of the same, ought to be ministered unto the people under both kinds; and that it is avouched by certain fathers of the church, to be a plain sacrilege to rob them of the mystical cup for whom Christ hath shed his most precious blood, seeing he himself hath said, "Drink ye all of this." Considering also, that in the time of the ancient doctors of the church, as Cyprian, Hierom, Augustine, Gelasius, and others, six hundred years after Christ and more, both the parts of the sacrament were ministered to the people.

*Last of all.*—As I do utterly disallow the extolling of images, reliques, and feigned miracles; and also all kind of expressing God invisible in the form of an old man, or the Holy Ghost in form of a dove; and all other vain worshipping of God, devised by man's fantasy; besides or contrary to the Scriptures; as wandering on pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, and such-like superstition; which kind of works have no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrary-wise, threatenings and maledictions: so I do exhort all men to the obedience of God's law, and to the works of faith, as charity, mercy, pity, alms, devout and fervent prayer, with the affection of the heart, and not with the mouth only; godly abstinence and fasting, chastity, obedience to the rulers and superior powers, with such-like works, and godliness of life commanded by God in his word; which, as St. Paul saith, "hath promises both of this life, and of the life to come;" and are works only acceptable in God's sight.

These things, above-rehearsed, though they be appointed by common order, yet do I, without all compulsion, with freedom of mind and conscience, from the bottom of my heart, and upon most sure persuasion, acknowledge to be true and agreeable to God's word. And therefore I exhort you all, of whom I have cure, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the same; that we all joining together in unity of spirit, faith, and charity, may also at length be joined together in the kingdom of God, and that through the merits and death of our saviour Jesus Christ. To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all glory and empire, now and for ever. Amen.

Imprinted at London, in Paul's Church yard, by Richard Jugge, printer to the Queen's majesty.
Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.

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* NUMBER XII.

*Sir Walter Mildmay's Opinion concerning the keeping of the Queen of Scots (October 26, 1569) at Windsor Castle.—An Original.*

The question to be considered on is, whether it be less perilous to the Queen's Majesty, and the realm, to retain the Queen of Scots in England, or to return her home into Scotland?

IN which question, these things are to be considered. On the one side, what dangers are like to follow if she be retained here; and thereupon, if so avoiding of them, it shall be thought good to return her, then what cautions and provisions are necessary to be had.

On the other side are to be weighed the dangers like to follow if she be returned home; and thereupon, if for eschewing of them, it shall be thought good to retain her here, then what cautions and provisions are in that case necessary.

*Dangers in retaining the Queen of Scots.*

Her unquiet and aspiring mind never ceasing to practise with the queen's subjects. Her late practice of marriage between the duke of Norfolk and her, without the queen's knowledge. The faction of the papists, and other ambitious folks, being ready and fit instruments for her to work upon. The commiseration that ever followeth such as be in misery, though their deserts be never so great. Her cunning and sugared entertainment of all men that come to her, whereby she gets both credit and intelligence. Her practice with the French and Spanish ambassadors, being more near to her in England than if she were in Scotland; and their continual solicitation of the queen for her delivery, the denial whereof may breed war. The danger in her escaping out of guard, whereof it is like enough she will give the attempt. So as remaining here, she hath time and opportunity to practise and nourish factions, by which she may work confederacy, and thereof may follow sedition and tumult, which may bring peril to the queen's majesty and the state. Finally, it is said, that the queen's majesty, of her own disposition, hath no mind to retain her, but is much unquieted therewith, which is a thing greatly to be weighed.

*Cautions if she be returned.*

To deliver her into the hands of the regent, and the lords now governing Scotland, to be safely kept. That she meddle not with the state, nor make any alteration

in the government, or in religion. That by sufficient hostages it may be provided, that neither any violence be used to her person, nor that she be suffered to govern again, but live privately, with such honourable entertainment as is meet for the king of Scots mother. That the league, offensive and defensive, between France and Scotland, be never renewed. That a new and perpetual league be made between England and Scotland, whereby the queen's majesty may shew an open maintenance and allowance of the king's authority and estate, and of the present government, so as the Scots may wholly depend on her. That the regent and the lords of Scotland do make no composition with the Scots queen, neither suffer her to marry, without consent of the queen's majesty. That the faults whereof she hath been accused, and her declining and delaying to answer that accusation, may be published to the world, the better to discourage her factious party both here and in Scotland.

*Dangers in returning her.*

The manner how to deliver her home, with the queen's majesty's honour and safety, is very doubtful. For if she be delivered in guard, that came hither free, and at liberty, how will that stand with the queen's honour, and with the requests of the French and Spanish kings, that have continually solicited her free delivery, either into Scotland or France? or if she die in guard, either violently or naturally, her majesty shall hardly escape slander. If, again, she be delivered home at liberty, or if being in guard she should escape, then these perils may follow:

The suppressing of the present government in Scotland, now depending upon the queen's majesty, and advancing of the contrary faction depending upon the French. The alteration of religion in Scotland. The renewing of the league, offensive and defensive, between France and Scotland, that hath so much troubled England. The renewing of her pretended claim to the crown of this realm. The likelihood of war to ensue between France, Scotland, and us, and the bringing in of strangers into that realm to our annoyance, and great charge, as late experience hath shewed. The supportation that she is like to have of the French and Spanish kings. And though peace should continue between England and Scotland, yet infinite injuries will be offered by the Scots queen's ministers upon the borders, which will turn to the great hurt of the queen's majesty's subjects, or else to her greater charges to redress them; for the change of the government in Scotland, will change the justice which now is had, unto all injury and unjustice. The likelihood she will revoke the earl Bothwell, now her husband, though unlawful, as it is said, a man of most evil and cruel affection to this realm, and to his own countrymen: or, if she should marry another that were a-like enemy, the peril must needs be great on either side.

And albeit to these dangers may be generally said, that such provision shall be made, by capitulations with her, and by hostages from the regent, and the lords of Scotland, as all these perils shall be prevented:

*To that may be answered.*

That no fact which she shall do here in England will hold, for she will alleage the same to be done in a foreign country, being restrained of liberty. That there is great likelihood of escape, wheresoever she be kept in Scotland; for her late escape there sheweth, how she will leave no way unsought to achieve it; and the country being, as it is, greatly divided, and of nature marvellously factious, she is the more like to bring it to pass. Or if the regent, by any practice, should yield to a composition, or finding his party weak should give over his regiment, then what assurance have we, either of amity or religion? That the regent may be induced to do this, appeareth by his late secret treaty with the duke of Norfolk, for her marriage, without the queen's majesty's knowledge. And though the regent should persevere constant, yet if he should be taken away directly, or indirectly, (the like whereof is said, hath been attempted against him,) then is all at large, and the queen of Scots most like to be restored to her estate, the factions being so great in Scotland, as they are; so as the case is very tickle and dangerous to hang upon so small a thread as the life of one man, by whom it appeareth the whole at this present is contained.

And touching the hostages, though that assurance might be good to preserve her from violence in Scotland, yet it may be doubted how the same will be sufficient to keep her from escaping or governing again, seeing, for her part, she will make little conscience of the hostages if she may prevail; and the punishing of the hostages will be a small satisfaction to the queen's majesty for the troubles that may ensue. And for the doubt of her escape, or of rebellion within this realm, it may be said, that if she should not be well guarded, but should be left open to practise, then her escape and the other perils might be doubted of; but if the queen's majesty hold a stricter hand over her, and put her under the care of a fast and circumspect man, all practice shall be cut from her, and the queen's majesty free from that peril. And more safe it is for the queen to keep the bridle in her own hand, to restrain the Scotish queen, than in returning her home to commit that trust to others, which by death, composition, or abusing of one person, may be disappointed.

And if she should by any means recover her estate, the doubt of rebellion there is not taken away, but rather to be feared, if she have ability to her will. And if she find strength, by her own or foreign friends, she is not far off to give aid, upon a main land, to such as will stir for her; which, so long as she is here, they will forbear, lest it might bring most peril to herself, being in the queen's hands. The like respect no doubt will move foreign princes to become requesters, and no threateners, for her delivery.

And where it is said that the queen's majesty cannot be quiet so long as she is here, but it may breed danger to her majesty's health. That is a matter greatly to be weighed; for it were better to adventure all, than her majesty should inwardly conceive anything to the danger of her health. But as that is only known to such as have more inward acquaintance with her majesty's disposition, than is fit for some other to have; so again it is to be thought, that her majesty being wise, if the perils like to follow in returning her home were laid before her, and if she find them greater than the other, she will be induced easily to change her opinion, and thereby may follow to her majesty's great satisfaction and quietness.

*Cautions if she be retained.*

To remove her somewhat nearer the court, at the least within one day's journey of London, whereby it shall be the more easy to understand of her doings.

To deliver her in custody to such as be thought most sound in religion, and most void of practice.

To diminish her number, being now about forty persons, to the one half, to make thereby the queen's charges the less, and to give her the fewer means of intelligence.

To cut from her all access, letters and messages, other than such as he that shall have the charge shall think fit.

To signify to all princes the occasion of this strait guard upon her, to be her late practice with the duke of Norfolk, which hath given the queen cause to doubt; further assuring them that she shall be used honourably, but kept safely from troubling the queen's majesty or this state.

That she be retained here until the estate of Scotland be more settled, and the estate of other countries now in garboil be quieted, the issue whereof is like to be seen in a year or two.

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NUMBER XII.

*A Letter written by the Earl of Leicester to the Earl of Sussex, concerning the Queen of Scots; taken from the first draught of it, written with his own hand.*

[Ex MSS. Nob. D. Evilin.]

My good Lord—I received your letter in the answer of mine; and though I have not written sooner again to your lordship, both according to your desire and the necessity of our cases at this time, yet I doubt not but you are fully advertised of her majesty's pleasure otherwise. For my own part, I am glad your lordship hath prospered so well in your journey, and have answered in all points the good opinion conceived of you.

And touching her majesty's further resolution, for these causes, my lord, I assure you, I know not well what to write. First, I see her majesty willing and desirous, as reason is, to work her own security, and the quietness of her state, during her time, which I trust in God shall be far longer than we shall live to see end of. And herein, my lord, there be sundry minds, and among ourselves, I must confess to your lordship, we are not fully agreed which way is best to take. And to your lordship I know I may be bold, beside the friendship I owe you, the place you hold presently doth require all the understanding that may be, to the furtherance of her majesty's good estate; wherefore I shall be the bolder even to let you know as much as I do, and how we rest among us.

Your lordship doth consider, for the state of Scotland, her majesty hath those two persons, being divided, to deal with, the queen of Scotland, lately by her subjects deprived, and the young king her son, crowned and set up in her place. Her majesty, of these two, is to chuse, and of necessity must chuse which of them she will allow and accept, as the person sufficient to hold the principal place. And here groweth the question in our council to her majesty, Which of these two are most fit for her to maintain and join in amity with? To be plain with your lordship, the most in number do altogether conceive her majesty's best and surest way is, to maintain and continue the young king in this his estate, and thereby to make her whole party in Scotland, which by the settling of him, with the cause of religion, is thought most easiest, most safest, and most probable for the perpetual quieting and benefit to her own estate, and great assurance made of such a party, and so small charges thereby, as her majesty may make account to have the like authority and assured amity in Scotland as heretofore she had in the time of the late regent.

The reasons against the other are these shortly.

The title that the queen claimeth to this crown; the overthrow of religion in that country; the impossibility of any assurance for the observing of any pact or agreement made between our sovereign and her. These be causes your lordship sees sufficient to dissuade all men from the contrary opinion. And yet, my lord, it cannot be denied, upon indifferent looking into the matter on both sides, but the clearest is full enough of difficulties. And then, my lord, is the matter disputable; and yet I think verily, not for argument sake, but even for duty and conscience sake, to find out truth, and safest means for our sovereign's best doing. And thus we differ. The first you have heard touching the young king.

On the other side, this it is thought, and of these I must confess myself to your lordship to be one: and God is my judge whether it be for any other respect in this world, but that I suppose and verily believe it may prove best for her majesty's own quietness during her time.

And here I must before open to your lordship indeed her majesty's true state she presently stands in; which, though it may be granted the former advice the better way, yet how hardly it layeth in her power to go thorow withal you shall easily judge. For it must be confessed, that by the taking into her protection the king and the faction, she must enter into a war for it: and as the least war being admitted, cannot be maintained without great charge; so such a war may grow, France or Spain setting in foot, as may cause it to be an intolerable war. Then being a war, it must be treasure that must maintain it. That she hath treasure to continue any time in war, surely, my lord, I cannot see it: and as your lordship doth see the present relief for money we trust upon, which either failing us, or it rising no more than I see it like to be, not able long to last, where is there further hope of help hereafter? For my own part I see none. If it be so, then, my lord, that her majesty's present estate is such as I tell you, which I am sure is true, how shall this council stand with security, by taking a party to enter into a war, when we are no way able to maintain it? for if we enter into it once, and be driven, either for lack or any other way, to shrink, what is like to follow of the matter your lordship can well consider? the best is, we must be sorry for that we have done, and perchance seek to make amends, where we neither would nor should. This is touching the present state we stand in. Besides, we are to remember what already we have done; how many ways, even now together, the realm hath been universally burdened.

First, for the keeping of new bands, after the furnishing of armour, and therein how continually the charge sooner hath grown than subsidies paid.

And lastly, the marvellous charge in most countries against the late rebellion, with this loan of money now on the neck of it. Whether this state doth require further cause of imposition or no, I refer to your lordship? And whether entering into a further charge than her majesty hath presently wherewithal to bear, it will force such a matter or no, I refer to wiser to judge.

And now, my lord, I will show you such reasons as move me to think as I do. In worldly causes men must be governed by worldly policies; and yet so to frame them as God, the author of all, be chiefly regarded. For him we have received laws, under which all men's policies and devices ought to be subject; and through his ordinance, the princes on the earth have authority to give laws, by which also all princes have the obedience of the people; and though in some points I shall deal like a worldly man for my prince, yet I hope I shall not forget that I am a Christian, nor my duty to God.

Our question is this—whether it be meeter for our sovereign to maintain the young king of Scotland and his authority, or, upon composition, restore the queen of Scots into her kingdom again? To restore her simply we are not of opinion; for so I must confess a great oversight, and doubt no better success than those that do object most perils thereby to ensue. But if there be any assurances in this world to be given, or any provision by worldly policy to be had, then, my lord, I do not see but ways and means may be used with the queen of Scots, whereby her majesty may be at quiet, and yet delivered of her present great charge. It is granted and feared of all sides, that the cause of any trouble or danger to her majesty, is the title the queen of Scotland pretends to the crown of this realm. The danger we fear should happen by her is not for that she is queen of Scotland but that other the great princes of Christendom do favour her so much as in respect of her religion, they will in all causes assist her; and specially, by the colour of her title, seem justly to aid and relieve her, and the more lawfully take her and her causes into their protection. Then is the title granted to be the chief cause of danger to our sovereign. If it be so, whether doth the setting up the son in the mother's place, from whence his title must be claimed, take away her title in the opinion of those princes, or no, notwithstanding she remain prisoner? It appeareth plainly, no; for there is continual labour and means made, from the greatest princes, our neighbours, to the queen's majesty, for restoring the queen of Scotland to her estate and government, otherwise they protest open relief and aid for her. Then though her majesty do maintain the young king in his present estate, yet it appears that other princes will do the contrary; and having any advantage, how far they will proceed men may suspect. And so we must conceive, that as long as this difference shall continue, by the maintaining of these two, so long shall the same cause remain, to the trouble and danger of the queen's majesty. And now to avoid this whilst she lives, what better mean is there to take this cause away, but by her own consent, to renounce and release all such interest or title as she claimeth, either presently or hereafter, during the life of her majesty and the heirs of her body? Albeit, here may two questions be moved.

First, whether the Scots queen will renounce her title, or no?

Secondly, if she will do so, what assurance may she give for the performance thereof?

To the first, it is most certain she hath, and presently doth offer, wholly and frankly, to release and renounce all manner of claims and titles, whatsoever they be, to the crown of this realm, during her majesty's life, and the heirs of her body.

And for the second, she doth likewise offer all manner of security and assurances that her majesty can devise, and is in that queen's possible power to do, she excepteth none.

Then must we consider what may be assurances, for here is the difficulty. For that objections be that princes never hold promises longer than for their own commodity, and what security soever they put in they may break if they will. All this may be granted; but yet that we must grant also, that princes do daily treat and deal one with another, and of necessity are forced to trust to such bonds and assurances as they contract by. And as there is no such surety to be had in worldly matters, but all are subject to many casualties, yet we see such devices made, even among princes, as doth tie them to perform that, which if they might conveniently chuse they would not. And in this matter of the queen of Scotland, since she doth offer both to leave the cause of the difference that is between the queen's majesty and her; and also to give all surety that may be by ourselves devised to observe the same; I do not see but such means may be devised to tie her so strongly as though she would break, yet I cannot find what advantage she shall get by it. For beside that I would have her own simple renunciation to be made by the most substantial instrument that could be devised, the assent of some others should confirm the same also. Her own parliaments at home should do the like with the full authority of the whole estates. They should deliver her son and such other principal noblemen of her realm for hostages as the queen's majesty should name. She should also put into her majesty's hands some one piece or two of her realm, and for such a time as should be thought meet by her majesty, except Edinburgh. The queen's majesty might also, by ratifying this by a parliament here, make a forfeiture, if the queen of Scotland should any way, directly or indirectly, go about to infringe this agreement of all such titles and claims that did remain in the queen of Scotland, after her majesty and her issue, never to be capable of any authority or sovereignty within this realm. These I would think to be sufficient bonds to bind any prince, specially no mightier than she is. And this much more would I have, that even as she shall be thus bound, for the relief of her title to the queen's majesty and her issue, so shall she suffer the religion received and established in Scotland already, to be confirmed, and not altered. In like sort, the amity between these two realms to be such, and so frankly united, as no other league with any foreign prince should stand in force to break it. For I think verily, as the first is chiefest touching her majesty's own person, so do I judge the latter—I mean the confirmation of the religion already there received—to be one of the assuredst and likeliest means to hold her majesty a strong and continual party in Scotland. The trial hereof hath been already sufficient, when her majesty had none other interest at all but only the maintenance of the true religion, the same cause remaining still the same affection in the same persons that do profess it, I trust, and it is like will not change. And though the Scots queen should now be settled in her kingdom again, yet is she not like to be greater or better esteemed now than heretofore, when both her authority was greater, and her good-will ready to alter this religion, but could not bring it to pass. No more is it like, these further provisions being taken, she shall do it now. And the last cause also is not without great hope of some good success; for as the oppression of strangers heretofore had utterly wearied them of that yoke, so hath this peaceable time, between them and us, made them know the liberty of their own, and the commodity of us their neighbours.

This, my lord, doth lead me to lean to this opinion, finding thereby rather both more surety, and more quietness, for my sovereign's present time, having, by the contrary, many occasions of trouble cut off, and the intolerable charge eschewed, which I cannot find by any possible means her majesty able to sustain for any long time.

Thus hastily I am driven to end my long cumbersome letter to your lordship, though very desirous to impart my mind herein to your lordship.

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NUMBER XIII.

*The Bull of Pope Pius the Fifth, Deposing Queen Elizabeth; absolving her Subjects from the Oaths of Allegiance, and Anathematising such as continued in their Obedience.*

Pius Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad futurum rei memoriam.

Regnans in Excelsis, cui data est omnis in Cœlo, et in Terra Potestas, unam Sanctam, Catholicam, et Apostolicam Ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est Salus, uni soli in Terris, videlicet Apostolorum Principi Petro, Petriq; Successori Romano Pontifici in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc unum super omnes gentes, et omnia Regna Principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, disperdat, plantet et edificet: ut fidelem populum mutuæ charitatis nexu constrictum, in unitate Spiritus contineat, salvumq; et incolumem suo exhibeat Salvatori. Quo quidem in munere obeundo nos ad prædictæ Ecclesiæ gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus, omni opere contendentes, ut ipsa Unitas et Catholica Religio (quam illius autor ad probandum suorum fidem, et correctionem nostram, tantis procellis conflictare permisit) integra conservetur.

Potestas Petri.

Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentia invaluit, ut nullus jam in Orbe locus sit relictus, quem illi pessimis doctrinis corrumpere non tentarint, adnitente inter cæteros flagitiorum Serva Elizabetha prætensa Angliæ Regina, ad quam, veluti ad asylum, omnium infestissimi profugium invenerunt. Hæc eadem Regno occupato, Supremi Ecclesiæ capitis locum in omni Anglia, ejusq; præcipuam autoritatem atq; Jurisdictionem monstrose sibi usurpans, Regnum ipsum jam tum ad fidem Catholicam et bonam frugem reductum, rursus in miserum exitium revocavit. Usu namq; veræ Religionis, quam ab illius desertore Henrico Octavo olim eversam, claræ memoriæ Maria Regina legitima, hujus sedis præsidio reparaverat, potenti manu inhibito, Secutisq; et amplexis Hæreticorum erroribus, Regium Consilium ex Anglica Nobilitate confectum diremit, illudq; obscuris hominibus Hereticis complevit; Catholicæ Fidei cultores oppressit, improbos Concionatores, atq; impietatum administros reposuit; Missæ Sacrificium, Preces, Jejunia, Ciborum delectum, Cœlibatum, Ritusq; Catholicos abolevit: libros manifestam Hæresim continentes, toto, Regno proponi, impia mysteria, et instituta ad Calvini præscriptum a se suscepta, et observata, etiam a subditis servari mandavit: Episcopos, Ecclesiarum Rectores, et alios Sacerdotes Catholicos, suis Ecclesiis et Beneficiis ejicere, ac de illis, et aliis rebus Ecclesiasticis, in Hæreticos homines disponere, deque Ecclesiæ causis decernere ausa, Prelatis, Clero et Populo, ne Romanam Ecclesiam agnoscerent, neve ejus præceptis Sanctionibusque Canonicis obtemperarent, interdixit; plerosque in nefarias leges suas venire, et Romani Pontificii autoritatem, atque obedientiam abjurare, seque solam in Temporalibus et Spiritualibus Dominam agnoscere, jurejurando coegit: pœnas et supplicia eis, qui dicto non essent audientes, imposuit, exsademq; ab iis, qui in unitate fidei et predicta obedientia perseverarunt, exegit: Catholicos Antistites et Ecclesiarum Rectores in vincula conjecit; ubi multi diuturno languore et tristitia confecti, extremum Vitæ diem misere finierunt.

Elizabethæ Flagitia.

Quæ omnia cum apud omnes Nationes perspicua et notoria sint, et gravissimo quamplurimorum testimonio ita comprobata, ut nullus omnino locus excusationis, defensionis, aut tergiversationis relinquatur: Nos multiplicatis aliis atque aliis super alias impietatibus et facinoribus, et præterea fidelium persecutione, religionisque afflictione, impulsu et opera dictæ Elizabethæ, quotidie magis ingravescente; quoniam illius animum ita obfirmatum atque induratum intelligimus, ut non modo pias Catholicorum Principum, de sanitate et conversatione preces, monitionesque contempserit, sed ne hujus quidem sedis ad ipsam hac de Causa Nuncios in Angliam trajicere permiserit; ad arma justitiæ contra eam de necessitate conversi, dolorem lenire non possumus, quod adducamur in illam animadvertere, cujus majores de Rep. Christiana tantopere meruere.

Necessitas Pontificem ad judicium impellens.

Illius itaq; autoritate suffulti, qui nos in hoc supremo Justitiæ Throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, declaramus prædictam Elizabetham Hæreticam, et Hæreticorum fautricem, eique adherentes in predictis, anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esseque, a Christi Corporis unitate præscisos: Quin etiam ipsam prætenso Regni prædicti jure, necnon omni et quorumque Dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam: Et item proceres, subditos et populos dicti Regni, ac cæteros omnes, qui illi quomodocunque juraverunt a Juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominii, fidelitatis, et obsequii debito, perpetuo absolutos, prout nos illos præsentium authoritate absolvimus, et privamus eandem Elizabetham prætenso jure Regni, aliisque omnibus supradictis. Præcipimusque et interdicimus Universis et singulis Proceribus, Subditis, Populis et aliis prædictis; ne illi, ejusve monitis, mandatis, et legibus audeant obedire: Qui secus egerint, eos simili Anathematis sententia innodamus. Quia vero difficile nimis esset presentes quocunque illis opus erit perferre; Volumus ut earum exempla, Notarii Publici manu, et Prelati Ecclesiastici, ejusve Curiæ Sigillo obsignata, eandem illam prorsus fidem in judicio et extra illud ubique gentium faciant, quam ipsæ presentes facerent, si essent exhibitæ, vel ostensæ.

Sententiæ Declaratio.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo quingentesimo Sexagesimo Nono. Quinta Kalend. Martii, Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

Cæ. Glorierius.
H. Humyn.

# AN APPENDIX

CONCERNING SOME OF

## THE ERRORS AND FALSEHOODS IN SANDERS' BOOK OF THE ENGLISH SCHISM.

It has been observed of thieves, that by a long practice in that ill course of life, they grow so in love with it, that when there is no advantage to be made by stealing, yet they must keep their hand in use, and continue their address and dexterity in it: so also liars, by a frequent custom, grow to such a habit, that in the commonest things, they cannot speak truth, even though it might conduce to their ends more than their lies do. Sanders had so given himself up to vent reproaches and lies, that he often does it for nothing, without any end but to carry on a trade, that had been so long driven by him that he knew not how to lay it down. He wrote our history merely upon the reports that were brought him, without any care or information about the most public and most indifferent things: but not content to set down those tattles, he shews his wit in refining about them, and makes up such politics and schemes of government, as might suit with those reports, and agree with his own malice. His work is all of a piece, and as it was made out in the former volume, how ignorantly and disingenuously he writ concerning king Henry the Eighth's reign; so I shall add a further discovery of the remaining parts of his book, which will sufficiently convince, even the most partial readers, of the impudence of that author; who seems to have had no other design in writing but to impose on the credulity and weakness of those who he knew were inclined to believe every thing that might cast blemishes on a work against which they were so strongly prejudiced as the reformation of this church: since a field which they so often reaped, and with whose spoils their court was so enriched, was no more at their devotion. So they are ever since concerned in interest to use all the ways they can think on to disgrace a change that was so fatal to them. But as the reformation of this church has hitherto stood, notwithstanding all their designs against it; so it is to be hoped, that the history of it will be hereafter better understood, notwithstanding all the libels and calumnies by which they have endeavoured to represent it, in such black and odious colours to the world.

Sanders says, page 176, "King Edward was in the ninth year of his age when he came to the crown."

This is of no great consequence, but it shews how little this author considered what he writ, when in so public a thing as the king's age, he misreckons a year, for he was born the 12th of October 1537; so in January 1547 he was in the tenth year of his age.

2. He says, page 176, "King Edward was not only declared king of England and Ireland, but made supreme head of the church;" and upon that runs out to shew how uncapable a child was of that power.

This is set down in such terms, as if there had been some special act made for his being supreme head of the church, distinct from his being proclaimed king, whereas there was no such thing; for the supremacy being annexed to the crown, the one went with the other: and it being but a civil power, might be as well exercised by the king's governors, before he came to be of age, as the other rights of the crown were.

3. He says, page 177, "The earl of Hartford was made by himself duke of Somerset."

This was done by order of the whole council, in pursuance of king Henry's design, proved by those witnesses that were beyond exception: and that king having by his will charged his executors to fulfil those things which he intended to do, this was found to be one of them.

4. He says, page 178, "The duke of Somerset made himself the only governor of the king and protector; none daring to oppose it openly but Wriothesley, whom king Henry, when he was dying, had made lord chancellor."

The protector was advanced to that dignity by the unanimous consent of the whole council; to which the lord chancellor consented, and signed the order about it, the original whereof is yet extant; for though he argued against it before it was done, yet he joined with the rest in doing it: nor was he made chancellor by king Henry at his death, but two years before.

5. He says, page 178, "On the 27th of February, two days before the king was crowned, the protector persuaded the king to create many new peers; who were all hereticks, except Dudley earl of Warwick."

Our author, by this shew of exactness, would persuade the reader, that he had considered dates, and the smallest particulars, with the care that became an historian: but he little thought that any would come after him and examine what he said. By this account the king must have been crowned the 1st of March, but it was done February 20, and the peers were created on the 16th of February, four days before. They were not all hereticks, for he forgot that Wriothesley was at the same time made earl of Southampton, which he afterwards insinuates was done upon another account. But all those creations were in pursuance of king Henry's designs, and in obedience to his latter will.

6. He says, page 178, "They forced Wriothesley to resign his office, and turned both him and the earl of Arundel out of the council because they were catholicks."

Wriothesley was turned out upon no account of religion, but for putting the great seal to a commission that was against law, (according to the opinion which the judges declared under their hands,) without any warrant from the council; himself acknowledging the justice of the sentence. The earl of Arundel was not turned out of the council; on the contrary, in the



patent by which the protector held his office, that passed after the chancellor was removed, he is named to be one of the privy-council.

7. He says, page 179, "The protector would needs force all the clergy to submit in every thing to the king's orders;" and sets down the form in which the king writ to archbishop Cranmer.

In this nothing was done but what was begun by king Henry, and to which all the clergy, even his beloved Bonner not excepted, had formerly submitted. So this was no new thing set up by the protector, it being only the renewing the bishops' patents in the new king's name: and this was no part of the reformation, for it was done only to awe the popish bishops, but was soon after laid aside. What he sets down as a letter of king Edward's to Cranmer, is the preamble of the patent he took out. So little did this writer know the things that truly make to the advantage of the cause which he designed to assert.

8. He says, page 180, "The new protector, among the first things he did, restrained all preaching, and silenced all the bishops and pastors: so that none were licensed to preach but the Lutherans and Zuinglians."

The first injunctions set out in the king's name, required all bishops to preach at least four times a year in their dioceses; and to keep learned chaplains who might be able to preach, and should be often much employed in it. And thus matters stood the first year of this reign. In the beginning of the second year, upon complaints made of the rashness of some preachers, a proclamation was put out, that none should preach without a license from the king, or the archbishops, or the bishop of the diocess; except incumbents in their own parishes. Afterwards there was, for some little time, a total prohibition of preaching, but that was to last for a short while, till the book of common prayer, which was then a preparing, should be finished. This was equally made on both hands; for the prohibition was universal, without exception: so falsely has our author stated this matter; which one would think he ignorantly drew from what queen Mary did, applying it to this reign; for she, upon her coming to the crown, did prohibit all preaching, excepting only such as were licensed to it by Gardiner, under the great seal.

9. He says, page 181, "Latimer was turned out of the bishopric of Worcester, by king Henry, upon suspicion of heresy."

Latimer did freely resign his bishoprick, upon the passing of the act of the six articles, with which he could not comply with a good conscience.

10. He says, page 182, "The protector put Cox and Cheek about the king, that they might corrupt his mind with heretical doctrines."

These were put about him three years before, by king Henry's order; as that young king himself informs us in his journal.

11. He says, page 184, "The heads of the colleges were turned out, and the catholick doctors were forbid to preach."

I do not find one head of a college in either university was turned out*; for though they generally loved the old superstition, yet they loved their places much better. And indeed the whole clergy did so readily conform themselves to every change that was made, that it was not easy to find colours for turning out Bonner and Gardiner. All preachers had the liberty of their own pulpits, except for a very little while.

12. He says, page 184, "They decried the school-divinity, and the works of Lombard, Aquinas, and Scotus, and so threw all learning out of the schools."

They could not do that more than Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, and other popish writers had done before them; who had expressed their scorn of that way of treating divine matters, so copiously, that it was no wonder it was much despised. Those writers had, by a set of dark and barbarous maxims and terms, so intangled all the articles of faith, and imposed on the world, by an appearance of saying somewhat, when really they said nothing: and pretending to explain religion, they had so exposed it, that their way of divinity was become equally nauseous and ridiculous.

13. He says, page 186, "Bucer and Peter Martyr, being brought out of Germany, did corrupt the universities; and entertained the youth with discourses of predestination, reprobation, and a fatal necessity of things."

This was so far from being much taught, that on the contrary, in one of the articles of religion, the curious enquiries into those abstruse points was by public authority forbid. Bucer and Martyr read for most part in the chairs, upon the mass, and the other corruptions of the popish worship. They also declared St. Austin's doctrine about grace, but I do not find they ever meddled with reprobation.

14. After a long invective, which is to pass as a piece of his wit and poetry, he says, page 190, "Bucer was inclined to become a Jew, and was descended from Jewish parents; and that the lord Paget had heard him say, that the corporal presence was so clear in the Scripture that no man could deny it who believed the gospel; but for his part, he did not believe all that was said in the New Testament concerning our Saviour."

This is as suitable to our author's honesty as can be: Bucer was never accused of this by any of his enemies as long as he lived. No man in that age writ with a greater sense of the kingdom of Christ than he did. And for the story of the lord Paget, we have nothing for it but the author's word; and poets must make circumstances, as well as more signal contrivances, to set off their fables. But there was no occasion for Bucer's saying this, since he never declared against the corporeal presence; but was for taking up that controversy in some general expressions. So it was not suitable to his opinion in that matter for him to talk so loosely of the Scriptures. And is it credible that a story of this nature should not have been published in queen Mary's time, and been made use of, when he was condemned for an heretick, and his body raised and burnt? But our author, perhaps, did not think of that.

15. He says, page 191, "Peter Martyr was a while in suspense concerning the Eucharist, and stayed till he should see what the parliament should appoint in that matter."

P. Martyr argued and read in the chair against the corporal presence four years before the parliament meddled with it: for the second Common Prayer Book, which contained the first publick declaration that the parliament made in this matter, was enacted in the fifth year of king Edward; and Peter Martyr, from his first coming to England, had appeared against it.

16. He said, page 193, "The first parliament under king Edward, appointed a new form to be used in

* Day, provost of King's, was not turned out, as has been said by Mr. Wharton, for he resigned, though perhaps not altogether voluntarily, though his resignation is said to be voluntary. But Rowland Swinburn, master of Clare Hall, was certainly turned out by the king's visitors, as appears from a Journal of the Visitation, MS. C. C. C., nor can there be any doubt but Gardiner was turned out at Trinity Hall, where his successors, Haddon and Mowse, are styled masters *de facto*. —ANON. CORRECT.

ordaining priests and bishops; who till that time had been ordained according to the old rites, save only that they did not swear obedience to the pope."

This is a further evidence of our author's care in searching the printed statutes; since what was done in the fifth year of this reign he represents as done in the first. His design in this was clear; he had a mind to possess all his own party with an opinion that the orders given in this church were of no force, and therefore he thought it a decent piece of his poem to set down this change as done so early: since if he had mentioned it in its proper place, he knew not how to deny the validity of the orders that were given the first four years of this reign, which continued to be conferred according to the old forms.

17. He said, page 193, "The parliament did also at the same time confirm a new Book of Common-Prayer and of the Administration of the Sacraments."

This is of a piece with the former; for the act confirming the Common Prayer Book, which is also among the printed statutes, passed not in this session of parliament, but in a second session, a year after this. These are indications sufficient to shew what an historian Sanders was, that did not so much as read the publick acts of the time concerning which he writ.

18. He says, page 193, "They ordered all images to be removed, and sent some lewd men over England for that effect; who either brake or burnt the images of our Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints; therein declaring against whom they made war; and they ordered the king's arms, three leopards, and three lilies, with the supporters, a dog and a serpent, to be set in the place where the cross of Christ stood: thereby owning that they were no longer to worship Jesus Christ, whose images they broke, but the king, whose arms they set up in the room of those images."

In this period there is an equal mixture of falsehood and malice. 1. The parliament did not order the removal of images; it was done by the king's visitors, before the parliament sat. 2. The total removal of images was not done the first year, only those images that were abused to superstition were taken down, and a year after the total removal followed. 3. They took care that this should be done regularly, not by the visitors, who only carried the king's injunctions about it, but by the curates themselves. 4. They did not order the king's arms to be put in the place where the cross had stood. It grew indeed to be a custom to set them up in all churches, thereby expressing, that they acknowledged the king's authority reached even to their churches; but there was no order made about it. 5. I leave him to the correction of the heralds, for saying, the king's arms are three leopards, when every body knows they are three lions, and a lion, not a dog, is one supporter, and the other is a dragon, not a serpent. 6. By their setting up the king's arms, and not his picture, it is plain they had no thought of worshipping their king, but did only acknowledge his authority. 7. It was no less clear, that they had no design against the worship due to Jesus Christ, nor that inferior respect due to the Blessed Virgin and Saints; but intended only to wean the people from that, which at best was but pageantry: but as it was practised, was manifest idolatry. And the painting on the walls of the churches the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, with many other passages of Scripture that were of most general use, shewed, they intended only to cleanse their churches from those mixtures of heathenism that had been brought into the Christian religion.

19. He says, page 193, "They took away the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, that they might thereby give some colour to the converting of the sacred vessels to the king's use."

They took away no part of the institution of Christ, for they set it down in the act past about it; and recited all the words of the first institution of the sacrament; they only condemned private masses, as contrary to Christ's institution. They did not convert the holy vessels to the king's use, nor were they taken out of the churches till five years after this; that the necessities of the government, either real or pretended, were alleged to excuse the taking away the superfluous plate that was in churches: but this was not done by act of parliament, but by commissioners empowered by the king, who were ordered to leave in every church such vessels as were necessary for the administration of the sacraments.

20. He says, page 193, "The parliament ordered the prayers to be in the vular tongue; and upon that he infers, that the Irish, the Welch, and the Cornishmen, were now in a much worse condition than before; since they understood no English, so that the worship was to them in a tongue more unknown than it had formerly been."

The parliament made no such order at this time: the Book of Common Prayer was set out first by the king's authority, and ratified by the subsequent session of parliament. There was also a design which though it was then accomplished, yet it was done afterwards, of translating the liturgy into these tongues: but still the English was much more understood by all sorts of men among them, than the Latin had been.

21. He says, page 194, "The office of the communion, appointed by this parliament, differed very little from the mass, save that it was in English."

The error of the parliament's appointing the new offices runs through all he says on this subject. But in the new office of the communion, the idolatry of worshipping, carrying about or exposing the sacrament, was laid aside. The trade of particular masses for private occasions, the prayers to the saints, the denying the people the chalice, with a great many of the rites and gesticulations formerly used, were all laid aside; so that there were great changes made. Every thing was not done at once, but they began with the abuses that did most require a reformation, and went on afterwards to the changing of lesser things.

22. He says, page 194, "Sir Ralph Sadler took the wife of one Matthew Barlow; so, upon pretence of his being dead, his wife married Sadler: but her first husband coming home, he sought to have his wife again. It was brought into the parliament in king Henry's time, and now it was enacted, that she should be Sadler's wife; he being the richer and greater man. So against the laws of the gospel, a wife, while her husband was yet alive, was adjudged to a second husband."

This is, as far as I can learn, a forgery from the beginning to the end: and it seems Sadler, that was a privy-councillor in queen Elizabeth's time, did somewhat that so provoked Sanders, that he resolved to be revenged of him and his family, by casting such an aspersion on him. I find no footsteps of any such story; sure I am, there is nothing concerning it in the records of this parliament. And for the business of the dissolution of marriages for adultery, absence, or any other cause, there was so great and so strict an enquiry made into it after the parliament was ended, in the case of the marquess of Northampton, that it is clear it was the first of that sort that was examined; and might perhaps, after it was confirmed in parliament, in the fifth year of this reign, have been made a precedent for other cases; but this of Sadler, in the first parliament, is a contrivance of our author's. It is not improbable, that when afterwards it was judged that the marriage-bond was dissolved by adultery, they might likewise declare it dissolved, upon voluntary and long absence, since St. Paul had said, "that a brother or a sister were not under bondage in such cases."



23. He says, page 196, "Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, Heath, and Day, were much grieved at the changes that were made: yet they complied in many things, till being required to deliver some blasphemous doctrines in their sermons, they refusing to give obedience in that, were deprived; but were afterwards condemned to perpetual imprisonment under queen Elizabeth; all which were the effects of God's displeasure on them for complying with king Henry in his schism."

I shall grow tedious if I insist on all the falsities that do occur in this period. First, only Gardiner and Bonner were questioned and deprived for their sermons: Tonstal was deprived for misprision of treason; Heath and Day were judged by lay-delegates; so it is like their offences were also against the state. 2. There was nothing enjoined Bonner or Gardiner to preach, upon which they were censured, but that the king's authority was the same when he was under age that it was afterwards; which is a point that belongs only to the laws and constitutions of this government: and so there was just reason to impute their silence in that particular, when they were commanded to touch upon it in their sermons, to an ill design against the state. 3. Three of these bishops did concur in all the changes that were made the first four years of this king's reign, and both preached and wrote for them; and even Bonner and Gardiner did not only give obedience to every law or injunction that came out, but recommended them much in their sermons. 4. These did not suffer perpetual imprisonment under queen Elizabeth; Gardiner and Day died before she reigned, and so were not imprisoned by her. Heath was never put in prison by her, but lived at his own country house; and Tonstal lived at Lambeth in as much ease, and was treated with as much respect, as if it had been his own house; so that Bonner was the only man that was kept in prison; but that was believed to be done in kindness to him, to preserve him from the affronts which otherwise he might have met with from the friends of those he had butchered.

24. He says, page 197, "The lady Mary never departed from her mother's faith and constancy."

It appears, by many of her letters, that she complied with everything that had been done by her father; so it seems she was dispensed with from Rome, to dissemble in his time; for otherwise her constancy had very likely been fatal to her, but she presumed on the mildness of her brother's government, to be more refractory afterwards.

25. He says, page 198, "The king was sorry when he understood how hardly his sister had been used by the council."

It was so far otherwise, that when the council, being much pressed by the emperor to connive at her having mass, were resolved to give way to it; the king himself was so averse to it, thinking it a sin in him to consent to the practice of idolatry, that the council employed the bishops to work on him, and they could hardly induce him to tolerate it.

26. He says, page 200, "The visitors carried with them over England, Bibles of a most corrupt translation, which they ordered to be set up in all the churches of England."

In king Henry's time, it had been ordered, that there should be a Bible in every church; so this was not done by the visitors in this reign, as may appear by the injunctions that were given them, which have been often printed.

27. He says, page 200, "The visitors did everywhere enquire whether all the images were broken down; and if the altars were taken away, and communion tables were put in their rooms; and if all the old offices were destroyed."

Here he confounds in one period what was done in several years. In the first year the images that had been abused by pilgrimages were ordered to be removed. In the second year, all images were taken down without exception. In the third year the old books of the former offices were ordered to be destroyed. And in the fourth year, the altars were turned to communion tables; so ignorantly did this author write of our affairs.

28. He says, page 201, "The visitors did everywhere encourage the priests to marry, and looked on such as did not marry as inclined to popery."

The marriage of the clergy was not so much as permitted till near the beginning of the third year of this reign; and then it was declared that an unmarried state was more honourable and decent; so that it was recommended, and the other was only tolerated; and so far were they from suspecting men to be firm to the reformation that were married, that Ridley and Latimer, the most esteemed next to Cranmer, were never married: nor was any ever vexed for his not being married, as he falsely insinuates.

28. He says, page 202, "The protector bore great hatred to Gardiner and Tonstal, both because they opposed the hereticks, and because they had been made equals to him, if not preferred before him, by king Henry's will, in the government during the king's being under age."

This is another of our author's figures. Gardiner was not mentioned in king Henry's will, neither as an executor nor so much as a counsellor; and by it none were preferred to another, all being made equal. And for Tonstal, he continued still in a firm friendship with the protector, and was so well satisfied with the first changes that were made, that he was complained of as well as Cranmer, by Gardiner, in the letters which he writ to the protector.

29. He says, page 202, "The protector made a speech about religion before the king, and therefore he put, first Gardiner, then Tonstal, and at another time, the bishops of London, Chichester, and Worcester, in prison."

Gardiner and Bonner were indeed imprisoned some time, during the protector's government; the latter was also deprived while he was protector. But Tonstal was not put in prison till two years after, and it was at the time of the duke of Somerset's total fall, and by the same person's means that wrought his ruin; from which it appears he was always a firm friend to the duke of Somerset. The bishops of Worcester and Chichester were also brought in trouble, long after the government was taken out of the protector's hands.

30. He says, page 202, "They were all deposed from their degree."

They were not deposed from their degree, but deprived of their bishopricks; for they having accepted commissions, by which they held their sees, only during the king's pleasure, they might well be deprived by a sentence of the delegates. But had they been to be deposed, and thrust from their order, it must have been done by a synod of bishops. They were deprived, as many bishops were under the Christian emperors, by selected synods that sat in the court, and judged of all complaints that were brought before the emperors.

31. Page 204. "He reckons up the judgments of God upon the hereticks, and says, the protector made kill his brother, and Dudley took him away."

This is a way of writing familiar enough to our author, to represent things in such a manner as might fill the reader with horror, as if these persons had been secretly murdered, whereas the one was condemned in parliament, the other by a judgment of his peers.

32. He says, page 204, "King Edward died not without suspicion of being poisoned by Dudley and the duke of Suffolk, who aspired to the crown."

It was never suspected that the duke of Suffolk had any hand in poisoning the king, nor could I ever see any reason to conclude that he was poisoned; but neither of these dukes aspired to the crown; the one resigned any pretension he could ever have to his daughter; and the other intended only that his fourth son should reign.

33. He said, page 205, "The protector's lady claimed the precedence of the queen dowager, and upon the denial of it, conspired the ruin of the admiral."

All this is a contrivance of the enemies of that family; for as it had been absurd for the duchess of Somerset to have disputed precedence with the queen dowager, so in that whole matter it is plain the admiral began with his brother, and conspired his ruin; and the protector was often reconciled to him, and forgave him many faults, till it appeared that his ambition was incurable.

34. He says, page 205, "There being no ground of any accusation against him, the duchess of Somerset got Latimer to accuse him of treason in a sermon."

The articles upon which he was condemned shew what matter there was against him. Latimer did never accuse him of treason; but being a man of great plainness of speech, he reflected on him as ambitious, and not sincere in the profession of religion: and when it was suspected that the duchess of Somerset had set him on to make these reflections, he did vindicate her in a most solemn manner. Nor is there any reason to think that how indiscreet soever he might be in preaching in such a sort, that he did it to flatter or to aspire by such means, for he refused to accept of any preferment, though the house of commons interposed to have him repossessed of the see of Worcester.

35. He says, page 205, "At the same time that he was beheaded, the queen dowager died."

She died in September 1548, and he was beheaded in March following; and one of the articles against him was, that after her death he intended to have married the king's sister Elizabeth; and it was suspected, that to make for that he had poisoned her.

36. He says, page 206, "The men of Devonshire and Cornwall did, with one consent, take up arms for the faith."

In one thing he says true, that this rebellion was set on by the priests, and made on the account of religion; but the brutal cruelty of those rebels shewed it was not for the faith, but in compliance to their priests and leaders, that they rose.

37. He says, page 209, "The clergy finding that their being married was generally an ingrateful thing, procured an act of parliament, declaring that there was no human law against their marriages; and this was all they were concerned in, for they cared little for the law of God."

This is a genuine piece of our author's wit. If the parliament meddles in declaring what is the law of God, he accuses them for meddling in things without their sphere: and if they only declare what is the law of the land, he says they have no regard to the law of God: so he is resolved, do what they will, they shall not escape his censure. But in this he shews his ignorance as well as his malice. The lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy was inquired into with such exactness, that scarce anything can be added since to what was then written on that argument. It was made out that there was no law of God against it: it was also proved that there was no general law made by the primitive church about it, but that it was a part of the yoke that the popes laid on the clergy, to engage them more zealously in their concerns. It was at first carried in the convocation that they might lawfully marry; then an act of parliament passed permitting it: of all which our auther takes no notice. Then three years after, some that were ill-affected to them, taking advantage from the words of the statute, as if the permission had only been such a conniving at it as had been formerly to the stews, a second act passed confirming those marriages, and the issue by them.

38. He says, page 210, "The catholick doctors in the universities grew more courageous in the defence of the faith, and so desired a publick dispute concerning the corporal presence."

They were so courageous, that as soon as any change was made, they all complied most obsequiously to it, as will appear both by Oglethorp and Smith's submissions. But while the changes were under consultation, they seeing it could bring them into no trouble, were very stout; but as soon as they were to lose or suffer anything for their consciences, then they grew as tractable as could be. In such a zeal, let him glory as much as he will.

39. He says, page 210, "Smith did often challenge Peter Martyr to a public dispute at Oxford; but he declined it, till Dr. Cox, a man of a lewd life, was sent to moderate in the dispute, and till Dr. Smith was banished the university."

Smith did once challenge Peter Martyr to a dispute, to which he presently consented, upon two conditions; the one was, that a license should first be obtained of the king and council, and delegates be appointed by them to make a just report of the dispute: the other was, that it should be managed in the terms of Scripture, and not in the school terms: they were both more proper for matters of divinity, and more easily understood by all people. Upon this the council sent down delegates; and then Smith, who intended only to raise a tumult in the schools, withdrew himself, and fled beyond sea, but was never banished. His calling Dr. Cox a man of a lewd life, is one of the flowers he stuck in to adorn the rest. All the writers of that age make honourable mention of him; he was first set about this king by his father, and continued with him in all the turns of affairs, and did so faithfully discharge that high trust, that it appears he must have been a very extraordinary man. This was so well known to the whole nation, that in the beginning of queen Mary's reign he met with more than ordinary favour. This, considering the hatred which the popish party bore him, is a clear evidence of his great worth, and that they were afraid to be severe to a man so universally esteemed.

40. He says, page 210, "Cox saw he was so much pressed by the doctors that disputed with him, and the hearers did so hiss him down, that he broke off the dispute, giving Peter Martyr a high commendation for his learning, and exhorting the rest to live peaceably. Peter Martyr afterwards printed the disputation falsely, but by the judgment of the university he was doubly baffled, both that he refused to dispute with Smith, and that he did acquit himself so ill with those doctors that disputed with him."

It is probable the hearers might have been set on to hiss, but the printed disputation will decide this



matter, and shew who argued both more nervously and more ingenuously. We have no reason to believe it was falsely printed, unless we will take it on this author's word; for I do not find the popish doctors did, either at this time, or afterwards in queen Mary's reign, when the presses were all in their hands, publish anything to the contrary of what P. Martyr printed; so that he neither refused to dispute with Smith, nor was he baffled by those that undertook it. Smith fled, and the rest were clearly worsted. And for the university, there was no judgment passed by them, unless he means the rudeness and clamours of some that might be set on to it.

41. He says, page 211, "The dispute with Bucer at Cambridge had the same effect."

It had so indeed; the printed relation shews the weakness and disingenuity of the popish disputants, and that was never contradicted.

42. Page 211. He gives account of many other disputes, and of Gardiner's book, under the name of 'Marcus Constantius,' which he says was a full confutation of all the books then written for the contrary opinion. He also mentions the sermons and imprisonment of Crispine, Moreman, Cole, Seaton, and Watson.

These other disputes could be no more than private conferences; but I can give no account of these, having met with them in none of the writers of that time. As for Gardiner's book, such as will compare it with Cranmer's book, which it pretends to answer, will soon see in it the difference between plain, simple reasoning on the one side, and sophistical cavilling on the other. But for the sufferings of that party, there is no great reason to boast of them; for they universally complied with everything that was commanded: even the lady Mary's chaplains did it, in the churches where they were beneficed. Nor do I find any one man turned out of his cure for refusing to conform; but it was found some of these did privately say mass, either in the lady Mary's chapel, or in private houses, and did secretly act against what they openly professed; and it was no wonder if such dissemblers were more severely handled. But there was no blood shed in the quarrel, so that if the popish party made such resistance as our author pretends they did, it very much commends the gentleness of the government at that time, since they were so mercifully handled. It was far otherwise in queen Mary's time.

43. Page 212. He runs out in a discourse of the sufferings of his party, of their zeal and constancy; and particularly mentions Story, who, he says, suffered martyrdom, under queen Elizabeth. "He had said in the parliament, 'Wo to thee, O land, whose king is a child;' and this drew so much hatred on him, that he was forced to fly out of England."

What the zeal and constancy of the party was, may be gathered from what has been already said. This Story did say these words in the house of commons, and was, by order of the house, sent to the Tower: for though it was a text of Scripture that he cited, yet the application carried with it so high a reflection on the government, that it well deserved such a censure: but upon his submission, the house of commons sent an address to the protector that he and the council would forgive him, which was done, and he was again admitted to the house: so that he was not forced on this account to fly out of England. And for his martyrdom under queen Elizabeth, the record of his trial shews the ground of that sentence: he had endeavoured all he could to set on many in queen Mary's time to advise the cutting off queen Elizabeth: his ordinary phrase was, "It was a foolish thing to cut off the branches of heresy, and not to pluck it up by the root." He knowing how faulty he had been, fled over to Flanders in the beginning of her reign: and when the duke of Alva was governor there, he pressed him much to invade England; and gave him a map of some of the roads and harbours, with a scheme of the way of conquering the nation. He had also consulted with magicians concerning the queen's life; and used always to curse the queen when he said grace after meat. These things being known in England, some got him to go aboard a ship in Flanders, on another pretence, and presently set sail for England; where yet the government was so gentle, that two years past before he was brought to his trial: and then the defence he made was, that he was not accountable for what he had done in Flanders, it not being in the queen's dominions; and that he was not her subject, having sworn allegiance to the king of Spain. But this being contrary to his natural allegiance, which he could never shake off, he was found guilty of treason, and was there executed. These are our author's martyrs, and are of a piece with his faith.

44. "In the room of the bishops that were turned out," he says, page 216, "there were put some apostate and lustful (that is, as he explains it, married) monks, Scory, Bird, Holgate, Barlow, Harley, Coverdale, and Ridley;" on whom he bestows many such epithets, as may be expected from him.

This is such a piece of history as one can hardly meet with any thing like it. 1. Bird was made bishop of Chester by king Henry, and was the first that sat in that see, it being of that king's foundation. 2. Holgate was put in the see of York by king Henry, when it was void by Lee's death. 3. Barlow was also put in Bath and Wells by the same king, it being likewise void by the death of Knight. 4. Coverdale was put in the see of Exeter, upon Veysey's free resignation, he being then extreme old. 5. Harley was also put in Hereford, upon the former bishop's death. 6. Ridley and Harley were never married, nor Coverdale, for ought I can find*; so exact is our author in delivering the history of that time.

45. He says, page 216, "Poinet, that was made bishop of Winchester in Gardiner's room, besides one wife to whom he was married, took a butcher's wife from him; but the butcher sued for his wife, and recovered her out of his hands:" and to make this pass the better, he adds a jest of Gardiner's about it, that he had said, "why might not he hope to be restored to his bishopric, as well as the butcher was to his wife?"

The falseness of this story is clearly evinced by the answer that Dr. Martin set out in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, to a book that Poinet had writ in the defence of the married clergy. Martin's answer is writ with so much spite, and so many indecent reflections, that though it is not reasonable to believe all he says, yet it is almost a certain argument, that this story concerning Poinet is a forgery; since if it was a thing so public as our author makes it, Martin must have heard of it, especially living in Gardiner's house: and it is not to be imagined that if he did know it he would have concealed it: so this, and the jest that hangs upon it, must pass as one of the flourishes of our author's pen.

46. He says, page 217, "Hooper, that used formerly to rail at the luxury of the catholic bishops, being made a superintendent himself, for so the Zuinglians called their bishops, enjoyed at once two bishopricks, Worcester and Glocester."

* Coverdale was married; he and Machabeus married two sisters. Fox, vol. iii. p. 182. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1389, speaks of Coverdale's wife twice in one page. Eight of the protestant bishops in this reign were married. Parkhurst, Epigram. Juv. pp. 56, 165, 166.—Anon. Correct.

The Zuinglians had no superintendents, for ought I can find; nor was Hooper ever called superintendent, but bishop. He was made bishop of Glocester, which had been before king Henry the Eighth's time a part of the bishoprick of Worcester. And now these sees came to be united; so that Hooper had not two bishopricks, but one that had been for some years divided into two: he only enjoyed the revenue of Glocester, for Worcester was entirely suppressed.*

47. He says, page 219, "On the 9th of July, the money was cried down one fourth part; and forty days after another fourth part: so that the whole nation was thereby robbed of the half of their stock."

This king's counsellors found the coin embased; and they were either to let it continue in that state, to the great prejudice of the state of the nation, or to reduce it to a just standard; so our author condemns them for correcting what they found amiss. But no wonder he that quarrels with them so much for reforming of religion, should be likewise offended with them for reforming the coin.

48. He says, page 222, "The duke of Somerset was condemned, because he had come into the duke of Northumberland's chamber with intention to have killed him, and was thereupon beheaded."

This was indeed said to be the cause of his death; but it is not mentioned in the record, in which it is only said, that he intended to have seized on the duke of Northumberland, without adding that he designed to have killed him.

49. He says, page 223, "The two younger sisters of lady Jane Gray were married to the eldest sons of the earls of Pembrook and Huntington."

This error is of no great consequence, but it shews how much our author was a stranger, even to the most public actions: for the youngest sister to the lady Jane was married to one Keys that was groom-porter. The earl of Huntington's son married the duke of Northumberland's daughter.

50. He says, page 223, "Soon after the marriages, the king began to sicken, and to fall in decay."

The king had been ill four months before these marriages were made: and it is probable his sickness made them be the more hastened.

51. He says, page 223, "Dudley was very desirous to have the lady Mary in his power, not being much concerned about the lady Elizabeth, for she being descended of Ann Boleyn, he did not much consider her."

It was natural for Dudley to desire rather to have the elder sister in his power than the younger; who could not claim to the crown but after the other: but it appeared by the submission of the whole nation to queen Elizabeth, though still professing popery, that she was every whit as much considered as her sister had been formerly.

52. He says, page 224, "Lady Mary having been sent for by Dudley's order, understood, when she was not far from London, that the king was expiring; and that she would be in great danger if she came in court; upon which she turned back."

Queen Mary had not been sent for by Dudley's order, the council had writ to her, that the king being ill desired her company: the news sent her from court was, that the king was dead; so she was desired to stir no further: and upon that retired to her house in the country.

53. He says, page 224, "Twenty days after that, she heard the king was dead; whereupon she made proclaim herself queen."

The discovery of the former error clears this; for she immediately gathered the people of Suffolk about her, and gave them her royal word that they should enjoy their religion as it had been established in king Edward's time; but though they were the first that proclaimed her queen, and came about her to defend her right, they were among the first that felt the severities of her reign.

54. He says, page 225, "Mary queen of Scots was married to the dolphin of France."

She was then but a little past ten years old, and was not married to the dolphin till five years after this.

55. He says, page 229, "Queen Mary, as soon as she came to the crown, without staying for an act of parliament concerning it, laid aside the prophane title of being head of the church."

We may expect as true a history of this reign as we had of the former, when in the first period of it there is so notorious a falsehood. She held two parliaments before she laid aside that title; for in the writ of summons for both, she was styled supreme head of the church; and all the reformed bishops were turned out by virtue of commissions which she issued out as supreme head. There was also a visitation made over England by her authority; and none were suffered to preach but upon licenses obtained under her great seal; so that she both retained the title and power of supreme head a year after she came to the crown.

56. He says, page 229, "She discharged the prisoners she found in the Tower; recalled the sentence against cardinal Pool, and discharged a tax due to her by the subjects."

The queen did free the prisoners of the Tower at her coming to the crown, and discharged the tax at her coronation: but for recalling the sentence against cardinal Pool, that being an act of parliament, she could not recal it; nor was it done till almost a year and an half after her coming to the crown.

57. He says, page 229, "She took care of the coin, that her subjects might suffer no more by the embasing it; so that they all saw the difference between a catholic and heretical prince."

I do not find any care was taken of the coin all her reign†; and the bringing that to a just standard is universally ascribed to queen Elizabeth. If there was a public joy upon her coming to the crown, it did not last long; and there was a far greater when she died. This observation is much more proper to the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, who began and continued to reign with so great and so uninterrupted a felicity, that none but a writer like our author would have made such a remark on the beginnings of this reign.

58. He says, page 230, "She overcame Wiat's rebellion, rather by her own faith, than by any force she had about her."

This is to make the reader think she defeated Wiat as Gideon did the Amalekites; but Wiat brought up not above 3000 men, and she had thrice that number about her. It was a desperate attempt, and that which was rather the effect of a precipitated design, than of prudent counsel.

59. He says, page 230, "She put her sister in the Tower, when it had appeared to the senate (which in his style is the parliament) that she had been engaged in Wiat's conspiracy."

This is said to cover her barbarous cruelty towards her sister; the matter never came before the parliament, and there was no ground ever given to justify the suspicion. It is true, Wiat hoping to have saved his

* Worcester was not entirely suppressed; for he was entitled bishop of Worcester, and enjoyed a great part of the revenues of Gloucester and Worcester, and kept great hospitality with them.—STRYPE's CORRECT.

† Queen Mary did set forth in August 1553 a proclamation "for assigning the value of the coin."—STRYPE's CORRECT.



life, by so foul a calumny, accused her: but when he saw he must die, he vindicated her openly on the scaffold. It is certain, if they could have found any colours to have excused severe proceedings against her, both the queen and the clergy who governed her were much inclined to have made use of them.

60. He says, page 231, "The queen was more ready to pardon crimes against herself, than offences against Christ and religion."

The more shame for those who governed her conscience, that made her so implacable to all whom she esteemed hereticks; since the Christian religion came not into the world, as the Author of it says of himself, "to destroy men's lives, but to save them:" yet she was not so merciful as he would represent her; witness her severities against her sister, and against Cranmer, even after he had signed the recantation of his former opinions.

61. He says, page 231, "Though some of the bishops were guilty of treason, yet she would not have them to be tried by the temporal laws, and referred even Cranmer himself to the spiritual jurisdiction."

Cranmer was tried for treason by virtue of a commission issued out by the queen; and all the other reformed bishops were turned out by delegates, empowered for that end by the queen's commissions.

62. He says, page 231, "Cranmer was condemed of treason in the parliament."

He was found guilty of treason by a jury of commissioners, and thereupon condemned by a commission of Oyer and Terminer; and not by the parliament. It is true, the parliament did afterwards confirm the sentence.

63. He says, page 231, "Before he was condemned, he feigned himself a catholick, and signed his retractation seventeen times with his own hand: but the bishops discovering his hypocrisy, degraded him and delivered him to the secular arm, upon which he was burnt at Oxford."

The popish party have but too great advantages against Cranmer in this last part of his life; so it was needless for our author to have mixed so much falsehood with this account: but he must go on in his ordinary method, even though it is not necessary for any of the ends he had set before himself. Cranmer stood out above two years and an half, in all which time he expressed great constancy of mind, and a readiness to die for that faith which he had before taught: nor would he fly beyond sea, though he had many opportunities to do it, and had reason enough to apprehend he could not escape at home. Upon his constant adhering to his former doctrines, he was condemned, degraded, and appointed to be burnt; and then the fears of death wrought that effect on him that he did recant, which he signed thrice: but the queen being set on revenge, would needs have him burnt after all that: so there was no discovery made of his hypocrisy, nor was there a sentence past upon it; but he, for all his recantation, was led out to be burnt: and then he returned back to his former doctrines, and expressed his repentance for his apostacy, with all the seriousness and horror that was possible.

64. He says, page 231, "The laws for burning hereticks were again revived, and by them not only Cranmer, but some hundreds of the false teachers were burnt."

A man's inclinations do generally appear in the lies he makes: so it seems our author wished it had been as he relates it was; but so far it was from this number, that there was not above a quarter of an hundred of the ministers burnt, (there were some hundreds of others burnt,) so ignorant was he of our affairs.

65. He says, page 232, "The queen did at first command all the strangers that were hereticks to leave the kingdom; upon which above 30,000, as was reckoned, went out of England."

The greatest number of the strangers were the Germans, and of these not above 200 went away, as themselves published it; but our author was generous and free-hearted, so that he would make the exiles to bear some proportion to the ministers that were burnt; and as he made some hundreds of the one, so 30,000 was but a moderate number to be exiled: 200 would have sounded pitifully in such an heroical work.

66. He says, page 232, "It was brought under debate, whether Peter Martyr should be burnt; but because he came into England upon the publick faith he was let go; yet his wife's body was raised out of the church-yard, and cast into a dunghill; and Bucer and Fagius's bodies were burnt."

It could not be debated whether Peter Martyr should be burnt; for the laws of burning were not made till a year after he went out of England: and the raising his wife's body, and the burning the other bodies, was done almost four years after this; though our author relates it as done at the same time.

67. He says, page 232, "The queen at first could not repeal the laws then in force for heresy; but she suspended them all, and exhorted her subjects to return to the catholick rites, upon which the people did universally return to them."

The queen could neither repeal nor suspend the laws then in force; and she did neither. When she was in Suffolk, she promised the religion established by law should not be changed: when she came to London, she declared she would force no consciences; but soon after she added a limitation to this, "till the parliament should order it." After that, all people were encouraged to set up the mass everywhere, and it did spread into most parts of the kingdom: but this was done both against law and the queen's royal word.

68. He says, page 232, "All pulpits were opened to catholick preachers, and the hereticks were not suffered to preach."

This he relates as if it had been the effect of the people's zeal; but it flowed from a proclamation of the queen's, that none should preach unless he obtained a license under the great seal, which was as high an act of supremacy as ever her father did.

69. He says, page 232, "She made first of all funeral rites to be performed for her brother, after the form of the catholicks, though he had died in heresy: and intended to have had such rites for her father, but being better instructed, she found it could not be done, for him that had been the chief author of the schism, and of all the evil that followed it."

King Edward was buried according to the rites of the English liturgy; so that the funeral rites were not according to the old forms. It is true, the queen had in her own chapel such rites for him. As for her father, some of the writers of that time say, it was much pressed, to have his body at least raised and carried out of the consecrated ground, if not burnt: and in this she is said to have stood upon the dignity of a crowned head, and the decency of a daughter's duty to her father's ashes; so that she would not consent to so barbarous a thing.

70. Page 233. He condemns those, who having been defiled with heresy, and thereby under censures, did, notwithstanding that, administer the sacraments, and do the other offices of priesthood, before they were reconciled to the see of Rome. This, he says, was such a sin, that it may be reckoned one of the causes of that queen's dying so soon; and he sets down

as a caution for the future, that if we should come to be again reconciled to that see, we might not relapse into the like error.

This was indeed cardinal Pool's advice, that the whole kingdom ought to have been put under an interdict, and that all holy offices were to cease, till they were reconciled to the see of Rome; but the whole clergy, not only many, as he says, being involved in those censures, if they had stayed for officiating till they had been reconciled to the see of Rome, perhaps it had not been done at all.

71. He says, page 233, "The queen, partly by her authority, partly by the concurrence of the parliament, got the ancient way of the service to be again restored, the hereticks not daring to oppose it much."

All that was done in the first parliament, was the restoring things to the same state they had been in when king Henry died; which was indeed the setting up that they called schism by law. It was no wonder those he calls hereticks could not oppose it much; when so many of their bishops had been turned out and imprisoned; others were violently thrust out of the house of lords, and the elections of the members of parliament had been so managed, that in many places force was used, and false returns were made in other places.

72. He says, page 234, "Only one that was bolder than the rest, threw a dagger at him who preached the first catholick sermon at St. Paul's: and another discharged a pistol at another, preaching in the same place."

This, one would think by his relation, was done after the parliament had set up the mass again; whereas it was soon after the queen came to the crown, long before the parliament; and that of the pistol was some months after the parliament. But if he had designed to deliver a true history to the world, he should have added, that upon the tumult that was raised against the preacher, he prayed Mr. Bradford and Mr. Rogers (two afterwards burnt for the reformed religion) to speak to the people, and persuade them to be quiet; upon which they both exhorted the people to behave themselves more peaceably and reverently; and Bradford went into the pulpit, that he might be the better heard; and so near was he to the danger, that the dagger pierced his sleeve; yet these two were had in such esteem that the tumult was quieted; and they carried the preacher safe home. One of them being to preach in the afternoon, exhorted the people to be peaceable and quiet, and severely condemned the tumult that had been in the morning. But such was the gratitude and justice of the popish party, that it was pretended, because they had appeased the tumult, that therefore they had also raised it: so they were upon that pretence put in prison, where they lay a year and a half, till the laws for burning were revived, and were then burnt for heresy.

73. He says, page 235, "Commendone was sent by order from the pope into England, who obtained a writing from the queen wherein she promised obedience to the see of Rome; upon which Pool was appointed legate."

It is no wonder our author understood not the affairs of the reformation aright, when he was so ill informed about the transactions of his own party. Commendone was not sent by the pope to England. The legate at Brussels sent him over from thence without staying for orders from Rome.

74. He says, page 239, "William Thomas, clerk of the council, had conspired to kill the queen; for which he justly suffered."

Of this I find nothing on record; so it must depend on our author's credit, which is not infallible.

75. He says, page 239, "The imposture of Elizabeth Crofts was set up by the persuasion of many of the hereticks: and when it was discovered she confessed she had been set on to it by other, and by one Drake in particular; but they all fled."

In the account that was then published of that imposture, Drake only is accused for it: what he was does not appear to me, for I have never found him mentioned but on this occasion; so there was no reason to transfer the private guilt of this conspiracy on a whole party, as our author does; though upon his credit one of our writers has also done it.

76. He says, page 243, "Those in whose hands the church lands were, had great apprehensions of their being forced to restore them, because the queen had restored all the lands that were in her hands, and had again converted the collegiate church of Westminster into an abbey; but to prevent the ill effects that might have followed on this, the cardinal did, in the pope's name, absolve them from all censures for possessing those lands, and that was confirmed by letters sent over from the pope."

He observes the order of time very exactly, when he sets the queen's restoring the church-lands, and founding the Abbey of Westminster, as the occasions of the fears the laity were in, of being forced to restore the rest of the church-lands; and of the cardinal's absolving them from all censures for keeping them still in their hands. The order in which this was done was thus; in November 1554, in the act of reconciliation with the see of Rome, there was a special proviso made for the church-lands, which the cardinal confirmed in the pope's name. In the year after that the queen gave up into the cardinal's hands all the church-lands that belonged to the crown; and two years after, she founded the Abbey of Westminster; so little influence had these things on the other that were done before. But he was grossly mistaken when he said the pope approved all: for he, in plain terms, refused to ratify what the cardinal had done; and soon after set out a severe bull, cursing and condemning all that held any church-lands.

77. He says, page 244, "All the bishops being sensible of their schismatical way of entering into their sees, did desire and obtain a confirmation from the pope. Kitchin, bishop of Landaff, only excepted, who afterward relapsed into heresy under queen Elizabeth;" and says, "it is likely the want of this confirmation made him be more easily overcome."

This our author wrote, being a thing very probable; and seldom do his authorities for what he asserts rise higher. It was also a pretty strain of his wit, to make the omitting of it fall singly on the only bishop that conformed under queen Elizabeth. But it is certain there was no such thing done at all; for if any had done it, Bonner was as likely as any other; since as none had been more faulty in king Henry's time, so none studied to redeem that with more servile compliances than he did; yet there is nothing of this recorded in his register, which continues entire to this day.

78. He said, page 246, "The state of the universities was restored to what it had been, and Oxford in particular, by Petrus a Soto's means, who was in the opinion of all much preferred to P. Martyr."

He that gathered the antiquities of Oxford, though no partial writer on this occasion, represents the state of that university very differently; that there were almost no divines in it, and scarce any public lectures. But when Sanders writ his poem, the Spanish councils were so much depended on by him and his party, that it was fit to put that complement on the nation concerning Petrus a Soto. Whether it was true or false,



was a circumstance which he generously overlooked for most part.

79. He says, page 248, "Queen Elizabeth had done many things in queen Mary's time, both against her person and government."

He knew this was so false, that there was never a circumstance or a presumption brought against her but the information which Wiat gave, hoping thereby to save himself; and yet he denied that on the scaffold. If there had been any colour to have justified the taking away her life, both the queen and her counsellors were as much inclined to it as our author himself was.

80. He says, page 248, "King Henry said in parliament, she was not and could not be his daughter, for a secret reason he had revealed to the archbishop of Canterbury."

This was aptly enough said by a writer, that had emancipated himself from the laws of truth and veracity, to appeal to such a story; yet to have made it pass the better, he should have named other circumstances; for such a thing cannot be easily believed, since after Ann Boleyn's death, the king continued to treat Elizabeth still as his daughter; so that when she writ to his next queen she subscribed daughter: she was in all things educated with the care and state that became a king's child; and was, both by act of parliament and by his will, declared to be so. Now to think that such a king would have done all this after he had in parliament declared that she could not be his child, is a little too coarse to be believed, and so should have been supported with more than ordinary proofs.

81. He says, page 248, "She came to the crown merely by virtue of the act of parliament, without being legitimated."

In this, she and her sister were upon the same level; for neither of them were declared legitimate; so this was not to be objected to the one more than to the other sister.

82. He says, page 249, "Queen Mary being declared by act of parliament in the beginning of her reign legitimate, and her mother's marriage being declared good, Elizabeth was thereby of new illegitimated; yet she never repealed the laws against her title; but kept the crown merely upon the authority of an act of parliament, without having any regard to her birth."

Queen Mary came to the crown being in the same condition, and was either a lawful queen before that act was made, or else that act was of no force if it had not the royal assent given by a lawful queen. So queen Elizabeth was as much queen before any such act could have passed as afterwards: and therefore since it was not necessary for the securing her title, it was a sign of her tenderness of her father's memory, to which queen Mary had no regard, not to revive the remembrance of things that must have turned so much to his dishonour as that would have done.

83. He says, page 250, "Queen Mary not being able to prevent her sister's succession, sent a message to her on her death-bed, desiring her to pay her debts, and to preserve the catholic religion; both which she promised, but performed neither."

This is said without any proof, and is not at all probable; but is an ornament added to set off the one and blemish the other. Queen Mary's sickness was concealed as much as was possible. A week before her death, they were burning hereticks as busily as ever; and by the managing affairs in the parliament, it appears there was great care taken to conceal the desperate condition she was in: so it is not likely that any such message was sent by her to her sister.

And thus far have I traced our author in the history he gives of the reigns of king Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, and queen Mary, and have discovered an equal measure of ignorance and malice in him: but he was the fitter to serve their ends who employed him, and were resolved to believe him, how false or improbable soever his relation might be. We see what use they have made of him ever since that time. His friends were so sensible of the advantage their cause received from such a way of writing, that they resolved to continue down the history through queen Elizabeth's reign, in which, we are told, Sanders himself made some progress; but that not being done to such a perfection as Rishton and others intended to bring it, they undertook it; and have written so skilfully after the copy Sanders had given them, that if it is possible, they have outdone him in these two particular excellences of writing histories—in which he was so great a master,—impudence, and falsehood as to matter of fact. In one thing they had manifestly the better of him, that they writing of what fell out in their own time, could not be ignorant of the truth of things; whereas he writing of what was done before he was born, or when he was but a child, might have said many things more innocently, delivering them as he had them by report. But this excuse cannot fit them, who did knowingly, and on design, prevaricate so grossly in matters of fact: a little taste of these I shall give, only so far as I have carried down the history of this queen; for to examine all the faults they have committed would require a new volume; but from the taste I shall give the reader, he will easily know what judgment to pass on the whole work.

As for the decency of the style, the first period gives an essay of it, in which the author promises such a description of the queen's reign, that "this lioness shall be known by her claws:" and for his sincerity in writing, the whole preface is one indication of it, in which he accuses the queen for acting against the laws of nature and religion in assuming the supremacy; and represents it so, that the reader must needs think she was the high-priest of England, that ordained bishops and ministers, and performed all other holy offices: whereas she was so scrupulous in this point, that as she would not be called the supreme head of the church, so she made it be declared, both in one of the articles of religion set forth in the beginning of her reign, and afterwards in an act of parliament, what was the nature of that supremacy which she assumed; making it both a part of the religion, and the law of the land. By these it was declared, "that they gave her not the ministry of God's word, or of the sacraments; but only that prerogative which was given by God himself in the Scriptures to godly princes; that they should rule all committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers." If men were not past shame, they could not, after such an express and public declaration, put on the confidence of writing as this author does. I shall follow him in some more steps, and doubt not but I shall convince the reader, that he was the fittest man that could be found to have writ a continuation of Sanders's history.

1. He says, page 255, "Henry the Second of France, in a solemn assembly, did, after queen Mary's death, declare the queen of Scotland, his daughter-in-law, queen of England and Ireland."

This was neither done in a solemn assembly, nor presently after queen Mary's death; nor was it done by Henry the Second. The queen of Scotland did, by her uncle's advice, assume that title, without any public act: and it was not done till they understood

that Philip was moving for a dispensation in the court of Rome for marrying queen Elizabeth; king Henry did only connive at it, but neither ordered it nor justified it, when the queen's ambassador complained of it. An author that is so happy in his first period as to make three such mistakes, is likely to give us an excellent history.

2. He says, page 255, "The archbishop of York, and all the other bishops, one only excepted, refused to anoint her."

This was one of the most extraordinary things that ever was in any government, that the bishops refusing to crown the queen, were not only not punished for it, but continued to hold their bishoprics still: and the archbishop of York was continued a privy-councillor many months after this. This is none of the claws of the lioness, but rather a slackness and easiness of clemency that deserves censure, if it had not been that the queen resolved to begin her reign with the most signal acts of mercy that were possible.

3. He says, page 256, "Cecil and his friend Bacon raised vast estates to themselves, and involved the government into vast difficulties, and brought the queen's revenue into great, or rather inextricable confusion."

This may pass among foreigners, and perhaps be believed; but we at home, that when we wish for happy times, and excellent counsellors, do naturally reflect on the days of that glorious queen, and her wise councils, will not be much wrought on by it. The revenue was never better managed, the undertakings of the government were never greater, and the charge was never less. This gives a character of those ministers beyond all exception. Sir Nicholas Bacon never raised himself above that quality which he brought with him into the court. And Cecil was not advanced above the lowest rank of nobility, though he was in the chief ministry above thirty years; and though they both left good estates behind them, yet far short of what might have been expected after so long a course in such great and high employments.

4. He says, page 257, "There was an oath enacted in the parliament for the queen's supremacy; and those who refused to swear it, for the first offence were to forfeit their benefices, and all their goods, and to be prisoners for life; the second offence was made treason."

Such a false recital of a printed act, deserves a severer animadversion than I shall bestow on it. The refusing that oath did infer no other punishment but the forfeiture of benefices and offices; and the parties so refusing were subjected to no other danger, nor was the oath to be put to them a second time. It is true, if any did assert the authority of any foreign potentate, that was more penal: yet that was not as our author represents it: for the first offence there, was a forfeiture of one's goods; or in case of poverty, one year's imprisonment: the second offence brought the offender within a premunire: and the third was treason.

5. He says, page 258, "The change that was made, of the title of supreme head, into that of supreme governor, deceived many; yet others thought that the queen might have thereby assumed an authority for administering the sacraments; but to clear all scruples, she in the first visitation ordered it to be thus explained, that she thereby pretended to no more power than what her father and brother had exercised."

In the first visitation ordered by the queen, there was an injunction given explanatory to the oath of supremacy; declaring that she did not pretend to any authority for the ministry of Divine service in the church, and challenged nothing but what had at all times belonged to the crown of England; which was a sovereignty over all manner of persons under God: so that no foreign power had any rule over them; and so was willing to acquit such as took it in that sense of all the penalties in the act. So that it is plain she assumed nothing but the royal authority, and was ready to accept of such explications as might clear all ambiguities.

6. Page 259. He reckons, among the laws that were made, this for one, that "bishops should hold their sees only during the queen's pleasure, and exercise no other authority but only as they derived it from her."

The laws he reckons were those made by king Henry now revived: but this law is falsely recited in both the parts of it: for the bishops were to hold their sees, as all others do their freeholds, without any dependence on the queen's pleasure; and were to exercise their jurisdiction in their own names, and according to the ecclesiastical laws, and were not forced to take commissions to hold their bishopricks during the queen's pleasure, as had been done both in king Henry and king Edward's time.

7. Page 263. After a long discourse against the queen's supremacy, he says, "the laws concerning it, and other points of religion, did pass with great difficulty in the house of lords, all the bishops opposing them, and those noblemen in particular who had gone to Rome upon the embassy queen Mary sent thither did very earnestly dissuade it."

It is true, all the bishops did oppose them, though both Tonstal, Heath, Thirleby, and some others had consented to and written for king Henry's supremacy; which was (at least as to the manner of expressing it) of a higher strain than that to which the queen did now pretend. They had also submitted to all the changes that had been made in king Edward's time. For the temporal lords, none dissented from the act of supremacy but the earl of Shrewsbury and the viscount Montacute, so the opposition was small where so few entered their dissents; and of these, only the viscount Montacute had been at Rome, sent thither by queen Mary. It is true, the marquess of Winchester, and the lords, Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North, dissented from the bill for the Book of Common Prayer, and some other acts that related to the reformation; but these being but few in number, were far short of those that were for them: and it is clear the queen left the peers wholly to their freedom, since the marquess of Winchester, notwithstanding his dissent, continued to hold that great office of lord treasurer, in which he had been put in king Edward's time, and which he had kept all queen Mary's reign, till his death, fourteen years after this; this may perhaps be justly censured, as looking too like a remissness in the matters of religion, when he that dissented to the reformation was yet so long employed in the greatest trust in the kingdom; but certainly this is none of the "claws to know the lioness by."

8. He says, page 263, "The queen gave the earl of Arundel some hopes that she would marry him, and so persuaded him to consent to the laws now made; but afterwards slighted him, and declared "she would live and die a virgin."

The journals of parliament shew how false this is; for the address was made to the queen, persuading her to marry; to which she made the answer set down by our author on the 6th of February, and the act of supremacy, with the other acts concerning religion, passed in April thereafter; so that the queen, after so public a declaration of her unwillingness to marry, could not have deluded the earl of Arundel with the hopes of it.

9. He says, page 263, "She wrought on the duke of Norfolk, by promising him a dispensation in the business of his marriage, which he could not obtain of the pope."

It is not like the duke of Norfolk was denied any such dispensation from Rome, nor are there any dispensations granted in England for marrying in the forbidden degrees: cousin-germans are the nearest that may marry. The obtaining a license for that at Rome is a matter of course, so the fees are but paid; and the law allows that to all in England. Nor are there any dispensations in matrimonial matters except concerning the time, the place, or the asking of bans; and it is not likely these were ever denied to any at Rome. As for his long excursion concerning that duke's death, it not falling within the compass of my history, I shall not follow him in it.

10. He says, page 266, "The protestants desired a public disputation: so the queen commanded the bishops to make ready for it; they refused it a great while, since that seemed to make the faith of the church subject to the judgment of the ignorant laity; but at last they were forced to yield to it, and the points were, communion in both kinds, prayer in a known tongue, and the like."

The act of council has it otherwise: by it we see that the archbishop of York, being then a privy-councillor, did heartily agree to it, and undertook that the rest of his brethren should follow the orders that were made by the council concerning it; though it is not to be denied but some of the bishops were secretly dissatisfied with it, as they had good reason, since a public disputation was like to lay open the weakness of their cause, which was never so safe as when it was received in gross, without descending to troublesome enquiries concerning it. The communion in both kinds was not one of the articles.

11. He says, page 266, "Bacon, a layman, was judge, the archbishop of York sitting next to him, only for form's sake."

Bacon was not judge; the whole privy-council were present to order the forms of the debate; and he, as the first of that board, did only give directions, according to the order that had been formerly agreed on.

12. He says, page 226, "On the 3rd of April they disputed, but there was nothing done with order or justice; the time was spent in declamations, while the profane judge directed all things at his pleasure, so that it came to nothing."

It is true, the order was broken; but it had been unkindly done of our author to tell by whom. The papists refused the first day to give their reasons in writing, as had been agreed on before, and as was accordingly done by the reformed; and upon the second day they refused to proceed, unless, contrary to what had been concluded, the reformed should read their papers first: so the disputation broke up, it appearing evidently that the one side were not afraid of a public hearing, but that the other were.

*The Conclusion.*

I pursue these calumnies no further, because I cannot offer a confutation of them without a larger digression, since I break off my history in the second year of this reign, so that I cannot refer the reader to those more copious accounts given by me, as I have done in the former remarks, where a short hint was sufficient. And I do not judge it worth the while to enter into such a full search of these matters as a confutation would require, only to expose Rishton. These evidences which I have given of his ignorance and injustice will satisfy impartial readers; and I am out of hopes of convincing those that are so wedded to an interest, that they are resolved to believe all that is said of their side, how improbable soever it may appear, or how slenderly soever it may be proved.

And now I hope the reformation of this church appears in its true colours, and the calumnies by which its adversaries have endeavoured so long to disgrace it, are so evidently confuted, that they will be no more supported by their own side, nor so tamely assented to by any that in their hearts may perhaps love the reformation, and yet are too easily prevailed on to drink in the prejudices that are raised by the confidence with which those slanders have been vented. Now, the matter is better understood, and though at this distance, and after the rasure of records made in queen Mary's reign, it must be acknowledged that there are many things either quite past over or so defectively related by me, that this work wants that perfection which were to be desired. Yet notwithstanding all these disadvantages, besides the faults of style, method, or way of expression which may be more justly put to my account, though having done it in the best manner I could, I have little to answer for but the presumption of undertaking a design too high for me to perform with that life and perfection that such a subject required; and even in that I rather submitted to the authority of others who engaged me in it, than vainly fancied myself able to accomplish it; but after all those allowances that are necessary, of which there can none be more sensible than myself, I am not out of hope but this work may have some good effect on such as shall read it impartially and with candour; and that those who are already of our church shall be induced to like it the better, when they see what the beginnings of our reformation were: and those who are not of our communion may the more easily be brought into it, when they see by what steps and upon what reasons the changes were made: and if this success follows my poor endeavours, I shall think my time and pains have been well employed.

I am apprehensive enough of the faults I may be guilty of; but I shall now give the reader such an assurance of my readiness to correct them, as soon as I am convinced of them, that I hope if anything occurs to any that deserves censure, they will communicate it first to myself; and if I do not, upon better information, retract what I have written, then I shall allow them to make it public in what manner they please. And it may be presumed I will not be for the future unwilling to do this, by the following account of the mistakes which I made in the former part, communicated to me by Mr. Fulman *, of whom I made mention in the preface. With these I conclude this work.

* The corrections sent to the author by Mr. Fulman and others have been in this edition either given in the form of notes, or embodied in the text.—Ed.

# A COLLECTION OF RECORDS, LETTERS,

AND

# ORIGINAL PAPERS;

WITH

OTHER INSTRUMENTS REFERRED TO IN THE THIRD PART OF THE FORMER HISTORY.

# A COLLECTION OF RECORDS.

NUMBER I.

*The Bull of Pope Paul the IVth, annulling all the Alienations of Church Lands.*

[Bullar. Cherubini. Bulla secunda Pauli Quarti.]

Rescissio alienationum et locationum quorumcunque bonorum Ecclesiasticorum, in damnum Ecclesiarum, vel non servatis juris solemnitatibus aut alias nulliter factarum.

SIMILEM rescissionem fecit, Leo X. et postea Jul. III. quas prætermisi tanquam minus necessarias, et eas inseruit Rodoan. in suo Tract. de Reb. Eccles. non alienan. et eandem edidit etiam Pius IV. quo ad bona Sedis, et Cameræ Apostolicæ in Const. 104. Apostolica. Quamvis prius ipse hanc bullam generaliter reduxisset ad terminos juris communis in Const. 11. Provida. Sed Pius V. ejusmodi bonorum omnium Ecclesiasticorum alienationis rescissionem commisit Collegio Fabricæ Basilicæ S. Petri de Urbe, ut in sua Const. 98. et si de singulis.

De alienationibus istis, habes supra Const. 1. Leonis 1. Fol. 1. et Pauli II. in Const. 5. Ambitiosæ. Fol. 329. Et de alienationibus ac infeudationibus Civitatum et Terrarum sedis Apostolicæ, ac bonorum quæ subditi Papæ habent in ejus statu Ecclesiastico, plene dicam in constitut. 1. Innocent IX. Quæ ab hac.

Paulus Episcopus, *servus servorum Dei. Ad futurum rei memoriam.*

[Edita A. D. 1555.]

1. Injunctum nobis desuper, meritis licet imparibus, Apostolicæ servitutis officium, mentem nostram continua pulsat instantia, ut bona Ecclesiastica, quæ cæca hominum cupiditate occupata detinentur, nostræ operationis Ministerio, ad jus, et proprietatem eorum quorum antea erant, omnino reducantur. Cum itaque (sicut nobis innotuit) licet alias fel. re. Symmachus Papa Prædecessor noster prædium Ecclesiæ pro aliqua necessitate quovis modo alienari, aut jura Ecclesiæ in usum fructum dari prohibuerit, et lege hujusmodi omnes custodes astringi, ac donatorem, ac censuatorem, et venditorem honorem perdere, et qui præmissis subscriberet, anathema esse, cum eo qui daret, sive reciperet, nisi restituerentur, et quas libet Ecclesiasticas personas contradicere, et cum fructibus alienata reposcere posse, hocque non solum in Ecclesia Romana conservari, verum etiam in universis per provincias Ecclesiis convenire voluerit.

Symmachus Papa bona Ecclesiastica alienari prohibuit. in c. 6. de Reb. Eccles. non alienan.

2. Et piæ mem. Paulus Papa 2. etiam prædecessor noster omnium rerum, et bonorum Ecclesiasticorum alienationem, omneque pactum, per quod ipsorum dominium transferretur, ac concessionem, hypothecam, locationem, et conductionem ultra triennium, necnon infeudationem, vel contractum emphyteuticum, præterquam in casibus à jure permissis, ac de rebus et bonis in emphyteusim ab antiquo concedi solitis, fieri prohibuerit. Et si quis contra hujus posterioris prohibitionis seriem, de bonis et rebus eisdem quicquam alienare presumeret, alienatio, hypotheca, concessio, locatio, conductio, infeudatio hujusmodi nullius omnino essent roboris, vel momenti, et tam qui alienaret, quam qui alienatas res, et bona reciperet, sententiam excommunicationis incurreret, et nihilominus res et bona alienata hujusmodi, ad Ecclesias, monasteria, et loca pia, ad quæ antea pertinebant, libere reverterentur.

Paulus 2. alienationes bonorum Ecclesiasticorum, et ultra triennium locationes, &c. interdixit in Const. cit. in rubr.

3. Nihilominus à nonnullis annis citra diversæ personæ, tam seculares quam Ecclesiasticæ, complura Castra, Terras, Oppida, Civitates, et loca, tam Romanæ prædictæ, quam diversarum Cathedralium, etiam Metropolitanum et aliarum Ecclesiarum, necnon Monasteriorum, domorum, et aliorum Regularium locorum, ac Hospitalium, et aliorum Piorum locorum, prætextu diversarum alienationum, eis de castris, terris, oppidis, civitatibus, et locis prædictis in evidens damnum Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, domorum, Hospitalium, et aliorum Regularium, et Piorum locorum, seu alias non servatis solemnitatibus à jure requisitis factarum occupaverint, et occupata detinuerint, detineant de præsenti, ac ex inde factum sit, ut non solum Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, et domorum Prælati, ac Hospitalium, et aliorum Regularium, et Piorum locorum hujusmodi Rectores, qui ex fructibus, redditibus et proventibus castrorum, terrarum, oppidorum, civitatum, et locorum hujusmodi, Ecclesias, Monasteria, et domus, Hospitalia, et alia loca prædicta gubernabant, et illustrabant, ac eorum Ministris alimoniam prebebant, notabiliter sint damnificati, verum etiam Rom. Pont. qui antea egenis, et miserabilibus personis, præsertim nobilibus ad hanc Almam Urbem pro tempore confugientibus alimenta aliunde subministrare consueverat, vix se et familiam suam sustentare, ne dum aliis alimenta subministrare possit, in divinæ Majestatis offensam, et ordinis clericalis opprobrium, ac plurimorum Christi fidelium scandalum.

Alienationes tamen multæ factæ fuerunt in damnum Ecclesiarum, vel non servatis solemnitatibus.

4. Nos præmissa conniventibus oculis pertransire nequeuntes, quinimmo cupientes eis, quantum cum Deo possumus, opportunum remedium adhibere, motu proprio, et ex certa nostra scientia, ac de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, omnes et singulas alienationes, et in emphyteusim, seu censum perpetuum, aut tertiam, vel aliam generationem, seu hominis vitam, aut aliud tempus ultra triennium locationes vel concessiones, seu permutationes, hypothecas, et obligationes, de quibus vis castris, terris, oppidis, civitatibus, et locis, aut aliis bonis immobilibus, seu rebus, et juribus, tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus ejusdem Romanæ, et quarumcunque Cathedralium, etiam Metropolitan, et aliarum Ecclesiarum, necnon Monasteriorum,

Ideo hic Pont. alias rescindit, et annulat.

domorum, et aliorum Regularium locorum, et quorumvis beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, cum cura et sine cura, secularium, et quorumvis Ordinum Regularium, necnon Hospitalium, et aliorum piorum locorum quorumlibet, per quoscunque etiam Rom. Pont. prædecessores nostros, seu eorum auctoritate, vel mandato, Camerarios suos, et Clericos Cameræ Apostolicæ Præsidentes; ac quosvis Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, et domorum Prælatos, et beneficiatos, necnon Hospitalium, et aliorum Regularium, et piorum locorum Rectores, cujuscunque dignitatis, status gradus, ordinis, et conditionis existentes, etiam si Cardinalatus honore pollerent, in damnum Ecclesiæ, seu non servatis solemnitatibus à jure requisitis, aut alias nulliter hactenus factas, et contractus superinde sub quibusvis formis, et verborum expressionibus habitos, et Celebratos, etiam si juramento vallati existant, et quantumvis longa temporis præscriptione robur sumpsisse dici possint, ac ipsius Romanæ Ecclesiæ favorum, aut commodum concernant, eorum omnium tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum insererenter, præsentibus pro expressis habentes, Apostolica auctoritate, tenore præsentium rescindimus, irritamus, cassamus, et annullamus, ac viribus omnino evacuamus, ac pro rescissis, irritis, cassis, et nullis, ac penitus infectis haberi Volumus.

Detentores q. debere relaxare bona occupata, et fructus restituere declarat.

5. Ipsosq; detentores ad Castra, terras, oppida, civitates, et loca occupata, ac bona, res, et jura prædicta Romanæ et Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitan ac aliis Ecclesiis, necnon Monasteriis, domibus, Hospitalibus, et beneficiis, ac Regularibus, et piis locis relaxandum, et de fructibus, tam hactenus perceptis quam in posterum percipiendis, realiter satisfaciendum teneri, et ad id etiam sententiis, censuris, et pœnis Ecclesiasticis, ac etiam pecuniariis, omnibusq; aliis opportunis, juris et facti, remediis cogi, et compelli posse.

Decretum irritans.

6. Sicque in præmissis omnibus et singulis per quoscunque Judices, et Commissarios, quavis auctoritate fungentes, etiam causarum Palatii Apostolici Auditores, et ipsius Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinales, ac eorum Collegium in quavis causa, et instantia, sublata eis, et eorum cuilibet quavis aliter judicandi, et interpretandi auctoritate, et facultate, judicari, et diffiniri debere ac si secus super his à quoquam quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari, irritum et inane decernimus.

Clausulæ derogatoriæ.

7. Non obstantibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus Apostolicis, cæterisq; contrariis quibuscunque. Nulli ergo &c. Si quis &c.

D. P. An. 1. die 12 Julii.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, 1555. Pridie idus Julii, Pont. nostri Anno primo.

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NUMBER II.

*A Letter of Queen Katherine's to King Henry, upon the Defeat of James the IVth, King of Scotland.—An Original.*

[Vespatian. F. 3. P. 15.]

Sir,—My lord Howard hath sent me a letter open to your grace within oon of myn, by the whiche ye shall see at length the grete victorye that our Lord hath sent your subjects in your absence: and for this cause it is noo nede herin to trouble your grace with long writing; but to my thinking this batell hath been to your grace and al your realme the grettest honor that coude bee, and more than ye shuld wyn al the crown of Fraunce: thankend bee God of it, and I am suer your grace forgeteth not to doe this, which shal be cause to sende you many more suche grete victoryes, as trust he shal doe. My husband, for hastynesse with Rogecrosse, I coude not send your grace the peese of the king of Scotts' cote, which John Clyn now bringeth, in this your grace shall see, how I can kepe my promys: sending you for your baners a king's cote. I thought to send himself unto you, but our Englishe mens harts wold not suffer it: it shuld have been better for hym to have been in peas than to have this rewarde, al that God sendeth is for the best. My lord of Surroy, my Henry, wold fayne knowe your pleasure in the buryeing of the king of Scotts' body, for he hath written to me soo, with the next messanger your grace pleasure may bee herin knowen; and with this I make an ende, praying God to sende you home shortly: for without this no joye here can be accomplished: and for the same I pray and now go to our Lady at Walsingham, that I promised soe longe agoe to see, at Woborne the xvj day of September.

I send your grace herin a bill founde in a Scottyshe man's purse, of suche things as the Frenshe king sent to the said king of Scotts to make warre against you: beseeching you to send Mathewe Heder assone this messanger cometh to bringe me tydings from your grace.

Your humble wife and true servant,
KATHERINE.

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NUMBER III.

*A Letter of Cardinal Wolsey's to King Henry, with a Copy of his Book for the Pope.—An Original.*

[Paper-Office.]

Sir,—These shall be onely to advertise your grace that at this presant tyme I do sende Mr. Tate vnto your highnes with the booke bounden and dressed, which ye purpose to send to the pope's holynes, with a memoriall of such other, as be allso to be sent by him with his autentique bulles to all other princes and universities. And albeit, sr, this booke is right honorable pleasant and fair, yet I assure your grace, that which Hall hath written (which within four days wolbe parfited) is ferre more excellent and princely: and shall long contynue for your perpetuall memory whereof your grace shall be more plenarlye informed by the said Mr. Tate. I do send also unto your highnes the choyse of certeyne versis to be written in the booke to be sent to the pope of your owne hande: with the subscription of your name to remain *in Archivis Eccl'ie ad perpetuam et Immortalem vestræ Magestatis gloriam, laudem, et memoriam*, by your

Most humble chaplain,
T. Car'lis. Ebor.

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NUMBER IV.

*A Letter of Cardinal Wolsey's to King Henry, about Foreign News; and concerning Luther's Answer to the King's Book.—An Original.*

Sir,—After my most humble and lowly recommendations, these shall be to advertise your highness that as yet our Lord be thanked there is not commen any confirmation either from Rome, Venice, Italy, France, or Flanders, of the late newes, which was sent from the archeduke to the lady Margaret: whereof by many other letters I advertised your grace. So that nowe the said news be generally reputed and taken but as frasks: and the braging avaunts of the Spaniards be so accalmed that they not only account such money as they have hitherto layde upon the said news to be thereby lost, but also they dare not nowe aventre fyve, foure, or thre for a hundred. Howbeit, sir, I do not a lytel marvyle that sinnes the seventh day of the last month in the which it was wrytten that the feate against the Venetians should be doon, there be more letters commen either from France, Rome, Venyse, or Italy. It is bruted in Flanders that Pavy by dedition should be delivered to the said Venetians' hands, which if it be true your grace shall shortly here of the Spaniards' total exterminion out of Italy.

I forbere, sir, to dispech your letters to the cardinal of Magunce and the duke George of Saxe: because I have not as yet neyther Luther's original letters, which were very necessary to be sent to the pope's holiness, nor also any copy thereof, which must nede be sent with your answer to the said cardinal and duke. It may be your pleasure to take orders that the said original letter or copy thereof may be sent unto me with diligence. Other news I have none to signify unto your highness at this present tyme; but as other shall occurr I shall not fail to advertise your grace of the same accordingly. At your grace' mannor of Hampton Court, the fourth day of August, by your

Most humble chapleyn,
T. Car'lis. Ebor.

To the King's most Noble Grace,
Defender of the Faith.

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NUMBER V.

*A Letter of Cardinal Wolsey's to King Henry, sent with Letters that the King was to write to the Emperor.—An Original.*

[Paper-Office.]

And forasmuch as at my commyng to your town of Calais, I suppose I shall be greatly pressed to repair to the emperor's presence, which to do without your letters written with your owne hand I cannot conveniently do, therefor I have divised two short letters, the one to the said emperor, and the other to my lady, beseechyng your grace to take the payne to write and sende the same unto me by this berer; whom I perposely sende at this tyme to your grace, surely to bring the same unto me with diligence. And albeit I shall have your said letters in redyness, yet I shall never the rather advance my jorney towards hym till such tyme as I shall see opertunite: so that I have takyn some convenient order, with the ambassadors of France for voidyng of all jelousie and suspition: and as I shall proceed with the ambassadors on both parties, and fynde them disposed, so shall I advertise your grace with all diligence from tyme to tyme. And thus Heauen preserue your most noble and roiall astate. At Dover, the first day of August, by your

Most humble chapleyn,
T. Car'lis. Ebor.

To the King's grace.

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NUMBER VI.

*A Letter of Cardinal Wolsey's to the King, concerning the Emperor's Firmness to him.—An Original.*

[Paper-Office.]

Sir,—Thes wrytten with my owne hand shall be onely to advertise your grace, what I do perceyve and be in the emperor's owne parson, wich I assure your grace for his age is very wyse and wel understanding hys afferys: rygth colde and temperat in spech, with assury'd maner towchyng hys words, rygth wel and to good purpose when he doth speke: and undowgttydly by all appearance he shall prove a very wyse man, gretly inclyned to trewgth and observance of his promyse; determynyd not onely fastly holly and entirly for ever, from hens forth to be joyned with your grace, leving all other practyse and intellygens apart: but also in all his afferys to take and folowe your counsell and advise: and nothing to do without the same, and lyke as your grace hath your singuler affyance in me, puttyng the burdeyn of your officys on my shulders, thougth I knowleg my self farr unmeet for the same; so he ys determyned to do for his part. And hereunto he hath not onely bowndyn him sylf to me apart, twys or thrys by hys feyth and trowth givyn in my hande; but also he hath to every one of your privy counsell in most constant wyse declary'd the same, in suche maner and fashion as we all may perceyve that the same procedyth of his harte, without coloure, dissymulation or fashion. Wherfor, syr, ye have cause to give thanks to Almighty God, wich hath given you grace so to ordyr and commen your afferys, that ye be not only the ruler of thys your realme, wich ys in an angle of the worlde; but also by your wisdome and counsel Spayne, Itally, Almayne, and thes Lowe Cowntyes, wich ys the gretest parte of Chrystendome, shall be ruled and governed. And as for France, thys knot nowe beyng assurydly knit, shall not fayle to do as your grace shall commande. What honour thys is to your highnes I dougth not but that your grace of your high wysdom can rygth well consyder: giveying most harty thanks to Almighty God for the same accordingly, beseechyng your grace most humbly so to do, whereby thys thyng thus honorably commensyd shall not fayle to your great exultation, to come to the desyryd ende: to the atteynyng wherof I shall empley my poore parson wyt exspensyons, substance and blood. From Grevelyng, the 28th day of August, with the rude hand of your

Most humble chapleyn,
T. Car'lis. Ebor.

To the Kings grace ys owne hands onely.

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NUMBER VII.

*The First Letter of Cardinal Wolsey, to King Henry, about his Election to the Popedom upon Adrian's Death.*

[From the Originals lent me by Sir William Cook.]

Sir, it may like your highnesse to understand I have this houre received letters from your orators resident in the court of Rome, mentioning how the xivth day of this instant moneth it pleased Almighty God to call the pope's holynesse to his mercy, whose soul our Lord pardon. And in what trayn the matters there were at that time for election of the future pope, your highnesse shall perceive by the letters of your said orators, which I send unto the same at this time, whereby appeareth that mine absence from thence shall be the onely obstacle (if any be) in the election of me to that dignity; albeit there is no great semblance that the college of cardinals shall consent upon any being there present, because of the sundry factions that be among themselves, for which cause, tho afore God, I repute myself right unmeet and unable to so high and great dignity, desiring much rather to demure, continue and end my life with your grace, for doing of such service as may be to your honour and wealth of this your realm, than to be X popes; yet neverthelesse, remembring what mind and opinion your grace was of, at the last vacation, to have me preferred thereunto, thinking that it should be to the honour, benefit, and advancement of your affaires in time coming: and supposing verily that your highnesse

persisteth in the same mind and intent, I shall devise such instructions, commissions, and other writings, as the last time was delivered to Mr. Pace for that purpose: and the same I shall send to your grace by the next post, whom it may like to do farther therein as shall stand with your gracious pleasure, whereunto I shall always conform my self accordingly. And to the intent it may appear farther to your grace what mind and determination they be of towards mine advancement, which, as your orators wrote, have now at this present time the principal authority and chief stroke in the election of the pope, making in manner "Triumviratum," I send unto your highnesse their several letters to me addressed in that behalf, beseeching our Lord that such one may be chosen as may be to the honour of God, the weal of Christ's church, and the benefit of all Christendom. And thus Jesu preserve your most noble and royal estate. At the More, the last day of September, by

Your most humble chaplayn,
T. Car'lis. Ebor.

NUMBER VIII.

*The Second Letter of Cardinal Wolsey to the King, about the Succession to the Popedom.*

Sir,—It may like your grace to understand that ensuing the tenor of my letter sent unto your highnesse yesterday, I have devised such commissions and letters to be sent unto your counsellors the bishop of Bath, Mr. Richard Pace, and Mr. Thomas Hanibal, jointly and severally, as at the last time of vacation of the papall dignity were delivered unto the said Mr. Richard Pace, for the preferment either of me, or that failing of the cardinal de Medici unto the same, which letters and commissions if it stand with your gracious pleasure to have that matter set forth, it may like your highnesse of your benign grace and goodness to signe, so to be sent to the court of Rome in such diligence as the importance of the same, with the brevity of the time, doth necessarily require. And to the intent also that the emperor may the more effectually and speedily concurre with your highnesse for the furtherance hereof, albeit I suppose verily that ensuing the conference and communications which he hath had with your grace in that behalf, he hath not prætermitted before this time to advance the same, yet neverthelesse for the more acceleration of this furtherance to be given thereunto, I have also devised a familiar letter in the name of your grace to be directed unto his majesty, which if it may please your highnesse to take the payne for to write with your own hand, putting thereunto your secret sign and mark, being between your grace and the said emperor, shall undoubtedly do singular benefit and furtherance to your gracious intent and vertuous purpose in that behalf. Beseeching Almighty God that such effect may ensue thereof as may be to his pleasure, the contentation of your highnesse, the weal and exaltation of your most royal estate, realm, and affaires; and howsoever the matter shall chance, I shall no lesse knowledge my self obliged and bounden farr above any my deserts unto your highnesse, then if I had attained the same, whereunto I would never in thought aspire, but to do honour, good, and service unto your noble person and this your realm. And thus Jesu preserve your most noble and royal estate. At the More, the first day of October, by

Your most humble chaplayn,
T. Car'lis. Ebor.

NUMBER IX.

*The Third Letter of Cardinal Wolsey; giving an Account of the Election of Cardinal Medici to the Popedom.*

Sir,—After my most humble and lowly recommendations, this shall be onely to advertise your highnesse that after great and long altercations and contrariety which hath depended between the cardinalls in the conclave, they at the last fully resolved and determined (the faction of France abandoned) to elect and choose either my lord cardinal de Medici or me, which deliberation coming to the knowledge of the nobles and citizens of Rome, they alledging that the affairs of Italy being in the trayn as they then were, it should be to the extreme danger thereof to choose a person absent, which could not ne might in time come to put remedy unto the same, made sundry great exclamations at the conclave-window, whereby the cardinall's being in fear not only of the inconvenience like to ensue unto Italy, but also of their own persons, albeit they were in manner principally bent upon me, yet for eschewing of the said danger and murmur, by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, without further difficulty or businesse the xixth day of the last moneth in the morning elected and chose the said cardinal de Medici, who immediately was published pope, and hath taken the name of Clement VII. Of which good and fortunate news, sir, your highness hath much cause to thank Almighty God: forasmuch as not onely he is a perfect and faithful friend to the same, but that also much the rather by your means he hath attained to this dignity. And for my part, as I take God to record, I am more joyous thereof than if it had fortuned upon my person, knowing his excellent qualitys, most meet for the same; and how great and sure a friend your grace and the emperor be like to have of him, and I so good a father, by whose assumption unto that dignity, not only your and the said emperor's affairs, but also of all Christendom shall undoubtedly come to much better and more prosperous perfection: like as upon the first knowledge thereof the Frenchmen be clearly departed from Milan, and passed a river towards France called Ticino, trusting that the next news which shall come from thence shall be of their arrival at home, wherin as I shall have further knowledge, so I shall advertise your highnesse thereof accordingly; and thus Jesu preserve your most noble and royal estate. At my poor house besides Westminster the vith day of December, by

Your most humble chapleyn,
T. Car'lis. Ebor.

NUMBER X.

*A Remarkable Passage in Sir T. More's "Utopia," left out in the latter editions.*

Cæterum Theologus quidam frater hoc dicto in Sacerdotes ac Monachos adeo est exhilaratus, ut jam ipse quoque cæperit ludere, homo alioqui prope ad torvitatem gravis. At ne sic quidem, inquit, extricaberis à mendicis, nisi nobis quoque prospexeris fratribus. Atqui, inquit, parasitus, hoc jam curatum est. Nam Cardinalis egregie prospexit vobis quum statueret de cohercendis, atque opere exercendis erronibus. Nam vos estis errones maximi. Hoc quoque dictum, quum conjectis in Cardinalem oculis, eum viderent non abnuere, cæperunt omnes non illibenter arripere, excepto fratre. Nam is (neque equidem miror) tali perfusus aceto, sic indignatus est, atque incanduit, ut nec à conviciis quidem potuerit temperare: Hominem vocavit nebulonem, detractorem, susurronem, et filium perditionis, minas interim terribiles citans è scriptura sacra. Jam scurra serio scurrari cæpit. Et erat planè in sua Palæstra. Noli, inquit, irasci bone frater, scriptum est, in patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras. Rursum frater (referam enim ipsius verba) non irascor, inquit, furcifer, vel saltem non pecco. Nam Psalmista dicit, Irascimini et nolite peccare. Admonitus deinde frater à Cardinale suaviter, ut suos affectus compesceret. Non domine, inquit, ego loquor nisi ex bono zela, unde dicitur, zelus domus tuæ comedit me. Et canitur in ecclesiis, Irrisores Helizei, dum conscendit domum Dei, zelum calui sentiunt, sicut fortasse sentiet iste derisor, scurra, ribaldus. Facis inquit Cardinalis, bono fortassis affectu, sed mihi videris facturus, nescio an sanctius, certe sapientius, si te ita compares, ne cum homine stulto et ridiculo, ridiculum tibi certamen instituas. Non domine inquit, non facerem Sapientius nam Solomon ipse Sapientissimus dicit: Responde stulto secundum stultitiam ejus, sicut ego nunc facio, et demonstro ei foveam in quam cadet, nisi bene præcaveat. Nam si multi irrisores Helizei, qui erat tantum unus caluus, senserunt zelum calui, quanto magis sentiet unus derisor multorum fratrum, in quibus sunt multi calui? Et etiam habemus bullam Papalem, per quam omnes qui derident nos sunt excommunicati.



## BOOK II.

NUMBER XI.

*A Letter of the Pope's upon his Captivity, to Cardinal Wolsey. An Original.*

[Cotton. Library, Vitellius, B. 9.]

Dilecte fili noster, Calamitas nostra cum à nobis digne explicari nequeat tuæ Circumspectioni per dilectum filium Equitem Castalium referretur qui interfuit ipse omnibus, et filium nobis amantem exhibens quam essent grata ejus in nos officia ad extremum ostendat. Nos in tanto constituti dolore et luctu unicum solamen ac spem in tuæ Circumspectionis apud illum Serenissimum Regem auctoritate et ipsius Regis erga nos et S. Ecclesiam pietate reponimus; ut pro vestra consuetudine et bonitate S. Ecclesiam tam indigne afflictam commendatam suscipiatis: sicut ex eodem Equite atque ex Nuntio nostro omni alio presidio quam tuæ benignitatis spoliato intelliget. Datum in Arce S. Angeli sexta Junii 1527. J.

NUMBER XII.

*A Part of Cardinal Wolsey's Letter to the King concerning his marriage. Taken from the Original.*

[Cotton. Library, Vitellius, B. 9. P. 146.]

We dayly and howerly musing and thinking on your grac's gret and secrete affayre, and howe the same may cume to good effecte and desired ende, aswel for the deliverance of your grace out of the thrauld, pensif, and dolorous lif that the same is in, as for the continuance of your helth and the suertie of your realme and succession, considering also that the pope's consent, or his holines deteyned in captivite, the auctorite of the cardinalls nowe to be convoked into France equivalent thereunto, must concurre for approbation of such processe as I shal make in that behaulf; and that if the quene shal fortune, which it is to be supposed she will doe, eyther appele or utterly decline from my jurisdiction (one of the said auctorites is also necessaryly requisite) I have noon other thought ne studye but howe in avaylable maner the same may be attayned. And after long discussion and debating with my self, I finally am reduced and resolved to two points: the oon is, that the poope's consent cannot be obteyned and had in this case, oonles his delyveraunce out of captivite be first procured; the other is, that the cardinalls canne nothing doe in this behalfe, oonless there be by them consultation and order taken, what shall be doon *in administratione rerum ecclesiasticarum durante dicta captivitate summi pontificis.*

As touching the restitution of the pope to libertie, the state of the present affaires considred the most prompt, sure, and reedy waye is, by conclusion of the peace betwixt the emperor and the French king: for the avancement and setting forward whereof I shall put myself in extreme devour, and by al possible meanes induce and persuade the said French king to strayne himself and condescende to asmuch of the emperour's demands as may stande with reason and suertie of his and your grac's affayres; moving him further, that forasmuch as the emperour taketh your highnes as a mediator making fayre demonstration in words, that he wil at your contemplation and arbitre, not oonly declare the botom of his mynde concerning his demaund, but also remitte and relent in the same, he wil be contented that your grace forbering the intimacion of hostilite maye in the managing of the said peace and inducying the emperour to reasonable conditions, be so taken and reputed of him, without any outward declaration to the contrary untyl such tyme as the conducying of the said peace shalbe clerely desperate: whereby if the said French king canne be induced thereunto, maye in the meane season use the benefit of their entercourse in the emperour's Lowe-Countries: not omitting nevertheles for the tyme of solliciting the said peace, the diligent zeal and effectual execution of the sworde by Monseur de Lautrek in the parties of Italy: wherby your grac's said mediation shal be the more set by and regarded.

And in case the said peace cannot be by these means brought to effecte, wherupon might ensue the pope's delyverance, by whose auctorite and consent your grac's affayre shuld take most sure, honourable, effectual, and substancial ende, and who I doubte not, considering your grac's gratitude, wold facilly be induced to doe all things therin that might be to your grace's good satisfaction and purpose, thenne and in that case there is noone other remedy but the convocation of the said cardinalls, who, as I am enformed, will not nor canne conveniently convene in any other place but at Avinion, where the administration of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction hath been in semblable cases heretofore exercised. To the which place, if the said cardinalls canne be induced to cume, your highnes being soo contented, I purpose also to repare, not sparing any labour, travayl, or payne in my body, chargs or expense, to doe service unto your grace in that behalfe, according to my most bounden dutie and harty desyre, there to consulte and devise with them for the governance and administration of the auctorite of the church during the said captivity, which shall be a good grounde and fundament for the effectual execution of your grac's secrete affayre.

And for asmuch as thus reparing to Avinion I shall be nere to the emperour's confines, and within an hundred myles of Perpinian, which is a commodious and convenient place to commen and treate with the

emperor's personne, I think in my poor opinion that the conducing of peace by your grace's mediation not being desperate, nor intimation of hostilite made on your behalfe, it should much conferre aswell for the delyverance of the poope as for concluding of the peace between the French king and the emperor, if his majestie canne be soe contented that a meating might be between him, my lady the French kinge's modre, and me at the said Perpinian ; to the which—

*This is all the copy written in Cardinal Wolsey's hand.*

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NUMBER XIII.

*A Letter written by King Henry VIII. to Cardinal Wolsey, recalling him home.*

[Among S. W. Cook's Papers.]

My Lord,—This shall be to thank you of your great paines and travaile which you have sustained since your departure hence, for our busynesse and causes : wherin you have done to us no little honour, pleasure, and profitt, and to our realm an infinite goodnesse ; which service cannot be by a kind master forgotten, of which fault I trust I shall never be accused, specially to youward which so laboriously do serve me. Furthermore, because as yet since the pope's captivity we never sent to salute him, nor have no man resident there to advertize us of the affaires there ; and also lest the queene should prevent us by the emperour's means in our great matter ; we think it meet to send this bearer thither, of whose truth and sincerity we have had long proof, praying you to give him such instructions and commissions as shall be for our affairs there requesite ; and that with convenient diligence, to the intent our affairs there may have some stay. No more at this time, but that greatly I desire your return home, for here we have great lack of you, and that you give full credence to my secretary this bearer. Written with the hand of your loving sovereign lord and friend,

Henry R.

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NUMBER XIV.

*A Letter from Rome by Gardiner to King Henry, setting forth the Pope's Artifices.—An Original.*

[Paper-Office.]

Pleaseth it your majestie to be advertised that endevoring our selfs to the best of our powers al joyntely and I my self aparte applying al my poore wit and lernyng to atteyne at the pope's hande sum parte of the accomplyshement of your highnes' desires, finally have nothing prevayled ; but now see it called in question, whether the auctorite geven to the legats there shulde be revoked or noe. The circumstaunce wherof, and what hath been doon and said therin, your highnes shall understande by our commen letters which we have writen to my lorde legat's grace, but to saye as I conjecture I think that matier was moved but for a stop of our other suts, and that it is not ernestly ment : and albeit there is mencion of the queen in that matier as thowe she should have a procter for the same, yet the pope, two dayes before, in an other communication, said that the emperour had advertised him, how the queen wolde do nothing in this matier, in saying nor speaking to any man for the let, delaye, or hindrance of this matier, but as your highnes shall wil and command her to doe ; and that the emperour said, he would therefore more earnestly looke unto the cause himself. I marveled much when the pope said this, and me thought he spoke it as though he wolde we shuld signifie the same unto your highnes, and I noted it the more, for because your highness had commanded me to enquire out who shuld be here the queen's proctor ; and it semed spoken for the nones, as to put me out of doubt therof. But whither the pope hath this writen out of Spayne or out of Englande, I wot not what to saye. But it seemed strange to us to rede in cardinal Campegnis's letters, that neyther he nor Campanus made on the pope's behalf any promyse to your highnes, but only in general terms, considering that upon these special terms *de plenitudine potestatis*, and trust that the pope wolde use that in your highnes' cause, I was sent hither, like as in my instructions is conteyned : which failing, your highness I doubt not right well remembreth how master Wolman, Mr. Bell, and I showed your highnes such things as wer to be required, not to be impetrable : my trust is that your highnes wil accept in good part my true harte and good will, which according to my most bounden duty shall never want, but be holly applyed where your highnes shall command without respeck or regard of any other lyving creature, being very sory to see your highnes' cause handled in this sorte. But your highnes hath so much vertue in you, wherof God is to be thanked, as may suffice to converte other men's faults into goodness, to your highnes gret glory, renowne, and immortal fame : which is all that canne be said after my poor witt herin, considering that your highnes hath been not well handled, nor according to your merits by the pope, or sum other : it becometh not me to arrecte the blame certaynly to any man. And the pope shewith cardinal Campegnis' letters for his discharge, which thing your highnes shall much better judge and consider by your high wisdom thenne I canne write, most humbly desiring your highnes that being in these termes with the pope's holyness, we may know of your highness what to say further.

As touching the bulles to be here impetracte for your highness, I have spoken with the pope's holynes, and he is content in all points to grant as I required him, saving in that matier *de animadversione in clericos*, to the which he wolde not absolutely assent, but said he wold with the cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* divise that shuld be to your highnes' satisfaction : wishing then that he might grante as easely our other peticions, which he knoweth your highnes to have more to harte, as he may these, adding by and by that he would for the welth of Christendom, the queen wer in her grave : and as he thought the emperour wolde be thereof most glad of al : saying allso that he thought like as the emperour hath destroyed the temperaltis of the church, soe shall she be the cause of the destruction of the spiritualties. Making exclamation of his misfortune in whose personne these two adversites shuld chaunce, and upon the occasion of that famylie. Whenne we speak with him, we think we shuld have all things, and in the ende his counsail denyeth all : by reason the cardinall *Sanctorum quatuor* hath been sick, and is every other day sikely, and for the most parte when the cardinall is hol the pope is sike, we have yet no expedition of the said bulles, trusting that your highnes will have consideration of these letts, accordingly praying Almighty God to preserve your most noble and royall estate. From Rome the 4th daye of Maye.

Your highnes most humble
Subject, servant, and dayly orator,
Steven Gardyner.

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NUMBER XV.

*The Pope's Promise in the King's Affair.*

[Cotton Library, Vitellius, B. 12.]

Cum nos Clemens Domina providentia illius nominis papa septimus modernus justitiam ejus causæ perpendences quam charissimus in Christo Filius noster Henricus Octavus Angliæ Rex illustris Fidei Defensor et dominus Hiberniæ, de ejus Matrimonii nullitate tanquam Notorium Publicum et famosum, apud nos exposuit, quod cum charissima in Christo Filia nostra Catharina claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Hispaniarum regis catholici Filia nulliter et de facto contraxisse et consumasse affirmati leges tam dominas quam per humanas in ea parte notorie transgrediendo, prout revera sic transgrediebat. Ad dilictos nobis in Christo Filios Thomam et Laurentium miseratione divina sancta Ceciliæ et sanctæ Mariæ transtiberim respective titulorum nostri et sedis Ap'licæ in Regno Angliæ predicto legatos de lacere commissionem sub certa tunc expressa forma, quam pro hic inserta et expressa haberi volumus et habemus ; emiserimus, ac eosdem nostros in ea parte vicegerentes ac competentes Judices deputaverimus, prout sic etiam tenore presentium effectualiter et plenissime conjunctim et divisum committimus et deputamus, quo animi nostri eidem Henrico Regi in justicia illa quam celerime administranda propensionem certius et clarius attestemur securiorem que reddamus de judiciorum labyrintho longo varioque ambitu in causis (ut nunc sunt mores) justissimis non una forte ætate explicabili, denique ut processus per eosdem deputatos nostros nuper et secundum tenorem dictæ commissionis habitus et factus fiendus ve aut habendus validus et firmus ac inconcussus maneat, promittimus et in verbo Romani Pontificis pollicemur, quod ad nullius preces requisitionem instantiam mero ve motu aut aliter, ullas unquam literas, brevia, bullas ; aut rescripta aliave quecunque per modum vel justitiæ vel gratiæ aut aliter, quæ materiam emissarum ante hac in causa predicta commissionum commissionis ve predictæ processus ve per hujusmodum deputatos nostros nuper et secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum commissionis ve predictæ habitus et factus habendi ve aut fiendi, inhibitoria, revocatoria, aut quovismodo prejudicialia quacunque ratione contineant atque ut dictarum commissionum vel commissionis processus vero hujusmodi plenam perfectam finalem et effectualem executionem remorentur, impediant, aut in aliquo contrarientur, illa ve aut eorum aliqua revocentur, aut eiisdem vel eorum aliquibus in toto vel in aliqua parte eorundem prejudicent, concedemus : sed datas a nobis eiisdem deputatis nostris commissiones et commissionum hujusmodi processum quæ per hujusmodum deputatos nostros juxta et secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum commissionis ve predictæ habitum et factum, habendum qua et fiendum sua plenissima vi auctoritatum robore et efficacia realiter et cum effectu confirmabimus, ratihabemus, tenebimus et defendemus. Denique omnes tales literas brevia, bullas, aut rescripta alia ve quæ dictarum commissionum commissionis ve hujusmodi processus ve antedicti executionem aut ejusdem virtute decreta, deffinita, et pronunciatum per eosdem deputatos nostros, confirmare possint aut valent absque mora recusatione, difficultate, quacumque de tempore in tempus realiter et cum effectu valida et efficaria, dabimus et concedemus. Et insuper promittimus et in verbo Romani Pontificis pollicemur quod præmissa vel eorum aliqua nullatenus infringemus nec aliquid contra ea vel eorum aliqua directe vel indirecte tacite vel expresse, principaliter vel incidenter, quovis quæsito colore vel ingenio, nisi vi vel metu coacti, vel dolo aut fraude ad hoc inducti, attemptabimus aut faciemus : sed ea omnia et singula firma valida inconcussa et inviolabilia patiemur et permittemus. Ac infu'rum si (quod absit) aliquid contra premissa vel eorum aliqua quovismodo faciemus aut attemptemus, illud pro casso irrito inani et vacuo omnino haberi volumus et habemus : ac nunc prout ex tunc, et extunc pro nunc, cassamus, annullamus et reprobamus, nullius quæ roboris aut efficaciæ fore vel esse debere pronunciamus, decrevimus, et declaramus. Datum Viterbie, die xxiii Julij Millessimo quingentissimo vigessimo octavo, Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

*Ita est Clemens Papa Septimus Antedictus.*

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NUMBER XVI.

*Some Account of the Proceedings of the University, in the Case of the Divorce, from Dr. Buckmaster's Book M.S. C. C. C.*

Quod hodie studia vestra interpellaverim, Doctissimi Senatores, ac Viri gravissimi, Voluntas Regia in Causa est, cui pro insigni bonitate sua, ac summo quem erga nos et studia nostra gerit amore, tum etiam pro aliis forsitan negotiis, in quibus vestras prudentias consulere decrevit sua Majestas, visum est placuitque literis suis vos omnes salutare, quas si diligenter auscultare velitis, à me statim per legente audietis.

*To our Trusty and Well-beloved the Vice-Chancellour, Doctors, and other Regents and Non-Regents of our Universitie of Cambridge.*

By the Kyng.—Trusty and well-beloved, we grete you well. And wheras in the matter of matrimony between us and the quene, uppon consultation had with the gretest clerks of Christendom, as well without this our realme, as within the same, thei have in a grete nombre affermed unto us in writing, and therunto subscribed their names, that, "ducere uxorem fratris mortui sine liberis sit prohibitum jure Divino et naturali," which is the chefe and principall point in our cause. We therefore desirouse to knowe and understand your myndes and opynyons in that behalf, and nothinge dowtinge, but like as ye have always founde us to you and that our universitie, favourable, benevolent, and glad to extend our auctoritie for your wealth and benefite, whan ye have required the same, ye will now likewise not omytt to doo any thyng wherby ye shulde mynistre unto us gratuite and pleasour, and specially in declaration of the truth, in a cause so near touching us your prince and soveraine lorde, our soule, the wealth also and benefite of this our realm, have sent hither purely for that our purpose, our trusty and right well-beloved clerks and counsaillors, mayster doctor Gardyner our secretary, and mayster Fox, who shall on our behaulf further open and declare unto you the circumstances of the premiss : wherfore we will and require you, not oonly to gyve ferme credence unto them, but also to advertise us by the same under the comen seale of that our universitie of such oppynion in the proposition aforesayd, as shall be ther concluded, and by the consent of lerned men shall be agreed upon. In doing wherof, ye shall deserve our especiall thanks, and gyve us cause to encrease our favour towards you, as we shall not faile to do accordyngly. Yeven under our signet at York's Place the 16th daye of February.

Accepistis modo quod postulat à vobis Regia Majestas, Intelligitis quæ sit ejusdem voluntas, nimirum nihil aliud, nisi ut veritas cujusdam conclusionis agnoscatur atque inter nos determinetur, quam ut sua refert plurimum scire, ita et nos pro studio illo ac amore quem omnes gerere debemus in Principem nostrum

alioque Clementissimum, benignissimum et de nobis omnibus ac Achademia nostra optime meritum, omne studium ac diligentiam adhibere debemus, ut quod tam rationabiliter postulaverit, id impetreta nobis. Si de veritate quæstio aliquando emergat, ubi potius aut melius investigaretur, quam inter ipsos veritatis Professores, si veritas perquiri debeat, ubi melius quam in ipsa Achademia, ubi et bona semper vigent studia, solida judicia, ac mentes ab omni ambitione sunt aliena. Verum ego prudentias vestras prolixiori oratione non detinebo, vobis ac vestro judicio ista relinquam. Est cuique suus animus liber ac ingenuus. Dictet cuique in hac Causa Conscientia sua, Quod melius expedire viderit. Ego quod ad officium meum spectat, perficiam sedulo, nempe ut primi consulantur seniores, quid melius in hoc negotio putent faciendum, deinde et vestras scrutabitur sententias atque suffragia postulabimus. Dixi.

*The Forme of the Grace that was axed and graunted in the Accomplisment of the Kyng's Requeste.*

Placet vobis ut Vicecancellarius, Doctores, Salcot, Watson, Reps, Thomson de Collegio Michaelis, Venetus, Edmonds, Downes, Wygan, Crome, Boston, et Magistri, Mydelton, Heynes, Mylsente, Shaxton, Latymer, Symon, Mathew, Longforthe, Thyxtell, Nycols, Hutton, Skyp, Goodrick, Hethe, Hadway, Deye, et Bayne, una cum Procuratoribus, habeant plenam facultatem et authoritatem nomine totius Universitatis, respondendi literis Regiæ Majestatis in hac Congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius Universitatis deffiniendi et determinandi quæstionem in eisdem literis propositam: Ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorum presentium inter se decreverint respondendum dictis literis, et deffinierint ac determinaverint super quæstione proposita in eisdem, habeatur et reputetur pro responsione, deffinitione et determinatione totius Universitatis. Et quod liceat Vicecancellario, Procuratoribus, Scrutatoribus, literis super dictarum duarum partium responsione, deffinitione, et determinatione, concipiendis, sigillum Commune Universitatis apponere: Sic quod publice disputetur, et antea legantur coram Universitate absque ulteriori gratia, desuper obtinenda aut petenda.

9. *die Martii.*

Haudquaquam vos fugit (opinor) Clariss. Viri ac Senatores gravissimi, ut nuper Excellentissimi Principis nostri literas acceperitis, quibus cum super quadam quæstione inter illum ac Illustrissimam Reginam Controversâ, nostram sententiam desideraret, flagitaret impense, nos (ut nos decuit) tanti Principis petitioni haudquaquam inique morem gerere volentes, tandem in illam omnium (presertim Seniorum) suffragiis convenimus sententiam, ut selectis quibusdam Sacræ Theologiæ tum Professoribus tum Bacchalauriis ac aliis Magistris, tantam quæstionem examinandi, determinandi, ac deffiniendi, nomine totius Universitatis Provincia delegaretur. Illi (inter quos et ego minimus à vobis selectus) tantæ rei curam demandatam agentes, omni consultatione, deliberatione, diligentiâ, ac sacræ Scripturæ locorum conferentiâ, tum etiam Interpretum, denique publicâ disputatione præmissis, tandem ad illius quæstionis determinationem ac diffinitionem devenerunt. Super quâ ut nullus est vestrum (quibus ea provincia commissa est) qui aut ambigere aut refragari possit: Ita et vobis omnibus (quod et Gratia à vobis concessa postulat) eandem compertam esse Volumus. Accipite igitur ac amplectimini, quod vestra causa, vestrisque nominibus, à Fratribus vestris, per ingentes labores, ac summam industriam exantlatum est. Determinatio in hiis scriptis comprehensa sic habet.

Nos Universitas studentium Academiæ Cantabrigiensis, omnibus infra scripta lecturis audituris ve salutem. Cum occasione causæ Matrimonialis, inter Invictissimum et Potentissimum Principem et Dominum nostrum Henricum octavum Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæque Regem, Fidei Defensorem, ac Dominum Hiberniæ, et Illustrissimam Dominam Catharinam Reginam controversæ, de illa quæstione nostra rogaretur sententia: videlicet, An sit jure Divino et naturali prohibitum, ne Frater ducat in uxorem Relictam fratris mortui sine liberis? Nos de ea re deliberaturi more solito convenientes: atque communicatis consiliis, Matura consultatione tractantes quomodo, quo ordine ad investigationem veritatis certius procederetur, ac omnium tandem suffragiis, selectis quibusdam ex doctissimis Sacræ Theologiæ Professoribus, Bachalauriis, ac aliis Magistris ea cura demandata, ut scrutatis diligentissime Sacræ Scripturæ locis, illisque collatis referrent ac renunciarent, quid ipsi dictæ quæstioni respondendum putarent. Quoniam auditis, perpensis, ac post publicam super dicta quæstione disputationem matura deliberatione discussis hiis, quæ in quæstione prædicta alterutram partem statuere et convellere possint; Illa nobis probabiliora, validiora, veriora, etiam et certiora, ac genuinum et syncerum Sacræ Scripturæ intellectum præ se ferentia, Interpretum etiam sententiis magis consona visa sunt, quæ confirmant et probant, jure Divino et naturali prohibitum esse, ne Frater uxorem fratris mortui sine liberis accipiat in conjugem: Illis igitur persuasi, et in unam opinionem convenientes, ad Quæstionem prædictam ita respondendum decrevimus, et in hiis scriptis, nomine totius universitatis respondemus, ac pro Conclusione nobis solidissimis rationibus et validissimis argumentis comprobata affirmamus, quod ducere uxorem Fratris mortui sine liberis, cognitam à priori viro per Carnalem copulam, nobis Christianis hodie est prohibitum jure Divino ac naturali. Atque in fidem et testimonium hujusmodi nostræ responsionis et affirmationis, hiis Literis sigillum nostrum commune curavimus apponi. Dat. Congregatione nostra Cantebrigiæ, die nono Martii Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo nono. Dominica 2. Quadragesimæ Anno Domini 1529, in Wyndesor.

Delivered by me W. B. Vicechancellour in the Chambre of Presence, post vesperas.

Your Universitie of Cambridge have them most humbly commended unto your grace, and here thei have sent unto your highness their letters. Than kisse them and so deliver them.

Furthermore as touching your request expressed in your letters dyrected unto them by Mr. Secretary and Mr. Fox, your most wyse counsaillers in the accomplishing of the same, they have done their devors, and here in writing under their comon seale, thei have sent unto your grace ther sentence, desyring the same to accept, and to take it in parte and good worthe. And if thei had any thing ellys to gratify your grace wythall, their lettres and their studies, your highness shuld be suer therof to the uttermost of their powers.

M.S. C.C.C. Given to the college by Dr. Jegon, master.

*To the Right Worshipfull Master Doctor Edmonds, Vicar of Alborne in Wiltshire.*

My duty remembred, I hartily commend me unto you, and I let you understand, that Dominica Secunda at afternoon, I came to Wyndsor, and also to part of Mr. Latymer's sermon, and after the end of the same I spake with Mr. Secretary, and also with Mr. Provost, and so after even-song I delivered your letters in the Chamber of Presence, all the court beholding. The king with Mr. Secretary did there read them, but not the letters of determination, notwithstanding that I did there also deliver them, with a proposition. His highness gave me there great thanks, and talked with me a good while. He much lauded our wisedomes and good conveyance in the matter, with the great quietness in the same. He shewed me also what he had in his hands for our university, according unto that that Mr. Secretary did express unto us, &c. So he departed. But by-and-by he greatly praised Mr. Latimer's sermon, and in so praising sayd on this wise: This displeaseth greatly Mr. Vicechancellour yonder. Yon same, sayd he unto the duke of Norfolk, is Mr. Vicechancellour of Cambridge, and so pointed unto me. Then he spake secretly unto the said duke, which after the king's departure came unto me, and wellcomed me, saying amongst other things, that the king would speak with me on the next day; and here is the first act. On the next day, I waited untill it was dinner time; and so at the last Dr. Butt came unto me, and brought a reward, twenty nobles for me, and five marks for the younger procter which was with me; saying that I should take that for a resolute answere, and that I might depart from the court when I would. Then came Mr. Provost, and when I had shewed him of the answere, he sayd, I should speak with the king at after-dinner for all that, and so brought me into a privy place, where as he would have me to wait at after-dinner. I came thither and he both, and by one of the clock the king entred in. It was in a gallery. There were Mr. Secretary, Mr. Provost, Mr. Latimer, Mr. Proctor, and I, and no more: the king there talked with us untill six of the clock. I assure you he was scarce contented with Mr. Secretary and Mr. Provost that this was not also determined, *An Papa possit dispensare*, &c. I made the best, and confirmed the same that they had shewed his grace before, and how it would never have been so obtained. He opened his minde, saying, that he would have it determined at after Ester, and of the same was counsailed a while.

I pray you therefore study for us, for our business is not yet at an end, *An Papa potest dispensare cum Jure Divino*, &c. Much other communication we had, which were too long here to recite. Thus his highness departed, casting a little holy water of the court: and I shortly after toke my leave of Mr. Secretary and Mr. Provost, with whom I did not drink, ne yet was bidden, and on the morrow departed from thence, thinking more than I did say, and being glad that I was out of the court, where many men, as I did both hear and perceive, did wonder at me. And here shall be an end for this time of this fable.

All the world almost crieth out of Cambridge for this act, and specially on me; but I must bear it as well as I may. I have lost a benefice by it, which I should have had within these ten dayes. For there hath one falne in Mr. Throckmorton's gift, which he hath faithfully promised unto me many a time, but now his mind is turned and alienate from me. If ye go to the court at after-Ester, I pray you have me in remembrance there, as ye shall think best. But of this no more.—Mr. Latymer preacheth still, *quod æmuli ejus graviter ferunt.* I am informed that Oxford hath now elected certain persons to determine the king's question. I hear say also that Mr. Provost was there in great jeopardy. Other tidings I have none at this time, but that all the company be in good health, and heartily saluteth you. And thus fare you heartily well. At Cambridge, in *Crastino Dominic. Palmarum.*

Your own to his power,
WILLIAM BUCKMASTER.

The king willed me to send unto you, and to give you word of his pleasure in the said question.

M.S. C.C.C. Miscellan. P.



NUMBER XVII.

*Three Letters written by king Henry to the University of Oxford, for their opinion in the cause of his Marriage.*

[Ex MS. D. Kennet.]

Letter I.

BY THE KING.—Trusty and well-beloved subjects, we greet you well. And whereas we have, for an high and weighty cause of ours, not only consulted many and substantial well-learned men within our realm and without, for certaine considerations our conscience moving, we think it also very convenient to feel the minds of you amongst you in our university of Oxenford, which be erudite in the faculty of divinity, to the intent we may perceive of what conformity ye be with the others, which marvelously both wisely and substantially have declared to us their intent and mind: not doubting but that ye, for the allegiance and fidelity that ye are bound unto us in, will as sincerely and truly without any abuse declare your minds and conscience in this behalf, as any of the other have done. Wherefore we will and command you, that ye not leaning to wilfull and sinister opinions of your own several minds, not giving credence to misreports and sinister opinions or perswasions, considering we be your soveraigne leige lord, totally giving your true mind and affection to the true overture of divine learning in this behalf, do shew and declare your true and just learning in the said cause, like as ye will abide by; wherein ye shall not only please Almighty God, but also us your leige lord. And we for your so doing shall be to you and our university there so good and gracious a soveraigne lord for the same, as ye shall perceive it well imploied to your well fortune to come; in case you do not uprightly according to divine learning hand your selves herein, ye may be assured, that we, not without great cause, shall so quickly and sharply look to your unnaturall misdemeanour herein, that it shall not be to your quietness and ease hereafter. Wherefore we heartily pray you, that according both to duty to God and your prince, you sett apart all untrue and sinister informations, and accommodate yourselves to the meer truth as it becommeth true subjects to do; assuring you that those that do, shall be esteemed and set forth, and the contrary neglected and little set by. Trusting that now you know our mind and pleasure, we shall see such conformitie among you, that we shall hereof take great consolation and comfort, to the great allegement of our conscience; willing and commanding you among you to give perfect credence to my lord of Lincolne, our confessour in this behalfe and matter: and in all things which he shall declare unto you or cause to be declared in our behalfe, to make unto us either by him or the authentick letters full answere and resolution, which your duty's well remembred, we doubt not but that it shall be our high contentation and pleasure. Given under, &c.

Letter II.

BY THE KING.—Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And of late being informed, to our no little marvell and discontentation, that a great part of the youth of that our university, with contentious factions and manner, daily combineing together, neither regarding their duty to us their soveraigne lord, nor yet conforming themselves to the opinions and orders of the vertuous, wise, sage, and profound learned men of that university, wilfully to stick upon the opinion to have a great number of regents and non-regents to be associate unto the doctors, proctors, and batchelors of divinity, for the determination of our question; which we believe hath not been often seen, that such a

number of right small learning, in regard to the other, should be joined with so famous a sort, or in a manner stay their seniors in so weighty a cause: which as we think should be no small dishonour to our university there, but most especially to you the seniors and rulers of the same, assureing you that this their unnatural and unkind demeanour is not only right much to our displeasure, but much to be marvelled of, upon what ground and occasion they being our meere subjects, should shewe themselves more unkind and wilfull in this matter, than all other universities, both in this and all other regions do. Finally, we trusting in the dexterity and wisdome of you and other the said discreet and substantial learned men of that university, be in perfect hope, that ye will conduce and frame the said young persons unto good order and conformity, as it becommeth you to do. Wherefore we be desirous to hear with incontinent diligence, and doubt you not we shall regard the demeanour of every one of the university, according to their merits and deserts. And if the youth of the university will play masteries, as they begin to do, we doubt not but that they shall well perceive, that *non est bonum irritare crabrones.* Given under, &c.

### Letter III.

*To our Trusty and Well-beloved the Commissary-Regents and Non-Regents of our University of Oxon.*

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas by sundry our letters, sent and delivered at sundry times by the hands of our counsellors unto you, with credence declared unto you by the same, we have only required and made instance unto you, for the obtaining of that which at the least desire of any Christian man ye be bound and obliged to do; that is to say, to declare and shew your opinions and sentence in such a doubt, as upon the dissolution and determination whereof dependeth the tranquility, repose, and quiet of our conscience, we cannot a litle marvell that you neither having respect to our estate, being your prince and soveraigne lord; nor yet remembring such gratuites and benefits as we have always shew'd unto you, as well to the particular wealth of diverse as to the common body of that our university, without any correspondency shew'd on their behalfe againe, have hitherto delay'd and deferr'd not only to send us your determination and resolution to our demand and question, but also refused to take order, or enter into any way or meane, whereby you might declare or shew unto us, that ye be of mind and determination to endeavour your selfe for an accomplishment of our desire in that behalfe. And so much the more marvell we at this your manner of delayes, that our university of Cambridge hath within far shorter time not only agreed upon the fashion and manner to make answere unto us effectually, and with diligence following the same; but hath also eight days since sent unto us their answere under common seale, plainly determining, "prohibitionem esse Divini et naturalis juris, nè frater uxorem fratris etiam mortui sine liberis ducat uxorem." For the searching of the truth in which matter, if ye had before this time condescended upon the manner and fashion convenient in that behalf, we could then have taken any delay afterward, upon any other cold pretence made, but in good part: whereas now the refuseing to agree upon any such order, and denying to do that which should be but the entrie into the matter for declaration of your forwardness, good will, and diligence: we can't otherwise think of you, but that you neither behave your selves towards us, as our merits towards you have deserved, as good subjects to a kind prince and sovereigne lord; as by the learning ye professe, ye be obliged and bound. Wherefore revolving this in our mind, and yet nevertheless considering you to be there by our authority and grant, as a body politique, in the ruleing whereof in things to be done in the name of the whole, the number of the private suffrages doth prevaile, and being loth to shewe our displeasure, whereof we have so great cause ministered unto us, unto the whole in general; whereas the fault perchance consisteth and remaineth but in light and willfull heads; for the tender consideration we bear to learned men, and the great desire we have to nourish, maintaine, and favour those that are good; have thought convenient to send unto you these letters by our trusty and right well-beloved clarke and counseller, Mr. Edwarde Fox, trusting verily that ye which be heads and rulers there, well considering and weighing your dutyes in the accomplishment of our request, for the searching the truth in such a cause, as touching your prince and soveraigne lord, our soul, and the wealth of this our realme: and your great lack and blame with just cause of high displeasure to be worthily conceiv'd by us in the denyall and slack doing thereof, will so order and accomodate the fashion, and passing such things as should proceed from that university in this case, as the number of the private suffrages given without reason, prevaile not against the heads, rulers, said sage fathers, to the detriment, hindrance, and inconvenience of the whole. But so to examine, try, and weigh the opinions and minds of the multitude, as the importance of the matter doth require: wherein we doubt not but your body is established in such wise, that there be left waies and means to the heads and rulers how to eschew and avoid such inconveniences, when they shall chance: as we trust ye that be heads and rulers for the comprobation and declaration of particular good minds, ye will not faile to do accordingly, and so by your diligence to be shew'd hereafter, to redeem the errors and delaies past. The favour we beare to the maintenance of learning, we would be very glad, as our said well-beloved councellour can shew unto you on our behalfe; unto whom we will you give firme credence. Given under our signet at our castle of Windsor.

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NUMBER XVIII.

*Copy of the King's Letters to the Bishop of Rome.*

[Ex MSS. Rymeri.]

Etsi videamus vel temporum vel Hominum iniquitate fieri, ut postulata nostra, quantumvis equa ac naturali ratione subnixa, parum expediantur, nihil etiam proficere, in causa nostra justissima, Charissimi fratris et Consanguinei ac perpetui Confederati nostri, Christianissimi Regis Amicissimas preces; Nobilium autem nostrorum intercessionem non modo contemni, sed etiam derideri, quod eos equo animo non laturos existimamus. Denique re ipsa nihil prestari quod nos afflictos atque vexatos sublevet; hæc omnia, licet apertius cernamus quam velimus, tum autem ex Oratoribus nostris quos apud vos habemus, tum à vestro isthic Oratore cognoscamus; est tamen spei opinionisque nostræ tam diversus exitus ut subinde cogitantibus nobis ac memoria repetentibus omnes causæ nostræ circumstantias, porro autem singula Conferentibus que precesserunt queque secuta sunt, fidem factorum, dictorum atque responsorum vestræ Sanctit. in hac causa nostra quam alioqui certam et firmam, fide dignorum Oratorum et vestrorum et nostrorum relatio constituit, ipsa ratio Communis labefactet atque convellat; atque in re certissima tam dubium reddit ut certo interdum non credamus Sanct. vest. fecisse que fecisse cognoscimus quum ea facere non debuisse intelligamus. Nam ut omittamus ea quæ longius precesserunt, quod nuperime efflagitavimus de dandis in Anglia Judicibus, quis creddidisset Sanctitatem vestram negare voluisse; longe aliter sperabamus nos. Aliter certe credidit Christianissimus Rex qui nobiscum una id petiit: Aliter crediderunt sui Consiliarii, quorum suasu id fecit: Secus crediderunt nobiles nostri omnes, et omnes omnium ordinum primi viri. Qui ad nostra postulata suas literas adjunxerunt, et quem non ad id adigerit ratio ut crederet Sanctitatem vestram facturam Dei respectu quod debuisset, et in principum gratiam quod inculpate potuisset: debuisset certe permittere sacrosanctis olim Consiliis id definientibus, ut controversia illic terminetur ubi primum nata est. Illic enim Judices et propius vident et cernunt certius: Ut Gloriosissimo Martyri Cypriano placuit. Et Divus Barnardus ad Eugenium scribit bene facis tu quod appellationum negato Suffragio remittis negotia ad cognoscentes et qui noscere citius possunt: ubi enim certior et facilior notio, ibi decisio tutior et expeditior esse potest: potuisset autem Sanctitas vestra nam olim se potuisse ostendit cum Judices ad nos in Angliam mitteret quos postea revocavit. Quod si debuisset quidem quod negari non poterit, et potuisset etiam ut quidem factis antea suis de consilio suorum declaravit, quis dubitaret de voluntate siquidem ut deberet ipsam liberam rectam et certam teneat Sanctitas vestra, non ad aliena arbitria accommodatam ac humanis respectibus inservientem quod res ita se habet ut habet fuerunt aliquando vices nostri, nunc ut videmus aliorum sunt: Non in Lege Domini, sed in rerum vicissitudine meditandem est, ut de vestræ Sanctitatis Manu aliquod auxilii expectemus, sed auxilium nostrum à Domino certum est, et in Domino sperantes non infirmabimur. Nam in conspectu omnium, acta probant voluntatem Sanctitatis vestræ totam Cæsari addictam esse: Illius nutu flecti, ad illius arbitrium attemperari. Si quid petimus, si quid rogamus, quod officii vestri esset, prima ratio est, ut ne quid Cæsari displiceat. Quem etiamsi amicum habeamus, tamen dominantem in illo naturæ affectum ut improbare omnino non possumus, ita in hac causa nostra iniquiorem nobis non sine causa refugere debemus et recte gravissimam nobis injuriam factam et vestro officio indignissimum dedecus admissum videmus, ut cum Cæsar se in hac causa interposuerit, etiam cum se opposuerit definitioni appellatione interposita, cum se partem publice professus sit, vestra Sanctitas tamen eundem semper consultorem adhibeat: ad illius imperium figat, ac refigat, differat, proroget, mutet et statuat quodcunque temporis rationi oportunum videatur. Et si quid ab adverso dicatur statim creditur: Si quid nos proposuerimus omnino rejicitur, scilicet creditur nunc Reginæ Regnum nostrum Angliæ non esse tutum locum in quo causa judicetur: Et creditur unicæ allegationi sine testibus contra tam preclara et aperta documenta quæ nos in diversum edidimus, non verbis et assertionibus que fingi possunt, sed rebus ipsis et factis quæ non mentiuntur. Nos enim quanta cum libertate atque impunitate audivimus omnes in nos, liberius etiam quam oportuit, quod videbatur proferentes, nemini unquam aliam opinionem extorsimus, quam que animo videretur suo: diversum à nobis sentientes etiam in cæteris, favore et prosequimur et prosecuti sumus. Et tamen, post tot argumenta securitatis, et cum nullum signum adhuc apparuerit cur timere quisquam à nobis merito deberet, credit vestra Sanctitas nudam Reginæ allegationem in diversum. Quo tempore dubitari potuit qualiter essemus laturi quod agereter et quanta cum equanimitate passuri quod fierit, si quid contra nos fieret. Missi sunt ad nos Judices in Angliam, a Sanctitate vestra, nunc vero cum id amplius factitari non potest, non modo dubitatur sed creditur diversum ejus, quod nos probavimus. Probavimus autem nos Regnum nostrum locum esse tutum in quo causa nostra judicetur viz. cum hactenus summam omnibus dicendi libertatem permiserimus. Regina vero tantum allegat diversum, et si quas probationes attulerit, vanæ sint oportet et falsæ nec verisimiles. Quæ quum ita sint, aliud tamen cur Judices non dederit, non respondit Sanctitas vestra, nisi quod Regina allegavit locum suspectum. Et quis crederit Sanctitatem vestram ista nobis respondisse, nec aliud dixesse ne Judices daret in partibus: certe referentium credulitatem exigit res vero ipsa negat. Si sequamur quod antea diximus eam persuasionem ut credamus Sanctitatem vestram voluntatem suam ita Cæsari addixisse, ut non ex animi vestri summa prudentia præditi sententia sed ex Cæsaris affectu respondere contendat. Que res facet ut iterum atque iterum repetitis literis Sanctitatem vestram adeamus, expressuri nimirum si quid aliud moverit Sanctitatem vestram cur nostris ultimis desideriis non annuerit cupidi etiam literis vestris intelligere cui causæ potissimum, denegando innixa sit. Sic enim expressius et certius mentes invicem et animi nostri sententias communicabimus: Si in causis hiisce gravioribus et postulata et responsa scriptis mandaverimus. Itaque petimus denuo hiis literis a Sanctitate vestra ut causam nostram in Anglia datis Judicibus, illis quos inter oratores tanquam indifferentes et equissimos nominabimus, decidi patiatur, atque permittat. De Judicibus autem nullam ut accipimus facit difficultatem Sanctitas vestra, tantum de loco Questio fuit, quum sacra Consilia jam deffinierunt et Sanctus etiam Cyprianus et Divus Bernardus ut prædiximus, utique convenientissimum affirmant, ut in eo loco causa terminetur ubi primum nata est. Durum certe esset probare nudam Reginæ allegationem de loco suspecto, contra ea Argumenta quæ nos ostendimus. Et facile videt prudentia vestra non levem nobis notam inuri, ut ea infamia aspergamur, quasi in causa tanti Sacramenti suspecti haberemur, ne eam ex equo et bono Divinarum legum præscripto intra Regni nostri limitem terminari pateremur: Suspitio talis crimen esset etiam in infimo homuncione famosum, in principe viro tanto magis angetur facinoris atrocitas, quanto sublimius consurgit fastigium dignitatis: Nec possumus certe pati, nedum equanimiter ferre, ut de suspitione tam gravi immerito accusemur, ac sine teste etiam à vestra Sanctitate inique condemnemur. Quæ si communis Patris et Boni pastoris officio fungeretur, in eo potius laboraret ne quid temere cuiquam fiat, et ne sine omni sua culpa ledatur nec immerito notetur. Atque hoc nimirum est Christi vices in Terris gerere, conservandæ Charitatis exampla prebere, ita suum vindicare ne quid alteri detrahatur, ex equo et bono omnia disceptare, plane, simpliciter, et aperte agere, promissa prestare non obliquo ductu, alio tendere quam quo cursum aperte institueras. Hac omnia non ascribimus Sanctitati vestræ, nec de occultis Sacræ Literæ permittunt judicare, et nos semper temeraria judicia fugimus, nec in alium libenter admittimus, quod in nos ipsos fieri equanimiter non ferremus. Sed si vestræ Sanctit. oratores, si vestri nuncii, vestri Magistratus, auctore Sanctitate vestra faciunt quod faciunt, cujus Rei certum judicium Conscientiæ vestræ sit, clara certe verisimilitudo interim elucet: sed si Auctor est vestra Sanctitas, si Conscia est, si facta probat, immo si non improbat aperte, non corrigit: Graviora sunt his que supra memoravimus quæ in Sanctitatem vestram dici possunt, nam quum Sanctitas vestra omnibus modis primum conata est impedire ne quis in Causa nostra suam sententiam libere proferret, ac deinde post multas longas et varias preces, Justitiæ Administrandæ necessitate adacta, ut suum cui-

que liberum judicium permitteret, scribendi et dicendi quod suæ Conscientiæ videretur, literis tandem in publicum missis permiserit, omnibus liberam in Causa nostra scribendi facultatem: Magistratus interea vestri, vestro etiam nomine, multis gravissime minati sunt, si quid scripserint in Potestatem vestram. Hoc Bononiæ et aliis in locis permultis factum scimus. Cæsaris vero Oratores ubique in Italia, ac vestris presertim ditionibus, contempto vestræ Sanctitatis edicto, indies non cessant Terrores, Minas, et cætera quæque Territamenta inculcare; sciente et volente, vel saltem non impediente sed connivente Sanctitate vestra, his qui in Causa nostra scripserunt ac scriberent, ni revocent atque recantent. Et, qua Conspiratione nescimus, effectum est, ut Literarum nostrarum nec liber sit commeatus nec tutus. Christianissimus verò Rex nobis significavit, quomodo Orator vester qui apud illum est, de Causa nostra etiam nomine Sanctitatis vestræ, ut quidem asseruit, in verba pronuntiavit; nec veritus est tanto Principi audacter et impudenter mentiri; ut diceret Causam nostram contra omne jus et fas intendi, nullo jure aut ratione niti. Quæ verba, si ex animi vestri sententia protulit, non semper ex animi sui sententia, et scripsit et locuta est Sanctitas vestra, quæ Causam nostram aliquando justissimam appellavit. Quod si temeritas illius hominis à Sanctitatis vestræ sinceritate remota est, quod libentius vellemus, tamen quum eo munere fungatur, in quo ad mandatorum præscripta agere videatur, saltem aliqua ratione diluenda suspitio est: sicque illis agendum, quos Splendor Dignitatis reddit conspicuos; ne ullam scandali occasionem præstent, his quos in obsequio et amicitia continere cupiant. Nobiscum autem ita agat Sanctitas vestra, ut Naturæ Præcepta non transiliat; si suum sibi integrum servari cupiat, ne nostrum attingat, ne recipiat appellationes ad se in Causa nostra: Et si quas receperit, ne contra justitiam eas tueri studeat; sed secundum justitiam, eas in Regnum remittat; ne exercere conetur inhibitiones suas, in hac Causa contra nos, aut subditos nostros, quos illis modis non convenit deterreri. Sinat Leges et Prerogativas nostras Regnique nostri Angliæ, nec tempore nec auctoritate vestris cedentes, sua vi procedere: Inhibitiones istas, si quas fecerit, quod non credimus, maturiori Consilio revocet quæ factæ sunt, et cum alieni juris præjudicio, ne deinceps emittat. Summatim autem quod petitur; hoc est, ut ne ad se, neve ad Curiam Romanam, Causæ illius Cognitionem deferri patiatur, quæ intra Regni nostri Limites debet terminari. Nec credat Sanctitas vestra, ut cum Leges certas et fixas habeat hoc Regnum nostrum Angliæ, ne Causæ quæcunq; Regiam Personam, aut Rempublicam quoquomodo tangentes, extra Regni Limites Judiciis tractentur; vel permissuros nos eas nobis regnantibus infringi et violari; vel passuros Regni nostri Nobiles, tam grave præjudicium huic Regno inferri. Breviter site nil moveat Persona rogantis, moveat saltem Causa rogandi. Rogamus enim nos, quia Naturæ et Rationi consonum est, ut quod nostrum est nobis illibatum conservare studeamus. Rogamus autem Auctoribus Sacrosanctis Consiliis, hoc est, vestris Legibus; viz. ut in sua cujusque Provincia Causa terminetur. Rogamus ex sententia Divorum Cypriani et Bernardi, quibus hoc, ut supradiximus, equum visum est. Denique rogamus, quod Leges nostræ diversum non patiantur, et nos à Contentionibus abhorremus. His certè non annuere non potest Sanctitas vestra, si illum Charitatis fervorem habeat, quem et Titulus Dignitatis præ se fert, et nos etiam habemus. Veruntamen, si hæ Causæ Rogandi Sanctitatem vestram moverint, ut concedat quod justum est, eatenus tamen apud nos valebunt, ne de Sanctitatis vestræ manu patiamur quod injustum est: Nec quisque facile patitur auferri, quod suum est. Et nos etiam in aliena illibenter irruimus, sed à Contentione non abest detrimentum: Et nullius ferè compendio semel natæ Controversiæ transiguntur: Quid animi habeat Sanctitas vestra, quid autem nobis respondere decreverit, rogamus ut per Literas velit significare.

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NUMBER XIX.

*A Letter of Gr. Cassali, from Compiegne.—An Original.*

[Cotton Library, Vitellius, B. 13.]

Serenissime et Invictissime Domine mi Supreme, Salutem. Compendium Regem Christianissimum, quemadmodum sibi placere ipse mihi dixerat, sum subsequutus. Cum ejus Majestati duo adhuc agenda superarent: Primum, quia meorum Literis certior factus sum, brevi Pontificem cum Cæsare conventurum, Literæ ad duos Cardinales, qui Parisiis sunt, ab hoc Rege Christianissimo conscribendæ videbantur; quibus illis mandaret, quo celerius poterint magnis itineribus in Italiam festinent. Itaque veluti à Rege postulavi, ut hujusmodi Literæ exarentur. Deinde valde existimabam necessarium, cum hoc Principe agere, ut duobus Cardinalibus daret in mandatis, ut ante omnes Cardinalis de Monte meminissent. Eique Pensionem annuam, saltem trium millium aureorum, ex quadraginta millibus, quæ mihi dixerat velle in Cardinales distribuere assignarent. Et Rex quidem hoc etiam scribi ad duos Cardinales jussit Secretario Vitandri: Quicum ego postmodo super iis Pensionibus Sermonem habui, cognovique sic in animo Regem habere, ut duo Cardinales quum Romæ fuerint, videant, qui potissimum digni hac Regia sint Liberalitate, in eosque, quum quid in Regno Galliæ Ecclesiasticum vacare contigerit, ex meritis unius cujusque Pensiones conferantur. Tunc autem nihil in promptu haberi, quod Cardinali de Monte dari possit: Verum Regis nomine illi de futuro esse promittendum, quod mihi certe summopere displicuit; et Secretario Vitandri non reticui, ostendens Pollicitationes hujusmodi centies, jam Cardinali de Monte factas fuisse; et modo si iterum fiant nihil aliud effecturas, nisi ut illius Viri quasi ulcera pertractent id quod Vitandri verum esse fatebatur, pollicitusq; est se, quum Rex à Venatu rediisset, velle ei suadere, ut Cardinalem de Monte aliqua præsenti Pensione prosequatur; qua quidem te nihil conducibilius aut oportunius fieri posset.

Illud autem novi, quod meorum Literis ex urbe significatur, ad Guronum perscribi. Et D. Benettum ad Dominum Ducem Norfolciæ scribere arbitror his Literis, quæ hic mihi redditæ sunt, et cum præsentibus mitto. Quod autem et Rege Christianissimo cognovi illud est. Constituisse Cæsarem, superioribus diebus, relinquere Ferdinando Fratri viginti millia Peditum, Equitum decem millia; ita ut ipse solveret de suo Stipendia sex millibus Boemorum, et duobus millibus Militum navalium: Quatuor vero millibus Germanorum darentur Stipendia à liberis Germaniæ Civitatibus. At reliquis qui Italorum erant octo millia, nihil certi Stipendij decernebat; credens illos, quemadmodum in Italia plærumque evenire consuevit, aut exigua re, aut ad summum dimidio Stipendio acquieturos. Ex decem Equitum millibus, duo millia ex Flammingis, Ordinibus relinquebant. In cæteros Stipendium à Pontifice, ut in illam diem factum fuerat, statuebat. Sed enim Itali Milites, male se tractari existimantes, tumultu facto Italiam versus abierunt; quod quum reliqui cognovissent, alij alio domos suas omnes discesserunt. Hujus autem seditionis Crimen in Petrum Mariam Rubeum



Comitem Sancti Secundi collatum fuit: Idque quoniam discedentes milites ipsius comitis nomen clamantes ingeminabant: Illum igitur Cæsar comprehendi jussit: Et Cardinalem Medices quoque legatum ut ejusdem affinem culpæ detineri, ac paulo post dimitti imperavit: qui primo quoque tempore per equos dispositos abiens Venetias se contulit: Atque hanc quidem rem Pontifex, ut debuit, iniquo animo tulisse dicitur; et de adeo insigni contumelia cum Cæsarianis omnibus est conquestus. Verum, illi quibus modis potuerunt, Cæsarem excusarunt, rogaruntq; ut placato sit animo donec Cæsarem ipsum audiat, qui ostendet quicquid fecit in ipsius Pontificis, beneficium fecisse. De conventu Pontificis Cæsarisq; pro certo ferme habetur Bononiæ futurum: Et ut ex litteris colligi potest, jam nunc Cæsar Italiam cum duodecim millibus peditum ingressus est: Et Pontifex ab urbe Bononiam versus discedet, Romam enim venerat Petrus Cona Cæsaris legatus ad Pontificem deducendum: Qua de re quum hic certior factus essem, ad Franciscum fratrem meum, qui Romæ est, scripsi, ut Cardinalem de Monte, et alterum amicum nostrum adiret, rogaretque velint cum Pontifice agere, ut quoniam ita festinanter Bononiam contendit, neque ipsos secum ducere potest, promittat se nihil antequam Romam redierit in causa Majestatis vestræ facturum, quum præsertim absque ipsis nihil recte in tanto negotio confici possit. Præterea fratri meo ut idem nonnullis aliis Cardinalibus diceret mandavi: quod si viderit non posse id a Pontifice impetrari, ab ipsis contendet ut Pontificem omnino sequuntur, neque ætas decrepita illos moretur, sed quoquo modo sese deferri faciant: Neque velit Cardinalis de Monte, quemadmodum alias fecit, absente Pontifice legatus in urbe remanere, præsertim si, quod firme ab omnibus creditur, Pontifex Bononiæ usque in mensem Martium aut Aprilem est commoraturus. Sed nunc quod scribam omittendum non est. Quum Caletio discedens equum consedissem, Secretarius qui illic erat Nuntii Pontificii, se litteras habere à Nuntio mihi dixit, quibus respondebat ad quandam partem suarum litterarum, quæ illi meis verbis significarat, velle se omnino ad Pontificem scribere, ne quicquam in causa Majestatis vestræ ante reditum meum ageret, ea enim me allaturum, quæ sibi rationabiliter placere possent, dummodo nihil super causa factum fuisset. Responsum autem Nuntii illud erat, se in eam sententiam ad Pontificem scripsisse, et de ea ita scripsisse, ut mihi polliceretur, nihil ante quam ego redierim in Majestatis vestræ causa innovatum fore: enimvero me rogavit ut aliquid boni, et quod nostris placere posset afferrem, ne ipse mentitus esse videretur.

Sed de pensione in Cardinalem de Monte conferenda, quoniam postmodo Rex Christianissimus quemadmodum mihi promiserat scribere recusavit, et me rogavit ut adventum magni magistri expectarem, quid sequutum sit Majestas vestra ex Domino Wintoniensi cognoscet, ad quem de hac re abunde scripsi. Felix sit et optime valeat Majestas vestra. Compendii Die xvj. Novemb. M.D. xxxij.

*Regia Majestatis.*

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NUMBER XX.

*A Representation made by the Convocation to the King before the Submission.*

[Cotton Library, Cleop. F. I.]

First, as concerning such constitutions and ordinances provincial as be to be made hereafter by us your most humble subjects, we having our especial trust and confidence in your most excellent wisdom, and your princely goodness and fervent zeal to the promotion of Gods honour and Christen religion, and specially in your incomparable learning farr exceeding in our judgments the learning of all other kings and princes that we have redde of, and doubting nothing but that the same shall still continue and daily encrease in your majestie, do offer and promise hereunto the same that from henceforth during your highness natural life which we most hertily beseech Almighty God long to preserve, we shall forbear to enact, promulge, or put in execution, any such constitution or ordinance so by us to be made in time coming, unless your highness by your royal assent shall license us to make, promulge, and execute such constitutions, and the same so made shall approve by your higness authorite.

Secounde, whereas your highness honorable commons do pretend that diverse of the constitutions provincial, which have ben heretofore enacted be not only much prejudicial to your highness perogative royal, but also overmuch onerous to your said commons, we your most humble subjects for the considerations aforesaid, be contented to referr and commit all and singular the said constitutions to the examination and judgment of your grace only: and which soever of the same shall finally be found, thought, and judged by your graces most high wisdom prejudiciall and overmuch onerous as is pretended, we offer and promise your highness to moderate or utterly to abrogate and annull the same, according to the judgment of your grace. Saving us to allwaie all such immunities and liberties of this church of England, as hath been granted unto the same by the goodness and benignite of your highness, and of others your most noble progenitors, with all such constitutions provincial as do stand with the laws of Almighty God and Holy Church, and of your realm heretofore made, which we most humbly beseech your grace to ratifie and approve by your royal assent, for the better execution of the same in times to come, amongst your graces people. Providing also that until your highness pleasure herein shall be further declared unto us, all manner of ordinaries may execute their jurisdictions in like manner and form as they have used the same in times past.

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NUMBER XXI.

*A Letter by Magnus to Cromwell, concerning the Convocation of York.— Taken from the Original.*

[Cleop. E. 6. P. 252.]

After full due recommendation unto your good mastership, like it the same to wete, that yesterdaie was here with me Mr. Doctor Lee, and shewed unto me the kings most gracious pleasure and your advertisements for my going northwards to the convocation at York. So it is, as I doubt not the said Mr. Doctor Lee knoweth and conceiveth, that I have not a little been sik and diseased, but greatly grieved with a rewme in myn hed, and a catarr fallen into my stomake, by reason whereof, I have had, and yet have a contynuall great cough, I am in truste that my diseas and sicknes is in declination, supposing thereby the sooner to have recovery, and this daye have sent for my horses into Nottingham shir, and truste with the helpe of God to be at York soone after the begynning of the said convocation. Many yeres afore-passed, I have ever been redy to go when I have been commanded, and yet I have as good a will as ever I had, but myn olde body is nowe soe ofte cloggod with infirmitie and unweildenes, that it woll not aunswer to the effect of my desire and good mynde, yet nevertheles with the good helpe and counsell also of Mr. Bartlot, I shall doe asmuch as I may to make me soe strong as it woll be, and have had communycation at large with the said Mr. Doctor Lee, touching our intended business. I am very glad that

he shall be at York at this season, for at the laste convocation where as was graunted unto the kings highness the great some of mony to be paide in five yeres, with the recognising his grace to be *supremum Caput*, &c. I had very litle helpe, but my self, albeit the kings highness said that he wolde have sent other bookes after me, which came not: soe that therefore the kinges causes were the longer in treating and reasonyng or they came to good effect and conclusion; the prelates and clergie there woll not in any wise give firme credence to reporte of any acts that be paste here, onles the same be shewed unto them authentically, either under seale, or otherwise, or the kings most honourable letters addressed accordingly, these two things in myn oppynnyon, must both be done, for without the same, the prelats and clergie of the north parties being farre from knowledge of the kings most high pleasure, woll not for any credence, be hastie to proceed to any strainge acts, but woll esteem their reasons and lernyng, to be as effectuall as others be. I write the more at large unto you herryne, bycause, as it shall please you, and as ye shall seem good, the matters that now be intended, may be put in order. Glad I would have been to have commen nowe unto you my self, but I assure you, I dare not as yet come into the open ayer, soe soone as I may, it shall be my firste pilgrimage by the grace of God, who ever preserve you myn one good master. At Maribone this Monday the xxth daye of Aprill.

Your own preiste and bedeman
T. MAGNUS.

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NUMBER XXII.

*A Protestation made by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, against all the Acts pass'd in the Parliament to the prejudice of the Church.*

[1531. P. 120.]

Protestatio Archiepiscopi Cantuar.

In Dei Nomine. Amen. Per præsens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter et sit notum, quòd Anno Domini secundum Cursum et Computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Millesimo Quingentesimo xxxi°. Indictione Quintâ, Pontificatûs Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri, Domini Clementis Divinâ Providentiâ illius Nominis Papæ Septimi, Anno Nono, Mensis verò Februarii die vigesimo quarto: In quodam superiori Cubiculo sive Camerâ infra Manerium Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini, Domini Wilhelmi Permissione Divinâ Cant' Archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ Primatis, et Apostolicæ Sedis legati, de Lambithe Winton' Dioc. situatum in nostrorum Notariorum Publicorum Subscriptorum, ac Testium inferius Nominatorum, præsentiâ constitutus personaliter idem Reverendissimus in Christo Pater, quandam Protestationem, in scriptis redactam, fecit, et interposuit, ac palàm et publicè Protestatus est, cæteràque fecit et exercuit prout, et quemadmodum quàdam Papiri Schedulâ, quam manibus suis tunc tenens publicè legebat, plenius continebatur; cujus quidem Schedulæ tenor sequitur, et est talis.

In Dei Nomine. Amen. Nos Wilhelmus permissione divinâ Cant. Arch. totius Angliæ Primas, et Apostolicæ Sedis legatus, Protestamur publicè et expressè, pro nobis, et sanctâ Ecclesiâ nostrâ Metropolitică Cantuariensi, quod nolumus, nec intendimus, sicuti neque sanâ Conscientiâ possumus, Alicui statuto in præsenti Parliamento apud Fratres Prædicatores London tertio die mensis Novembris Anno Dom' 1529. et Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi xxi. inchoat', et abinde usq; ad Westm' prorogat', et ibidem huc usque continuat', edito, seu deinceps edendo, quatenus statuta hujusmodi, seu eorum aliquod, in derogationem Romani Pontificis, aut Sedis Apostolicæ; vel damnum Præjudicium, sive Restrictionem Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis; aut in Subversionem, Enervationem, seu Derogationem, vel Diminutionem, Jurium, Consuetudinum, Privilegiorum, Prærogativarum, Præeminentiarum, seu Libertatis Ecclesiæ nostræ Metropoliticæ Christi Cant' prædict' tendere dignoscuntur, quomodolibet consentire; sed ad omnem Juris effectum qui exinde sequi poterit aut debebit, eisdem Dissentire, Reclamare, Contradicere; ac Dissentimus, Reclamamus, et Contradicimus in his scriptis. Super quibus omnibus, et singulis præmissis, idem Reverendissimus Pater nos Notarios publicos subscriptos sibi unum, vel plura, publicum seu publica, Instrumentum sive Instrumenta, exinde conficere debitè et instanter requisivit et rogavit.

Acta sunt hæc omnia et singula prout supra scribuntur et recitantur sub anno Domini, Indictione, Pontificatu, Mense, Die, et loco prædictis; Præsentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus, et probis Viris, Magistris Johanne Cocks, legum Doctore: Rogero Harmam Theologiæ Baccalaureo: Ingelramno Bedill, Clerico: Et Wilhelmo Waren Literato, Testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Istud Instrumentum similiter erat subscriptum manibus prædictorum trium Notariorum, with the foregoing instrument; which was that of the submission of the clergy. They were

William Potkyn, John Hering, and Thomas Argal.

*This was copied out of a MS. in my Lord Longvill's Library.*

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NUMBER XXIII.

*A Letter of Bonner's upon his reading the King's Appeal to the Pope.—An Original.*

[Cotton Library, Vitellius B. 14. Fol. 75.]

To the king. From Edmund Bonner at Marseilles.

Pleaseth it your highnes to be advertised, that sythen my last letters sent unto the same of the ivth of this present by Thadens the Curror wherein I declared in what termes were the proceedings here, I was commaunded by my lord of Winchester, and other your highnes ambassadoures here, to intimate unto the popes person, if the same were possible to do, all suche provocations and appelles which your highnes heretofore had made unto the generall councell, and sent hither to be intimated accordinglie. Whereupon desiring Mr. Penyston to take the pains with me unto the popes palace for the expeditions of an acte concernyng your highnes, and he right glad and very well content to do the same: I repayred with hym thither the viith of this present, in the mornyng, and albeit that at the begynnyng some resistence and contradiction was made that we shold not come unto the pope, which as then was in manner full readye to come unto the consistorie; and therefore not accustomed with other business to be interrupted, yet in conclusion we came to that chamber where the pope stode bytwene two cardinalles, de Medices, and Lorayne, redie apparelled with his stole towards the consistorie. And incontinently upon my comyng thither, the pope, whos sight is incredulous quick, eyed me, and that divers tymes, making a good pawse in one place, in which tyme I desired the datary to advertise his holines that I desired to speke with him. And albeit the datarie made no litle difficultie therein thinking the tyme and place not most convenient, yet perceyvyng that upon refusal I wool have goon furthwith to the pope, he advertised



the pope of my said desire. And his holynes dismyssing as then the said cardinals, and letting his vesture fall went to a wyndowe in the said chamber calling me unto him, at what tyme (doyng reverence accustomed) I shew'd unto his holynes how that your highness had given me expresse and strayte commandment to intimate unto hym, how that your grace had first solomly provoked, and allso after that appealled unto the generall councell, submitting your self to the tuition and defence thereof, which provocation and appelles I said I had under authentike writinges then with me to shewe for that purpose. Declaring that your highnes was moved thus to doo upon reasonable causes and grounds expressed in the said provocation and appelles, and yet nevertheless soo tempering your doynges that beynge a good and catholike prince, and proceeding thereafter, your grace mynded not any thing to say, doo, or goo about agaynst the Holie Catholique and Apostolique Churche, or the authority of the see, otherwise then was the office of a good catholike prince, and chaunsing soo to doo indeed intended in tyme and place according, catholiquely to reforme and await the same. And herewithall I drew out the said writing shewing his said holynes that I brought the same for proof of the premisses and that his holynes might see and perceive all the same, adding hereunto that your highnes used these remedies not in any contempt either of the churche, the see, or of his holynes, but only upon causes expressed in the said writings. Desiring also his holynes that althoughe in tymes passed it liked hym to shewe unto me much benevolence and kyndnes, wherbie I must and did accompte my self greatly bounden unto the same, yet considering the obligations a subject must and doth of right beare chiefly unto his sovereyne lord, he wood take al my doyngs in good parte, and not to ascribe any unkyndnes unto me in this behalfe, but only to consider that a subject and servant must do his masters commandement. The pope havyng this for a brekefast, only pulled downe his head to his shoulders after the Italion fashion, and said that because he was as then fully ready to goe to the consistorie he would not tarye to hear or see the said writings; but willed me to come at after noone, and he would gladly giff me audience to all the same, and other things that I would propose or do, whereupon his holynes departing streyght to the consistorie, I returned to your said ambassadors, telling them what I had doon, and what answer I had. That after noone I and Mr. Penyston (whom I entended aswel in the popes answeres, as also in other my doinge, to use as a wittnes if the cause should soe require,) repayred to the palace, and bycause that audience was assigned unto many, and among others unto the ambassador of Millan, I tarried there the space of an howre and halfe, and finally was called into the pope's secret chamber, where (taking with me Mr. Penyston) I founde his holines having only with hym Godsadyn of Bononie; the pope perceyving that I had brought one with me, looked much upon hym, and a great deale the more, in my opinion, bycause that in the morning I did speak with his holines alone, Mr. Penyston albeit beyng in the said chambre, and seying what I did, yet not resorting nye unto his said holines. And to put the pope out of this fantasie, and somewhat to colour my entent, I tolde his holynes that the said Mr. Penyston was the gentilman that had brought unto me commission and letters from your highnes, to intimate unto his holynes the provocation and appeal forsaid; the pope percase not fully herewith satisfied, and supposing that I would (as I indede entended) have recorde upon my doyngs, said, that it were good for him to have his datarie, and also other of his counsell, to hear and see what were done in that behalfe, and thereupon called for his datarie, Symonetta, and Capisuchi. In the mean whyle, they beyng absent, and sent for, his holynes leaning in his wyndow towardes the west syde, after a little pawse turned unto me, and asked me of my lord of Winchester how he did, and likewise afterward of Mr. Brian; but after that sort that we thought he would make me believe that he knew not of his being here, saying thos words; How doth Mr. Brian, is he here now: and after that I had answered hereunto, his holynes not a little seeming to lament the death of Mr. Doctor Bennet, whom he said was a faithfull and good true servant unto your highnes, enquired of me whether I was present at the time of his death, and falling out of that, and marvelling, as he said, that your highness would use his holyness after such sorte, as it appears ye did: I said that your highnes no less did marveyll that his holynes havyng found so much benevolence and kyndnes at your handes in all tymes passed, would for acquitall shewe such unkyndnes as of late he did, as well in not admitting your excusator with your lawfull defences, as alsoe pronouncing against your highnes: and here we entered in comunication upon two poyntes, oon was that his holynes having comitted in tymes passed, and in moost ample forme, the cause into the realm, promising not to revoke the said commission, and over that to confirm the processe and sentence of the commisaries, beyng two cardinalles and legates of his see, should not especially at the poynt of sentence, have advoked the cause from their hands, reteyning it at Rome, but at the lest, he should have committed the same to some other indifferent judges within your realme, making herein that it could not be retayned at Rome: this argument was either his holynes would have the matter examyned and ended, or he would not: if he would, then either he would have it examined and ended in a place whither your highness might personally come, and ellse bende to send your proctor, or else in that place whither your highnes nother couud or ought personally to come unto; ne yet bounde to sende a proctor; if he intended in a place whither your highnes might personally come, and elles bound to send a proctor he intended well and ought to have provided accordingly. If he entended that the matter shuld be examyned and ended in that place wher your highnes neither could nor ought personally to come, nor yet bounde to send a proctor then his holynes did not well and justly. Seying that ether your highness shuld therbie be compelled to make a proctor in matter of such importance against your will; or enforced to a thing unto you impossible, or elles to be left without defence, having just cause of absence. And for as much as Rome was a place whither your Highnes could not ne yet ought personally come unto, and alsoe was not bound to send thither your proctor: I said therefore that his holynes justly shuld not have retayned the matter at Rome. The second point was that your highnes cause beyng in the opinion of the best learned men in Christendome approved good and just, and so many wayes known unto his holynes; the same shuld not soe long have retayned it in his hands without judgment: his holynes answering to the same, as touching the first poynt, said that if the quene (meanyng the late wife of prince Arthure, calling her alway in his conversation, the queen) had not given an oath "perhorræscentiæ et quod non sperabat consequi Justitiæ complementum impartibus," refusing the judges as suspect, he would not have advoked the matter at all, but been content it shuld have been examyned and ended in your realm; but seying she gave that othe and refused the judges as suspect, appealling also to his courte, he said he might and ought

to hear her, his promise made to your highnes, which was qualified, notwithstanding. And as touching the seconde poynt, his holynes said that your highnes only was the defaut thereof, bycause ye woulde not send a proxie unto the cause, without which he said the same coude not be determyned, And albeit I replied aswell against his answere to the first poynt, saying that his holynes cou'd ne yet thereupon retaine the matter at Rome, and proceed against your highnes there, and likewise against the seconde poynt, saying that your highnes was not bounde to sende any proxie, yet his holynes seeing that the datarie was come in upon this last conclusion, said only that al these matters had been oft, and many tymes fully talked upon at Rome, and therefore willed me to omitte ferther communication thereupon, and to proceede to the declaration, and doing of such things, that I was specially sent for: whereupon making protestation of your highnes mynde and intent towardes the church, and see apostolique, not intending any thing to doe in contempt of the same, I exhibited unto his holynes the commission which your highnes had sent unto me under your private seale (the other sent by Frances the curror not beyng then come) desiring and asking according to the tenour thereof, and his holynes delivering it to the datarie commanded hym to rede it, and hereing in the same thes wordes, "Gravaminibus et injuriis nobis ab eodem sanctissimo Patre illatis et comminatis," began to loke up after a new sorte and said, "O questo et multo vero," this is much true, meanyng that it was not true indede. And verily sure not only in this but also in many partes of the said commission as they were red he shewed hymself grevouslie offended: insomuch that when those wordes, "Ad sacro-sanctum concilium generale proxime jam futurum legittimum et in loco congruenti celebrandum," were red, he fell in a marvelous great cholere and rage, not only declaring the same by his gesture and manner, but also by wordes: speaking with great vehemence, and saying, "Why did not the king" (meanyng your majestie) "when I wrote to my nuncio this you passed to speke, unto hym for this generall councell, giff no answer unto my said nuncio, but referred hym for answere therein to the French king; at what tyme he might perceive by my doyng (he said) that I was very well disposed and much spake for it: the thing so standing, now to speke of a general councel, O good lord. But well! his commission, and all other his writings cannot be but welcome unto me, he said, whiche last wordes we thought he spake willing to hide his choler, and make me byleve that he was nothing angrie with this doyngs, where in very dede I perceived by many arguments that it was otherwise: and one among another was taken here for unfallible with them that knoweth the popes conditions, that he was contynually folding up and unwynding of his handkerchefe, which he never doth but when he is tykled to the very hert with great choler. And albeit he was lothe to leave conversation of this generall councel to ease his stomack, yet at the last he commanded the datarie to rede further: which he did. And by and by, upon the reding of thoos clauses, "si oportat Rever. Patribus, &c. and post . . . and his holynes eftsones chafed greatly; finally saying, "Questo e boon fiatto," this is but well doon. And what tyme that clause "Protestando," &c. and also that oother, "Nos ad ea Juris et facti remedia," was red by the datarie, he caused hym to rede theym again: which doon, his holynes not a litle chafyng with hymself asked what I had moore. And then I repeting my protestation, did exhibit unto him your highnes provocation, which incontenently he delivered to the datarie to rede, and in this also he founde hym self much greived, notyng in the begynnyng not oonly those wordes "Archiepiscopo Eboracensi," but also thus, "Citra tum revocat. quorum cumque procuratorum:" at which he made good pawse, conjectering therebie as I toke it, that ther were proctors made which might exercise and appear in your name if your highnes had ther with be contented. The datarie reding ferther and comyng to those woords "quod non est nostræ intentionis" &c. his holynes with great vehemence says, that thoughe your highnes in your protestation had respect to the church and authorite of the see apostolique, yet you had noon to hym at al; whereunto I answered and said it was not soe, as his holynes should perceyve in the other writings. But of truth say what I say wooled ther was in manor never a clause in the said provocation that soe pleased him, but he woold wrynge and whrist it to the worst sense; as in annotations upon the margynes aswell of provocation as alsoe appellations, I shall fully declare unto your highness; which yet nevertheles at this time bycause it cannot be perfect at the departure of this byrer I doo not send it to your highnes. As the detarie was reding this provocation, came in Symoneta, and even at those woords, "Sed deinde publico eantur judicio." Wherin the pope snarling and sayeing that *publicum*, Symoneta said no such was never had. Symoneta said, now syne they spake of that archbishop, I suppose, that made that good process the cause depending afore your holynes in the consistorie. A said the pope a worshipful processe and judgment. And as he was chafing hereupon, ther came oon of his chamber to tell hym that the French king did comme to speke with his holynes: and incontenently hereapon the pope made great hast to mete hym; and even at the very door they mette together, the French king makyng very lowe curtisie, putting of his bonet, and keping it of, till he came to a table in the popes chamber. And albeit I much dout not that the French king knew right well what doyngs was in hand, advertised thereof by oon Nicolas his secretarie and also of the popes pryvey chamber, yet his grace asked of the pope what his holynes did. And the same gave answer and said, "Questi signori Inglesi sono stati qua per intimare certi provocationi et appellationi e di fare altre cose." Theis gentiemen of England be here to intimate certeyn provocations and appelles and to do other things. Whereupon they two secretly did fall in conversation; but what it was I cannot tell: the French kinge his back was against me, and I understood not what he said. Trouth it is, when the French king had spoke a longe tyme and made ende of his tale, the pope said those wordes, "Questa e per la bonta vostræ," this is of your goodnes. Proceding ferther in conversation and laughing meryly together they so talked the space of three quarters of an hower, it beyng then after six of the clock in the nyght, and in conclusion the French kinge making great reverance toke his leave, but the pope went with him to the chamber dorre, and albeit the French king woold not have suffered hym further to have goon, yet his holynes following hym out of the doore toke hym by the hande and brought him to the doore of the seconde chamber, where making great ceremonies the oon to the other, they departed, the pope returnyng to his chamber, and seyng me stande at doore, willed me to enter with hym. And so I did havyng with me Mr. Penyston. And then and ther the datarie red out the rest of the provocation: interrupted yet many tymes by the pope, which ofte for the easement of his mynde made his interpretations and notes, especially if it touched the mariage which of late your highnes made with the quene that now is, or the processe made by the archbishoppe of Canturburie.

The provocations red, with muche a doo, I under



protestations forsaid did intimate unto him the two appelles, made also by your highnes to the generall councell afor my lord of Winchester, which his holynes delyvered to his datarie commanding hym to rede theym, notyng and marking well all manner and contentes thereof: and noo lesse offended therbie then he was with the oother. In the reding whereof came in the cardinal de Medices, which stoode bare headed contynually during the reding thereof, casting down his hede to the grounde, and not a litle marvelling, as it appered unto me, that the pope was so troubled and mourned. When this was doon, his holynes said that forasmuch as this was a matter of great weyght, and importance, towching alsoe the cardinalls, he woold consulte and deliberate with them hereupon in the consistorie, and afterwardes gif me answer therein. I contented therewith, desired ferther his holynes that forasmuch as he had hard all the provocations and apelles, seying also the original writings thereupon, that I might have thym again; bycause I said I must aswell to the cardinales as alsoe to other judges and persons havyng interest, make intimation accordingly. His holynes in the begynnyng was precise that I should in noe wise have thym; but they to remain with hym. Nevertheles afterward perceyvyng that I much stode upon it, he answered and said that like wise as concernyng the provocations and appelles with my petition concernyng the same, he entended to giff me answer after that he had consulted with the cardinalles in the consistorie, so alsoe he entended to doo accordyng redelyvering of the said writings. And hereupon departed from him about eight of the clocke in the nyght, havyng remayned afar mor then three howers, I repayred to my lord of Winchester and other your highnes ambassadors here, telling them what I had doon, and what answer alsoe was giffen unto me.

On the morowe following which was Saatterday, albeit ther was consistorie yet the same was extraordinarie, chiefly for the declaration of the newe cardinalles, the bishop of Beziers, the bishop of Langres, the great maysters Nevew, and the duke of Albanie his brother. And in the said consistorie as far as I could learn ther was nothing specially spoken or determyned concernyng the said provocations and appelles, or answer to be given unto the same. Upon Sonday the ixth of this present at after noone havyng the said Mr. Penyston with me I repayred to the palace, and spake ther with the datarie to knowe when I should have answer of the pope, and he told me that the day following shuld be the consistorie, and that the pope after the same would giff me answer, and albeit that the said datarie thus said unto me, yet willing to be sure, I induced on Carol de Blanchis my great acquaintance and one of the chieff cameraries with the pope, to enquire of his holynes when I should receive and have answer to the provocations and appelles, with other things purposed afor by me unto his holynes. And his holynes gave unto hym to be declared unto me the self same answer that the datarie afor had gyven unto me, whereupon I departed for that day.

Apon Monday the xth of this was ordinary consistorie, and thider I, having with me the said Mr. Penyston, repayred. Tarieng ther alsoo unto the tyme that all were commaunded furth, savyng the cardinals: and understanding then eftsones by the datarie that I must come agayne at afternoone for answer, I did for that tyme departe, resorting at afternoon unto the palace, and after that I had taried ther ij howers, in the chamber next unto the pope, which all that tyme continually was occupied in blessing of bedes, giving his blessing, and suffering the ladies and nobles of the court to kiss his foot: I was called in unto hym, ther beyng ther only in the chamber cardinal Salviati and the datarie. At my comyng he said unto me, "Domine doctor quid vultis?" and I told his holynes that I loked for answer acording as his holynes had promised me afor. And then he said that his mynde towards your highnes alwayes hath been to mynister justice, and do pleasure unto you, albeit it hath not been so taken. And he never injustely griefed your grace that he knoweth, nor entendeth hereafter to doo. And as concernyng the appellations made by your highnes unto the general counsel, he said that forasmuche as ther was a constitution of pope Pius his predecessor, that did condemne and reprove all such appelles, he therfor did reject your grace appeales as frivolous, forbidden, and unlawful. And as touching the generall councel, he woold doo his best deligence therin that it should take effect; repeting agayn how in tymes passed he had used alwayes diligence for that purpose, writing therein to all Christen princes, your highnes yet not answering thereunto, but remitting his nuncio to the French king. Which notwithstanding he saith he wool yet do his duty, and procure the best he can that it shall succeede, nevertheles adding that he thought when it were well considered, that the king of England ought not, nor had autoritie to call any general councel, but that the convoking thereof apperteyned unto his holynes. Finally concluding, that for his part he woold alwayes do his dutie as apperteyned. And as concernynge the restitution of the publique writings made upon the provocation and appelles forsaid, he said he woold not restore theym, but woold kepe theym, and that safely. Saying therwithal, that I might have when I woold, "ab Episcopo Vintoniensi," and other afor whom they were made, as many as I woold. And albeit that I shewed hym his own lawe to be, that he coued not detayne them, yet he saying that it was but "de lana caprina," and refusing to make redeliverie therof, commanded the datarie only to gife me the answere in writinge, and soo bade me fare well.

Goyng with the datarie to his chamber for that purpose, I perceyved ther that the answer was alredy writ, howbeit that it was not touching so many thinges as the pope had by mouth afore declared unto me, ne yet subscribed with the dataries hande, acording to the accustomed maner. And requyring the datarie to make it perfect, and delyver it unto me subscribed with his hande; he willed me to come the day folowyng early in the mornyng, and I shuld have it. Whereapon I deperted, and came in the mornyng to the dataries chamber in the palace, but he was goon afor to the pope. Wherefor repayring to the popes chamber and fynding him ther, I requyerd the said answer in writing. And he goyng with me to his chamber, delyvered me for answer the self-same that was written the day befor, adding only in the ende these words, "Et hæc ad præsens, salvo Jure, latius et particularius si videbimus respondendi;" subscribing the same with his own hande, keping one other copie with hymself. Which had, without hope of any other as then, I repaired to my lord of Winchester, and other your highe ambassadours, to shew theym al the same.

And by this your highnes may now perceyve, whether that the pope will staye process apon any your provocations or appelles, howsomever they be made, or after what sorte they be intymated unto hym, and allso whether that unto such tyme he receive inhibition from the general councel, his process shall be taken in lawe as nought. I feare that at his returne to Rome, he will doo much displeasure, if by some good policy he be not stay'd. The original answer delivered unto me by the datary, forsaid I doe at this tyme send unto your highnes, only retaynyng with me the copie thereof.

And syne albeit your graces commandement, declared by your letters dated at Chatham the xth of August last passed, sent unto me seemed to be, that devysing some busyness of my own, I shuld folowe alwayes and be present where the pope resorteth, still residing and demouring, noting, marking, and enserching what is doon, and gyving your highnes diligent advertisement thereof, as the case and importance of the mater shuld require; yet for as much as in this late congress, ther was nothing in maner doon by the pope at the contemplation of any in your highnes favour, and that the appellations and provocations of your highnes being intimated, it is not like any thing of great moment to be loked for, especially all things standing as they do; I not knowyng your highnes ferther determinat pleasure, and thinking that by reason of the premisses, your highnes woold not that I shuld ferther interprise in that behalf, have therfor (the pope beyng goon towardes Rome from hence the twelfth of this present) taken my jorney towards Lyons the thirteenth of the same, your highnes ambassadors by reason of the departure of the French kinges soe alsoe doyng: and from thence I intend towards your graces realme, unless I receive your commands to the contrarie.

To declare unto your highnes, in what perplexitie and anxietie of mynde I was in until that this intimation was made, what zele and affection I have borne therein, how glad I woold have been such things might have commen to pass, which your highnes so much hath desired, and generally of all my doyngs here, without fear or displeasure of any man, it shall not be needful. Partely bycause I trust your highnes dowteth not thereof, and partely bycause the bearer hereof, untill Mr. Brian, to whom I moost accompte my self much bounden unto, will I suppose at large declare all the same, with other things here doing; of whom your highnes I doute not shall perceyve that although the Frenchmen were made pryvey of our doyngs concernyng the intimation, and in maner willing the same, two or three dayes afor the popes departure, yet now for excuse they saye that all their matters and yours also be destroyed therby. And thus most humblie I recommend me unto your highnes, beseeching Almighty God to conserve the same in felicity many yeares. From Marseilles, the xiiith of Novembre, 1533.

Your highnes moost bounde subject and poore servant,

EDMOND BONNER.

NUMBER XXIV.

*Cranmer's Letter, for an Appeal to be made in his name.—An Original.*

[Cotton Library, Cleop. E. 6. P. 234.]

IN my right harty maner I commend me to you. So it is (as ye know right well) I stande in drede, lest our holy father the pope, do entende to make some maner of prejudicial processe against me and my church, and therefore having probable conjectures therof, I have provoked from his holyness to the general counsell, accordingly as the king's highness and his counsell have advised me to do; which my provocation and a procuracie under my seale, I do send unto you herwith, desiering you right hartely to have me commended to my lord of Winchester, and with his advise and counsell to intimate the said provocation, after the best maner that his lordship and you shall think most expedient for me. I am the bolder thus to write unto you, because the king's highnes commanded me thus to do, as ye shall (I trust) further perceve by his graces letters, nothing doubting in your goodness, but at this myne owne desier ye woll be contented to take this peynes, tho' his highness shall percase forget to write unto you therin: which your peynes and kindness (if it shall lye in me in tyme to come to recompense) I woll not forget it with God's grace, who presearve you as my self. From Lambeth, the xxijd day of November.

THOMAS CANTUAR.

NUMBER XXV.

*A Minute of a Letter sent by the King to his Ambassador at Rome.*

[Ex MS. Rymeri.]

TRUSTY and right-welbiloved, we grete youe wel. And for asmuch as not only by the relacion and reaporte of our trusty chaplain maister doctor Boner, but also by certayne letters writtyn by Sir Gregory, afore the dispeche of doctor Boner, upon the lyvely communications had by the pope to the emperor, in justification and favour of our cause; by whych it appeareth unto us, that his holyness favering the justice of our great cause, maketh countnance and demonstracion now to shew himself more propense and redy to the administration of justice to our contentation therin, thenne he hathe been accustumed in tymes past: discending for demonstration herof as you take it to those particularities folowyng, whyche sir Gregory hath also sent by way of instructions to Bonner; that is to say, that in cace we woll be content to sende a mandate requiring the remission of our cause into an indifferent place, he wold be content to appoint *locum indifferentem*, and a legate and two auditors from thense, *ad formand' processum*, reserving always the jugement therof to himself; or else if we woll consent and be agreable, inducing also our good brother and perpetual allye the French king to be also content to conclude and establish for iij or iiij yeres, a general truix; that then the popes holiness is pleased, if we and our said good brother wol agree therunto, to indicte with al celeritie a general counsail, wherunto his holynes would remyt our cause to be finished and determyned. Which overtures being also proponed and declared unto us by the popes nuncio here, be set forth by him, and also in a letter to hym, as thoughe they had been by the said sir Gregory in our name desired of the popes holyness, and by him assented to, for our contentacion and satisfaction, in that behaulf: wherof we doo not a litle mervayl, considering that we of late never gave unto the said sir Gregory or any other, any suche commission or instructions for that purpose, but fully to the contrary. Nevertheless forasmoch as bothe by the relation of our said chaplain and by the purporte and effecte of the fore said letters, instructions, and also by the behaviour of the popes ambassadour here, and by such overtures as he on the popes behalfe hathe made unto us, we nowe considering the benevolent and towarde mynde of his said holines expressed and declared in the same, have moche cause to conceyve in our mynd, as we doo indede, good hope, that he depely pondering the justnes of our said cause, wil now take more respecte to put us in more quietnes therein, thenne we had any expectation heretofore: and therfor our pleasure is that you discretly relating to his holynes in what good parte we doo accepte and take his overtures and persuasions, doo gyve unto him our right harty thanks for the same, adding thereunto that we veraylie trust and be now of that opinion that his holynes calling to his remembrance the manifold commodities, profitts, and gratuities heretofor shewed by us, to him, and the



see apostolique, demanding nothing for reciprocation of frendship and mutual amytie to be shewed at his hand, but only justice in our great matior, according to the lawes of God, and the ordenances of the holy counsailes, for the encrease of vertue, extirpation of vice, and quiet of al Christendom, established by our forfathers, wil now in discharge of his duetie towards God, shewing unto us correspondence of frendship according to our deserts, putting aparte all shadowes of delayes, more benivolently extende his good wil and gratuitie towards us in the acceleration and speedye finishing of our said cause, thenne those overtures doo purporte, whyche if it come so to pass, hys holines maye be wel assured to have us and our realme as benevolent and loving towards him and the see apostolique as hath at any tyme hertofor been accustumed. And as concernying the general truix for three or four yeres, albeit we do inwardly considre the greate good therof, and be of our oune nature asmoche inclyned therunto as any prince christened, and on thother side asmoche desirous to avoyde contencion, wherupon many tymes ensueth extremytie, to the hurte of many; yet nevertheless two things at this tyme enforceth us to absteyne and forbere sodenly to consent to the same: one is, that we being afflicted, troubeled, and encombered in our oune conscience, and our realme therby greatly perplexed, cannot sodenly resolve our self to innovate or renewe any perfite establishment of peax with other, tyl we may be satisfied and have pure and syncere peax in our owne harte: and cause seying that it is wonly wyll and unkynd stubbernes with oblivion of former kyndnes, whyche occasions the lette of the spede finishyng of our cause, whyche ye may say that hys holynes yf it please hym may soon redres, havyng so good gronds for our part as he haveth, yf he wyl hartely therto applye hym, and then summe good effecte myght happen to come therof. An other cause there is also that we being moost perfitely by an indissoluble amyte and league unite and knyt unto our good brother and perpetual allye the French king, maye not in any wise, nor wil put our consent to any such request without the knowledge and assent of our said good brother, and other our and hys confederates; and notwithstandyng yf hys holynes thynketh that myne endeavour and labour herin may do hym any gratuyte and pleasure, or confer to hys purpose in any thyng, he advertesyng us therof, shall well persayve that there shall lack no goode diligens in us, to set forthe suche thyngs as may stonde with our honour, and be also pleasant to hym, he shewyng to us sume corespondnes of kyndnes in thys our just and wayghte cause. And as touching our consent to the indiction of a general counsail, thoughe sundry respects and considerations at the tyme nowe present, move us to thinke it not necessary, and that we nothing doubte but our cause being remytted to the same, we shuld withal convenient celeritie, that begonne have our desired end therin; yet we being nowe in veray good hope that the popes holynes at the last digesting thoroughly the justness of our cause, wil so use us in the same, that according to trouth and equitie good and speedye successe therof shall folowe in other admyttyng the excusatory, or else in remytting bothe the knowlege of the fact and finall discition of the cause into thys realme where it was begon, accordyng to the olde sanctions of generall concilles and divers of his predecessours assent, and as he hymselfe confesseth in hys commyssion giffyn unto the cardinall for thys pourpose; we have now also suspended therfor our assent and consent therunto uppon two respects, wherof the first requireth a necessary suspencion of our said consent, forasmoch as the same dependeth uppon the assent of our said good brother and other our confederates, and that the oon of us without the other canne ne will in any wise consent to any acte of such highe importance as this is, which toucheth the hole bodye of Christendome. The seconde is, that in our opinion which our pleasure is ye with good dexteritie declare unto hys holynes the good respecte had of the state of the worlde, and of the time present; it were not expedient for the pope himself to consent therunto, considering that themperour is in maner compelled by the importunytie of the Germaynes and the Lutheran secte to cause the pope to indicte the said council. And howe the said Germaynes be mynded towards him and the see apostolique, we doubte not but his holynes dothe depely pondre and considre. But ye shal saye unto the popes holynes on our behaulf, that finding him towards us good and kinde, brefely expedyteyng our cause as affore is rehersy'd, wherof we now perceyve some lightlywood, and perceyving him to contynue and persever ernestly mynding the spedy ende and determynation therof, for our satisfaction, we canne do no lesse for reacquital therof, thenne to procure and practise by al wayes and meanes, aswell with our said good brother as with al other our allyes, confederates and friends, to do all things that maye be moost for the surety of his holynes and the commodities of the see apostolique, whyche we shall not faylle to do, yf he wyll dysclose to us the menys how far. As touching the sending of a mandate to require that the cause might be harde in an indifferent place, with reservation of the sentence to himself, ye shall signifie unto hys holynes that albeit we well considering hys towarde mynde for the spedy finishing of our said cause, if we were a private person wold nothing mistrust to consent to his said overtures, ne the good effects that might ensue of the same; yet nevertheles this persuasion soo toucheth contraryele to generall concilles, to the libertie, regalitie, and jurisdiction of all prynces, and most especially to our prerogatyffe royall, privileages of our realme, wherof we be hed and soveraign; within the whiche, by the ancient lawes of the same, al causes of matrymonye ther bygon and solemnized, cummyng after in question, ought to have their original commencement, and fynall discusse and discition by the English churche. Whyche thyngs well consideryd, he havyng also regarde to hys othe, in the resayte of hys dygnitie, whych he ther actually gyffeth for observence both of the generall conselles, and the antique lauys of the faders of the chyrch; consideryng also with himself, how we at the tyme of our coronation, be likewyse obligyd by othe to support and maintayne the immunities and pryncely liberties of our realme and croone, whych to contrary, I make my self sure hys holynes well informyd, will never requyre, syns it is prohybite bothe by Gods precept, and lawe of nature, by these words *Quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne facias.* Wherfore we fermely trust, that hys holynes, ponderyng and wayng in the balance of hys just hart and equal jugement, these most urgent both resons and causes, with the respect of hys duty to God, in minystryng justice and equitie; and consideryng also the obligation, whych we as king thowght not wordy, but by his election, be bonde to our realme, *Scilicet defendere Privilegias Coronæ et Regni*, wyll not at thys tyme thynk any unkindnes in us, thowght that thys hys request, *scilicet*, to send a mandate, or to have it in any other place than in thys realme determynyd by us, at thys tyme be not acceptyd. For surly it so hyghtly touchyt the prerogatiffe riall of thys realme, that thowght I wer myndyd to do it, yett must abstayne wythout the assent of our court of parliament, whyche I thynke verely wyll never con-

descent to it. Nevertheles, ye may shew unto hys holines, that for thys offerr we ascribe non unkyndnes to hym, but rather take it in good part; considerying that by hys ambassadour wee doo parsayve, that hys mynde was to gratify and do pleasure herin to us, thys overture procedying oppon Gregory's motion, werin to speke of that sort, I ensure you of us he had non commission, but rather to the contrary. And so we wyll ye shew the pope; assuryng forther hys holynes, that we be ryght sory that thys overture was no more resonable, or consonant to our honour. For surly in all resonable thyngs we wold gladly shew our selfe benivolent to hym, as long as we persayve any maner of gratuitie in hym. More ye may say, that we thynke that we nor our realme have hytherto gyven any occasion to his holynes, wherby he shuld be moved at the contemplacion of any privie person, to attempte the violation of the immunities and liberties of thys our realme, or to bring the same in any publique contention, wherby he may compell us in the mayntenance of them, to shew and declare meny thyngs peraventure it unknowne prejudiciall and hurtfull to the papall dyngnitie, as it is now usyd, whych not compellyd we intende not to do. Yet an other gret reson as we thynk you may shew hys holynes, gederyd owght of his own law, whych is thys: I beyng a commune parson, am not bondyn *in re arduâ*, as thys is to appere in hys court, and I beyng not bonden to appere, am not bonde to sende a proxtour. Wherfore his owne lawe shewyth evydently, that this mater owght not to be determynyd by hys court, but *per Anglicanam Ecclesiam*; for yf hys court were juge, I shuld be obligyd to appere there. And ye shal further understand, that we have conceyved by certain lettres lately sent unto us by the said sir Gregory de Cassalis, that the popes holynes, amongs other persuasions, in the furtheraunce of our cause shewed unto hym, that the laweis being of the contrary parte of our cause, doo agree, that the pope in our cause may not dispence, without an urgent cause. Which opinion hys holynes thinketh moche more dothe avaunce the goodnes of our matier, thenne the general opinion of the devynes and lawyers on our parte, which doo affirme that the pope in noo wise maye dispense. Whiche matier being also persuaded by his holynes to themperour, who declared, that at the tyme of the dispensation there was extreme warres betwene our derest father of noble memory, whose soule God pardon, and king Ferdinando, father to the quene. And for pacifieng therof, the said dispensation was obteyned; wherupon the mariage ensued: which bereth a visage of an urgent cause, if it were true, as it is not. And therfore, as wel for the satisfaction of the pope's holynes in that behaulf, as for a clere resolution of the doubte by his holynes proponed, whether the quene were *cognita* by our brother prince Arthure, or noo; our pleasure is, that ye shal signifie to his holynes, that in the league betweene our said derest father, and the said Ferdinando, renoveled and concluded, sealed and signed with the said king Ferdinando, and the quene his wief hands, wherupon the dispensation for the mariage betwene us and the quene was obteyned, appereth no maner of cause. But playnly declaring the said twoo princes to be thenne and afor more perfitely established, unyted, and confederate in frendship and amytie, thenne eny other prince of Christendom, setteth forthe the cause of the dispensation and agrement for the said mariage, to be only for contynuaunce and augmentation of their said amytie, and for the vertuouse modestie and other qualities of the quene. In which league is also playnly mencyoned and expressed in two places therof, that the mariage betwene our said brother and her was solemnized and perfitely consummate; wherby, and by the depositions of a great nomber of noble and honorable personages, which hertofor by their othes have been examyned uppon the same, manifestly and playnly appereth to al indifferent herers, without doubt therof, that the quene was carnally knowen by our said brother prince Arthur; and the same dispensation soo proceeding, without urgent cause to be reputed *invalida*. The transumpte of which league autentiquely transumed, we sende unto youe herwith, to thintent ye may the better perceyve theffecte of the same. And finally, ye shall firther signifie to his holynes, that of the good successe of this our cause dependeth the suretie of our succession, and therupon ensueth the rest, peax, and tranquillitie of al our realme, and by the protracting thereof many perilous daungers maye and is like to ensue to the same, which above all things we and our realme ought to have respect unto. Wherfor it is more convenient and consonant to reason and equitie that this our said cause shuld be determyned by them, to whose dammage or commoditie the successe of the cause may ensue, and not by hys holynes, which canne have no certain knowleage of the state of the same. And yet nevertheles, if his holynes remytting the final discusse of the principal cause to our English churche, as apperteineth, will after that, of his gratuitie ratifie and confirme suche sentence as they shal determyn in the same, shal therby not only adquire Christen obedience of us and our people, moche to his commoditie and contentacion, and also profitable to the see apostolique, but also pacifie the contradiction, to the rest and quietnes of al Christendom. Willing you by thise and other discrete persuasions, as ye can with al diligence and dexteritie to allure his holynes, being now sumwhat attempered and disposed to do us good, to condiscend to more benivolent gratuities, than as yet is set forth by the said overtures; and to ascertain us with all diligence and celeritie, what towardnes ye shal perceyve in him in this behaulf, not mynding that ye shall declare this as our resolute answer. But uppon other and further overtures, and after more deliberation and consultation uppon these weighty causes, we wil study and enserche, by al honourable wayes and meanes that we canne, to concurre with the towardly minde of his holynes, if he ernestly wil applie himself, and persever in suche opinion as may be for the acceleration of thende of our said cause: willing you, with all diligence and dexteritie, to put your good endevour to the same; and likewise to procure the said sir Gregory, according to our expectation in that behaulfe.

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NUMBER XXVI.

*The Judgment of the Convocation of the Province of York, rejecting the Pope's Authority.*

Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo Principi et Domino Henrico VIII. Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ et Franciæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, et Domino Hiberniæ. Edwardus, Permissione Divinâ, Eboracensis Archiepiscopus, Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus, Salutem in eo, per quem Reges regnant, et Principes dominantur. Vestræ Regiæ Celsitudini, Tenore Præsentium, innotescimus et significamus, Quod, cum juxta vestræ Regiæ Majestatis Mandatum, coram Prælatis et Clero Eboracensi, Provinciæ in Sacra Synodo Provinciali, sive Convocatione Prælatorum et Cleri ejusdem Provinciæ Eboracensis, in Domo Capitulari Ecclesiæ Metropoliticæ Eborum, quinto Die Mensis Maij, Anno Domini M.D.XXXIV. jam instanti, celebrata, et de



Diebus indies continuata congregatis proposita fuit sequens Conclusio, Quod Episcopus Romanus, in Sacris Scripturis, non habet aliquam majorem jurisdictionem in Regno Angliæ, quam quivis alius extraneus Episcopus. Ac insuper, ex Parte Præsidentium in eadem Synodo, per Nos deputatorum memorati Prælati et Clerus, rogati et requisiti ut illam Conclusionem suo Consensu confirmarent et corroborarent, si illam Veritati consonam, et Sacris Scripturis non repugnantem, existimarent aut judicarent. Tandem dicti Prælati, et Clerus Eboracensis Provinciæ antedictæ, post diligentem Tractatum in ea Parte habitum, ac maturam Deliberationem, unanimiter et concorditer, nemine eorum discrepante, prædictam Conclusionem fuisse et esse veram affirmarunt, et eidem concorditer consenserunt.

Quæ omnia et singula vestræ Regiæ Celsitudini, Tenore Præsentium, intimamus et significamus.

In quorum omnium et singulorum Fidem et Testimonium, Sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus. Dat. in Manerio nostro de Cawodd, Primo Die Mensis Junij, Anno Domini, M.D.XXXIV. et nostræ Consecrationis Anno Tertio.

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NUMBER XXVII.

*The Judgment of the University of Oxford, rejecting the Pope's Authority.*

In a book, stiled, Registrum, sive Epistolæ Regum et Magnatum ad Academiam Oxon. Unà cum Responsis. MS. Archiv. A. 117. ad An. 1534. P. 127.

*Part of the King's Letter to the University.*

Our pleasure and commandement is, that ye, as shall beseem men of vertue and profound literature, diligently intreating, examining, and discussing a certaine question sent from us to you, concerning the power and primacie of the bishop of Rome; send again to us in writing under your common seale, with convenient speed and celeritie, your mind, sentence, and assertion of the question, according to the meere and sincere truth of the same: willing you to give credence to our trusty and well-beloved, this bringer, your commissarie, as well touching our further pleeasure in the premisses, as for other matters, &c. Yeven under our signett, at our mannor of Greenewich, the eighteenth day of May.

*The University's Answer to the King.*

Universis Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ Filiis, ad quos præsentes Literæ pervenerint, Johannes, Permissione Divina, Lincolniensis Episcopus, Almæ Universitatis Oxon. Cancellarius: Nec non universus Doctorum ac Magistrorum, Regentium et non Regentium in eadem Cœtus, Salutem in Auctore Salutis. Quum Illustrissimus simul ac Potentissimus Princeps et Dominus noster Henricus Octavus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, et Dominus Hiberniæ, assiduis Petitionibus et Querelis Subditorum suorum in summo suo Parliamento, super intolerabilibus Exterarum Potestatum, Exactionibus nuper Propositis, Controversiisque quibusdam habitis, super Potestate ac Jurisdictione Romani Episcopi, variisque et urgentibus Causis, contra eundem Episcopum tuncibidem expositis et declaratis, aditus atque rogatus fuerit, ut commodis suorum Subditorum in hac parte consuleret, et Querelis satisfaceret: Ipse tanquam prudentissimus Solomon, sollicitè curans quæ suorum sunt Subditorum, quibus in hoc Regno, divina disponente Clementia, præest, altiusque secum considerans, quo Pacto commodissimas Regno suo sanciret Leges; denique ante omnia præcavens, ne contra Sacram Scripturam aliquid statuat, (quam vel ad Sanguinem usq; defendere semper fuit, eritque paratissimus) solerti suo Ingenio, sagaciq; Industria, quandam Quæstionem ad hanc ejus Academiam Oxon. publicè et solenniter, per Doctores et Magistros ejusdem disputandam transmisit: viz. "An Romanus Episcopus habeat majorem aliquam Jurisdictionem, sibi à Deo collatam in Sacra Scriptura, in hoc Regno Angliæ, quàm alius quivis externus Episcopus?" Mandavitque, ut habita super hac Questione matura Deliberatione, et Examinatione diligenti, quid Sacræ Literæ in hac Parte nostro Judicio statuunt, eundem certiorem facere suo Instrumento, Sigillo communi Universitatis, communito et firmato curaremus. Nos igitur Cancellarius, Doctores ac Magistri prædicti, sæpe reminiscentes, ac penitius apud nos pensitantes, quanta sit Virtus, Sanctitas, ac nostræ Professioni quam consona res, et debita Submissioni, Obedientiæ, Reverentiæ, ac Charitati congrua, præmonstrare viam Justitiæ ac Veritatis cupientibus, Sacrarum Literarum Vestigiis inserrere*, securiorique et tranquilliori Conscientia, in Lege Dei sacram, ut aiunt, suam Anchoram reponere; non potuimus non invigilare, sedulo quin in Petitione tam justa ac honesta, tanto Principi (cui velut auspicatissimo nostro Supremo Moderatori obtemperare tenemur) modis omnibus satisfaceremus. Post susceptam itaque per nos Questionem antedictam, cum omni Humilitate, Devotione, ac debita Reverentia, convocatis undique dictæ nostræ Academiæ Theologis, habitoque complurium dierum spatio, ac deliberandi tempore satis amplo, quo interim cum omni qua potuimus Diligentia, Justitiæ Zelo, Religione et Conscientia incorrupta, perscrutaremur tam Sacræ Scripturæ Libros, quam super eisdem approbatissimos Interpretes, et eos quidem sæpe ac sæpius à nobis evolutos, et exactissimè collatos, repetitos et examinatos; deinde et disputationibus solennibus, palam et publicè habitis et celebratis, tandem in hanc Sententiam unanimiter omnes convenimus, ac concordes fuimus; viz. Romanum Episcopum majorem aliquam Jurisdictionem non habere, sibi à Deo collatam in Sacra Scriptura, in hoc Regno Angliæ, quàm alium quemvis externum Episcopum. Quam nostram Assertionem, Sententiam, sive Determinationem, sic ex Deliberatione discussam, ac juxta Exigentiam Statutorum et Ordinationum, hujus nostræ Universitatis per nos conclusam, publicè totius Academiæ Nomine, tanquam veram, certam, Sacræq; Scripturæ consonam, affirmamus (et) testificamur per Præsentes. In quorum omnium et† Fidem et Testimonium has Literas fieri, et Sigillo nostræ Universitatis communi, roborari fecimus. Dat. in Domo Congregationis nostræ, 27. Die Mensis Junij, Anno à Christo nato M.D.XXXIV.

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NUMBER XXVIII.

*The Judgment of the Prior and Chapter of Worcester, concerning the Pope's Authority.*

[Copied out of the Register of Worcester.]

Ordo quidam observandus erga Dominum Regem Henricum Octavum, etc. et in quali æstimatione habebimus Episcopum Romanum.

Quum ea sit non solum Christianæ Religionis et Pietatis Ratio, sed nostræ etiam Obedientiæ Regula, Domino Regi nostro Henrico Octavo, (cui uni et soli, post Christum Jesum Servatorem nostrum, debemus Universa,) non modo omnimodam in Christo, et eandem sinceram, integram, perpetuamque Animi Devotionem, Fidem et Observantiam, Honorem, Cultum, Reverentiam, præstemus; sed etiam de eadem Fide et Observantia nostra Rationem quotiescunque postulabitur, reddamus, et palam omnibus, si res pos-

* Leg. insistere.

† Not very legible, but it seems it was "singulorum."

cat libentissimè testemur. Noverint universi ad quos Scriptum præsens pervenerit, Quod nos Willielmus, Prior Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, sive Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ Wigorn' Ordinis Sancti Benedicti et ejusdem Loci Conventus sive Capitulum Wigorn' Dioc' uno Ore et Voce, atque unanimi omnium Consensu et Assensu, hoc Scripto nostro sub Sigillo nostro communi, in Domo nostra Capitulari dato, pro Nobis et successoribus nostris, omnibus et singulis in perpetuum profitemur, testamur, ac fidelitur promittimus et spondemus, nos dictos Priorem et Conventum, sive Capitulum, et Successores nostros omnes et singulos, integram, inviolatam, sinceram, perpetuamque Fidem, Observantiam et Obedientiam, semper præstaturos, erga Dominum Regem nostrum Henricum Octavum, et erga Annam Reginam, Uxorem ejusdem, et erga Sobolem ejus ex eadem Anna legitimè tam progenitam, quam progenerandam. Et quod hæc eadem Populo notificabimus, prædicabimus, et suadebimus, ubicunque dabitur Locus et Occasio. Item, quod confirmatum ratumque habemus, semperque et perpetuo habituri sumus, quod prædictus Rex noster Henricus, est Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Item, quod Episcopus Romanus, qui in suis Bullis Papæ nomen, usurpat, et summi Pontificis Principatum sibi arrogat, non habet Majorem aliqua Jurisdictionem à Deo sibi collatam, in hoc Regno Angliæ, quam quivis alius externus Episcopus. Item, quod nullus nostrum, in ulla Sacra Concione, privatim vel publicè habenda, eundem Episcopum Romanum appellabit Nomine Papæ, aut summi Pontificis, sed Nomine Episcopi Romani, vel Ecclesiæ Romanæ: Et quod nullus nostrum orabit pro eo tanquam Papa, sed tanquam Episcopo Romano. Item, quod soli dicto Domino Regi et Successoribus suis adhærebimus et ejus Leges ac Decreta manutenebimus. Episcopi Romani Legibus, Decretis et Canonibus, qui contra Legem Divinam, et Sacram Scripturam, aut contra Jura hujus Regni esse invenientur, in perpetuum renunciantes. Item, quod nullus nostrum omnium, in ulla, vel privata vel publica Concione, quicquam ex Sacris Scripturis desumptum ad alienum Sensum detorquere præsumat: Sed quisque Christum, ejusque Verba et Facta, simpliciter, apertè, sincerè, et ad Normam seu Regulam Sacrarum Scripturarum, et verè Catholicorum et Orthodoxorum Doctorum, prædicabit catholicè et orthodoxè. Item, quod unusquisque nostrum, in suis Orationibus et Comprecationibus, de more faciendis, primum omnium Regem, tanquam Supremum Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Deo et Populi Precibus commendabit; deinde Reginam Annam, cum sua Sobole; tum demum Archiepiscopos Cantuariensem et Eboracensem, cum cæteris Cleri Ordinibus pro ut videbitur. Item, quod omnes et singuli prædicti Prior et Conventus, sive Capitulum, et Successores nostri, Conscientia et Jurisjurandi Sacramento, nosmet firmiter obligamus, quod omnia et singula Prædicta, fideliter, in perpetuum observabimus. In cujus Rei Testimonium, huic Scripto nostro, commune Sigillum nostrum appendimus, et nostra Nomina Propria quisque Manu Scripsimus. Dat. in Domo nostra Capitulari, xvii Die Mensis August, Anno Regni Regis nostri Henrici Octavi, Vicessimo Sexto.

*Then follows an Oath made to King Henry the* VIIIth, *agreeing exactly with that pag.* 146, of the First Vol. *of the "The History of the Reformation;" except, that the Words* alonely *in the First Line, and* damage *in the last line but Two of that Oath, are wanting.*

Illustrissimo et Potentissimo in Christo Principi et Domino nostro, Henrico Octavo, Dei Gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Regi, Defensori Fidei, Domino Hiberniæ, in Terris Supremo Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sub Christo, Capiti; Vestri humiles Subditi, et devotissimi Oratores, Henricus Holbecke, Prior Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wigorn' et ejusdem Loci Conventus, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti Wigorniensis Dioceseos, Reverentiam et Obedientiam, tam Excellenti et Præpotenti Principi debitas et condignas, cum omni Subjectionis Honore. Noverit Majestas Vestra Regia, Quod nos Prior et Conventus memorati, non Vi aut Metu coacti, Dolore, aut aliqua alia sinistra Machinatione ad hoc inducti, sive seducti, sed ex nostris certis Scientiis, Animis deliberatis, meriscque et spontaneis Voluntatibus, purè, spontè et absolutè, profitemur, spondemus, ac ad Sancta Dei Evangelia, per nos corporaliter tacta, juramus, illustrissimæ veræ Regiæ Majestati, Singulari et Summo Domino nostro et Patrono, Henrico Octavo, Dei Gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, Domino Hiberniæ, ac in Terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Supremo immediate sub Christo Capiti; quod posthac nullo externo Imperatori Regi Principi aut Prælato nec Romano Pontifici (quem Papam vocant) Fidelitatem aut Obedientiam, Verbo vel Scripto simpliciter, vel sub juramento, promittemus aut dabimus, vel dari curabimus, sed omni tempore Casu et Conditione partes vestræ regiæ Majestatis ac Successorum vestrorum sequemur et observabimus, et pro viribus Defendemus, contra omnem Hominem quem vestræ Majestati aut Successoribus vestris adversarium cognoscemus vel suspicabimur. Solique vestræ Regiæ Majestati velut Supremo nostro Principi quem etiam Supremum in Terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo Caput agnoscimus et acceptamus, et successoribus vestris Fidelitatem et Obedientiam sincere et ex animo præstabimus. Papatum Romanum non esse a Deo in Sacris Literis Ordinatum profitemur. Sed Humanitus traditum constanter affirmamus, et palam declaramus et declarabimus, et ut alii sic publicent diligentur curabimus. Nec tractatum cum quocunque mortalium privatim aut publicè inibimus, quod Episcopus Romanus aliquam Auctoritatem vel Jurisdictionem amplius hic habeat aut exerceat, vel ad ullam posthac restituatur, ipsumque Romanum Episcopum modernum aut ejus in illo Episcopatu Successorum quemcunque non Papam, non summum Pontificem, non Universalem Episcopum, nec Sanctissimum Dominum, sed solum Romanum Episcopum vel Pontificem (ut priscis mos erat) scienter publicè asseremus. Juraque et Statuta hujus Regni pro extirpatione et sublatione Papatus ac Auctoritatis et Jurisdictionis ejusdem Romani Episcopi quandocunque edita sive sancita pro viribus scientia et ingeniolis nostris ipsi firmiter Observabimus ac pro ab aliis quantum in nobis fuerit sic observari curabimus atque efficiemus: nec posthac ad dictum Romanum Episcopum appellabimus aut appellarit consentiemus: nec in ejus curia pro Jure aut Justitia agemus aut agenti Respondebimus, nec ibidem Accusatoris aut Rei Personam Sustinebimus. Et si quid dictus Episcopus per Nuncium vel per Literas significaverit, qualecunque id fuerit, illud quam citissime commode poterimus, aut vestræ Regiæ Majestati et vestris à Secreti Consiliariis, vestrisve Successoribus aut eorum à Secretis Consiliariis significabimus aut significari faciemus. Nosque Literas aut Nuncium ad eundum Romanum Episcopum, vel ejus curiam nec mittemus, nec mitti faciemus, nisi vestra Majestate conscia et consentiente aut vestro Successore quod dictæ Literæ vel Nuncius ad illum deferentur; Bullas, Brevia, aut rescripta quæcunque pro nobis vel aliis, ab Episcopo Romano vel ejus curia non impetrabimus, vel ut talia à quovis impetrentur non consulemus. Et si talia pro nobis insciis aut Ignorantibus generaliter, vel specialiter impetrabuntur vel alio quomodolibet concedentur, eis Renunciabimus et non Consentiemus: nec utemur iisdem ullo pacto seu modo. At eas vestræ Majestati et Successoribus



vestris tradi curabimus, omnibusque dicti Romani Episcopi Concessionibus, Privilegiis, largitionibus et indultis cujuscunque Naturæ seu qualitatis existant, ac sub quocunque Verborum tenore concessæ fuerint, à dicta sede Romana directe vel indirecte, mediate vel immediate aut alias qualitercunque dicti Romani Episcopi Auctoritate largitis sive consensis quibuscunque publicè et expresse in his Scriptis renunciavimus, easque irritas et inanes esse Volumus. Et soli vestræ Regiæ Majestati velut Supremo nostro Principi et Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Capiti et Successoribus vestris nos subditos et subjectos fore profitemur et nos ac Successores nostros subjicimus: Et solummodo subditos fore spondemus. Nos eidem Romano Episcopo vel ejus Nunciis Oratoribus, Collectoribus aut Legatis ullam procurationem, pensionem, portionem censum aut quamcunque aliam Pecuniarum Summam quocunque nomine appelletur, per nos aut interpositam Personam vel Personas solvemus nec solvi faciemus. Statutumque de Successione vestra Regia in Parlimento vestro tento apud Westmon' Anno Regni vestri 28 ac omnia et singula in eodem contenta juxta vim formam et effectum ejusdem fideliter Observabimus. Præterea in Vim Pacti profitemur et spondemus ac sub Fidelitate vestræ Majestati debita, et nostra coram Deo Conscientia, promittemus quod contra hanc nostram professionem et sponsionem, nulla dispensatione, nulla exceptione, nulla appellatione, aut provocatione; nulloque juris aut facti remedio, nos tuebimur: et si quam protestationem in præjudicium hujus nostræ Professionis faciemus, eam in præsens et in omne tempus futurum revocamus et eidem renunciamus per præsentes Literas; quibus propriis manibus nomina nostra subscripsimus, ac eas sigilli nostri communis appensione et Notarii Publici Subscripti signo et Subscriptione communiri fecimus et curavimus. Dat. et act. in Domo nostra Capitulari xxvi Die Mensis Augusti, Anno Domini Millessimo Quingentissimo Tricessimo Sexto, Anno Regni vestræ Regiæ Majestatis Vicessimo Octavo. Præsentibus tunc ibidem discretis Viris Johanne Tyson, Olivero Lloyde, et Rogero Hughes, in legibus et decretis respective Baccalaureis, et Ricardo Bedle Notario Publico testibus ad præmissa specialiter vocatis et requisitis.

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NUMBER XXIX.

*An Order for Preaching, and bidding of the Beades in all Sermons to be made within this Realm.* 1535.

[Cotton Library, Cleop. E. 5. P. 286.]

First, whosoever shall preache in the presence of the king's highnes, and the queen's grace, shall in the bidding of the beades, pray for the hole Catholike church of Crist, aswell quick as ded, and specyallie for the catholique church of this realme; and first as we be most bounden for our soveringe lord king Henry the VIIIth, being ymediately next unto God, the onelie and supreme hed of this catholike churche of England, and for the most gracious lady queen Anne his wife; and for the lady Elizabeth, daughter and heire to them both, our pryncesse, and no ferther.

*Item.* The preacher in all other places of this realme then in the presence of the king's saide highnes, and the queen's grace, shall in the bidding of the beads, pray first in manner and form, and worde for worde as is above ordeyned and lymyted; adding thereunto in the seconde parte, for all archebishopes and bishopes, and for all the hole clergie of this realme; and speciallie for suche as shall please the preacher to name of his devotion; and thirdly, for all dukes, earls, marques, and for all the hole temporaltee of this realme; and speciallie for suche as the preacher shall name of devocyon: and fygnallie for the soules of all them that be ded, and speciallie of such as it shall please the preacher to name.

*Item.* It is ordeyned that every preacher shall preach ones in the presence of the greatist audience against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and so after at his lybertee: and that no man shal be suffered to defend, or mayntene the foresaid usurped power: Ferthermore, to keep unyte and quyetnes in this realme, it is ordeyned that no preachers shall contende openly in pulpet one against another, nor uncharytablie deprave one another in open audience; but if any of them be greved one with another, let them complayne to the king's highnes; or to the archbishope, or bishope of the diocs where such chaunce shall happen, and there to be remedied if there be cause why; and if the complaynt be not trew, the complayner to be punished.

*Item.* Also to forfende that no preachers for a year, shall preach neyther with, nor against purgatory, honouring of saynts, that priests may have wives; that faith onelie justefieth; to go on pilgrimages; to forge miracles; considering these things have caused discension amongst the subjects of this realme alredy, which thanked be God is now well pacyfied.

*Item.* That from hensfourth all preachers shall purelie, syncerelie, and justlie preache the Scripture, and worde of Christe, and not myxe them with man's institutions, nor make men believe that the force of Goddes law, and man's law is like; nor that any man is able, or hathe power to dispence with Godes law.

*Item.* It is also ordened that the declaration of the sentence which hathe ben used in the church four tymes in the year, shall not from henceforth, neyther be published, nor esteemed in any point contrary to the præmynce and jurisdiction royall of our king and his realme, or laws and liberties of the same; and any so doing to be competently punyshed by the bishop of that diocs where it shall fortune him to be, or inhabite: and this thoroughout the realme and domynyons of our soveraigne, shortlie the bishopes to sett order in.

*Item.* It is also ordened that the colects for the preservation of the king and queen by name, be from henceforth comunely and usuallie used and sayed in every cathedrall churche, religious house, and peroche church, in all their high masses thorough out all the realme and domynyons of our king and sovereigne.

*Item.* It is ferther ordeyned that wheresoever the king's just cause of matrimony hath eyther ben detracted, and the incestious and injuste set fourth, or in placs where as it hathe not been dilated, that in all those placs till the people be fully satisfied and justlie instructe, all manner of preachers whatsoever they be, happenning to come into any such parte of the realme, shall from henceforth open and declare the mere veryte and justnes of this later matrymony, as nigh as their learning can serve them, and according to the trew determynacions of a greate number of the most famous and esteemed universities of Christendom; according also to the just resolution and diffinicyon of both the convocationes of this realme, concurring also in the same opynyon, by the hole assent of parliament, our prynce, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commones of this realme; wherefore now they must declare this matier, neyther doubtful nor disputable, but to be a thing of mere veryte, and so to be allowed in all men's opynyons.

*Item.* It is ferther ordeyned that the foresaid preachers shall also declare the false and injuste handelinge of the bishop of Rome, pretending to have jurisdiction to judge this cause at Rome; which in the first hering thereof did both declare and confesse in word and writing the justnes thereof to be uppon our

soveraignes side, insomuch as by a decretall delyvered to the legate here then sitting for the same cause, he did clearly determyn that if prince Arthur was our princes brother, and then of competent age allowed in the law when he maried the lady Katharine, she being so likewise, and that as far as presumptions can prove carnall-copulation ensued between them; that these proved, before the said cardinales and legates (which in dede were accordingly to the lawes justlie proved) that then the unjust copulacion between our sovereigne and the said lady Katheryn, was neyther lawfull, nor ought to be suffered, and so, *eo facto*, pronounced in the foresaide decretall, the nullite, invaldite, and unlawfulnes of their pretensed matrimony, which was by his law sufficient judgement of the cause; which decretall by his commandment, after and because he would not have the effect thereof to ensue, was, after the sight thereof, imbesiled by the foresaid cardinalls: and one which then was here his cubicular, contrary to all justnes and equytee, wherein he hath done our sovereigne most extreme wrong.

Secondly, contrary to all equite and determination of generall counsailes, he hath called the cause (which ought to be determyned here) to Rome, where our sovereigne is neyther bounde to appere, nor send proctor: and yet hath he deteyned wrongfully the cause there these three or four years at the instance of the other partie, which sued to have it there, because they knowe he durst not displease the emperor, who maketh himself a partie in it, as by the sequele it doth evydentlie appere, and so could our prince gett no justice at his hande, but was wrongfully delayed to no small hinderance, both to his succession, and this his realme, emynente daunger.

Thirdlie, Where it is a naturall defence that the subject ought, and may defende his naturall sovereigne, or master, both in word and deed, and ought thereto to be admytted, this forsaid bishop of Rome, contrary to this equite in nature, hath rejected our sovereigns excusator, contrary both to his own lawes (which he most setteth by) and also Gods law, which he ought to prefer. Upon which cause, and other great injuries, our sovereigne did appeale to the general counsaile; notwithstanding the which, he hath contrary to all justice procededed, *ad ulteriora*, wherein by a general counsaile he is dampned as an heretick; yet thus injuriouslie from the begynnyng hitherto, he hathe handled our princes cause and matier there.

Fourthely, the said bishope of Rome syns our princes appeal, hering of the laws and acts of parliament which we then went about, and that our king having just ground (the premisses considered) would provide according to his bounden duetie, both for the suretie of his succession and realme, gave out a sentence in maner of excommunycation and interdiction of him and his realme, in which when he was spoken to for the iniquitie and unjustnes thereof by our princes agents, he and his counsaile could nor did otherwise excuse them (the facte being so contrary to all lawes and right) but that the faulte was in a new officer late come to the court, which for his lew'd doing should grevovslie be punyshed, and the processe to cesse. This they promised our princes agente, which notwithstanding, was set up in Flanders to the great injurie of our prynce, and for parcyalite to the other parte, as it may well appear by the forsaide sentence.

Fyvethlie, the said bishope of Rome sought all the ways possible with fair words and promises both by his ambassadors and our sovereigns owne, which by any meanes could be invented, to have abused our prynce and sovereigne; which when he saw that by none of his crafts our prince would be no longer abused with them, then sewed he to the French king, to be a mediator between our sovereigne and him: declaring to him and his counsaile that he would gladly do for our sovereigne, allowing the justnes of his cause; so that they would fynd the means that our sovereigne would not proceed in his acts and lawes till that were proved. And that he would meet with him at Mercelles for the fynishing thereof, for at Rome he durst not do it for fear of the emperor. The good French king admonyshed our prince hereof, offering to him to do all pleasure and kyndnes that lay in him in this cause, trusting that if the bishop of Rome came ones to Marcelles, he should give sentence for our sovereigne in his just cause, and therefore prayed our prince to be content with that meting, in which he would labor for it effectuouslie, and so he did: to the which our prince answered, that touching the meting he was content, but touching the forbering of making lawes, he prayed his good brother to hold him excused, for he knew well ynough both the crafte and delayes of the bishop of Rome; by which from thencforth he would never be abused: and that likewise he fered that he would abuse his good brother, which so indede after followed; for after he had gotten the maryage of the duke of Orleance, he then promised the French king to give judgment for our maister, so he would send a proxie, which the said bishop of Rome knew well before, that he neyther would, nor was bound to do; yet notwithstanding his subtill ymagynacions, his promise was to the French king, that our prynce sending a proctor, should there before his departure have judgment for him in the principall cause; for he openly confessed ferther, that our maister had the right: but because our prince and maister would not prejudicate for his jurisdictione, and uphold his usurped power by sending a proctor, ye may evydentlie here see that this was onelie the cause why the judgment of the bishop of Rome was not given in his favour; whereby it may appere that there lacked not any justnes in our princes cause, but that ambition, vaine-glory, and to much mundanytee, weare the letts thereof: wherefore, good people, I exhorte you to sticke to the trueth, and our prince according to our bounden dueties, and dispise thes noughtie doings of this bishop of Rome; and charytably pray that he and all others, abusers of Christs worde and workes, may have grace to amend.

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NUMBER XXX.

*Instructions given by the Kinges Highnes, to his Trusty and Well-beloved Servant William Pagett, one of the Clearkes of his Signet, whom his Highnes sendeth at this Tyme unto the Kinge of Pole, the Dukes of Pomeray and of Pruce; and to the Cities of Dantiske, Stetin, and Connynburgh, for the Purposes ensueinge.—An Original.*

[Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 14. Fol. 66.]

HENRY R.—First the said Pagett takeinge with him the kinges highnes letters of credence to the princes aforesaide, with the coppies of certeine other bookes and writeings prepared for his dispatch, shall with all diligence, takeing his jorney from hence, repaire unto the said princes, as to his wisdome shall be thought best for the expedicion of his jorney most convenient. After his arrival there, takeing the best opportunity he can for his audience, and deliverie of the kings highnes said letters, with his highnes most harty recommendacions: the said Pagett shall say that the kinges highnes consideringe not only the olde love, and perfect friendship, which hath now of long tyme been contracted, and by mutual offices of amity, established between his highnes and the said princes; but also the singular affection, and entire zeal, which his highnes by sondry and manifold arguments, hath and doth daily perceive to be in them, to the searchinge, furtheringe, defence, and mainteininge of the sincere truth, and right understanding of God's word, and the justice of his lawes, and the extirpacion of such inveterate, old, and corrupt errors, customes, and abusiones, whereby Christes people have been nowe of longe tyme seduced, and kept more bound, thrall'd, and captive under the yoke of the bishops of Rome, then ever the Jewish people were under the ceremonies of Moyses lawe; his highnes hath sent nowe presently the said Pagett unto the said princes, and to every one of them severally, as aforesaid, to open and declare on his highnes behalf the great desire which his highnes hath, to do all things for his part; whereby not only the friendship may be nourished and encreased, but alsoe the common cause of all christend men may be reduced to such ende as shall be agreeable to the due order of Christs faith, and his precepts, and lawes given unto us by his worde and spirit, and expressed in his gospell. And for as much as the chiefe pointe, and the greatest demonstraction of true friendship, is freindes to communicate and breake friendly each to other, "et deponere in sinum amici," the whoal estate of their causes, and what things be pleasaunt and acceptable unto them, or contrary, wherein they find themselves grieved, wronged, or injuried; the said Pagett shall further say that the kings highnes hath given him in commaundment to oppen and declare unto the same severally the whoall progresse of his great and weighty cause of matrimony, with the intollerable wronges and injuries donn unto his highnes in the same by the bishop of Rome, called the pope: and in what termes the same nowe consisteth. And finally by what waies and means his highnes purposeth and intendeth nowe to defende his said most just and right wise cause and to resist the malicious attemptats of the said bishop of Rome.

And for his entry into the matter, the said Pagett shall note and regarde two principall and speciall pointes; that is to say, the justice of the king's cause, and the order and processe which hath binn used therein. And as concerninge the first pointe, the said Pagett shall shewe howe the king's highnes hath so used himself, as no man may lawefully complaine of the same. For as touchinge the justice of his highnes cause, that is to say, the declaration of his marriadge with the princesse dowager to be nought, of noe moment nor effecte; but against the lawe of God's nature and man, and therefore indispensable by the pope, and in no wise availeable; the said Paget shall shewe, howe the king's highnes hath don therein as much as becommeth a Cristian prince to doe for discharge of his conscience: and hath founde soe certaine, soe evident, soe manifest, soe oppen and soe approved trueth therein, as whereunto he ought of necessity to give place, and to allowe and receive the same; not as a matter doubtfull and disputable, but as a plaine and discussed verity, of the true understandinge of God's worde and lawe, which all Cristian men must follow and obey, and to all worldly respecte preferre and execute. In attaininge the knowledge whereof, if his highnes had used his owne particular judgment and sentence, or the mind only and opinion of his own naturall subjecte, altho' the same might in his owne conscience have sufficed; yet his highnes would not have much repugned, if some other had made difficulty to assent in the same, untill further discussion had bin made thereuppon. But now, for as much as beside the king's owne certeine understandinge, and the agreement of the wholl clergie of both provinces of his realme, unto the same; his highnes hath alsoe for him the determinations of the most famous universities of Christendom, which be indifferent to pronounce and give sentence in this his cause, and therewithe alsoe the evident wordes of God's lawe; his highnes hath thought himself, in honour and duty to the obligation of God's commandements, obliged necessarily to imbrace and receive the same; and there, by the consent of his nobles spirituall and temporall, and with the singuler contentation, rejoice and comforte, of all his commons and subjecte. And finally, by the judgement and decree of the archbishoppe of Canterbury, most solemply and autentiquely passed in that behalf, hath now, for the discharge of his owne conscience, which was before merveileously greived and offended with the opinion of incest matrimony, and for the avoideinge of extreame dangers of his succession, and the ruyne of his realms, which was by reason thereof imynent and manifestly apparent to insue, divorced and seperated himself from the yoake and bande of that unlawfull marriadge, which was of longe time usurped and continued betweene his highnes and the said princesse dowager, and hath espoused and maried to his lawfull wife, the noble lady, dame Ann marques of Pembroke, whose approved and excellent vertues, that is to say, the purity of her life, her constant verginity, her maidenly and womanly pudicity, her sobernes, her chastenes, her meekenes, her wisdome, her discent of ancient right noble and highe parentage, her education in all good and lawefull shewes and manners, her aptnes to procreation of children, with her other infinite good qualityes, more to be regarded and esteemed then the only progeny, be of such approved excellency, as cannot be but most acceptable unto Almighty God, and deserve his highe grace and favour to the singular weale and benefitte of the king's realme and subjects. Albeit in caise any objection shal be made hereunto by the said princes, or any of their concill, "de Ratione Scandali," by reason that the king's highnes hath not observ'd in all pointes the common order and manner of the pope's lawes, the said Paget shall, thereunto replying and answering, founde themselves first uppon the most stedfast grounds of Scripture, viz. "Quia justo Lex non est posita; sed ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi Libertas est: Et si Spiritu Dei ducimini, non estis sub Lege. Hoc est, Spiritûs Sancti et Conscientiæ in motum sequentes, sub Lege primaque privatæ cedere debet, nequaquam sumus constituti. In prohibitis autem Lege Divinâ, parendum est Conscientiæ, in aliis vero Ecclesiæ: Et qui Lege privatâ ducitur, nulla ratio exigit ut Lege publica constringatur." And thereuppon the said Paget shall inferre, that althoughe in the lawe, every man's private conscience be but a private court, yet it is the highest and supreame court for judgement or justice, condempninge or approvinge of mens actes and deedes in the sight of God; accordinge to the saying of St. Paule to the Romanes, "Gentes quæ Legem non habent, sibi ipsis sunt Lex; qui ostendunt Opus Legis scriptum in Cordibus suis; simul attestante ipsorum Conscientia, ex Cogitationibus eorum, inter se aut accusantibus aut excusantibus, in eo die quo judicabit Deus occulta hominum." And therefore the said Paget shall say, that beinge the king's highnes said cause fully examined, discussed, and resolved in his owne conscience; and being also the same court of his conscience inlightened and instructed, first by the spirite of God, who possesseth and directeth the hartes of princes, and afterward established and confirmed by such wayes as is before expressed; pronounced and declared, to be discharged before God from the contracte of his said first matrimony, and be at liberty to exercize and injoy the benefitte of God, for procreation of children,

and the lawefull use of matrimony, necessary for the releif of man's infirmity. No man ought to inveigh at this his doinge, but rather to interpretate the same into the best parte, in that that the king's highnes had more regarde unto the weale of his soul, than to any ceremonies of mens laws, which themselves decree and ordeine: that noe man is bounde to obey them, or any other man's precept, of what dignity or prehemi-nence soever he be, if the same do "militare, contra Deum et Conscientiam offendat: Primum etenim quærendum est regnum Dei, &c. Et quid prodest hujusmodi, si universum mundum lucretur, animæ vero suæ detrimentum patiatur, &c.?" He may also further say, that the king's highnes knoweth well, that respect is to be had unto the world, and doubteth not but that it is alsoe sufficiently declared and showed by his actes and proceedinges, howe much he hath laboured and travailed therein; but sithence that these thinges, althoughe in their outward visage be worldly, yet inwardly they touch and concerne the perill of soule, noe man being "sinceri et candidi pectoris," cann arreste any blame unto the king's highnes, in that he hath after soe long travaile, labour, and studye, with intollerable coste and charges, with-out any fruite susteined in that behalf, be inforced and constreyned rather to followe and accomplishe the determination of his own conscience, and the law of the same, consonant and agreeable in this case to the law of God, and therefore superior and excellinge all lawes of man, then to indure in perpetuall sute, and continuall trouble of body and mynde, doeing injurie to nature, and incomparable dammage to his realme; not doeing soe much as in him is, to provide for the same. And to the intente the said Paget may with the more efficacy declare unto the said princes, the ungodly and unlawful demeanours of the pope, in the whoall progresse of the king's highnes said cause, handleing his highnes by the space of vij years, and more, in delayes and dalliance; and how for friendship and justice, he hath alwayes ministred unto him unkindness and notable injurie: by reason whereof, the king's highnes hath binn thus constreined to doe as he hath don: the said Paget shall understande, how that first in the beginninge of his highnes greate cause, his grace beinge daily inquieted and molested with the scruple of incest and unlawefull matrimony, did send unto the said bishop, as unto him which presumed uppon him the title and name of Christ's vicar in Earth; and which had the keyes of knowledge and power, to discerne the very worde of God from the worde of man; to the intent that he, according to his office and duty, should have ymediatly dissolved that doubt and scruple, which his highnes in conscience had before conceived, and should have restored him incontinently to the quietnes and rest of the same. Upon which insynuation, the saide bishop of Rome refuseing to take any knowledge of the king's said cause of matrimony, but would the king should take a commission, and commissioners to be sent into this his grace realme, to whom the said bishop would give sufficient authority, to decerne, knowe, judge and determyne the said cause; then pretendinge, that it might in noe wise by the order of the lawes be intreated at Rome, but only within the king's owne realme. And so he delegated his wholl power to the cardinal Campegius, and the cardinall of York. Giveinge alsoe unto them, one other speciall commission, in forme of a decretall: wherein the said bishop of Rome pronounced and gave sentence, that the king's highnes matrimony was utterly nought and unlawfull; and that therefore his highnes might "convolare ad secundas Nuptias:" and the children procreated in the seconde marriadge were lawfull. And in this oppen commission, he gave alsoe unto the said legate full authority to determyne this matter, and to give sentence for the king's highnes; and yet secretly he gave them instructions, to bring the said commission decretall, and not to proceede by vertue thereof, or of any other commission, unto any finall end or sentence, but to suspend and put over the same. And at the time of sendinge of the said commission, he sent alsoe down unto the king's highnes, a briefe written with his owne hande; wherein he did alsoe approve the justice of the king's cause, in like maner as he did in his commission decretall; and promised unto the king's highnes, "quam sanctissimè sub verbo Pontificis," that he would never afterwarde advocate the said cause out of the realme of Englande, but would suffer it to have the due course and order of intreateinge of the same, within the king's highnes realme; which his sentence and promise notwithstanding, yet the said bishop of Rome, contrary to his own conscience and knowledge, what was the very trueth and justice in the king's highnes cause; and to the intente he might molest and trouble the same, decreed out sundry citations, whereby he would needes inforce the king's highnes to appeare at Rome in his own person, to the subversion of him, his dignity, and the privileges of his realme; or else to constreine him in the exhibition of a proxie there: the iniquity of both which things, is so evident and notable, "ut nulla rerum facie defendi queat." For it is a common principle of the lawe, "Quoties autem citatus ex Privilegio, vel aliqua alia Materia, in voce expressa, venire non teneatur, in eo casu nec tenetur aliquam sui copiam facere, neque Se, neque Procuratorem sistere." It is also notorious, that the liberties and prerogatives of the king's realme, to the observation whereof he is bounde by his oath at his coronation; and that alsoe the priviledges of princes, beinge publique persons, besides other great and urgent causes, doe necessarily let the king's person to appeare at Rome, and lawefully defendeth and excuseth his absence from thence. And besides all this, that his highnes ought not to be cited to Rome; it is enacted by the holy councilles of Nice, of Affrique, and of Melevitan; and it is agreeable alsoe to all lawes, reason, and equity, that kings should not be compelled to repair to Rome at the pope's callinge, ne be bounden in a matter of so highe weight and consequence as this is, to send out of their realmes and dominions, their writeinges, instrumentes, and munimentes, conteyneinge the secretyes of their affaires, or to make and trust a proctor in soe farr distant parts, and in a matter of such gravity and importance, to abide and fulfill that which the said proctor shall agree unto there. And hereunto the said Paget may adde, howe this matter toucheth the dignity of all Christian princes very highly, to suffer themselves to be so yoaked with the said bishop's authority. And that it is time for princes, nowe that the same bishop maketh this enterprise uppon them, to inserche and knowe the grounde and bottome of his and their authorities, for what and the pope would cite and call all Christian princes to appere before him at Rome; that is to say, to cause them to abandon and forsake their owne realmes, and neglect the cure and office committed unto them by God, and to answere there upon such matters, as the pope should for his pleasure object against them? "Esset quidem illud durum; sed tamen si vellet Pontifex, hæc posset facere, qua etenim ratione unum constringere; omnes etiam Reges cogere posset:" and so it should be always in the pope's authority and libertie, to remove and depose what kings it pleased him from his crowne, and to rule and govern all kingdomes after his own arbitre



and pleasure: one other notable iniquity is also in that the pope, by his citation would needs enforce the kinges highnes to appear at Rome; forasmuch as Rome is by all laws a place unlawful, yea, and thereto most suspect and unsure, not only for the kings highnes owne person, being the principale parte, but alsoe for the person of his proctor, if he should send any such thither; and especially for the self cause to be intreated there: now, it is a principle in the lawe, "quod citando ad locum non tutum, et precedendo Index facit inique quia legibus id prohibentibus necnon antiquis-simis consiliis et Pont' Romanorum definitionibus repugnantibus id facit non solum inique sed etiam nulliter facit:" and yet further, the pope not satisfied with these injuries and wronges don unto his highnes, yea, and to justice itself, in manner as is above rehearsed; but being then, and at such tyme as the said citations were published, resident at Rome, one doctor Kerne, the kinges subject, understandinge how his highnes was called there to appeare to one Cappisucchi deane of the Rota, to make answer unto the princes dow-agers complainte, and exhibiting reasonable causes, and lawful matters excusatory why his grace should not be bound either to appeare at Rome, or to sende a proctor thither; which things he did as the kinges subject, and as one who by law of nature is bounden to defende his kinge and sovereigne lord; and by all laws admitted to alledge that in defence of him that is absent, which in equity ought to preserve him from condemnacion; yet this notwithstandinge, the said Cappisuchi, "idque approbante Pontifice," not regard-inge nor consideringe the matters soe by the said doctor Kerne alleadged, but demaunding whether he had any proxie from the kinges highnes for such purpose or noe; the said Cappisucchi, for default of such proxie, (which was not necessary in this case) rejected the said doctor Kerne from the office of an excusator there, and proceeded in the principall cause, by reason whereof the said doctor Kerne appelled to the pope, alleadginge injurie to be don not only to the kings highnes, but alsoe unto himselfe, for that such matter as he (havinge intereste in) did alleadge was not considered nor regarded, but processe made not-withstanding, to which appellation the said Cappi-succhi gave an ambiguous and doubtful answer, pro-miseinge afterward to open his said answere and sentence more plainely, and to give determinate reso-lucions therein, which nevertheles he would not doe, albeit he was diverse tymes required and pressed thereunto, but soe passed he the tyme and suddenly returned to processe; whereupon the said doctor oftentimes appealed and put upp again a supplication to the pope for the admission of the said appeal, by reason whereof the said matter was reasoned in the signature, where althoughe by noe lawe it woud be shewed why the said doctor Kerne ought not to be admitted to alleage the said matters excusatory in the defence of the kinge's highnes; yet they gave their voices there as the pope saide, that doctor Kerne should not be heard without the kinges proxie; whereunto when Dr. Kerne replied, sayinge that whatsoever they decreed or saide, yet there was no lawe to maintayne and bear it: it was answered again by the said bishope, called pope, that he might judge all things after his own conscience. And upon this resolucion, without any other decree given, or at least notified and declared, they proceeded in the principal cause, intendinge by this injurie and wronge to enforce the kinges highnes to the exhibition of a proxie there, to his high prejudice, and the derogation of the libertyes and prerogatives of this realme, and to the pernicious example of the like to be done unto other princes in tyme comeing. And althoughe at the same time the kinges ambassadors there resident did shewe unto the pope the determinacion of the universities of Paris and Orleance, with the opinions and sentences of the best and most famous learned men of Italy and Fraunce, determynying all with one consent, that these the popes doeinges were meere injuries and wronges, and contrary to his own lawes, wherein it is conteined, "Quod Pontifex Romanis non potest cogere aliquem Principem Christianum ut Romam veniat, ut in Causa Matrimonii ibidem respondeat. Aut in eorum gratiam procuratorem constituat et quod sub-ditus cujuscunque Principis poterit sine mandato et satisdatione ejusdem absenciæ sine non comparentiæ allagere et quod debeat ad id admitti: quodque pro-positis per eundem justis Causis absenciæ non poterit contra absentem Principem ulterius procedi. Sed quod omnis talis processus si quis contra eundem factus fuerat sit jure ipso facto nullus." Yet he con-tinuynge still in the discussinge and disputacion of the same points: and perceyvinge well the kinges highnes adversaries to be in the wronge parte, did still nevertheless rejecte the said Mr. Kerne from the lawfull defence of the kinges highnes, and ceased not to make processe against his grace in the principall cause, to the expresse wronge and injurie of his highnes, and soe continuynge still in accumulateinge from tyme to time new griefes and injuries against the justice of the kinges cause; and sending out very slaunderous griefes against the kinges highnes, with diverse other unseeminge and ungodly demeanors used by him and his ministers in the discousse and doinge of the said injuries. Finally to accomplish his longe and indurate malice, he decreed and determined to publishe out against the kings highnes, the sentence of excommunication, and soe the kings highnes, being advertised of the said determinacion and purpose, and mynding to use his lawefull and naturall defence of provocation and appellation against the same. After that his highnes had soe made authentiquely his said provocation and appellation from the pope to the generall councell, which shall be nowe next indicted, and lawefully congregated; and alsoe caused the same to be intimated unto the pope by one of his subjects, the said pope would in no wise admitte the same, "et deferre hujusmodum Appellacioni," but pretendinge for his defence a certeine bull made by pope Pius, and that he was superior to all generall counsailes, did most arrogantly and contempteously reject the kinges highnes said appellacions, alleadging the same to be nought; and they were heretiques and traytors to his person, which would appeal from him to any generall counsell, or would attempt to doe any thinge whereby his authority should be seene to be inferior unto the authority of generall counsells.

The iniquity of all which thinges beinge thus opened unto the said princes, and sett forth by the said Pagett, with the best perswasions he can devise for that pur-pose, he shall further shewe unto the same, that thence it is now evidently seene that the said bishop of Rome for the defence of his own corrupt affections of glorie and ambition, regardeth not what injurie he doth to Christian princes, yea, and to abuse and subject so much as in him is, not only contrary to the trueth, but alsoe to the due order both of God and mans lawes, sheweinge himself therein rather to be the child of wrath and discorde, then the imitator and follower of Christ; it shall nowe apperteine unto the office of every good Christian prince on tother side, to have more spirituall regarde to the preservation of their one estate and dignity, and the maintenance of God's lawes, then they have had in times past. And to study nowe by all means rather to confounde and destroy these presumptions of men, which forge themselves

such a throne and power as soundeth greatly to the blasphemy of Christ and his very spouse the church, then to suffer the same any further to encrease.

And forasmuch as the kinges highnes not only for want of justice in his said cause at the popes hande, but also for the defence of those extreme injuries, which the said pope hath enforced unto him and the justice of his cause, and for the maintenance of his estate royal, with the lawes and privileges of his realme, conforme and agreeable to the lawe of God, is nowe utterly determined, havinge God and his word upon his party, to resist and withstand the said bishops malicious attempts and reduce the said popes power, "Ad justos et legitimos mediocritatis suæ modos," so as within this his highnes realme, he shall not be suffered to exercise any other power and jurisdiction, then is granted unto him by expresse Scripture. The said Paget shall shewe unto the said princes; that the kinges highnes trustinge not a little to their greate vertue, wisdome, and oulde amity, hath commaunded him not only to open and declare unto the said princes the wholl circumstances of all the premisses, and of what mynd and disposicion the kings highnes is nowe towarde the said pope, and the court of Rome: but alsoe to exhorte and instantly to require the same on the kings highnes behalf, that it shall please them to adhere and sticke with the kings highnes in his said righteous cause to the repaire of the said injuries at such tyme as the same shall be intreated in the general counsell. And in the mean season to give unto his highnes their assistance and best advice how he shall proceede to the accomplishment of his desired purposes, according to such articles, as be written in a certaine scedule and be delivered unto the said Paget, and signed with the kings highnes hand, which he shall also exhibite and shewe unto the said princes; and to every of them, as by his wisdome he shall perceive may be most beneficiall unto the kinges highnes affaires: and to require also the said princes and potentates, that in case there be any articles, causes, or matters in those parties touchinge any abuses, evil customes, or opinions, which for the common-wealth of Christendom, and the maintenance of Gods worde the said prince and potentate, or any of them, shall think necessary and requisite to be reformed and redressed, the said Paget shall say that the kinges mynde and full determination is, his highnes beinge advertised of the specialties of the same, either by the letters of the said Paget, or otherwise by letters of the same princes, or by the messengers, servants, or orators of them, or any of them, will not faile, but like as the same his highnes at this time declareth his griefes, and desireth their assistance in this his suit and righteous causes and quarrels, even so likewise his highnes will not only right thankfully and kindly admitte the same causes, to his most favourable audience; but alsoe will with all effecte and sincerity to him possible, indeavour himself both to the exturpacion and puttinge away of the said abuses and evil customes soundinge against Gods worde and lawes, and also further doe that thing that may lye in him for reformacion thereof, and establishinge the good intentes and purposes of the said princes, as most specially may be for the maintenance of Gods word, the faith of Christ, and wealth of Christendome, like as unto the office of a very Christian prince, and the perfectnes of amity and friendship contracted betweene his highnes and the said princes shall apperteine. Finallie, for as much as it is doubtfull of what minde, intention, and purpose, the said princes be or at least some of them, that is to witte, whither they be soe dedicated to the popes devocion, that there is no likelihood of any good success touchinge the kings purposes to be don or gotten at their hande, the said Paget shall first and before the delivering of the kings said letters to any of the said princes, and declaracion of this his charge, by all dexterity, wayes and means to him possible insearch, inquire, and knowe the disposicion and inclination of the said prince, and of every of them severally, and soe thereafter accordinge to their wisdomes and discretions to deliver or retaine the kings said letters, with declaracions or without declaracions of their said charge, as to their wisdomes shall be thought most necessary and requisite for atchievinge of the king's highnes purposes in this behalf.

HENRY R.

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NUMBER XXXI.

*Propositions to the King's Counsell; marked in some places on the margin in King Henry's own Hand.* 1533.—*An Original.*

[Cotton Library, Cleop. E. 6, p. 319.]

FYRSTE, To sende for all the bishops of this realme, and specyalle for such as be nerest unto the courte, and to examyne them aparte, whether they, by the lawe of God, can prove and justefie that he that now is called the pope of Rome is above the general counsell, or the generall counsell above him? Or whether he hathe gyven unto him by the law of God any more auctoryte within the realme, than any other foreign bishop?

2. *Item.* To desire, with all the bishops of this realm, to set forth, preach, and cause to be preached to the king's people, that the said bishop of Rome, called the pope, is not in auctoryte above the generall counselle, but the generall counsell is above him, and all bishops. And that he hath not, by God's lawe, any more jurisdiction within this realme, than any other foreign bishop (being of any other realme) hathe. And that such auctoryte as he before this hathe usurped within this realme, is both against Godes law and also against the generall counsells. Which usurpations of auctorite onelie hath grown to him, by the sufferance of princes of this realme, and by none auctoryte from God.

3. *Item.* Therefore that order be taken, for suche as shall preach at Paul's Cross from henceforthe, shall contynually, from Sunday to Sunday, preach there, and also teache and declare to the people that he that now calleth himself pope, nor any of his predecessours, is, and were but only the bishops of Rome; and hath no more auctorite and jurisdiction, by Godes lawe, within this realme, than any other foreign bishop hath—which is nothing at all. And that such auctoryte as he hathe claymed heretofore, hath been onlie by usurpation and sufferaunce of prynces of this realme. And that the bishop of London may be bounde to suffer none other to preach at Paul's Cross, as he will answer, but such as will preach and set forth the same.

4. *Item.* That all the bishops within this realme be bound and ordered in the same wise, and to cause the same to be preached thorough out all their dioces.

5. *Item.* That a specyall practise be made, and a streight commandment gyven to all provyncyalls, ministers, and rulers of all the foure orders of friers within this realme; commanding them to cause the same to be preched by all the preachers of their religions, in and thorough the hole realme.

6. *Item.* To practise with all the friers observants of this realme, and to commande them to preach in lyke wise; or elles that they may be stayed, and not suffered to preach in no place of the realme.



7. *Item.* That every abbote, pryor, and other heddes of religious houses within this realme, shall in like manner teche their convents and brethren to teach and declare the same.

8. *Item.* That every bishop shall make specyall commandements to every person, vicare and curate, within his dyoces, to preach and declare to theyr parochians in lyke wise.

9. *Item.* Proclamations to be made thorough out the realme, conteyning the hole acte of appeles: and that the same acte may be impressed, transumed, and set up on every church dore in England, to the intent that no parson, vycar, curate, nor any other of the king's subjects shall make themselfs ignorant thereof.

10. *Item.* The king's provocation and appellations, made from the bishop of Rome unto the generall counsell, may also be transumed, impressed, published, and set up on every church dore in England, to the intent that if any censures should be fulmynate against the king or his realm, that then it may appear to all the world, that the censures be of none effecte; considering that the king hathe already, and also before any censures promulged, bothe provoked and appeled.

11. *Item.* Like transumpts to be made, and sent into all other realmes and domynions, and specyally into Flanders, concerning the king's saide provocations and appellations; to the intente the falshode, iniquite, malice, and injustice of the bishop of Rome may thereby appere to all the world: and also to the intent that all the world may know, that the king's highnes standing under those appeles, no censures can prevayle, nor take any effecte against him and his realme.

12. *Item.* A Letter to be conceyved from all the nobles, as well spirituall as temporall, of this realme, unto the bishop of Rome, declaring the wrongs, injuries, and usurpations, used against the king's highnes and this realme.

Not yet done, nc can well be done before the parliament.

13. *Item.* To sende exploratours and espies into Scotland, and to see and perceyve their practises, and what they intend there, and whether they will confeder themselfs with any other outwarde prynce.

For to send letters to my lord Dacres, my lord of Norfolk, and sir T. Clifford.

14. *Item.* Certen discrete and grave persons, to be appointed to repair into the partes of Germany, to practise and conclude some lege or amyte with the prince and potentats of Germany, that is to say, the king of Pole, king John of Hungary, the duke of Saxony, the duke of Bavyere, duke Frederyke, the landegrave Van Hesse, the bishop of Magons, the bishop of Treuers, the bishop of Coleyn, and other the potentats of Germany; and also to enserch of what inclination the said prynces and potentats be of, towards the king and his realme.

In the king's arbitrement.

15. *Item.* Like practise to be made and practised with the cyties of Lubeke, Danske, Hamburgh, Brunswyke, and all other the stedes of the Hannse Tutonick; and to enserche of what inclination they be towards the king and this realme.

To know this of the king.

16. *Item.* Lyke practise to be made and practised with the cities of Norimbergh and Aughsbrough.

17. *Item.* To remember the marchiants adventurers haunting the domynyons of Braband, and to speke with them.

This is already done.

18. *Item.* To set order and establishment of the princes dowager's house with all celerity, and also of my lady Mary's house.

The order is taken.

19. *Item.* A full conclusion and determination, to be taken for my lady princes' house.

The orders taken.

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NUMBER XXXII.

*A Letter against the Pope's Authority, and his Followers, setting forth their treasons.* — *An Original.*

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 6, p. 214.]

BY THE KING.

HENRY R.—Trusty and right welbeloved, we grete you well. And wheras heretofor, as ye know, both upon most just and vertuouse fundations, grownded upon the lawes of Almighty God and holly Scripture, and also by the deliberate advice, consultation, consent and agreement, as well of the bishops and clergie as by the nobles and comons temporall of this our realme, assembled in our high court of parliament, and by auctoritie of the same, the abuses of the bishop of Rome, his auctoritie and jurisdiction, of longe time usurped against us, have been not only utterly extirped, abolished and secluded; but also the same our nobles and comons, both of the clergie and temporaltie, by another severall acte and upon like fundation for the publique weale of this our realme, have united, knyt, and annexed to us and the corone imperiall of this our realme, the title, dignitie, and stile of Supreme Hed in earthe, immediatly under God, of the church of England, as undoubtedly evermore we have been. Which things also the said bishops and clergie, particularly in their convocations, have holly and entierly consented, recognised, ratified, confermed and approved autentiquely in writing, both by their speciall othes, profession and writing, under their signes and seales. So utterly renouncyng all other othes, obedience, and jurisdiction, either of the said bishop of Rome, or of any other potentate, we late you witt, that perpendyng and consideryng the charge and commission in this behalf geven unto us by Almighty God, together with the great quietnes, rest and tranquillite, that hereby may ensue to our faithful subjects, both in their consciences and other wise to the pleasure of Almighty God, in case the said bishops and clergie of this our realme should sincerely, truly, and faithfully sett forth, declare and preach unto our said subjects, the very true word of God, and without all manner or culor of dissimulation, hipocrisie, manifest, publishe, and declare the great and innumerable enormities and abuses which the said bishop of Rome, as well in title and stile as also in auctoritie and jurisdiction, of long tyme unlawfully and injustly hath usurped upon us, our progenitors, and all other Christen princes, have not only addressed our letters generall to all and every the same bishops, straitly chargying and commanding them, not only in their proper persons, to declare, teach, and preach unto the people, the true, mere, and sincere word of God; and how the said title, stile, and jurisdiction of supreme hed, apperteyneth unto us, our corone and dignitie royall. And to gyve like warnyng, monition, and charge, to all abbots, priors, deanes, arche deacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curats, scole masters, and all other ecclesiastical persons within their dioces, to do the semblable in their churches every Sunday and solemn feast, and also in their scoles; and to cause all maner of prayers, orisons, rubrics, and canons in masse books, and all other bookes used in churches, wherein the said bishop is named, utterly to be abolished, eradicat, and rased out in such wise, as the said bishop of Rome, his name and memorie for evermore (except to his contumelly and reproche) may be extinct, suppressed,

and obscured; but also to the justices of our peas, that they, in every place within the precinct of their commissions, do make and cause to be made diligent serche wayse and especially, whether the said bishops and clergie do truly and sincerely, without any maner cloke, or dissimulation, execute and accomplish their said charge to them commytted in this behalf; and to satisfie us and our councill, of such of them that should omytt or leave undone any parte of the premisses, or elles in the execution therof, should coldely, fainedly use any maner of synister addition, interpretation or cloke, as more plainly is expressed in our said letters. We considering the great good and furderaunce that ye may do in these matters in the parts about you, and specially at your being at sises and sessions; in the declaration of the premisses, have thought it good, necessary, and expedient to write these our letters unto you; whom we esteem to be of such singuler zeale and affection towards the glory of Almighty God, and of so faithfull and loving harte towards us, as ye woll not only, with all your wisdome, diligences, and labours, accomplish all such things as might be to the preferment and setting forward of Gode's worde, and the amplification, defence, and maintenance of our said interests, right, title, stile, jurisdiction, and auctoritie, apperteyning unto us, our dignitie, prerogative, and corone imperiall of this our realme, woll and desire you, and nevertheles straitely charge and command you, that laying aparte all vain affections, respects, and carnal considerations; and setting before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glorie of God, the right and dignitie of your soveraigne lord; thus tending to the inestimable unitie and commoditie both of yourself, and all other our loving and faithfull subjects, ye do not only make diligent search within the precinct of your commission and auctoritie, whether the said bishops and clergie doe truly, sincerely as before, preach and teach, and declare to the people the premisses, according to their duties, but also at your said setting in sises and sessions ye do persuade, shewe, and declare unto the same people the tenor, effect, and purpose of the premisses in such wise, as the said bishops and clergie may the better not only do thereby, and execute their said dueties, but that also the parents and rulers of families may declare, teach, and informe their children and servants in the specialties of the same, to the utter extirpacion of the said bishop's usurped authority, name, and jurisdiction; for ever shewyng and declaryng also to the people at your said sessions the treasons trayterously commytted against us and our lawes by the late bishop of Rochestre and sir Thomas Moore, knight, who thereby, and by diverse secrete practices of their maliciouse mynds against us, intended to semynate, engender, and brede amongs our people and subjects most mischievous and sediciouse opynyon, not only to their own confusion, but also of divers others who lately have condignely suffered execucion according to their demerites, and in such wise dilating the same with persuacions to the same our people, as they may be the better fixed, established, and satisfied in the truth, and consequently, that all our faythfull and true subjects may therby detest and abhore, in their harts and deeds, the most recreant and traiterouse abuses and behaveours of the said maliciouse malefactors as they be most worthy, and fynding any defaulte, negligence, or dissimulacion in any manner of person or persons, not doyng his duetie in this partie, ye immediately doe advertise us and our counsel of the defaulte, manner, and facion of the same, lating you witt, that considering the greate moment, weight, and importance of this matter, as wherupon dependeth the unity, rest, and quietnes of this our realme, yf ye should, contrary to your dueties and our expectations and trust, neglect, be slake, or omytte to doe diligently your dueties in the true performance and execucion of our mynde, pleasure, and commandment as before, or wold halte or stumble at any person, or specialtie of the same, be ye assured that we, like a prince of justice, well so punish and correct your defaulte and negligence thereyn, as it shall be an example to all others, how contrary to their allegiance, othes, and dueties, they do frustrate and deceive, and disobey the just and lawfull commandment of their soveraign lord, in such things, as by the true, hartie, and faithfull execucion whereof, they shall not only prefer the honour and glory of God, and sett forth the majesty and imperial dignitie of their soveraign lord, but allso importe and bring an inestimable unitie, concorde, and tranquillitie of the publique, and common state of this realme: whereunto both by the lawes of God, and nature, and man, they be utterly obliged and bounden, and therefore fail ye not most effectually, ernestly, and entierly to see the premisses done and executed upon paine of your allegeance; and as ye woll advoyde our high indignacion and displeasure at your uttermost perils. Given under our signet at our manor, besids Westminster, the xxvth day of June.

NUMBER XXXIII.

*A Proclamation against Seditious Preachers.*

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 6.]

BY THE KING.

Henry VIIIth.—Right trusty and well-beloved cousyn, we grete you well, and where it is commen to our knowledge that sundry persons aswel religious, as secular priests and curats in their parishes, and divers places within this our realme, do daily, asmuch as in them is, sett forthe and extolle the jurisdiction and auctoritie of the bishop of Rome, otherwise called pope, sowyng their sedicious, pestylent, and false doctryne, praying for him in the pulpyt, and makyng him a God, to the great deceyte, illudyng and seducyng of our subjects, bryngyng them into errors, sedicion, and evil opynyons, more preferryng the powers, lawes, and jurisdiction of the said bishop of Rome, then the most holly lawes and precepts of Almighty God. We therefore myndyng not only to provide for an unitie and quietnes, to be had and continued amongs our said subjects, but also covetyng and desyryng them to be brought to a profession and knowledge of the mere verity and truth, and no longer to be seduced, nor blynded with any such supersticiouse and false doctryne of any earthly usurper of God's lawes, woll therefore and command you, that wher and whensoever ye shall fynde, perceive, know, or here tell of any such sedicious personnes, that in such wise do spreade, teach, or preach, or otherwise sett forth any such opynions and perniciouse doctryne, to the exaltacion of the power of the bishop of Rome; brynging therby our subjects into error, grudge, and murmurracion, indelaydly do apprehend and take them, or cause them to be apprehended and taken, and so committed to warde, there to remayne without bayl or maynprize, untyll upon your advertisement thereof unto us, or our council, ye shall know our further pleasure in that behalfe. Given under our signet at our manor of Grenewich, the xii day of April.



NUMBER XXXIV.

*A Letter of the Archbishop of York's, setting forth his Zeal in the King's Service, and against the Pope's Authority.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6, p. 236.]

Please it youre highnes to understande, that the viiith daye of June, I received by the hands of sir Francise Bygott, your moste honorable letters; by tenor whereof I perceive, that your highnes is enformed, and so doth take it, that wher as the same your highnes, as well by convocations of your clergies of both provinces, as by your highe courte of parliament is declared the suppreme hed in yerthe of the church of England, and also by the clergie of the said convocations, it is avowed, that the bishop of Rome by God's lawe hathe no more jurisdiction within this realme than any other foreign bishope; and therefore ordre taken by your highe courte of parliament, by the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commens in the same assembled, as well for the unitynge and knittenge of your sayde style and title of suppreme hed to your imperiall crowne, as for the abolishement of the saide bishope of Rome's autoritie and jurisdiction, yet I nevertheless, nodre remembring my consent given to the same, by my subscription and profession, signed with my hande, and sealed with my seal, have not done my dewe endevorment to teache the same, nor cause to be taught within my diocese and province; so that the foresaid truths myght be imprinted and rooted in the harts of the ignorant people your highnes' subjects, wherefore your highnes commandeth me, not onlie to preache the forsaide things in my person, and also to commande others to preache the same, but also to give commandment in your highnes' name, to all maner of prelates and ecclesiastical persons within my diocese and province, to declare and cause to be declared everie Sunday; and therwith to open to the people your highnes' just and raysonable cause, moveing the same to refuse and to exclude out of your realm all the jurisdiction and autoritie of the said bishop of Rome; and ferthermore your highnes commandeth me to cause all collects and places of the masse-booke wher anie mention is made of the saide bishope of Rome to be rased out, and nodre the sayd collects, nor any other thing, wherbie the said bishop's authoritie is magnified, to be had anie more in use, but to be utterlie suppressed with silence; and besides this, your highnes, in the same your most honorable letters, giveth order for scole-masters, how they shall instill and inculke the forsaid trueths into the harts of theyre disciples, to the intent, that so beeing enplanted and rooted in tender aige, they may so alwaies continue. In moste humble maner prostrate, I beseech your highnes to take in good parte my answer. I trust your highnes is not unremembred, that about this tyme the last year, anoune after my return from your highnes, my lord of Canterburie by your commandment sent to me a booke, wherein was an order for preachinge, and in the same forme devised, as well for preachers as curats, for the beads; in which forme, your highnes' style of suppreme hedde is mentioned, and ferther in the same booke, your highnes hath given commandment, that every preacher sholde afore Easter last past ones in solempne audience declare the usurped jurisdiction within this realme of the bishope of Rome, and your highnes' just causes to decline from the same; and also to open and declare such things, as myght avowe and justifie your highnes' refusall of mariage with the princes doager, and lawfull contract of now with your most dear wife queen Ann, and in the same an order also given for the suppression of the generall sentence; after the recepte of which booke, the Sunday next following, which was then the second Sunday after Trinitie Sunday, I went from Cawood to York, and ther in my own person declared as well your highnes' cause touchinge the matrimonie, as alsoe your refusall of the pope's jurisdiction, furnishinge both so at length, that I trust that nothing that needed to be opened and spoken was left unspoken: and to the intent, that I wolde have the thing the more spred abrode, I forthwith, upon the recepte of the forsaide booke, sent to York to publishe ther, that I wolde be ther Sundaye followinge, and cawsed the churches to make an order of theyre service, in suche tyme, as everie man myght have oportunities to be at the sermon, and speciallie required the mayer and his bretherne, and your faithfull chaplaine and servants Mr. Magnus and sir George Lawson to be ther, and ther and than afore a great multitude, and as it is to be supposed in that multitude werr a great number of sundry parts of the contree, which never lack in that citie, it may be thought ther was the greater number, because it was noysed that I sholde preache, takenge occasion of thees words in the gospell of that daye, "Uxorem duxi ideo non possum venire," so I uttered, explained, declared, and opened both the forsaide matters, and the injuries doon to your highnes by the bishope of Rome Clement, that your saide chapleyne and servants, Mr. Magnus and sir George Lawson, thought that the audience was satisfied. These ij bee my witnesse hearin, with a very great multitude besides them, that I nothinge fayne heerin. As for your highnes' title of supreme hed, I touched not than, for somutche, as no order was given than, but onlie to meke mention therof in the prayors; and it is well known to all that have herde me preache ever sins my first commynge into my diocese, that for more speed of tyme, and more utteraince of mater, I never have made prayours in any sermond, but proceded forward without stope, nor have anie thinge, or not muche, rehersed in Latin, but English it in course, for the same purpose. Also opon the recept of the same booke, forthwith I commanded my officers and others that coulde write, to make out a great number of the saide books, and cause to be delivered to everie preacher within my dyocese a hole booke, chargenge them, to doe according to the instruction therof, and generallie everie curate a booke comprisenge as muche as touched theyre charge, and if he were a preacher, he had the hole. And I assured your highnes, I have not yet herde, but that every one of the said curats foloweth theyre books in everie poynte; and speciallie praye for your highnes as chief hedde of the church, and all other things observe in the same; and yet I have done my diligence to herken and know if it were otherwise. And I doe not know but all the preachers have done theyre duetie; and to the great number of them I spake my selfe, and delivered them books, and charged them. And ferther, I charged all curatts and others, that they sholde suffer no man to preache in theyr churches; to the intent, that all that would preache should be constrained to come to me, that I might deliver them the forsaid instructions. And never yet anie had licence of me to preache, but he had suche a book delivered hym. To every house of fryars, and other religiouse houses, wher anie preachers werr, I gave books; and likewies to all that I knewe, or coulde learne to be within my dyocese, with charge that they sholde folow the booke. Whan anie religiouse men came to me for counsell, I told them what I had done, and gave them counsell to doe the same. Of divers sorts have come to me, both Observants and Cartusians, and others. Opon Good Frydaye last past, I charged the treasurer of Yorke,

that he sholde leave out the collect "pro Papa." Lykewies I charged the deacon that songe the hyme "Exultet Angelica," in the halowinge of the paschall, that he sholde leave out mention therin made "de Papa." The trueth of all these things may be examined and known, if it shall so please your highnes: by wiche it shall appear, I trust, that I ame not in suche blasme as your highnes imputethe to me; enformed by them, peradventure, that be not my friends. Your highnes somewhat knoweth me. I have been allwayes open and plain, and hidreto I dare avowe I never deceived you, nor herafter shall in any thing that I take upon me, as my lernynge and conscience woll serve. And now, after the receipte of your most honorable letters by sir Francis Bygott, I forthwith caused letters to be made to my lord of Duresme and Carlisle, and to all archedeacons, gevinge to them (on your highnes' behalf) streight commandement, to follow truelie and syncerlie theffecte of suche commandements, as your highnes hath given me in your most honourable letters; and have charged all archedeacons to see, that all things, according to the tenor of your saide most honorable commandment, bee done without delaye; and have charged them to deliver books to all curats and others, of the olde instructions, putting to them all that is nowe encreased in these your highnes' last most honorable letters: so that I trust, all things shall bee done according to your highnes' commandment, with all speed, efficacie, and diligence, whereunto I shall hearken. And for my parte, I have (on Sunday last past, which next followed the receipte of your highnes' most honourable letters) declared all things comprised in the same; so that, I trust, the audience was satisfied. I caused the citie to be warned afore, and diverse of the contree were present. And your faythfull chapleigne and servants, Magnus and sir George Lawson, I specially required to be ther; as in deed they werr, and can reaport what they think therof. Ther werr also present the abbot of Saincte Maries of Yorke, the treasorer of Yorke, sir Francis Bygott; these werr there, your servants and chapleignes, and many others. I trust your highnes shall never fynde in me, but that I promise I shall fullfill, and all things doe with good haste, that I may doe, at your highnes' commandement, God not offended. And most humblie prostrate, I beseche your highnes to be so graciouse, good Lord, not to beleive any complaynts of me, afore you have herde my answer. The tyme is now suche, that some men think they doo highe sacrifice, whan they may bring into your highnes' displeasure such a poor priest as I am: but I trust in our Lorde, that your highnes dothe not soe take it, and that our Lorde woll continewe your highnes' graciouse mynde towards your poore preests and chapleignes; and that he shall sende to them, that cawsleslie provoke the grevouse displeasure of your highnes against our saide preests, better grace hereafter. For which, and for the continuall keeping of your highnes in his governaunce, I shall, as I am most bounde, continuallie praye. From Bishops-Thorpe, the xivth of June, 1535.

Your highnes most humble preest and beadman,

EDWARDE EBOR'.

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NUMBER XXXV.

*A Letter of Cromwell's to the King's Ambassador in France, full of Expostulations.*

[Ex MS. Rymeri.]

August the 23d.

SIR,—After my most heartie recommendations, these shall be to advertise you, that the 17th day of this moneth I receyved from you a packet of letters, which indelayedlie I delyvred unto the king's highnes, and conferred with his grace. Theffecte both of your letters, and all others within the saide packet, being directed aswell to his highnes as to me. And after his highnes had with me perused the hole contents thoroughlie of your saide letters, perceyving not onelie the lykelyhood of the not repairee into Fraunce of Philip Melanchthon, but also your communications had with the Frensh king, upon your demaunde made of the king's highnes' pencions, with also your discrete answers and replications made in that behalf; for the which his majestee gyveth unto you his hertie and condigne thanks. Ye shall understande, that his highnes comaunded me to make you answer in this wise folowing. First, as touching the king's money, his highnes doubtith not, but seeing both the French king, and also the grete mayster, have promised you it shall be depeched; ye will, as the case shall requyre, not cease to call uppon them till it be depeched. And ferther considering, that the said French king, upon youre saide demaunde of the saide pensions, so sodaynelye fell into communication with you, aswell of his frendeship and humanyte shewed to the king's highnes; alledging, that he at all tymes hathe answered for the king's highnes, specially being last at Marcells with pope Clement, with other thyngs, as in your saide letters appereth. As also concernyng the executions lately done here within this realme, the king's highnes not a little mervaileth thereat, and thinketh it good, that as of your self ye take some occasion at convenyent tyme and opertunyte to renovate the saide communication, both with the French king, or at the leest with the grete maister; saying unto them, that where the saide French king alledgeth, that he hathe at all tymes answered for the kyng's highnes in his cause; and specially to the saide pope Clement at Marcells; affirmyng his procedyngs to be just and upright concernyng the matrymony, as ye do wryte in that. Albeit the king's highnes' proceedings, in all his affaires within this realme, being of such equyte and justnes of themself as they be, nedeth not any defence or assistence ayenst pope Clement, or any other foreyn power, having Godde's worde and lawes only sufficient to defende him; yet in that that the saide French kyng hathe, as he sayeth, answered at all tymes on the king's parte, he hathe don nothing but the parte of a brother, in justefieng and verefyeng the trueth; and so continuyng, shall do as apperteneyth to a prynce of honour, which the king's highnes doubtith not he hath, and will doe only in respecte to the veryte and trewth, besid the amyte betwixt them both justlye requyryng the same. And concerning thexecutions don within this realme, ye shall sey to the saide French kyng, that the same were not so marvelous extreme as he alledgeth. For touching Mr. Moore and the bishop of Rochester, with suche others as were executed here, their treasons, conspiracies, and practises secretly practisyd, aswell within the realme as without, to move and styrre discension, and to sowe sedycion within the realme, intending thereby not onelye the distruction of the kyng, but also the whole subversion of his highnes' realme, being explained and declared, and so manifestly proved afore them, that they could not avoyde nor denye it: and they thereof openly detected, and lawfully convicted, adjudged, and condempned of high treason, by the due order of the lawes of this realme, it shall and may well appere to all the worlde, that they having such malice roted in their herts agenst their prynce and sovereigne, and the totall distruction of the comen weale of this realme, were well woerthie, if they had had a thousand lyves, to have suffered ten tymes a more terrible deth and execution then any of them did suffer. And touching suche wordes as the saide French king spake unto you, concerning how Mr. More dyed, and what he saide to his daughter going to his judgement, and also what exhortations he should gyve unto the kyng's subjects, to be trew and obedient to his grace, assuring you that there was no such thing, whereof the grete master promysed you a double at length: in that the king's pleasure is, that ye shall not onelie procure the saide double, and send it hither, but also sey unto the saide French king, that the king's highnes cannot otherwise take it but verye unkyndly, that the saide French king, or any of his counsaile, at whose hands he hathe so moche meryted, and to whom he hathe mynystered so many grete benefits, pleasures, and commodytees, shoulde so lightly gyve eare, faith, and credence, to any such vayne brutes and fleeing tales; not havyng first knowlege or advertisement from the king's highnes here, and his counsaile, of the veryte and trewth; affirming it to be the office of a freinde, hering any suche tales of so noble a prynce, rather to have compressed the bruters thereof to sylence, or at the leest not permitted to have dyvulged the same, untill such tyme as the king's majestee being so dere a frende had ben advertesed thereof, and the trewth knowen, before he shoulde so lightly beleve or alledge any suche reporte. Which ingrate and unkynde demeanure of the saide French king, used in this behalf, argueth playnly not to remayn in his brest such integryte of herte and syncere amyte towards the king's highnes and his proceedings, as his highnes alwayes heretofore hathe expected and loked for: which thing ye may propone and alledge unto the saide French king, and the grete master, or to one of them, with suche modestie and sobrenes, as ye thinke they may perceyve that the king's highnes hathe good and just cause in this parte, somewhat to take their light credence unkyndly. And whereas the saide French king sayeth that touching such lawes as the king's holynes hathe made, he will not medle withall; alledging it not to be mete, that one prynce should desire another to chaunge his lawes; sayeing that his be too olde to be chaunged. To that ye shall say, that such lawes as the king's highnes hath made here be not made without substauncyall grounds, by grete and mature advise, counsaile, and deliberation of the hole polycie of this realme, and are in dede no new lawes, but of grete antiquyte, and many yeres passed, were made and executed within this realme, as now they be renovate and renewed onlie in respecte to the comen weale of the same. And it is not a little to his highnes' mervule, that the saide French king ever would counsaile or advise him, if in case hereafter any such like offenders should happen to be in this realme, that he should rather banysh them, than in such wise execute them. And specyallie considering, that the saide French king himself, in commonyng with you at the tyme, not only confessed the extreme execucyons and grete bruyllie of late don in his realme, but also that he now intendeth to withdraw the same, and to revoke and call home agayn suche as be out of his realme: the king's highnes, therefore, the more straungely taketh his saide advise and counsaile, supposing it to be neither thoffice of a frend, nor of a brother, that he would determyn himself to call home into his realme agayn his subjects being out of the same, for speking agenst the bishop of Rome's usurped auctorite, and counsaile the king's highnes to banyshe his traytours into straunge parts, where they myght have good occasion, tyme, place, and opportunyte to wourke their feats of treason and conspiracie the better agaynst the king's highnes and this his realme: in whiche parte ye shal somewhat engreve the matier after suche sorte as it may well appere to the saide French king, that not only the king's highnes might take those his counsailes and communications both straungely and unkyndely, thinking the same not to procede of mere amyte and friendship, but also using such polycie and austeryte in proponyng the same with the said French king, and the grete maister, taking such tyme and opportunyte as may best serve for the same, as they may well perceyve the king's highnes' proceedings here within the realme, both concerning the saide execucyons and all other things to be onely grounded uppon justice and the equyte of his lawes, which be no new lawes, but auncyet lawes made and established of many yeres, passed within this realme, and now renovate and renewed as it is aforsaide, for the better order, weale, and suretie of the same. And ye may ferther say, that if the French king and his counsaile well consyder, as they ought to do, that it were moch better to advaunce the punyshment of traytours and rebells, for their offences, then to ponyshe such as do speke agenst the usurped auctoryte of the bishop of Rome, who daylie goeth about to suppresse and subdue kyngs and prynces, and their auctoritee gyven to them by Godde's worde; all which matiers the kinge's pleasure is, that ye shall take tyme and occasion, as ye talkyng agayn with the French king, or the grete maister may declare your mynd, as before is prescribed unto you: adding thereunto such matier with such reasons, after your accustomed dexteryte and discression, as ye shall thinke most expedient, and to serve best for the king's purpose, defence of his proceedings, and the profe of the French king's ingratitude, shewed in this behalf; not doubting in your wisdom, good industrie, and discrete circumspection, for thordering and well-handelling of the same accordinglie.

And touching Melanchton, considering there is no likelehood of his repayree into Fraunce, as I have well perceved by your letters, the king's highnes therfore hathe appointed Cristofer Mount, indelaiedlie to take his journey where Melanchton is: and if he can, to prevente monsieur de Langie in suche wise, as the said Melanchton his repayree into Fraunce may be stayed and dyverted into England, not doubting but the same shall take effecte accordinglie.

And as to Mr. Heynes, the king's pleasure is that he shall go to Parys, there to lerne and dissiphre the oppynyons of the lerned men, and their inclinations and affections aswell towards the kyng's highnes proceedings, as to the bishop of Rome his usurped power and auctoryte, after such sorte as the king's saide highnes hathe now wrytten to hym, by his gracious letters addressed both to him and the said Cristofer Mount, dyrecting them what they shall doe in all thyngs commytted to their charge at this tyme, as I doubt not they will put there unto their devoires for the accomplishment of the king's pleasure as apperteyneth. And thus makyng an ende, prayeng you to use your discression in the proponing of the premisses to the French king, and the grete master, or the one or both of them, using the same as a medecyn, and after such sorte, that as nere as ye can, it be not moch displeasantly taken, advertesing the king's highnes from tyme to tyme of the successes therof; and of all other occurraunts as the case shall require. I shall for thys tyme bid you most hertelie farewell, &c.

Thornebery, the 23d day of August.

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NUMBER XXXVI.

*The Engagement sent over by the French King to King Henry, promising that he would adhere to him, in condemning his First, and in justifying his Second Marriage.*

[Paper Office.]

Franciscus Dei Gratia Francorum Rex Christianissimus, omnibus et singulis presentes Lecturis et Audituris salutem. Non honoris solum nostri, verum etiam officii et pietatis ratio illud à nobis efflagitat, ut non modo fortunas, sed etiam fidem, autoritatem, gratiam, et studium omne nostrum adhibeamus, ne cum amici longe charissimi, et de nobis optimè meriti, injuria, justitia etiam et veritas negligantur. Hinc est quod cum Serenissimus et Inuictiss. Princeps Henricus Dei Gratia Angliæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hiberniæ, et Secundum Deum, Supremum in Terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Caput, Charissimus Frater ac Consanguineus et perpetuus Confederatus noster, vigore cujusdam dispensacionis a bonæ memoriæ Julio papa, illius nominis secundo, cum nobili Muliere Catherina, preclaræ memoriæ Ferdinandi et Elisabeth Hispaniarum Regum, Filia, ac preclaræ memoriæ Illustris Principis Arthuri, dicti sereniss. Regis Henrici Fratris Naturalis et Legitimi, relicta, Matrimonium olim de facto contraxerit, et ex eadem in eodem pretenso Matrimonio, Filiam adhuc superstitem Mariam nomine susceperit, cumque idem Serenissimus Rex dicti incesti Matrimonii conscientia motus, à prefata Domina Catherina diverterit, ac justissimus gravissimisque de Causis, nobis etiam satis cognitis et perspectis, ad id inductus, Matrimonium cum Clarissima et Nobilissima Domina Anna nunc Angliæ Regina, rite, legitime et realiter mierit, contraxerit, et in facie Ecclesiæ solemnizaverit, et Preclarissimam Dominam Elizabeth Angliæ Principem ex eadem et in eodem Matrimonio Procreaverit, et susceperit, cumq; preterea super illius Dispensationis et Matrimonii viribus ac justicia, necnon super dictæ Dominæ Mariæ Legitimitate et natalium defectu, multæ gravesque questiones subortæ fuerint, in quibus tractandis ac in judicio et veritate discutiendis, nos bene multis Argumentis perspeximus, non eam (quam oportuit) equitatis rationem ab ipso Pontifice Romano habitam fuisse; et multa sive temporum iniquitate sive hominum vitio contra omne jus phasque in premissis et circa ea definita. Voluimus in hac Causa tam gravi integerimos quosq; Regni nostri viros, ac non modo in Sacra Theologia Peritissimos, verum etiam juris Ecclesiastici Callentissimos consulere: quibus etiam Mandavinus ut quid in tota hac Causa Secundam Deum et conscientiam sentirent, fideliter nobis referrent atque responderent. Quoniam his autem habitis prius inter dictos eruditissimos Viros matura Deliberatione, diligenti Examinatione, ac longo tractatu, nos ex eorum omnium et singulorum unanimi sententia et conformi relatione, liquido comperimus, invenimus, et plene intelleximus, non solum quod dicta dispensatio fuit et est omnino nulla, inefficax et invalida tam propter surreptionis et obreptionis vicia quam propter alias Causas, maxime vero propter Potestatis in dispensante defectum, ex eo viz. Quod Matrimonia cum relictis Fratrum decedentium sine liberis contracta, sint de jure Naturali et Divino prohibita, nec Romanus Pontifex nec ulla alia humana potestas possit dispensare, ut illa aliquo modo legitima fiant aut consistant; verum etiam quod prefatum Matrimonium inter dictum Charissimum Fratrem nostrum ac prefatam nobilem mulierem dominam Catherinam de facto ut prefertur contractum, fuit et est Incestum, ac prorsus nullum, ac etiam contra Sacrosancta Dei percepta, atque adeo contra omnia jura tam Divina quam humana usurpatum, quodque proinde dicta Domina Maria in eodem pretenso Matrimonio ut prefertur, suscepta et procreata, ad omnem juris effectum spuria et illegitima proles, ac ex illicito et incesto coitu genita fuit et est sicque ab omnibus reputari, censeri, et haberi debuit, ac debeat omnino: ac etiam quod dictum Matrimonium quod idem charissimus Frater noster cum dicta clarissima Domina Anne Angliæ Regina contraxit, fuit et est modis omnibus Sacrosanctum, legitimum et validum: quodque dicta Illustris Domina Elisabeth Angliæ Princeps ex eodem Matrimonio suscepta necnon alia quæcumque proles ex eodem Matrimonio, Divina Bonitate in posterum suscipienda, Legitima fuit et est, eritq; et esse debet. Ac deniq; cum non solum multi ex Reverendissimus Romanæ sedis Cardinalibus inter quos imprimis fuit Cardinales ille quondam Aucomtanus, verum etiam nuper bonæ memoriæ Clemens Papa Septimus, ex certa et deliberata Animi sui Sententia, cum nobis ipsis Marsiliæ tunc existentibus, tum alias sæpe Oratoribus nostris tunc Romæ agentibus, palam ac vivæ vocis sue oraculo confessus sit, et expresse declaravit se sentire, dictam Dispensationem et Matrimonium cum dicta Domina Catherina contractum, fuisse et esse nulla prorsus, et de jure invalida, quodque eadem sic fuisse et esse per suam sententiam definitinam seu finale decretum, declarasset, pronunciasset, et definivisset si privati quidam affectus et respectus humani non obstitissent. Nos igitur Franciscus Francorum Rex antedictus, ut justum veritati suffragium serentes, simul et justissimæ charissimi Fratris nostri Causæ patrocinemur, notum facimus et in publicam testationem deduci volumus, per presentes, quod nos primam quidem dictam dispensationem quæ a dicto Julio Secundo ut predicitur emanavit, nullam prorsus ac minus validam, et ex dictis causis inefficacem irritam et inanem fuisse semper, et esse, deinde ipsum Matrimonium quod ejusdem Dispensationis virtute cum dicta Domina Catherina olim de facto contractum fuit, incestuosum, nullum ac omnino illegitimum, ac naturali Juri et Divinæ contrarium fuisse et esse, ac pro incestuoso, nullo minusque legitimo haberi debere: denique dictam Dominam Mariam ex eo Matrimonio ut premittitur susceptam, prorsus illegitimam et ad succedendum in Paterna Hereditate prorsus inhabilem fuisse et esse, et pro tali haberi censerique debere, reputamus, acceptamus, judicamus, asserimus, censemus et affirmamus. Similiter reputamus acceptamus, judicamus, asserimus, censemus et affirmamus quod Matrimonium illud quod idem Serenissimus Rex et Charissimus Frater noster, cum prefata Illustrissima Domina Anna contraxit, fuit et est modis omnibus Sacroscanctum, legitimum et validem, et quod proles ex eodem Matrimonio suscepta seu suscipienda, maxime autem dicta clarissima Domina Elisabeth nunc Angliæ Princeps ex eisdem ut prefertur procreata, ad omnem juris effectum legitima fuit et est, eritque et esse debet. Quodque non solum omnia et singula quæ dictus Serenissimus Rex et Charissimus Frater noster, pro confirmando et stabiliendo hujusmodi Matrimonio suo quod cum præfata Illustrissima Domina Anna Angliæ Regina contraxit, necnon predictæ Dominæ Elisabeth Filiæ suæ, ac aliorum liberorum qui ex hoc Matrimonio procreabuntur, Legitima et Hereditaria in Regnum suum Successione, statuit, ordinavit, aut promulgavit, justissimis fundamentis innitantur et subsistant, verum etiam quod omnia et singula sententiæ, censuræ, decreta, alii quicumque processus et judicia contra præmissa, ac eorum occasione per bonæ memoriæ Clementem nuper Pontificem Romanum, aut alium quemcunque Judicem, sive aliam Autoritatem quamcunque facta, edita, aut promulgata, aut imposterum edenda, ferenda, facienda sive promulganda, sint ipso jure nulla, irrita, injusta et iniqua, ac pro talibus haberi, reputari, adjudicari, et censeri debere certo credimus, constanter attestamur, censemus, asserimus, et affirmamus per presentes. Promittimus insuper in fide ac verbo Regio, ac sub Hypotheca omnium bonorum nostrorum patrimonialium et fiscalium, necnon bonorum subditorum nostrorum, etiam in forma contractus Garenticii Paratam Executionem habentis, obligamus nos, Heredes et Successores nostros, dicto Serenissimo Henrico Charissimo Fratri nostro, Heredibus et Successoribus suis, quod nos hanc Animi nostri Sententiam, et Judicium, quod super Præmissis nos habere vere et ex Animo Declaravimus, semper et ubique locorum, maxime autem in omnibus et singulis futuris Synodis, aut Conciliis generalibus, et coram quibuscunque Judicibus, necnon apud et contra omnes Homines; quicunque eidem Sententiæ nostræ quacunque ratione adversabuntur, cujuscunque Autoritatis, pre-eminenciæ aut Dignitatis, etiam si Supremæ fuerint, per nos ac nostros subditos quoscumque, tam in Judicio quæ extra, manutenebimus propugnabimus, ac si opus fuerit, etiam manu forti defendemus, ac pro viribus justificabimus: nec ullo unquam modo aut tempore imposterum publice aut occulte, directe aut indirecte, eidem Sententiæ nostræ contraveniemus: nec quicquam unquam attemptabimus moliemur, aut faciemus, nec ab aliis imposterum cujuscunque Autoritatis fuerint, fieri aut attemptari quantum in nobis est, permittemus, quod in irritationem, enervationem, prejudicium, aut in contrarium huic nostræ Sententiæ cedat, aut cedere possit quovismodo. In cujus Rei Testimonium, &c.

Marked on the back thus:—

Instrument of Francys the First, king of France, whereby he justifieth the mariage of king Henry the VIIIth with queen Anne, and declareth the invalidity of the former with q. Catherin, notwithstanding the pope's dispensation.

In another place, on the back, and with another ancienter hand (I believe, Cromwell's):—

An Instrument devised from the French king, for his justification and defence of the invalidity of the king's highnes' fyrst mariage, and the validyte of the seconde.



## BOOK III.

NUMBER XXXVII.

*Cranmer's Letter to Cromwell; justifying himself, upon some Complaints made by Gardiner.—An Original.*

Right worshipful, in my moste hartie wise I commend me unto you, most hartely thankyng you, for that you have signified unto me by my chapleyn master Champion, the complaynte of the bishope of Wynchester unto the king's highnes, in two thyngs concernyng my visitation. The one is, that in my stile I am written, "Totius Angliæ Primas," to the derogation and prejudice of the king's highe power and authoritie, beyng supreme hedde of the church. The other is, that his dioces (not paste five yeres agon) was visited by my predecessor, and muste from hensfurthe paye the tenth parte of the spiritualties, accordyng to the acte granted in the last session of this parliament; wherfore he thinketh, that his dioces shuld not be charged with my visitation at this tyme. Fyrste, as concernyng my stile, wherin I am named Totius Angliæ Primas. I suppose, that to make his cause good (which els in dede were nawghte), he doth myxe it with the kyng's cause (as ye knowe the man lacketh neither lernyng in the lawe, neither witty invention, ne crafte to sett furth his matiers to the best), that he myght appere not to maynteyne his own cause, but the kyng's; agaynst whose highnes, he knoweth right well, that I may maynteyne no cause; but gyve place, and lay both my cause and self at my prince's feet. But to be playne, what I think of the bishope of Winchester, I cannot persuade with my self, that he so much tendereth the king's cause, as he dothe his own, that I shuld not visite him: and that appereth by the very tyme. For if he cast no farther but the defence of the kyng's grace's authoritie, or if he entended that at all, why moved he not the matier, before he receyved my monytion for my visitation; whiche was within four myles of Winchester delyvered unto hym the 24th day of April last, as he came up to the court? Moreover, I do not a little marvaile why he shuld now fynde faute, rather than he did before, whan he took the bishop of Rome as cheff hedd: for though the bishope of Rome was taken for supreme hedd, notwithstanding that, he had a great nombre of primates under hym; and by having his primates under hym, his supreme authoritie was not less esteemed, but much the more. Why then may not the kyng's highnes, beyng supreme hedde, have primates under hym, without any dymynyshing, but with the augmentyng of his said supreme authoritie. And of this I doubt not at all, but that the bishope of Winchester knoweth as well as any man lyving, that in case this said stile, or tytle, had byn in any poynt impedment or hinderance to the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, it would not have so long ben unreformed as it hath byn. For I doubt not, but all the bishopes of England would ever gladly have hadd the archbishop's both authoritie, and the title taken away, that they myght have byn equall together; which well appereth by the many contentions agaynst the archbishops, for jurisdiction, in the courte of Rome; which had ben easily brought to pass, if the bishops of Rome had thought the archbishopes' titles and stiles to be any derrogation to their supreme authority. All this notwithstandyng, yf the bishops of this realme passe no more of their names, stiles and titles, than I do of myn, the kyng's highnes shall sone order the matter between us all. And if I saw that my stile were agaynst the kyng's authoritie (wherunto I am specially sworne) I would sew my self unto his grace, that I myghte leave it; and so wolde have don before this tyme. For, I pray God never be mercyfull unto me at the generall judgement, if I perceyve in my hert, that I sett more by any title, name, or stile that I write, than I do by the paryng of an apple, farther than it shall be to the settyng furthe of God's worde and will. Yet I will not utterly excuse me herin, for God must be judge, who knoweth the botome of my harte, and so do not I my self: but I speake forsomuch as I do fele in my harte, for many evill affections lye lurkyng ther, and will not lightly be espied. But yet I would not gladly leave any juste thyng at the pleasure and sute of the bishop of Winchester, he beyng none otherwise affectionate unto me than he is. Even at the begynyng furst of Christ's profession, Diotrephes desyred "gerere Primatum in Ecclesia," as saith St. John in his last Epistell. And syns, he hath had more successours than all the apostles hadd, of whom have come all theis glorious titles, stiles, and pompes into the churche. But I would, that I, and all my brethren the bishopes, wold leave all our stiles, and write the stile of our offices, callyng our selves "Apostolos Jesu Christi": so that we toke not upon us the name vaynly, but were so even in dede; so

that we myghte ordre our dioces in suche sorte, that neither paper, parchemente, leade nor wexe, but the verie Christian conversation of the people, myght be the letters and seales of our offices, as the Corinthians were unto Paule, to whome he said, "Literæ nostræ, et Signa Apostolatûs nostri vos estis."

Now for the seconde; where the bishope of Winchester allegeth the visitation of my predecessour, and the tenth parte now to be paid to the kyng. Truth it is, that my predicessour visited the dioces of Wynchester, after the decesse of my lord cardynall, as he did all other dioces (Sede vacante); but els I thynke it was not visited by none of my predecessours this forty yeres. And notwithstandyng that, he hymself not considering thair charges, at that tyme charged them with an newe visitation, within lesse than half a yere after; and that agaynst all righte, as doctour Incent hath reported to my chancellour, the clergie at that tyme paying to the kyng half of their benefices in five yeres, whiche is the tenth parte every yere, as they paid before, and have paid syns, and shall pay still for ever by the laste acte. But I am verie gladde, that he hath now some compassion of his dioces, although at that tyme he had verie smale, whan he did visite them the same yere that my predecessour did visite. And also other bishops, whos course is to visite this yere, kepe thair visitation, (where I did visite the last yere) notwithstanding the tenth parte to be paid to the kyng's grace. Howbeit I do not so in Wynchester dioces, for it is now the third yere syns that dioces was visited by any man, so that he hath the leste cause to complayne of any bishop, for it is longer syns his dioces was visited than the other. Therefore where he layeth to aggravate the matter, the charge of the late acte graunted, it is no more agaynste me, than agaynst all other bishops that do visit this yere, nor makyth no more agaynst me this yere, than it made agaynst me the laste yere, and shall do every yere hereafter. For if ther were true men, in accomptyng and paying the kyng's subsidie, they are no more charged by this newe acte, than they were for the space of ten yeres past, and shall be charged ever hereafter. And thus to conclude, yf my saide lorde of Wynchester's objections shuld be allowed this yere, he myght (by such arguments) both disallowe al maner of visitations that hath be down thes ten yeres past, and that ever shall be don hereafter. Now I pray you, good maister Secretary, of your advice, whither I shall nede to writte unto the kyng's highnes herin. And thus our Lorde have you ever in his preservation. At Otteforde, the xiith daye of Maye. Your own ever assured

THOMAS CANTUAR'.

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NUMBER XXXVIII.

*A Letter of Barlow's to Cromwell, complaining of the Bishop and Clergy of St. David's.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4, p. 107.]

PLEASETH your good mastership, with compassion to advertise the complaynt and unfayned peticions of your humble oratour, disquietly vexed without cause or any pretenced occasion, motioned of your said oratour's parte: whereas the queen, of her graciouse bounte, advouched me not unworthy the priorship of Haverford West, under her grace's foundation, syns the tyme of my ther continuall residence; considerynge the hungry famyne of heryng the word of God, and desolate scarcete of true preachers, I have endeveryd my self, with no small bodily dainger against Antichrist, and all his confederat adherents, sincerely to preach the gospell of Christ; whose verite, as it is invincible, so it is incessantly assailted of faithles false perverters; by reason wherof, they which of dutie ought to fortifie me in mayntenyng the truth, maliciously have conceived a malevolent mynde, causles to maligne against me in such wise, that I was forced (from their tyranny) to appele unto the kyng his honourable councills; as plainly apperith by the untrue, surmised articles, falsely contrived by the black freer of Haverford West; which thoughe I presented to your mastership, as the acte of his onely doing, yet was it the mayntenans of the bishop, and his ungostly spirituall officers; which is evident by the reward of the bishop to the freer, at his departyng allso by his letters directed to Mr. Dean of the Arches, and to doctor Huys, diligently to sollicite that I myght be suppressed in my just matter: and where they sithe perceive that (praise be to God) under the favour of your righteouse equite, they cannot prevaile against me as they willfully would, yet cease they not wrongfully to vex such as pertayne to me, troblyng them with tyranny for my sake, no such tyranny deserving. As, where of late I sent a servant home about certain busines; immediatly after his comyng, the bishop's officers ascited hym to apperance, ransacking his house, forced him to deliver such books as he had; that is to say, an Englishe Testament, the Exposition of the vth and vith chapters of Matthew, the Tenn Commandments, and the Epistle of Saynte John; violently with holding them with vehement reproches, and clamorouse exclamations against heretikes: as if to have the Testament in English were horrible heresie, to no litle dismaying and ferefull discomfort of the sincere favorers of God's word. Moreover, they charged in the kyng's name, the maire of Tynby, in payne of fyve hundreth markes, to put in warde the said poore man, his wiff, and a certain honest widdowe of inculpable fame, with whom they were at host, laying certen articles to their charge which they never thought nor spake, and after most shamefull rumors raysed upp to their dyffamation, with slanderouse wonderment of the towne, all crayfty means assayded to bryng in false witnes, when no accuser would appear openly; as a true certificat under the town's seal largely doth testify; the above-mencyoned officers without any charitable satisfaction to the said parties wrongfully imprisoned, bad the maire do with them as he listed; and so thens departyng made their advaunt in places where they came of their valyant actes against hereticks, meaning thereby the favourers of Christ's gospell: in consideration whereof, it may please your singular goodnes to provide a redress, that from the terrour of such tyrannes, the king's faythfull subjects your porre oratoures maye peaceable live according to God's lawes, without any suche unchristen empeschment, and combrose vexations.

Furthermore unfayndly to assertain your maistership in what perilous case greatly lamentable the king's faithfull subjects, the poore Resians in the dioces of Saynt David, your suppliant oratours are miserably ordered under the clergy, requireth a farre larger processe then here maye conveniently be comprised: for though we have semblably to other dioceses, in outwarde auctorite and exterior ceremonies a bishope, a suffrigan, archdeacons, deanes, commissaries, and other bishoplike officers, intitled with spirituall names; also a multitude of mounks, cannons, freers, and secular pristes; yet among them all, so many in number, and in so large a dioces, is there not one that sincerely preacheth God's word, nor scarce any that hartely favorith hit, but all utter enemys ther against, whose stubborne resistence cannot last without froward rebellion against the king's graciouse actes established upon the verite of God's word. And concerning the



enormous vices, the fradulent exactions, the mysordered lyving, and heathyn idolatry, shamefully supported under the clergies jurisdiction, which by sequele of theyr blynd willful ignorance, do consequently follow, no dioces, I suppose, more corrupted, nor so far out of frame, without hope of reformacion, except your lordship shall see a redresse, in whom, under the kyng's grace, the trust of all those that meane well onely consistyth. Fynally theyr abused fashiones at length to discover at your commandment; I shall be ready with such certente of truth, that no advirsary shall be able to make contrary denyall; which so performed, it may then please your good mastershipe to licence me to departe, under the lawfull favour of your protection; without the which, nether can I without perell repair home, nor there in safte contynue, among so odiouse adversaries of Christ's doctrine, by whose tyranny, that I may not be unjustly opprest, I most humbly beseeche your assistant aide, howbeit no farder then the write of Scripture will justifie my cause; nether for no carnall commodite of any worldly preferment, but all onely for the advancement of Christ's gospell, to the honour of God, who evermore graciously presearve your mastershipe in honourable felicite.

Your humble oratour,

WILLIAM BARLO,
Prior of Haverford-West.

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NUMBER XXXIX.

*A Letter of Dr. Legh's, concerning their Visitation at York.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4, p. 104.]

To Mr. Cromwell, Chief Secretary.

RYGHT worshipful sir, my dewty pre-supposed, this is to advertise you, that master doctor Layton and I, the xith day of January, war with the archbishop of Yorke, whom we according to your pleasure and precepts have visyted: injoyning him to preach and teach the word of God (according to his bownd dewty) to his cure committed unto him, and allso in the knowledge concerning the prerogative power the king's grace have, and to see others here in his jurisdiction being induyd with good qualities, having any respect either to God's goodnes, vertue, or godlines, to performe the same, injoyning moreover to him to bring up unto you his first, second, and third foundations, wheruppon he enjoyeth his office, and prerogative poore, with the graunts, privelegis and concessions given to him, and to his see apperteyning; the which whan that you have red them, and knowe in all points the hole effect of them, I doe not doubt, but that ye shall see and rede many things worthy reformation. By the knowledge whereof, I suppose the king's highnes and you will be glad, and do think it mete that every bishope war in likewise orderyd: then shuld they, them under the governances edifye much in Christ in his doctrine and teachings: and then the poor ignorante persons now by blindnes and ignorance sedusid, might therby be brought to light and knowledge, wherby they should profit muche, the welthe of their own soules, and the commynaltye: and it should be greatly expedient to the conservation of their fidelite toward their prince, and to his grace's succession now begotten, or hereafter to be begotten. Now that I have enformed your mastership of our acts and deeds, done to a good ende, as our opinion serve us, that shall lie in your circumspecte prudencye and wisdom to order all things, as ye shall think to your approved discretion most mete, and to the farderans of the glory of God, and preservation of the common wealthe, most expedient and necessary. For in the same jurisdictions given heretofore either augmented or diminished, to be ministred to their bishops as wall be thought to your wisdom most convenient; I do not dowght but it shall be much profitable, and commodious both to the king's highnes, and to your mastership, as knoweth God, who ever preserve your mastership. From Yorke the xiiith day of January.

Yours ever assured,

THOMAS LEGH.

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NUMBER XL.

*A Letter of Tonstall's upon the King's ordering the Bishops to send up their Bulls.—An Original.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6, p. 246.]

RIGHT honorable, in my humble maner I recommend me unto your good mastership. Advertising the same, that I have of late receivd a letter from master doctor Layton, declaring unto me that ye willyd him to write unto me, that albeit the kings highnes hath directed his letters missives to all and singular his bishops in this his realme, to appere before his grace immediately after the feast of the Purificacyon next cominge, to the intent that they shall deliver up unto his grace's handes all their bullys of confirmation, or such other like, as they have had from Rome at any time heretofore; yet his grace consideringe my late departure thens, for my more ease and quietnes, is well content that I make mine abode here, so that I write unto his grace a letter, therin declaringe that I will be content to doe as other bishops do in this behalf, and to gife up into his handes all suche bullys as his grace's pleasure is to have of me. Advertising me further, that your mastership, as my great frende hath promised to the king, that I will accomplishe the king's desire and pleasure herin: for whiche your most great kindnes not only shewed unto me many times heretofor, but allso nowe renewid at this time, with making of such assurance for me to the king's highnes I most humbly thanke your mastership. Advertising the same, that forasmuch as I could not perceive by any part of master Layton's letters to what intent the kinge's highnes wold have the said bulles delivered into his handes; and if in my letter to be written unto his grace I shuld mistake his entent, I shuld not only therby offende his grace, which I would be as lothe to doe as any subject within his realme, but also make him to be displeased with my kinsman, that so blindly had written unto me, and peradventure with your mastership for usinge him for your secretary in this behalf: considering with my self the hole effect of the same, better to be to have my bulles into his hands, thought that most best to send up the said bulles there to be ready to be delivered at his grace's will and pleasure: humbly beseechinge your mastership to move the king's highnes to be good and graciouse soveraigne lord unto me, and to consider if I shuld nowe in my age leif my bishoprich, which I trust his grace of his goodnes meanith not to make me to doe, by demandinge of my bulles to be delivered into his handes, that shuld not only disapoint me of my liffinge, but many other my servants his subjects, that have their liffinge only by me, who if I shuld leve my promotion shuld be thereby destitute of succour; which being my speciall trust that his grace of his inestimable goodnes will have respect unto, and that my mind herein, not to lefe my promotion, is neither ambiciouse nor unreasonable, nor contrary to his grace's entent, I have sent up the said bulles there to be redye, whiche

thinge sens that is more then I was willed to doe by master Layton's letter. I have forborne to wryte unto his grace that I wold do that, seinge I do indeed accomplishe his grace's pleasure. Praynge humbly your mastership upon advertisement geffen to the king's highnes, hereof to know his will and pleasure what he will have to be done, and the same so knowne to declare unto this bearer William Redmayn, who therupon shall deliver the said bullys into your hands, or to whom the king's grace will appoynt to receyve them, yf the king's will and pleasure be to have them. Which I doe undoubtedly trustinge that the kinge's highnes will be as good to me, as he is to other bishops of his realme beinge in like case, seinge I had them by him, and did renounce all things conteynd in them contrary to his prerogative royall, at suche time as I presented to his grace his bull unto him, as that will appere by the othe of my homage remayninge with the said bull in the king's records now beynge in your keeping, as all bishops ever have been accustumyd to doe by the laws of this realm heretofore used. The bulls that I do send remayning in my handes concerning my bishopryche be v. in number, the other were delyvered to whom they were directed: one to the king's highnes, an other to my lord cardinall, then being my metropolitan, whose soul God pardone, an other to my late lord of Rochester to take my othe to the bishop of Rome, which I think was sent up to Rome with the othe as hathe been accustomyd to be done. And so those that I nowe send did remayne still in my handes. And other bulles then these have I noon, humblye beseechng your mastership in all mine affayrs to be good master unto me, and to be meane unto the king's highnes to be good and graciouse soveraigne lorde unto me, and I shall according to my most bounden dewty, daily pray for the preservation of his royall estate longe to endure; and likewise I shall contynewe daily beedman to your mastership, whom Almighty Jhesu preserve in long life and good healthe to his pleasure and yours. From Aukelande the xxixth day of January.

Your mastershipe's humble beedman.

CUTHBERT DURESME.

NUMBER XLI.

*A Letter of the Archbishop of York's, concerning the Suppression of the Monasteries.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4, p. 239.]

RIGHT honourable, after my hertiest commendation. According to your request made to me in your letters, I have furthwith upon the receipte of the same, sent commandement to certayne monasteries for beeing with me to Yorke, where I was than; and now I have given commandement to all archdeacons, to warne all monasteries, of less yearly value than two hundred pound, being within their archdeaconries, that they shall nothing imbecille, ne alien: and if they have, that they shall agayne call such things aliened, or imbecilled, to their hands. Some that were noted to have received some goods of suche monasteries, I called and warned, that they shold in no wiese meddle with any such goods; and that if they had any such, that they shold restore them: and ferthermore, if any such goods shall be offred to them, that they shold give me warning. And forbicause most resorte for such propose is to the citie of Yorke, I have warned the majour of Yorke, and other of his brodren thereof, and speciallie the maister of the Mynt, upon their peril and daunger, that they receive no goods of any such monastries. And ferther herin I entend to do from time to time, as I shall see nede, and daily do warn such as do resort to me, that they meddle not with any such goods, that by them this commandment may be the more published, as I trust it shall be now by the archdeacons officials, which be nowe all abrode, and have speciall commandment to sett furthe this propose.

Sir, I entierlie pray you to be good to me, for two places of the patronaige of the archbishopps of Yorke, that if you shall thinke opon such considerations as I alledge, that I have reason to sue for them, as you woll help me with your good word, that they be not suppressed. The one of them named Sanicte Oswalde's, is not of foundation a monasterie of religious men, but is "Libera Capella Archiepiscopi." No man hathe title in it but the archbishop: the prior therof is removable at my pleasure, and accomptable to me; and the archbishoppe may put ther, if he woll, seculer prestes, and so would I have done at my entre, if I had not ther found one of myne acquayntance, whom I judged meete to be there under me. And moreover, the archbishops of Yorke had it given to them by William Rufus, in exchange for recompense, as well of lands as jurisdiction, taken from them at the coming in of William Conqueror, as appereth in my registres, and other old books. And in the same it appereth, that the said chapell enjoyeth all privileges, like as all other the kinge's free chapells; for it was some tyme "Libera Capella Regia:" and for the defence of the said privilaiges, and jurisdiction ther, my predecessours have alwaies had writts from the king, agaynst all disturbers; because it is no other but "Libera Capella," and some tyme was the kinge's.

The other is called Hexham, upon the borders of Scotland, and was some tyme "Sedes Episcopalis;" and many holie men, some time bishops, ther be buried in that church, saincts of name. And wise men, that knowe the borders, think, that the lands therof, although they were ten tymes asmuch, cannot contrevaile the damaige, that is like to ensue, if it be suppressed. And some waye, there is nevar a house between Scotland and the lordshipp of Hexham; and men feare, if the monasterie go down, that in processe all shall be waste muche within the land. And what comfort that manosterie is daylie to the contre ther, and speciallie in tyme of warre, not onlie the contre men do knowe, but also many of the noble men of this realme, that hath done the king's highnes service in Scotland. I dout not, but that the land of that monasterie is better than two hundred pound by year; as likewise the archbishop's lands, war much better if they laye in a quiet place. Some of my predicessours have had ther 1300 marcs by year, and now it is (*communibus annis*) undre 250. I entierlie pray you, if you think that I have reason, send for these two, that you woll help me to save them. And as for Hexham, I think it is necessarie to be considred, as (I think) they that knowe the borders woll saie.

Sir, according to the king's commandment, I have generally given commandment, that no prechers shall be suffred, that withoute discretion preche novelties, and (as you right wiselie consider'd) do rather sowe seeds of dissention, than do any good: and some such as I have heard to use such preaching, I have discharged; and yet they preach: but I make processe agaynst them; and some of them say, they will get licence of the kyng to preach. If they obteine any such licence, I then am discharged for them that have such licence. But I trust, that you woll suffer no such licence to pass, but that I shall knowe therof: and what your pleasure is than, if they preach such novelties, I pray you I may know by this bearer. Some say, they have licence of my lord of Canterbury; but, I trust, they have no such: and if they have, none shall be obeyde here, but onlie the kyng's and yours. And this in my hertiest maner. Fare you well. From Cawed, the xxiiid of April 1536.

Your own ever assured

EDWARD EBOR'.



NUMBER XLII.

*Instructions for sending Barnes and others to Germany.—An Original.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6, p. 330.]

MASTER SECRETARY,—After our most hartie commendations, ye shall understand, that having received the letters sent unto you from sir John Wallop, and shewed the same unto the king's majestie, his pleasure thereupon was, that we shuld dispatch these our letters incontinently unto you, concernyng the accomplishment and doing of these things ensuing. First, his grace's pleasure, that you shall immediatly (upon the receipt herof) despech Barnes in post, with Deryk in his company, into Germany, commanding him to use such diligence in his jornaye, that he may and it be possible, meet with Melancton before his aryvall in France: and in case he shall so meet with him, not only to dissuade his going thither; declaring how extremely the French king doth persecute those that will not grante unto the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction; using in this parte all persuasions, reasons and means, that he can devise, to empech and let his said jornay thither; laying unto him how much it shold be to his shame and reproch to vary and go nowe from that true opinion wherin he hath so long contynued; but allso, on the other side, to persuade him all that he may, to convert his said jornay hither, shewing as well the conformitie of his opinion and doctrine here, as the nobilitie and vertues of the king's majestie, with the good entertaynement which undoubtedly he shall have here at his grace's hands. And if percase the said Barnes shall not meet with him before his arryvall in France, then the said Barnes proceeding himself forth in his jornay towards the princes of Germany, shall (with all diligence) returne in post to king's highnes the said Deryk, with advertisement of the certaintie of the said Melanct cummyng into France, and such other occurrants as he shall then know. And if the said Deryk be not now redy to go with him, the king's pleasure is, that ye shall, in his stede, appoint and sende such one other with the said Barnes as you shall think meet for that purpose.

And when the said Barnes shall arrive with the said princes of Germany, the king's pleasure is, he shall (on his grace's behalf) aswell perswade them to persist and continue in their former good opinion, concerning the deniall of the bishop of Rome's usurped autoritie, declaring their own honour, reputation, and suretie, to depend therupon; and that they now may better mayntain their said just opinion therin then ever they might, having the king's majestie (one of the most noble and puissant princes of the world) of the like opinion and judgment with them; who having proceeded therin by great advise, deliberation, consultation, and judgments (of the most part) of the great and famous clerks in Christendome, will in no wise relent, vary, or alter in that behalf. Like as the said Barnes may declare and shew unto them, by a book made by the dean of the chaple, and asmany of the bishop's sermons as you have. Whiche booke you shall receive herwith: the copie wherof, and of the said sermons, you must deliver unto the said Barnes, at his departure, for his better remembrance, and just occasion. To whom also his grace's pleasure is, you shall shew as muche of master Wallop's letter (which we send you also again) as you shall see drawen and market with a penne in the margent of the same. As also exhorte and move them, in any wise to beware how they commit any of their affaiers to the order, direction, or determination of the French king, considering he and his counsell be altogether papist, and addict and bent to the maintenance and conservation of the bishop of Rome's pretended auctoritie. Furthermore, the king's pleasure is, ye shall, uppon the receipt herof, immediatly cause Mr. Haynes, and Christopher Mount, in post to repair into France, to sir John Wallop, in as secrete maner as they canne; as commyng like his friend, to visit him, and not as sent by the king. And in case they shall (by him or otherwise) lerne and know that Melanchthon is there arryved; then his grace woll that the said Haynes and Mount shall (in such sort as they be not much noted) resorte unto him: and for the desuading of the contynuance there, or the alteration of his opinion, and the alluring of him hither, to use suche reasons and persuasions as be before written, with suche other as they canne further devise for that purpose. To the which Haynes and Mount, the king's pleasure is, ye shall delyver like copies of the said dean's book, and bishop's sermons, to be shewed unto the said Melanchthon, or otherwise used, as may be most expedient for the atchievement of the king's purpose in that behalfe.

Ye shall allso understande that the king's pleasure is, ye shall write to sir John Wallop, and send unto him therwith like copies, willing him, in case he shall have certain knowledge that the articles be true (written in these his letters) concernyng the French king's sending into Germany, for the contynuance of the bishop of Rome's pretended supremacy, to repair with the said copies to the French king; and not only to set the same forth, with such reasons as he canne devise in that parte, shewing how much it shall be against his honour, both to give himself subject to the said bishop, and to move other to do the semblable; but allso to declare unto him that the king's highnes (remembring his old friendly promises, concernyng the mayntenance of his cause, and of his proceedings touching the same) cannot but think it a little strange that the said French king (seeing his majestie hath, in his doings touching the said bishop of Rome, moved neither his nor any prince's subjects) will move and styr the Germaynes to condescend uppon a contrary opinion, both to themselfs and to his grace in this behalfe: and that his majestie must nedes think his amytie muche touched in that he shulde move any state or contrey, to do that thing which is so much against the king's highnes and his own promise, using all the wayes he canne to disuade him from the dishonorable obedience of the said bishops, soe moving him to inclyne to the king's jnst opinion touching the same.

Finally, the king's pleasure is, ye shall write an other letter to the bishop of Aberden, signifieng that the king's majestie taketh it very unkindly that the king his nephew wold now embrace without his advice or counsail, being his derest freinde and uncle, and now in leage and amytee with him, the marriage of M. de Vandom's daughter, wherunto he would give non eare at his grace's overture hertofor made of the same; in your said letter, imputing a greate negligence therin to the said bishop, and other of his master's counsail, seeing their master sheweth not, in the doing therof, suche amytie towards the king's highnes as the friendship between them doth require: and to make an ende, his grace woll in no wise that Barnes or Haynes shall tary for any further instructions of the

bishope of Cantorbury, or any other, having his grace determyned to sende the same after, by Mr. Almoner and Hethe; but that he, Mr. Haynes, and Mount, shall withall possible diligence departe immediately in post, without longer tarieng thenne for this their dispatche shall be necessary, soe as their abode empeche not the king's purpose touching the said Melancton: and thus fare youe most hartly well, from Langley in much haste, this Monday at iij of the clock, at after noone.

Your lovyng friend, T. Norfolk.
George Rocheford.

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NUMBER XLIII.

*The Smalcaldick League.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6, p. 303.]

By the grace of God, we John Frederich duke of Saxony, high mareshall of the empire of Rome, and prince elector, lantgrave of Truringie, and marquis of Misne, aswell in our own name as in the name of the noble prince John Ernest, likewise duke of Saxonye, our most beloved brother, Philippe, Ernest, Francis, brethren dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburg; Ulrich duke of Wortenberg, and in Deck, erle in Montbelyard; Philipp lantgrave of Hessen, erle of Catts in Dietz, Zigenham and Nyer; Berminus and Philip, dukes of Stetin, Pomern, Cassaburn, Wenden, princes of Rug, erles in Guskan; Wolfgang John, George, and Joachim, brethren princes in Anhalt, erles of Ascanion, and lords in Bernburg; Gebhard and Albert, brethren, erles and lords in Mansfeld; the consules, decurions, tribunes, senate, and people of the within-named cities of the High-Germany, Saxon, and Hanse, or on the see—that is to say, Argentina, Augusta, Frankford, Constantia, Ulme, Esling, Rentling, Memingia, Linde, Bibrac, Isua, Magdeburgh, Breme, Brunswick, Goslaria, Hamibria, Gottingia, Embeck, Hamburgha, Lubeck, and Myndia, do profess by these our letters, in the name of us, our heyres and successors, and do signifie to all men that seen the state of this season, is every where very perillouse, and appereth so, that many men are about and practise to disturbe, such as do cause and suffer the syncere doctrine of the gospell to be preached and taught in their dukedoms, provinces, cities, and territories (by the grace of God), and which (abolishing all abuses) doe studie to bring in ceremonies consenting to the word of God: and efforce them selfs to divert them from Christ's doctrine; yea, by force and violence; and seen also that the office of every Christian magestrate is not only to suffer that the syncere worde of God be preached to his subjects; but also, with all his studye, care, and sollicitude to provide (to his power) that the holesome doctrine of the gospell and the truth, onse known and professed, be not violently extorted, and they deprived of the same; for this cause we doe knowledg that it is our most duetie and necessitie, of the offices of our magestrate, in case nowe or hereafter it shuld happen, that any man wold attempt and assay to diverte us, or our subjects, by force or dede, from the worde of God, and the truth known; and to bring in again and restore the ungodlie ceremonies and abuses already abolished (which God by his good clemence woll forbyd, as we trust that no man woll attempt such thing), for to represse such violence and perill from the bodys and souls of us and our subjects, by the grace of God, and for to excuse and avoid the same to the praise of God, to the augmentation of the syncere doctrine of the gospell, and to the conservation of the uniform estate, tranquillite, and honestie publick, in the empire, for the love of the nation of Alemayne; and also for the commendation, honour, and good of our dukedoms, provinces, lordships, and cities, onely to provide for the cause of our defence and tuicion; the which is permitted to every man, not onely by the lawe of nature and of men, but also by the law written. Therefore we have assembled and concluded to give and be bound eche to other of a Christian, lawfull and friendly leage and confederation, and by the vertue, fource, and reason of this our letters, we agree, conclude, and bynde our selfs eche to other upon a confederation, with the conditions that followeth, that is to say, that all and every of us shall be bound to favour eche other hartely and truely, and to warne eche other of all imminent danger, and to avoid it; and that noon of us, openly or secretly, shall willingly give passage to the enemy, or adversaries of the other, nor to warn or support them.

And because this confederation is onely made for cause of our tuicion and defense, and not to the entent that any of us shall move warr, if ther shall happen any of us, whatsoever he be, to be violently assawted for the word of God, the doctrine of the gospell and our faith, or for such other causes as do depend of the word of God, the doctrine of the gospell, or our faith, or be annexed thereunto; or if under any other pretext or colour, there shuld be any violence attempted against any of us, and that we the rest, which shuld not then be invaded myght thinke and judge that such werr, or violence, shuld be moved for the cause of the word of God, or of the religion; and that he to whom the werr or violence is imminent, wold permitt it to our knowledge, arbitracion, and deciseon; that then we all the rest of this confederacion, and every of us, that be comprehended in this Christen confederacion shall be bound to take no lesse to herte, and take in hand as diligentely to provide for the same, incontinently as such persons that be invaded, shall require our help, or that we shall knowe it (with all our power), as though we shuld be assawted our selfs, and for our own proper cause: and therefore without any delaye, and without any decepte or gyle, without taryeng for any other, with all our might and power, we shall be bound to succour, defend, and helpe him that shall he assawted, after such form and manner as for the qualitie and circumstances of the thing and the tyme it shall be adjudged most util and most commodiouse to the rest of us; and like as the fidelite and charite to be given and shewed to the neighbors upon his conscience and salut shall teach him, and that we shall truely administer and deale oon with another. And that in such case never oon of us shall agree, compound, or make any transaction or trewes without the assent and will of the rest.

Also that this our Christen confederation shall be taken and understanden to be in no wise prejudicial or hurtfull to the emperor's majestie, our clementissime lord; nor to any state of the empire, or any other: but onely for the conservation of the doctrine and truth of the gospell, and of the peace and tranquillite in the empyre and Alemayn's nation, and to withstand wrongfull violence from us and our subjects and allyes; and onely in case of defence, and in such case as every of us may bear and suffer the just knowlege and decision of his own cause as is aforesaid, and none other wise; and if any man wol be joyned to this our confederacion, which is not comprehended in it already, so that he be dedicate to the worde of God, and shall permitte the syncere doctrine of the gospell, conformable to our confession, exhibited to the emperor's majestie, and to all the orders of the empire in the assemble at Augsburg, freely to be preached, tought, and kept in his lands, province, and dominions, and



woll constantely styck to the same doctrine, he or they ought to be ascribed and receyved in this confederacion, by the assent and will of us all.

And bycause that Christen confederacion, which shall be finished the Sunday invocavit, the year of our Lord 1537, hath lasted the other six years last past, between us, excepted us Ulrich, duke of Wertemberg, &c. and us Bernim and Philipp, dukes of Pomeren; us John, George, and Joachim, princes of Anhalt; and the cities of Augsburgh, Frankford, Kempt, Hamibra, and Mynda; we, at their friendly and diligent peticion, have receyved them into this our confederation, and we do bynde our selfs eche to other agyn, that this Christen leage shall be proroged and extended, begynning from the said Sunday invocavit 1537, by the space of ten yeres next ensuyng, as this Christen leage by the ten yeres next ensuyng ought to be kept and proroged constantely, syncerely, and bona fide, by us and every of us, without any frawde or malign.

And if it shall happen us to entre werre with any man for the doctrine of the religion, or any other cause depending of the same that shuld not be finished within the space of the said ten yeres, yet nevertheles, although the said time of ten yeres be utterly expired, yet the said expedicion shall be contynued and prosecuted, and the werre brought to an ende; and that then it shall not be lawfull for any of the confederates to exempte him of the same, nor hope upon exemption, and from that tyme it shall be lawfull for the confederats to protract and prolong this confederation, if they shall so think good.

We the foresaid electors and princes, erles and magistrats of cities by interposition of our feith insteed of an other do promise and take upon us, for us, and for our heires constantly and perpetually to observe and performe all and singular the premisses truely and syncerely as it behoveth princes and good men. And that we shall nor doe, nor procure any thing in any wise to be done against this leage and confederation: but in all points shall deale and procede truely and syncerely without any frawde or malengin. And for more credence and confirmacion of all and every those things, every of us the said electors, princes, erles, and cities, in the name of us our highnes and successors, have caused our seales wittingly and willingly to be sett to these presents, which have been given the yere of the nativite of our Savyor Jesus Christ, 1536.

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NUMBER XLIV.

*Propositions made to the King, by the German Princes.*

[Paper Office.]

The Peticion and Request of the Right Noble Princes, Duke John Frederike, Elector of Saxe, and Philip the Lantgrave of Hesse, to the most Noble Kyng of England; exhibited at Smalcaldia, to the most Reverende Bishop of Hereford, and other the Ambassadors of the Kyng's most Royall Majestie, upon the present Day of the Natyvyte of our Lord, Anno Dom. 1536.

1. *Item.* That the said most noble king wolde set fourth the Evangelie of Christe, and the syncere doctrine of the faith after such sort as the princes and states confederates have confessed in the dyet of Angusta, and the same defended, according to their appologie and purgation made: except parcase some things therein shall seme, by the common assent of the said most noble kyng, and the said princes, necessarie to be changed or reformed by the word of God.

2. *Item.* That the saide most noble king, joyning with the said princes and stats confederats, wold maynteyne and defende the saide doctrine of the Evangelie, and the ceremonys conforme to the same, at the future generall counsaill, if it shall be pious, catholique, free and mere Christien.

3. *Item.* That neither the saide most noble king, without the express consent of the said princes and stats confederats, nor the same princes and stats confederats, without the express consent of the saide most noble king, shall assent nor agree to any indiction or appoyntement of a generall councill, which the bishop of Rome, that now is, or hereafter shall be, or any other, by whatsoever pretended auctorite, doth, or shall make and appoynt: nor yet shall consent to any place, where the future generall counsaill shall be had, nor to the counsaill it self; but that all those thyngs may be ordered and done, by the mutuall assent and counsaill of the said most noble king and princes confederat. Provided nevertheless, that if it shall appere certeynly, by just arguments and reasons, such a Christien, free, generall counsaill, to be indicted and appoynted, as the confederats, in their answer to the bishop of Rome's ambassador, named Peter Paule Verger, do desire, that such a councill be not to be refused.

4. *Item.* If it shall happen that (the saide most noble king, and princes, and stats confederats, not agreeing upon the place, nor the indiction of the counsaill) the bishop of Rome, and other princes conjoyned with hym in that cause, will nevertheless procede to the celebration of a counsaill, or rather of the appoyntment of the place wherunto the saide most noble king, and princes, and stats confederat shall not agree; that then, and in that case, aswell the saide king, as the said princes and stats confederat, shall chieflie (to their power) endevor and compass, that the same indiction may be utterly avoyded, and take noon effecte.

5. *Item.* And furthermore, that they shall make, and semblably procure to be made, by their clargy, their publick and solempne protestacions, wherby they shall testefie and declare, both the syncerye of their faith, and also that they do utterly dissente from such maner of communication and indiction; and that they will not be bounde to the decrees or constitutions of the same counsaill (if any such counsaill do folowe in dede), nor in any maner of wise obey the same herafter.

6. And also, that they shall not at any tyme obey, nor suffer to be obeyed by any of theirs, any decrees, mandats or sentences, bulles, letters, or brieffs, which shall procede, or be fulmynate from such a counsaill, so indicted and celebrate eyther in the name of the bishop of Rome himself, or of any other potentate whatsoever; but shall have and repute all such maner of rescriptes, decrees, bulles and breves, as voyde, inane and frustrate; and shall declare, that so they ought to be reputed and taken. And allso for the remotion of all slaunder, shall procure their bishopes and preachers, to declare the same to the people really, and with effect.

7. *Item.* That the said most noble king, like as by the grace of God he is associated to the said princes and stats confederat in the doctrine of Christ, and the defence of the same; so also he woll vouchesauf, upon honourable conditions, to be associate unto the leage of the same princes and stats, so as his most nobel majestie may obteine the place and name of defensor and protector of the said leage.

8. *Item.* The neyther the said most noble king, nor the saide princes and stats confederat, shall knowledge, maintain nor defend, at any tyme herafter, that

the primacie, or that the monarchie of the bishop of Rome, may at this day take place, or ever shall, by God's lawe; nor shall consent nor graunt, that it is either utile or expedient to the comen welth of Christendom, that the bishop of Rome shuld have preemynence afore all other bishops, or in any maner of wise have any jurisdiction at all, in the realmes, kyngdoms, or domynions of the saide king and princes.

9. *Item.* If it shall happen, that war, or any other contencion, either for the cause of religion, or for any other cause besides this cause, shall be inferred or moved against the said most noble king, his realmes, domynions or subjects, by whatsoever prince, state or people, or also against the said right noble princes or stats confederat; that in that case, neither of the said parties shall give ayde, helpe, nor socours against the other partie, nor shall assist the prince, nor the people so invadyng or movyng warre, neither with counsaill, helpe nor favour, dyrectly nor indirectly, prively nor apertely.

10. *Item.* That the said most noble king would vouchsaufe, for the defense of the said leage and most honest and holie cause, to conferre to and with the said princes, giveing suretie (as within is added) to lay fourth and contribute one hundreth thousande crownes. Which money, it shall be lawful to the confederats to use and employ wher nede shall be, in cause of defense, for the moytee or halfe parte therof. The other moytee they shall take of the same money, which they have leyd fourth, and contributed to the same sum.

11. And if need shall be of contynuall and dayly defence, for the contynuance of the warre, or invasion of adversaries; in that case, forasmuch as the princes and confederates be not only bound unto ferther collacion and contribucion of money, but also to the mutuall defence with their bodies and goods; it may please the saide most noble king, not to be greved in so urgent a cause of necessity, also to contribute more, that is to say, two hundreth thousande crownes; which money, nevertheles, for the halfe parte, the confederates may employe together with their own money. And if it happen the warre to be soner ended, then that that shall remain, shall be justly reserved, and (the tyme of the confederation fynyshed) shall be restored to the saide most noble kinge.

12. Which if the said most noble king woll do, the princes do promyse themselfs, with their sufficient sureties, to assure not onlie that they shall not convert this money to any other use than to the defence of the leage and cause of religion, together with their owne money which they in such a confederation do contribute, but also that entirely and faithfully they shall paye and restore unto the said most noble king the same summ, which either when ther shall be no need of defence, or (after the defence) shall remain and be left, in case it shall not be employed to that use.

13. *Item.* That for as much as the ambassadors of the said most noble king shall now for a tyme remayne in Germanye, and, with the lerned men in holy letters, dispute and commun of certeyn articles; the princes do desire, that they woll shortly inquire, and knowe their most noble king's mind and resolution, in the conditions of the said leage; and when they shall be certefied, to signifie the same unto us the elector of Saxe, and lantsgrave of Hesse.

14. Which when they have done, the princes will send in their (and the stats confederats' names) ambassadors to the said most noble king, and amongst them one excellently learned, not onely to conferre with his royall majestie upon the articles of Christ's doctrine, and to deliberate upon the ceremonies, and other things in the church, to be changed, ordered and reformed, but also to comment and conclude upon all the articles, of the which we have spoken with the king's most royall majesty, in the name of the confederats.

NUMBER XLV.

*The Answer of the King's most Noble Majestie of Englande, to the Peticions and Articles lately addressed to his Highnes, from the Noble Prynces, John Frederike Duke of Saxe, Elector, &c. and Philip Lantsgrave van Hesse, in the names of them, and all their Confederates.*

[Paper Office.]

1. The said most noble king answereth, That his majestie will, and hathe of long tyme mynded to set fourth the Evangelie of Christe, and the trew syncere doctrine of the same, out of which springeth and floweth our trew faith, whiche to defende he is most redy both with life and goods; but to say, that he being a king reckened somewhat lerned, (though unworthy,) having also so many excellent well learned men within this realme, thinketh it mete to accept at any creature's hands the observing of his and his realme's faith, thonlye grounde wherof remayneth in Scripture, surely he doth not; and requiereth his entier frends herewith not to be greved: but his highnes is right well contented, and much desireth, that for unyte in faith and articles, to be made uppon the same, it wolde please his saide confederats and frends, to sende hither some of their best lerned men, to conferre and conclude, with him and his lerned men, to the intente to have a parfaite concorde and unyon in faith amongst us. In which his highnes doubteth not, but at such tyme as when their deputs shall come, they shall fynde the most towardnes in the king, and in his realme.

To the seconde, his highnes answereth, that he is content to employ himself, joyntly with the said confederats, in all generall counsailes, they being "Catholici et Liberi, in loco etiam omni parte tuto," for the defence of their mere and trew doctryns of the gospell, according to their desires. But as touching the ceremonies, there may be different rites, and such dyversite used in dyvers domynyons, "fere per totum mundum," that it will be harde to conclude anye certentie in them. Wherfore his highnes thinketh it mete, that the order and limitacion of them shoulde be left to the arbitrees of the governours of everye domynyon, supposing that every of them can tell what is most comodious for his owne domynyons.

To the thirde, his majestie answereth, that he is contented, that neyther his highnes (without the express consent of the said princes and stats confederate), nor the same princes and stats confederate (without the express consent of his highnes) shall assent nor agree to any indiction of a generall counsaile, or to any generall counsaile, which the bishop of Rome that now is, or that hereafter shall be, or any other by whatsoever pretended auctorytee, doth, or shall make, enter, presume, or begynne, or cause to be made, entered, presumed, or begon, but that they neyther shall consent to any place of the future counsaile, nor to the counsaile selfe, except it be by their mutual consents assented and agreed unto; provyded nevertheless, that if it shall appear certenly by just arguments and reasons both to his majestie and the said confederats, that a Chrestien free counsaile may be indicted, "in loco etiam omni parte tuto," that then that counsaile shall not be by him, or them, refused.

The 4th, 5th, and 6th articles his highnes is content to accept in every point, according to their own devises.

To the 7th his grace answereth, that he doth moste fully accepte their good overture therein, by the which they declare their good inclynacion and hertie good will towarde his highnes; nevertheles, his majestie desireth them to take in good parte, that he doth not accepte the saide name and place, till he be throughlie agreed with them uppon the articles before rehearsed; which ones agreed on, his highnes entendeth most thankfully to accep the same.

The 8th article his majestie is content to accepte according to their own desire.

9th, Also his highnes agreeth, so that they woll adde therunto, that in that case of warre, neyther partie shall suffer or permytte any of their subjects or servants to serve them, that in such wise shall by any warre molest any of them.

To the 10th his majestie answereth, that for the warres already by past, he being in no confederacion with them, thinketh it very strange, and somewhat unreasonable, that they should of his highnes require any ayde or assistence; but in case that this confederacion now spoken of do take effecte, and that the contynuance of warres seme to be necessary, by their mutual consents, for the supporting of their faith against their adversaries, and therefore the confederats being allso bound to contrybute for their parts, every man for his porcion as shall be thought necessary amongst us; his highnes will be content for his parte, in declaracyon of his loving harte to them, to contribute 100,000 crowns, the tyme, and place, and facion, for the employment of the same, ones bytwen his grace and them agreed on; provyded that in case that eyther there shall be no warre made to any of the parts for the same, or that it shall be sooner ended then shall be looked for, that then the hole, or that part left and remayning, shall be fully and trewly *bonâ fide* restored unto his highnes, whensoever he shall demaunde or require the same.

The 11th his majestie doth accepte, according to their owne offer.

The 12th his highnes also agreeth unto.

To the 13th (*two lines torn out*) agreed unto the most part of the articles, they will now according to their own offer, with all speed and diligence, send hither their ambassadors plenaryly instructed to comon, agree, and conclude with his majestie in all things that shall be comoned of, and treated betwixt his highnes and them.

NUMBER XLVI.

*The Answer of the King's Ambassadors, made to the Duke Saxon, and the Landgrave of Hessie.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4, p. 104.]

First, that his highnes, aswell by his ambassadors as their letters from Smalkald, doth perceive two things; the one is their gratitude and benevolence towards his majestie, and that they desire the continuance between their progenitors inviolably observed to be increased; the other is not only thair great constance in the setting forth of the trueth of the gospell that was darkened afore, but allso that they exhorte his grace to the defence of the same, which be most acceptable to his highnes, and thanketh them aswell for his behalfe, as allso for the behalfe of all Christendom, knowleging the greate benefite of God in giving the sayd princes such stedfastness and strength; and that his majestie willed to be shewed unto them that their wondrouse vertues have so ravished and drawn his mind to thair love, that his highnes feled a greate encrease to thair unitie, in such wise, that he is determined fully never to passe the occasion, without correspondence of love, nor any occasion that he shall think may conduce in any wise to their good myndes and godly proceedings, and for to declare his minde to the articles of your peticion.

The 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, and 13th articles do please his majesty well ynough; and although there be some things in them that his grace would grante easely to no manner princes, were they never so greate; yet nevertheles his highnes, for his affection towards them, thinking that they meane nothing ells but the reformation of the church, which his majestie for his parte desireth much, and desireth to joyne with them in the same; in these articles his majestie desireth that only the 3d and 4th article be more ampley declared; that is to say,

The 3d article by these wordes: *Item*, That nether the king's highnes without the assent of the princes and stats confederate, nor they without his grace's assent, shall agree to the indiction of any counsaile, that the bishop of Rome, that now is, or any other whatsoever auctoryte, may pretende: and that also nether of the said parties shall agree uppon the place of a councile to be had, without the agreement of the other expressly to be given, but that the same be done by the mutuell assent of his grace, the said princes and estats. Provided nevertheles, that if all they shall perceive a lawfull and Christien free concile to be indicted in some sure and indifferent place, that then nether of them both parties shall refuse the saide concile.

To the 9th article his highnes would have added, that nether of both parties shall permitt any of their servants or subjects to be in solde against the other part, nor to helpe directly, or indirectly, such as wolde invade or enterprise against them.

As to the 1st, 2d, 7th, and 10th articles, his grace answered, to the 10th his majesty sayeth, that he doubteth not but the said confederats do well think and know that his grace is moved in his mind by no more private necessitie, that he or his realm have, nor any private profite to joyne with the said confederats in leage and defense, for he and his realme is in good peace; and knoweth not that the bishop of Rome, the emperor, or any other prince pyketh any quarrel with him, and that much lesse warre; and allthough his grace feared some hostilitie of them, nevertheles by the death of a woman, all calumnies be extincted; and to the entent the confederats might know his grace's good affection towards them, and to the reformacion of the church, and abolicion of abuses, his grace signifieth unto them, that he woll in no wise refuse thair peticion, but willingly contribute for his parte 100,000 crownes for the defence of the leage, in case that the confederation between the said confederats and his grace to be made, shall be brought to any effect. And for other appendaunces of this article, as touche sufficient suertie, *Item*, that the half of the monaye by them contributed shuld be spent, or ever they touched his grace's monaye. *Item*, concerning the forme and maner to deposite and spend the same. *Item*, to make his highnes prevey of the same, that on thair behalfe shall be contributed, and of the necessitie where abouts it shold be spent; and that all things may be done by common advise and assent, because the same do require long treatie; therefore his grace referreth the same to his orators, and to such of thairs as by the 13th article they desire to send, his grace desireth the said princes to send them fully instructed, and with sufficient power and auctorite to treate with his highnes, not doubting but they shall have reasonable and friendly answer.

To the 1st, 2d, and 7th articles his majestie hath

veray acceptable and agreeable, the honour they have thought to deferre unto him, as above all princes, to call him to be protector and defendor of their religion, wich is a declaration of the certain benevolence and trust that they have in his majestie; and although his majestie knoweth what envy and danger foloweth such title, yet nevertheles his highnes is so desirous to do them pleasure, and to the glory of the gospell, his grace is content to accept the same honour, after that between his and thair orators' agrement, shal be had upon the 1st and 2d articles, for it shuld not be sure nor honourable for his majestie, before they shall be with his grace agreed upon certain concorde of doctrines, to take such a province upon his highnes; and forasmuch as his majestie desireth much that his bishops and learned men might agree with theirs, but seen that it cannot be, oneles certain thinges in their confession and apologie shuld by their familiar conferencies be mitigate, his grace therefore would the orators and some excellent learned men with them shuld be sent hither, to conferre, talke, treate and comon upon the same, according to the 13th article.

Now that his highnes by the same answers sheweth unto them his good harte, trusting that they woll be of correspondence, therunto his majestie desireth three things of them of no great coste nor difficultie.

First, that in case any king, prince, or other, would invade his majestie or dominions for the same, or for the cause of the religion, that then they woil furnishe him at thair expences 500 horsemen armed of all peces, or 10 ships well arrayed for the warre, to serve his majestie by the space of four hole monethes by land or by sea, and that it shall be at his grace's choyse to have horsemen or shipps, and that such as his grace shall chuse, shall be sent to him, within a month after the requisition thereof.

Second, That besides the same, that they shall reteyn at his majesties costs and chardges, such number of horsemen and footmen as his highnes shall require; so that the horsemen passe not the number of two thousand, and the footmen the number of five thousand, or for the said footmen, 12 ships in good order furnished with men, harneys, ordynances, victuells, and other things necessarie; and that the king's majestie maye hyre them, reteyne at his wages as long as it shall please his grace; and it shall be as his majesties choyse to have the said 12 ships, or the said number of horsemen and footmen, and that such as his majestie shall choyse maye be redye within two moneths after his requisition.

Thirde, That the sayd confederats woll take upon them in all conciles herafter, and every where ells, to promote and defend the opinion of the reverend fathers, Dr. Martin, Justus Jonas, Cruciger, Pomeran, and Melanchton, in the cause of his grace's marriage.

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NUMBER XLVII.

*A Letter writ to the King by the Princes of the Smalcaldick League.—An Original.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6, p. 283.]

Serenissime Rex, Postquam Romanus Pontifex, Paulus Tertius, Generalem Synodum Mantuæ celebrandam, et inchoandam die vicessimo tertio Maij, indixit, misit ad nos Invictissimus Imperator Carolus Quintus Clementissimus Dominus noster, Oratorem suum, ut ad Indictionem illam Concilij ipsi veniamus, vel Procuratores nostros mittamus.

Etsi autem nos ex animo semper optavimus, ut Synodus, rebus deliberatis, emendationem abusuum atque errorum, qui diu jam in Ecclesia hærent, institueret, etiam adversus illos ipsos pontifices et prælatos, quorum partim Negligentia, partim Cupiditatibus, vitia illa in Ecclesiam irrepserunt: Tamen Bulla, in qua Paulus Pontifex Concilium indicit, non obscurè testatur, Pontificem (cum suis conjunctis) nequaquam passurum esse; ut in Synodo, de restituenda vera Doctrina, et corrigendis Abusibus atq; Erroribus, agatur. Sed quemadmodum ab ipso, et quibusdam suis Antecessoribus Doctrina, quam confessi sumus, sine ulla Cognitione, aut Examinatione Generalis, liberæ, et Christianæ Synodi, temerè, et cum Contumelia Evangelij, damnata est; Ita ostendit se Paulus Pontifex, hæc Præjudicia, Prætextu Synodi confirmaturum esse: Et conatur sibi ipsa receptione Bullæ, obligare omnes Reges et Potentatos, ut ipsi quoque assentiantur illis Prejudiciis, et omissa cognitione, se ad Piam et Catholicam Doctrinam, et in Evangelio clarè traditam, quam profitemur extirpandam, et armis delendam conjungant. In hanc Indictionem si consensissemus, visi essemus hæc Præjudicia confirmare et Doctrinam Ecclesiæ Romanæ et Doctrinam nostrorum Testimonio nostro condemnare. Itaque Oratori Cæsariæ Majestatis, verè, et bona fide commemoravimus, quare nobis illa Indictio Concilij, iniqua, et perniciosa Ecclesiæ videatur; ac petivimus, ut Cæsariæ Majestati, Excusationem nostram justam, et consentaneam, Juri scripto et naturali, quare in illam Indictionem non consenserimus, exponat.

Non dubitabamus, aut quin Romanus Pontifex, et hi quos habet conjunctos, se excusaturi essent apud Regiam Dign. V. tanquam Pontifex fecerit suum Officium, ac ostenderit se voluisse recte consulere Ecclesiæ; nos vero oneraturi Invidia, quasi communi Utilitati deesse velimus. Quare necessarium nobis visum est, Causas, propter quas Indictionem illam iniquissimam, et insidiarum ac periculi plenam recusavimus, Regiæ Dignitati vestræ, et cæteris Regibus et Principibus significare, ut adversariorum Calumniis, et aliorum Suspicionibus occurreremus.

Itaque, ut Regia Dignitas vestra Causas illas verè et integrè intelligere possit, rogamus, propter Gloriam Christi, ut Regia Dignitas V. nostram Excusationem, quam publicatam his Literis adjecimus, perlegat. qua in re non solum periculo moveatur multorum in Germania Populorum, quib. Regiam Dignitatem V. optimè velle speramus, sed etiam cogitet, hanc nostram Causam ad communem Salutem Ecclesiæ pertinere, in qua cum Disciplinam multis in rebus collapsam esse constet, et paulatim receptos esse abusus non dissimulandos, diu multi, magni, et præstantes Viri, Emendationem optaverunt et flagitarunt. Non dubitamus, aut quin Regia Dignitas V. etiam ex alio cupiat Ecclesiæ Christi quemadmodum Deus hoc Officium, præcipuè à summis Principibus requirit, omni Ope, et omnibus Viribus consulere. Proinde et communem Ecclesiæ Causam, et nos ipsos diligentur commendamus Regiæ Dignitati V. et nostra Officia, cum summa Observantia, Reg. Dignitati vestræ deferimus. Bene et feliciter valeat Regia Dignitas Vestra. Datæ vij. Calend. April. Anno Domini M.D.XXXVII.

Dei Beneficio, Joannes Fredericus Dux Saxoniæ, Sacri Romani Imperij Archimareschallus ac Princeps Elector, Lantgravius Turingiæ, et Marchio Mysiæ.

Et Philippus Lantgravius Hassiæ, Comes Cattorum Diek, Zygenhaim, et Nidde, suo et aliorum, Principum Statuum, et Civitatum Imperij Germanicæ Nationis, Nomine, puram Evangelij Doctrinam profitentium.

Serenissimo Principi, Domino Henrico ejus Nominis Octavo, Britanniæ et Franciæ Regi, Domino Hiberniæ, Domino Cognato, et Amico nostro Carissimo.



NUMBER XLVIII.

*Cranmer's Letter to Cromwell, complaining of the Ill-Treatment of the Ambassadors from Germany.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 5. p. 212.]

My very singuler good lorde, in my most hertie wise I recommend me unto your lordeship. And where that the oratours of Germany, when thei granted to tary one moneth, required that we should go furth in their booke, and entreate of the abuses, so that the same myght be set furth in wryting as the other articles arr: I have syns effectuously moved the bishops therto, but they have made me this answer; that thei knowe, that the king's grace hath taken apon hymself to answer the said oratours in that behalf, and therof a book is alredie divised by the king's majestie; and therfore they will not meddell with the abuses, leste thei should write therin contrarye to that the king shall write. Wherfore thei have required me to entreate now of the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction; wherin thei knowe certeynly that the Germanes will not agree with us, excepte it be in matrymoney onlye. So that I perceyve, that the bishops seek only an occasion to breke the concorde; assuring your lordship, that nothing shall be done, unles the king's grace speciall commandmente be unto us therin directed. For they manifestly see, that they cannot defend the abuses, and yet they wold in no wise grant unto them. Farther, as concernyng the oratours of Garmanye, I am advertised, that thei are very evill lodged where thei be: for besides the multitude of ratts, daily and nyghtly runnyng in thair chambers, which is no small disquietnes; the kechyn standeth directly against their parlar, where they dayly dine and supp; and by reason therof, the house savereth so yll, that it offendeth all men that come into it. Therefore, if your lordship do but offer them a more commodious house to demore in, I doubt not, but that they accept that offer most thankefully, albeit I am suer that they will not remove for this tyme. And wheras of late I did put your lordship in remembrance, for the suppression of the abbey of Tudberye; now I beseech your lordship, not only that commissionours may be sent unto that house, but also in likewise unto the abbey of Rocester, or Crockesdom; beseeching your lordship to be good lorde unto this berer Frances Basset, my servant, for his preferment unto a leace of one of the said houses; not doubting but you shall prefer a right honest man, who at all tymes shall be able to do the king's grace right good service in those partes, and also be at your lordship's commandment during his life. Thus Almightie God have your good lordship in his blessed tuytion. At Lambeth, the xxiijd daye of Auguste.

Your own ever assured

T. Cantuarien'.

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NUMBER XLIX.

*The Earl of Northumberland's Letter to Cromwell, denying any contract, or Promise of Marriage, between Queen Anne and Himself.—An Original.*

[Cott. Lib. Otho. C. 10.]

Mr. Secretary, this shall be to signifie unto you, that I perceyve by sir Raynold Carnaby, that there is supposed a precontract between the queen and me; wherupon I was not only heretofore examined upon my oath before the archbishopps of Canterbury and York, but also received the blessed sacrament upon the same before the duke of Norfolk, and other the king's highnes' council learned in the spirituall law; assuring you, Mr. Secretary, by the said oath, and blessed body which affore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be to my damnation, if ever there were any contracte, or promise of marriage between her and me. At Newyngton-Green, the xiijth daye of Maye, in the 28th year of the reigne of our soveraigne lord king Henry the VIIIth.

Your assured,

Northumberland.

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NUMBER L.

*A Letter, giving Pace an Account of Propositions made to King Henry by Charles the Vth.*

[Paper Office.]

Trusty and right wel-beloved, we grete you well, lating you wit, that on Tuesday last passed, repaired to our maner of Greenwiche unto us, the emperor's ambassador here resident, and on his master's behalf, pretending a desire to renew the old amytie that hath been between us, testified nevertheles by letters of credence sent from the said emperor to our trusty and right wel-beloved counsailer, Thomas Cromwell, our principal secretary, which of long season hath been interrupted, made unto us for the advancement of suche a renovation certain overtures: the first was, that he wold be a means to have a reconciliation between us and the bishop of Rome: an other, that we would ayd him with some contributions in his entended voyage against the Turk: the third, that forasmuch as by a certain leage passed between us, it is covenanted and agreed, that in case either of us shuld be invaded in any of our realmes, dominions, or seigniories, which we have in possession, the other shuld ayd in such form, as in the said leage is expressed, at the costs and expences of the prince requiring the same, and that there is a greate appearance that the French king wil now invade him in the duchie of Millain, we wold grant him such ayd for his defence against the said French king, as in the said leage is limited. To the said masse and substance of his credence, tending to a renovation of amytie, ye shall understande our answer was, that albeit the interruption and disturbance therof, hath proceded holly on the emperor's behalf, who for our friendeship in suche wise hertofore shewed unto him, in making him king of Spayn, in making him emperor, whenne the empire was at our dispocion, in lending him our money, that he may only thank us for the honour he is now advanced unto, hath nevertheless for his reciproque shewed unto us, all the ingratitude he could devise, both in contempnying, as it were, a friendship, when we have done more for his satisfaction in our proceedings then needed, and in procuring what displeasure and injury he could against us, at the bishop of Rome's hand, as by credible reports we have knowen and lerned; yet such is our zeal to unytie, concord, and quiet amongs Christian princes, and such is our princely nature, that as we canne continue our displeasure to no man, if he do ones remove the cause therof: so if he which is a prince of honor, and a personage whom we ones chose, and thought worthie for his vertue and qualities to be advanced, will by his express writing, eyther desire us to put his doings towards us in oblivion, or by the same purge himself, and declare that such things as we have noted unkindnes in at his hande, hath been unjustly, and without his desert, imputed unto him, we shall embrace his overture touching this renovation; but we plainly said and offered, that seing we had susteyned the injury, we could not be a suiter for the reconciliation, nor

treat with his master of such appendents for aydes, as be before expressed, or any such like, unless our amyties shuld be first symple, and without all manner of conditions renoveled; which parte, if he will first accomplish, he shuld not need to doubt, but to all his reasonable desires to be made after, he shall have as friendly and reasonable answer, as between friends in the highest degree of friendship can be required. Touching the bishope of Rome, we declare unto him, that as we have not proceeded uppon so sleight and slender grounds, as we wold revoke, alter, or change any peece of our doings; having in all causes made our foundacions uppon the laws of God, nature, and honestie, and established all our works made uppon the same, by the consent of all the states of our realme, in open and high court of parliament, so considering there hath been some means made unto us by the bishop himself for such a reconciliation, which we have not yet embraced, it shuld not be expedient to have it compassed by any other means; nor we could take as in good parte, or think that the emperor shuld ernestly mind a reconciliation, and a renovation of our amyties, if for the satisfaction of the bishop of Rome our enemye, he shuld move us to allter any one thing that we have here determyned contrary to his purpose, and pretended autoritie. To his request for aid against the Turk, was answered, that we could give no certain resolution, because the affaires of Christendom be not quiet, but in case their may ensue between christen princes an universall reconciliation, concon-cord, and agreement, we shall not fayle in that matter to doe for our parts, that to the office of a christien prince appertaineth: finally to his desire for ayd against the French king, we said it shuld be convenient that our amytie shuld be first renewed, and certainly established, before we shuld treat of any suche appendants; and thenne being an indifferent friend to both, we might frankly travail to conserve peas and unitie; or ells friendly to staye him that wold do wrong; but tyl such time as that foundation were made, we could neyther in this appendant, nor any suche like make any direct answer. And forasmuch as not only for your instruction, but allso for that we be much desirous to know in what parte they take our answer there, we thought convenient to advertise you of the premysses, our pleasure is, that ye shall aswell in your conferences with the emperor, pretending only a generall knowledge of certain of the overtures made by his orators here, both maintain our answers to the same, with such reasons as ye canne devise for that purpose, and of your selfe exhort him not to pretermyt this goodly occasion, so graciously beganne, commenced, and entred, extolling our princely harte, nature, and courage, with our most gentle inclynation, to the satisfaction of our friends desires, in all reasonable things, wherunto they shall not press us; which kind of constraint doth for most parte more hurte in the stay of good purposes, then cane be, after with repentance when the tyme is past eftsoons redoubled. As in semblable maner move monsieur Grandevile of your self, as a personage whom ye repute, addicte to the advancement of our honor, to desire the emperor to consider what good may ensue to him, and to the hole state of Christendom, if we may joyne again in perfite amytie; and that it were great pitie, and purcase greater losse than might be after recovered, to suffer this goodly meane and entree to passe without certain fruit and effect, by the putting to it of such appendants and conditions, as ye knowe, what soever we will after do, at the contemplation of friendship, yet our nature and courage will not bear to be newe loden and charged withall; specially considering that we have suffered the injury; and with these and suche like words, as we woll that ye shall endevor your self of your self to pryk them forwarde to the renovation of our amytie, without adding therunto any conditions. Soe ye shall repayr to the court and to Grandevil as ye may conveniently, to give them occasion by your being in their eyes, to enter communication with you of these matters; wherby you shall the better also perceyve wherunto they will bend, which our pleasure is, you shall from tyme to tyme signify unto us, as ye may have any certain matter worthie our knowleage.

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NUMBER LI.

*Instruction by Cardinal Pole to one he sent to King Henry.—An Original.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6. p. 340.]

Imprimis, to declare to his grace myn hole entent and purpose yn wrytyng the booke, wherein takyn my testimony off God, they only seyth the hart of man, was only the manifestation off the treuth in that mattier, that by master Secretaryes letters I tooke as a commandment to shew my sentence herein, which wrote the same to me by his gracys pleasure, that I shuld by writing declare myn opinion; and this is the very cause I dyd wryght; for otherwise, I thynk I had never sett penne to booke in so lyttyl hope of persuasion, and in such a matter as the tyme was so lykely nott to be all the best acceptyd.

Further to declare after I was onys entred into the mattier, haveng sent to me the books of them that have wrytten yn the contrary part, wherin I saw the trueth mervyoloushye suppressyd and cloked, with all colours that could be invented sett upon the untrew opinion, seyng besyde what acts folowed of the same so sore and grevious, both in the sight of God, and judgment of the rest of Christendom, out of that realme, that except those colours were takyn away, and treuth purely sett forthe, wythe declaration of the inconvenient acts, yt myght soon torne to the utter danger of his grace's bothe honour afore God and man, and utter destruction, as yet semyth, of the quyettnes of the realme; this made me wyth all both wytt and lernyng that God had gyven me, to endevour to expresse so the trouthe, and declare the qualytes off those acts that folowed of the sinister opinion, that I doubt not whosoever reade the booke that wole knowe the trouthe, shuld never after need to fall into daungier, for ignorance of the true sentence.

And this I did with this hope, haveing this ever fixid in my harte, that howsoever hys grace was by perverse occasion brought from those opinions which was for his honore most to maynteyne, that he was brought thereto as God suffereth those that be in his favour, and whom he hath electe to eternall felycytie, notwythstandyng to faull some tyme into offensys dampnable, to the entent they myght better know where they have their trew lyght and savefgarde which comythe of God, and nothyng off them self: as ytt is not unknowne that scripture mentionethe both of Davyd and Solomon's faulles, which bothe in conclusion were recoveryd by the mercye of God againe, and Solomon, notwithstanding the gyft of wysedome that God had gyven him, fell so sore that he was utterly tornyd from God, and gyven to idolatrye. This I consydreng in those elect personys off God, and judgeng verely thoughe his grace was by God permyttyd to faull from the trew doctrine of Christ, yett as God saved David by those meanes, to send a prophete unto him to show hym the trewth, which as soone as he had hard told hym, forthwyth fell to repentance, and so was taken to the grace off God again, and recoveryd to his greatter honour, than he was yn afore his faull;



the same trust I had in his grace, whiche made me put my uttermost studye and labour, callyng for help of God, to manyfest the trueth, where I doubt not but God hath hard my prayer, that for knowledge of the trewe sentence, there can be no doubt; and I cannot but greatly trust, that his grace herynge and assenting, as king David did to the same after his errour, shall be recoveryd by God to higher honour and grace, then ever he was afore God suffered him to faull.

In this declaration of this treuth, because not only afore God were great peryll, but also in this world present afore man, many soore daungers myght happen, in case his grace did remayne and continew yn his sentence so dyvers from the rest of the Christen princes; this causyd me, callyng to my mynd what daunger might follow bothe of his people at home, whose mynds experience showethe cannot be quiettyd wythe this innovations touching opinions in relygion; and also of outward power of those prynces to whose honour yt ys judged to apperteyne to defend the lawes of the church, against all other princes or nations that doyth impugne them, for these considerations to the entent the daunger hereoff now not unknown, I have in the same booke, sometyme in my own person, brought all such reasons wherebye justely either the people, or oughtward prynce might be instigate against his grace, followeng the dyvers trade from other Chrystian princes that he hath begone. Which reasons and discourses conteynyd in the booke vehemently sett forthe, yf they shuld be redd apart without consyderacyon of my fynall purpose, which by all means entendyd to sett affore hys graces yien, not only the treuthe off that was to be folowed, butt the daungers that were moste lykelye to ensue, both at home and abrode, yf they were not followed, he shall think by what vehemencye and sore reprehension he seyth in the wrytyng, that I am the greatyst adversaraye of his grace's honour that ever any hitherto hath bene: but God knoweth my entent, and he that redyth the hoole booke togyther shall knowe the same, how my very purpose and ende was to save him from great dyshonour and peryll, both in this world and that to come, which were nothing possyble to examine, not knoweng what they were, and what were lykely to happen to be sayd or done against his grace: which foloweng all probabylytie the book doth expresse, and for the better understanding of both my opinion and sentence that I follow in the book, touching the declaration of the truthe, and of my utter fynall purpose in the hole matter, thys chifly I wole desyr his grace, bycause of the prolyxitie thereof, which shuld be to muche for his grace to rede hymselfe, that that wole please hym to apoynt some lernyd and sald man to rede over the book, and that done to declare his judgment, bound first wyth an othe off hys fydelytie, first to God, and afterwards to his grace to show hys judgment without affection of any part: and yf his grace wold gyve this charge to the bishop of Dyrrhum, whome I judge to be the saldyst and most grounded in lernyng, with faythful hart to his grace, above any other that I knowe, puttyng the same charge unto him by another; I think his grace shuld thereby best and most truely be enformed; and so when he hath made his relation, afterward his grace may prove other menes judgments as it shall please him.

Furthermore to declare unto his grace how my full purpose and mynd was, touching the hole booke that never no part thereoff shuld a come abrode in any manes hands, afor his grace had seen ytt: and to folowe in this booke the same maner of secretnes that I did in the other which I deliveryd to his grace concerning his matrymonye, but by what meanes in one part of this book I have been frustrate of my entent; this you may declare by mouth, knowing the hole mattier.

Fynally, with all humbylnes to desyre his grace, in the name of his most faythfull servant, and most tender of his honoure and welthe, that where as by the judgement of all wise men, God of hys mercye and love toward his grace, and for a greate warnyng to retourne to hym, hathe detectyd the iniquitie of her, which hath bene the oryginal cause and occasion of althyse bothe errours and dangers his grace hath cost hymself in, that now his grace will correct himself to take the same, as yt ys a favourable admonition of God, and to follow theyr sentenceyes and counsell, which (next unto theyr conscyence toward God) hath had none other cause, butt only pure love and fidelytie to his honour and welth: which causyd them, against their owne private welthe, wyth greate daunger besyde, ever to dyssent from that matrymonye; judgeng ever as ytt was most lykely, both great dishonour, great daungiers and perylls, both spiritually and outwardly, to followe thereoff.

And now, yf God hathe manifested the same to the recovery of hys grace welth, allwayes that his grace wyll accept thys warnyng to retourn to the unytie of his church, in that sentence and mynd that the rest of Christiane prynces do; wherein I dare be bolde to saye, yf God showe this great benignitie and mercy unto him, for to make him returne; for surely God's hand that must be; and whensoever that shall be herd, that shall be taken for one of the greatyst myracles that hathe been showed this many agys, with the most certyn sygne of speciall favour that ever was showed from God to any prince: then furst of all this shall follow, that when as now all Christendome callyng for a generall councell, yf that follow, ether his grace must wyth dyshonour and damage flee to obey thereunto, or with more daunger answer there to such causes as wold be layde unto him. Yf he do returne, thys furst shall follow, by that meanys that shulde be founde, that no prince Chrysten, whosoever he were, shold appere there with more honour then shuld his grace. And wheras it was for the innovation that he hath made in the churche, to be the occasyon of ruyne of one of the feyrest membre of the churche, if God make him torne; the conclusion wyll be brought to this, that hys faull shall be the happyest faull that was unto the churche many yeres; which may be brought to be a redye and highe way to the reformation of the hole, to the more manyfestation of the honour of God: so that fynally the ende shall be in every man's opinion that marketh the hole processe, that God suffred his grace to faulle, to make hym ryse wyth more honour to the greater welth not only of his own realme, but of the hole church besyde.

Your faithfull servant,

R. Pole.

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NUMBER LII.

*A Letter to Pole from the Bishop of Durham, in his own hand.—An Original.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6. p. 385.]

Ryght Honorable,—In my humble maner I recommend me unto your mastership, advertising the same that I have received your letter, datyd at Venice on Corpus Christi evyn last; by which I do perceyve that where of late you sent a boke with a letter unto the kyng's highnes, concernyng your opinion of the king's title, and the power of the bishop of Rome; and your desire was in your letter, as you write, that I myght see the boke, to enforme his grace what I

thought theroff. And now ye send to me your said letter, to informe me of your meanynge and purpose in your said longe boke, wherin I do perceyve, ye fere lest your vehemency have offended. I do signifie unto you, that I have both well perused your said letter, to comprise well the effect theroff in every point; and also have perused, with odyr your said longe boke, unto the end theroff. Which made me hevy in my harte, both whylse I was in redinge of it, and allso mych more when I had redde it thorow, seinge the vehemency and egerness of it in all partes, dyd sore byte; and yet the hole thing ran wyde off the truthe. For in all your boke your purpose is to bring the king's grace, by penance, home unto the churche again, as a man clerly separate from the same alredy. And his recesse from the church ye proffe not otherwise than by the fame and comon opinion of those parts, who be farr from the knowlege of the truth of our affairs here, and do conjecture every man as they lyst (blyndly) of thinges unknowen unto them. And in cause of his retorne, ye promisse to illustrate the king's name, so to bend your lernyng therunto, that all displeasure that may be takyn of your said boke shuld be clerly therby abolysed and takyn away; and all shold redund unto his glory and honour. And to comprise in few wordes the effecte that is worn off your said boke, that makes vehemently many playes, and doth conteyn lyttle or no salve to hole them. And as it semyth to me, ye wer styrred to sore in your spirite in all your wrytings therof, and wer not quiet in your mynde whyle ye were in doynge of it. Wold to God ye had rather written to his grace your opinion, brevely comprisyd secretly in a letter, that he shold not have nedyd to have shewed it to other leyrned men of his counsell, than in so longe a boke to have dilatyd all thynges as ye have done, that he must of necessitie be constrayned to commit that to such trusty persons as shold please his grace to know by them the effecte theroff. What stupidity was it to send so long a boke so longe a way, conteynyng so displesaunt mater, by one man, who myght have myscaryed or peryshed in the way, and therby the boke have comen (as was likely) to the handes of such as would have published it to the king's slaunder, and the realme's, and most of all to your owne, that shuld be the author of such a boke, made against your your prince and countre: wherin all the world shuld repute you to be unkynd unto your prynce and countre, who evermore so had lovyd you, and brogt yow up in lernynge, and ye to spend the same to his reproche. So that surely, who soever not favouryng the king. shold have lykyd the matter, yet must he nedys have myslyked the author therof, usinge his lernyng against hym, in whose defence he ought to have spent both lyff and lernying. But laude be to God that the boke came saffe unto the king's handds, wherby that yeperdy ys past. One thinge made me cold at the harte, when I red it in your letter that ye writt of two quares, which be not in your hands to repress. The residue, ye say, ye can make sure not to come abrode, which, yf ye folow myn advyse, ye shall do furthwith; burnyng them, for your owne honour, and the noble house that ye be come of: that it never come abrode, that ye exercysed your style or lernyng against him, whom ye ought in all points (by your witt and connyng) to defende: and yf any faults wer founde by odyrs, to excuse them by all means, and not to animate them by your penne. And would to God, lykewise, that ye wold endevour your self (by all means to you possible) to gett again those two quarys, and lykwise to burn them. For, in all your boke, ther is not one queyre without bytterness, mych more then I wold it were. But to retourne to that thinge that I said before, that methought your hole book ran wyde off the truth. I shall, by your patience, yf ye be contente to here me as your frende, opyn unto you what I mean therby. Ye presuppose for a ground, the king's grace to be swarvyed from the unite of Christ's church, and that in takinge upon him the tytle of supreme hede of the church of Englande, he intendyth to seperate his church of Englande from the unitie of the whole bodie of Christendome; takyng upon hym the office belonging to spirituall men, grounded in the Scripture, of immediat cure of soule, and attribute to hymself that belongith to presthode, as to prech and teach the word of God, and to mynyster the sacraments. And that he doth not know what longeth to a Christen king's office, and what unto presthode; wherein surely both you and al odyr so thinkinge of him, do erre too farre. For there is no prince in Christendome that more regardith or better knowith the office and the honour of a Christen prince, nor that more doth esteem spiritual men that be gyffen to lernyng and vertue, than he doth; and that ye may boldly (without reproach) avouch to all men affirming the contrary, whatsoever sinistrously conceived opinion any person shall have of hym, in those partes, or any oder. For, his full purpose and intente is, to see the lawes of Almighty God purly and sincerely prechyd and taught, and Christ's fayth without blot kepte and observed in his realme; and not to seperate hymself, or his realme, any wyse from the unitie of Christ's catholyke church, but inviolably, at all tymes, to kepe and observe the same; and to reduce his church of Englande out of all captivite of foreyn powers, heretofore usurped therin, into the Christen estate, that all churches of all realmes wer in at the begynyng; and to abolyshe, and clerly to put away such usurpations as hertofore in thys realme the bishops of Rome have, by many undue meanes, incresyd to their grete avantage, and impoveryshinge of thys realm, and the kyng's subjects of the same. So that no man therin can justly find any fawte at the king's so doinge, seinge he reducyth all thynges to that estate, that is conformable to those auncient decres of the churche, which the bishop of Rome (at his creation) solemly doth profess to observe hymself, which be the eygth universall counsells. Which yf ye do rede advysedly, and studiously do consyder how the church of Christ was stablyshed by those, and how far of late yers the bishops of Rome have broght this realme and odyr from those: ye shall manyfestly perceyve the abuse and diversitie betuyx the oon and the other. I am sure, at Venice ye may have the said counsels in Greke, lyke as now they be comon abrode in Latyn, translatyd even from the begyning. Which if they had not been comenly knowen and redde hertofore, the bishop of Rome's power hertofore usurpyd in many realmes, had never so farre been avancyd, as of late it hathe. Wold to God ye had been exercised in readinge of them, before the sendinge of your said boke, that ye might have knowen from the begynning, from age to age, the continuance and progresse of the catholike churche. By which ye shuld have perceived that the church of Rome had never of olde such a monarchie, as of late it hathe usurped. And if ye will say, that those places of the gospell, that you do allege in your boke, do prove it, then must ye graunt also, that the counsel of Nice and others did erre, which ordeined the contrary. And the apostels also, in their canons, did ordeine, that al ordring of prests, consecratynge of bishops, and all matirs spirituall, shuld be fynished within the diocesse, or at uttermost within the province wher the parties dwelte. Which canons of the apostels, Damascen doth commemorate for holy Scriptures. Now



it is not lyke that the apostels, who were prechers of the gospell, wold make canons contrary to the gospell; nor that the four first cheffe counsels general wold have ordenyd so as they did, if the gospell or the Scripture had bene to the contrary. And wher ye in your boke much do stikke to common custome of the church, surely after Christe, above a thousand yere, the custome was to the contrary, that now is used by the bishop of Rome. At that tyme, in the primitive church of Christe, when the blood of Christe and martyers was yet freshe, the Scriptures wer best understande, faithe most firme, and vertue most pregnant; the customes then used in the church must nedes be better than any contrary use sens, eyther by ambition or covetousnes, any wa'es cropen in. And to assure you of my mind what I do thinke, surely who soever shall go about, by the primatie of Peter, which was in prechinge the word of God, to establyshe the worldly auctorite of the bishop of Rome, which he now claymeth in dyverse realmes, in worldly thyngs soe perfecte temporall, shall no more couple them to gedyr then lyght and darknes, but shal improve the thinge that he goeth about to prove. Iff ye wold rede *Nicolas Cusa de concordia Catholica* in his second boke thorowly, he shuld gretly open this matter unto you. Wherfore sens the king's grace goeth about to reforme his realme, and reduce the church of England unto that state that both thys realme and all other wer in at the begynnynge off the fayth, and many hundredth yere aftyr; yff any prince or realme wyl not folow hym, let them do as they lyste; he doth no thinge but stablyshyth such laws as wer in the begynnynge, and such as the bishop of Rome professeth to observe. Wherfore nidyr the bishop of Rome hymself, nor odyr prince, ought off reason to be miscontent her with. Yff I wer with you but one day, I wold trust to shew you such grounds in thys matter, that ye myght chaunge your mynde, oonlesse ye were totally addite to the contrary opynion, as I pray God ye be not, both for your own and for your friend's sake, who shuld take grete discomforth theroff. Oon thinge yet restith that I thought convenient to advertise you off, wherin I do perceyve ye be ignorant—which is thys: ye write in one parte of your boke that ye think the herts off the subjects of thys realme greatly offendyd with abolyshinge of the byshop of Rome's usurped autorite in this realme, as yff all the people, or moste part off them, toke the matter as ye do. Wherin I do assure you ye be deceivyd. For the people perceyve ryght wel what profite cometh to the realme therby; and that al such money as before issued that way, now is kept within the realme; wheras before al that went that way, which was no small share, but grete and excessive, and dayly the sayd yssue encresyd more and more, never retornyd again hedyr any parte theroff. Which was to the great impoveryshinge off thys realme. So that yff at thys day the king's grace wold go about to renew in his realme the sayd abolysh'd autorite off the byshop of Rome, grantyng hym lyke profites as he had before thorow thys his realme, I thinke he shold fynde mych more diffyculte to brynge it aboute in his parliament, and to induce his people to agree therunto, then any thinge that ever he purposed in his parlement sens his first regne. Wherfore I wyshed that, as many odyr things more to have ben out of the your boke. Which myght peradventure have engendry'd sum parte off suspicion in the king's gracs mynd toward his subjects, as I trust verayly that dyd not. And wher ye do fynde a faute with me, that I faynted in my hearte, and wold not dye for the bishop of Rome's authorite; when thys matter was first proposyd unto me, surly it was no faynting that made me agreeable therunto; for I never saw the day sens I know the progresse and contynuance off Christ's church from the begynning, and redde such historyes ecclesiasticall and ordinaunces from age to age as do manyfestly declare the same, that ever I thought to shede oon droppe off my bloode therfore: for sure I am noon of them that hertofore have had avantage by that authorite, would have lost oone peny theroff to have savyd my lyffe, nor wyl not do to save yours, yff ye shold be in such necessite. Which God for his mercy forbydde, and kepe you from trust off such socoure.

Finally, accordinge to your desire sens your boke ys comon unto the king's hands, and he perceivyth the effecte off it, I shall help as mych as may lye in my lityl power, that your plain facyon off writinge, as off a sharpe gostly fadyr, may be takyn in best parte according to your letter and desire in that behalf; but at the reverence off Almyghthy God hynder not your selfe in addictynge you to the opinion off your boke, towching the bishop of Rome's autorite; thinking, that as ye se it now in Italy and diverse countreys, so it was from the beginning, and ought to be by God's law. For the forsaid counsayls do shew plainly ther is in the church of Christ no such monarchie ordaynyd by Christe. And the preeminence of sitting, that was gyffen to the bishop of Rome in the forsaid counsels general, which were callyd al by the emperors off that tyme, was gyffen to hym by cause he was bishop of Rome, the cheffe citie off the empire, and not for Peter and Paule's sake, which wer apostyles, and bernyd in Rome, nor for the gospell-sake; and the secund place was gyffen to the patriarch off Constantinople, by cause that cite was called Nova Roma, and so was preferryd both before Antiochia, wher Sainte Petyr was first bishop, and wher the name of Christendom first began; and also before Alexandria, where Sainte Marke, the disciple of Petyr, did preche. And also before Hierusalem, wher Crist himselfe preched, and the hole colledge off the apostles afftyr him; and *Jacobus frater Domini* was first bishop, which was in the beginning, until it was destroyed, callyd *Mater cunctarum Ecclesiarum*, which three ware sees apostolyke. Befor al which three sees. and also before Ephesus, where Sainte John Evangelist did write his gospell, and ther dyed, Constantinople was preferry'd, because it was the second grete congregation of Cristen men in the empire, and was called Nova Roma. Wherunto those holy counsels wold never have consentyd, and namely Calcedonense, wherin were vj. *C.* and xxx. bishops of the best lernyd off al Cristendome, yff they had seen the gospell to the contrary. Moreover, yff ye rede, as I am sure ye have, Basilium, Nazianzenum, Chrisso-stomum, Damassenum, ye shal fynd in them no such monarchie off the bishope off Rome, as he clamyth spoken off nor never mentioned. Al which I touch to put you in remembrance off, to the intent that ye serchinge forther in this matter, may perceive the old fadyrs and counsels, not to have knowen any such thinge as now of late is pretentyd and usurped.

Wherfore I beseech you, not trustinge your own self to mych herin, to have recourse to those autors that may informe you off the begynning of the church. Consydering therwithall of what blood ye be, and off what contre. The king's hyghnes hath in his realme men as wel lernyd in divinite as be in odyr countreys, and they have sought in this mater, evyn to the bothome; which think themselfs wel delyvered from the bondage of Rome. And yff you shuld now be against your contre to kepe them still in captivite, what they wyll thynke off you, I reporte me unto you. What also the king's grace, who hath brogth you up, and hath bene good and gracyous unto you, shal

thynke, but that ye be unkynd, to be against him and hys realme, who hath been always for you and yours. What discomford shold it be to my lady your modyr, in hir age to see you swarve from your prince and contre in opinion. What discomford shold it be to my lord your brother, to see you off whom he shold have comford, use your learning to his discomford! What discomford shold it be to all your other frendys to see you off obstinate opinion against al your countrey, you may by your wisdom consider. Whom all ye may comfort, and chiefly your self, in conformyng you to the truthe grounded upon the stablishment off the holly church of Christendome sens the begynnyng. And beynge the supporting of this monarchie inventyd off late days by ambition, wheroff the old fadyrs never hard tell. St. Gregorie wryteth sore against the bishop of Constantinople off his time who went about a lyke monarchie, affirmyng noone such to be in the church of Christ. Saint Cyprian wryteth, "quiomnes Apostoli erant pares honoris et potestatis." Consilium Ephesinum affirmyth the same, which cannot agree with thys late found monarchie. At the reverence of God truste not your self to much herein, but suffer your self to be persuaded to seke fordyr then ye yet have doon. I dobt not but God willing ye shall fynd the truth in searchynge fordyr, yff ye persuade not your selfe that ye have found it already. I beseche you have in your remembrance that I wrote before to burn the originally off your to sharp bokes, and I shall move the king's hyghness that your boke sent to hym may be kept secret. And in conformyng your self to the opinion off your contre and off the truth, I doubt not but ye shall be acceptyd of the king's highness as well as ever ye wer, and mych bettyr bycause ye shew in your boke the intier hert that ye bere hym, as his grace by wisdome can mych better consider than I can write unto you. And that ye may so do I pray the Holy Ghost to illuminat you. And if ther be pleasure that I may do for you or yours, ye shall be assured to fynd me redy evermore therunto: as knoweth Almighty God, who have you in his blessed tuition.

From London the xiij day of July, 1536.

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NUMBER LIII.

*An Original Letter of Pole's to Cromwell, justifying himself.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6. p. 355.]

May the 2d, 1537.

My lorde, yff afore tyme it could nott be suerlye and clerelye perceived what affectyon I have ever borne to the kyng's honour and wealthe, which in my hole lyfe never gave the least occasyon, whye any man shoulde think, but wyth them that tendery'd the same moste, I myght chiefly be nombery'd: yf my deeds were trulye and indyfferentlye examined: but howe soever ytt be, yff any dede afore perverslye interpretate myght ryse any scrupell to surmise the contrary, surely these letters that I wryght now, as the time and case requirithe, bearyng that tenour as in readyng you shall knowe, be suffycyent not onely to abolyshe all former doubts, shewing those to be perversly surmysed, but to make clere, that a more constant and stable mynde in observance off a prince, hathe not bene founde nother yn subject nor other personnes besyde. And the cause hereoff ys, that there never happened lyke occasyon as thys ys, that causythe me now to wryght, wherebye my mynd myght be so well knowen, while occasion ys gyven off the kyng's part under this maner, that he procureing against me, by such meanes to my undoynge, as was never hard off the like in Chrystendome against anye, that bare that personne that I do att this tyme. Yff my minde, after all this remain stable, to procure all things that may be to his honour and wealthe, as ever I have professy'd afore-tyme, what can be more suerer tokyn off a depe and a profound grounded love and affection: whither I do so I shall afterward showe you. If I declare first to hym that knoweth it beste, the kyng's act ageynst me, to the entente you maye knowe, yff I after that remayne yn my old estate off observance, ytt is not for ignorance that I knowe not what is machinate ageinst me. And suerly, thoughe I knewe afore bothe by your letters and other in what displeasure the king had me, without the least cause shewed off my part; I take God and my conscience to judge, which thynge, iff I had borne but a meane affectiyon myght a been suffycyent to alyenate also my mynde from thence, where I sawe what soever I dyd for the best, to be ever accepted in the worste parte. But this I wyll not have yowe take for my proffe off my mynde, but to procede off the kyng's displeasure toward me; the lesse I knowe the cause to be, the further I was from all imagynacyon to suspect that hys grace should be so incensy'd against my personne; that for to have me in his hands, he wold be content to breke and vyolate both Godd's law and mann's, to dystourbe all commercement betwene contrye and contrye, between man and man, and thys I would never a thought: but fyndyng the same to be so in dede, I could not but fynde wythall, howe hys grace was bent with all to my utter undoynge; agaynst the which yff I remayne in my old purpose to procure hys wealthe and honour, he that wyll seke other proffs after thys, or wyll not be content with thys declaracyon off a mann's mynde, he declareth with all that wythe no proffe he wyll be content, but wyll have him one off hys enemies whither he wyll or no. And off this mynde off the kynge toward me I had furst knowledge at myne arryvenge in France, off the whiche to showe youe the first motion of my mind herein, I was more ashamyd to hear for the compassion I had to the king's honour, then movyd by any indygnacyon, that I comyng not only as imbassador, but as legate, yn the hyghest sort of embassage that ys used amongst the Chrysten princes, a prynce off honour shold desyer off another prince off like honour, betraye thyne ambassadour, betray the legate, and give him into my ambassadour's hands to be brought unto me. This was the dishonourable request, as I understand, of the king; which (as I said afore) to me suerly, regarding my own part, I promes'd you was no great displeasure, but rather (if I shall say truth) I toke pleasure herein; and said furthwith to my company, that I never felt my self in full possession to be a cardinall, as when I herd those tydings; wherby it pleased God to send lyke fortune to me, as it did to those hedds of the church, whose persones the cardynalls do represent, which was to be persecutyd moste of them, whose wealth they labouryd for most busyly. In this case lyved the apostells: and the same nowe beyng happenyd to me, afore God I promise I felt no displeasure, but rather was glad thereof, specially consedyryng herebye I hadd the better occasyon to declare and justyfie my minde more then ever I had afore, which was ever my minde: but touchyng the thynge, iff we had no other religion, but lyved as paganes and infidells, yet jus gentium should ever teache us what demand this was, the lawe of nature alone myght declare how abhomynable ytt were to grante to such a request, and no less to desyer ytt. This I rehearse now to this intent, that you might the sooner perceve, that if there had been but one sparke of a mynde alienate from the kyng, thys were able



to set the same in such a fyer, that furst consideringe how all regarde off honour was sett aparte, and the law that maintaineth the commercement between man purposyd to be violate, so ytt myght torne to my undoing. Furst of all of my part, I shuld abstaine from all commercement with that part, other by word, writing, or dede; secondorylye, procure by all honest wayes, if I wolde not by dishonest, to repay this malignytie, to the uttermoste damage I could devise toward them, of whose malygne minde towarde me I had so greate experyence: and yet after all this, furst of all, youe may see forthwythe by wrytyng att this tyme, I doe nott abstayne from the furst acte to practyse and entreate, wyth them that hath bene authors hereof, and to practyse yett to hys honour and wealthe, whiche wold utterlie extinguyshe both in me. And if I be herd herin, to put the same also in execution; which thing thoughe I do suerlie of my owne purpose and mynd, yet some occasion hereof, howe it cometh otherwise I will not denye, nor kepe close, which is this; that whereas the bishope of Verona, that was sent of me to the Frenche court, to intimate those affaires, that for the wealthe of Christendome the pope had committed unto me, to entreate with his majestie, in his retourne passynge by Abbevylle, where were lodged my lorde of Wynchester, and Mr. Bryan; whereas we could not but gretlie marvayle of this acte of the kyng toward me, my hole legation purposing no other but his honour and weltche: and desiereng therefore to conferre the same with the embassadours, for better declaracyon of the truthe of the mattiers, to be known as they were: my lord of Wynchester, and Mr. Bryan, both abstaynenge for respect from all communycation, yet sending unto him theyre secretarye, after the bishope had in parte declared the effect of my legacie, that touched then any part the kyng, yet semed to be open to bothe parties, that all the king had done agaynst me, was of the sinistre and false reports of other, that by false conjecture of things they knewe not, had ill enfourmed the king of my purpose in comyng into these partes, which the secretarys thought onys clered and declaryd, other by letters or messingers, the kyng wold turne his mynde, as his grace sawe the deds to justyfie themselfs. This the bishope of Verona (at his retourne) showed me; which I accepted in that parte to be trewe also, that all came of evill enformacion. And that his grace being assertayned of my mynd, as it is and ever hath bene, it were not unpossyble then some part to knowledge rather my gratitude, than to machynate anye thing contrary. And that it might be so knowen, for all parts yet cannot be but well; but as I shewed the bishope, by letters I had attempted often the same, but all could not prevail: my messengers I had sent often for that purpose, could never be admitted to have audience with the kyng. And without one of these wayes were founde, there could no conclusion be had in these mattyers, wherein reasonyng with him, I asked him, if for the love and service that ever he hath born to the kinge, and showed indede when he was in that place where his service might be in steade to the kynge, and love also he hath ever to me, having assured knowledge of all my affayres and purposes, not only these laste, but all synyth my departing from the realme, whether he could be content (the king's pleasure first knowen) to acquiet the king's mynde in this behalfe, by going to his grace, and enforming him of the hole; wherein, afore God, he shuld do a dede moste charitable. Wherin also I did allege unto him, for to bind him withall; bycause after such demonstracyon of the kyng's mynde made unto me, few men wold be content to practyse wyth his grace, in any thing belonging unto me. For this cause, I did rehearse the more thyngs to enduce him hereunto; and amongst other, this chieflye, the purpose of his comyng with me, which (afore God) was this: that the pope, entending by all meanes of benignitie to practise with the king, haveng the Frenche kyng so joined in amytie with the kyng, and with his sanctitie also; devyseng for a mete instrument betwene bothe. Yf any personne, for this degree newlye taken, were not accepted, the bishop of Verona was thought moste meetest, being for his old deserts to both princes, as long as he was in that place where he might do them serviceable pleasure, as it was to be thought grateful to them both, and counted (for his goodness) the best bishop of Italye. So that all thynges consydered, in mattiers of the church to entreate with these princes, none was thought like: wherupon the pope bounde him to take thys jornaye with me, for this purpose. And this bond, amongst other I rehearsed unto him, when I moved him to go unto the kinge. To the which, he made answer: yf there were none other bond nor respect in this mattier but of God, knowing my mattiers as he doth, and seing what inconvenients might followe, if they were not at laste well accepted, besyde the servyce he hath ever owed to the kinge, and love toward me, knowing what comfort that might be to all partys, if my trewe and faythfull dealings were well intimate to the king, he wold be content at all tymes the waye onys founde afore, howe with commodytie he might come to the king's presence, to take this charge upon hym. Thys, my lorde, you may now perceive, that if I had any part that mynde, that the kyng's procurenge against me doth showe to be persuaded I have, yt could not be possible I could have any confidence to attempt any medlyng wythe his grace under suche maner: but because nor my confydence, nor affecyonate mynde, yt is not taken awaye, therefore this I do declare unto you by these letters, to the intent you maye intimate the same to hys grace. And now you see by a great proffe what my mynde is, you may also see how all suspytion may not alonlye be clearyd, many things apeacyd that peradventure might torne to greater trouble, but also many things be brought to light, to the kyng's more assuryd honour and wealthe, than any thing is I thinke thought of hitherto make for the same. For all this I dare promisse to follow, if the bishop be herd with that mynde, as he is sent, and content for to go. Other declaration of my mynde by letters I entende not to make, than my letters agreyng with my acts sent afore do make testimonye; and that the bishope, which is prevye to all, may better declare presentlye, But this I will saye, if I bare in any parte that mynde, the kyng's acte agaynst me doth show his grace is persuaded I shold have, suerlye I wold never adone as I have done, in all my acts and processes by letters, made the kyng and you prevye unto them. Thys I dyd at my furst commyng to Rome, and the cause of my legacy nowe, and the cause of my comyng to these parts. Such advises rebels be not wont to give unto those from whome they rebel, but specially at Rome, being there when the tyme was troubleous for the kyng in his realme; lettyng them the sending furthe of the censures, which myght a caused more trouble; and sending at that tyme my servant purposelye, to offer my service, to procure by all meanes his honour, welth, quietness; animating besyde, those that were cheffe of my nerest kynne, to be constaunt in his servyce. Thys rebells be not wont to do. And I know, at Rome, if any man had been premyate to do hym service, none could have done more; insomuch that men judged me half a rebell to God and my contrye, because I wold not assent to divers thyngs, that had made little

to the kyng's quietness: but specially, having in my hand those wrytings, that put forthe perrdventure, might a caused most trouble of all. These instauntly being desired of those, which had in a manner authorytie to commande, and yet ever finding meanes that they never came into their sight nor hands, and to this hower suppressing the same lykewise. If one that had mynd of rebellion wold do the same, be thinke you well: but, as I say, my purpose is not to justifie my mynde, by these letters, at this time, in more acts than one, which is of this present time. Nor if it be not justified of such a one as the bishop's, that knoweth them assuredly, I do nother entend hereafter to labour any more herein: afore God, and all men, that will be indifferent judges of the truthe, I will not doubt, at all times to justifie my self toward the king. I wold to God I could so well justifie my self afore God and the catholick church, for negligent service in this behalf, because I wouide not offend the kinge. Now I will say no more, but pray unto Almighty God, to put that in the kyng's mynde that may be most to his honour and wealthe, with grace to follow the same; and to take from all other such occasyon, why they shuld thynk, if they serve the kyng according to their conscience, they shuld be constrayned to offend the kyng, and so herebye to separate the one from the other; which suerlye to no man shuld be more greffe than to me. But Goddes pleasure be fulfylled above all, to whome nowe I commit you. Written at Cambray, the second day of Maye.

Your lovyng friend
R. Card. Legat.

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NUMBER LIV.

*A Letter of the Abbess of Godstow, complaining of Dr. London.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4. p. 228.]

Pleasith hit your honor, with my moste humble dowtye, to be advertised, that where it hath pleasyd your lordship to be the verie meane to the king's majestie, for my preferment, most unworthie to be abbes of this the king's monasterie of Godystowe; in the which offyce, I trust I have done the best in my power to the mayntenance of God's trewe honour, with all treuth and obedience to the king's majestie; and was never moved nor desired by any creature in the king's behalfe, or in your lordship's name, to surrender and give upe the house; nor was never mynded nor intended so to do, otherwise than at the king's gracious commandement, or yours. To the which I do, and have ever done, and will submit my self most humblie and obedientlie. And I trust to God, that I have never offendyd God's laws, neither the king's, wherebie that this poore monastrie ought to be suppressed. And this notwithstanding, my good lorde, so it is, that doctor London, whiche (as your lordeship doth well knowe) was agaynst my promotion, and hathe ever sence borne me great malys and grudge, like my mortall enemye, is sodenlie cummyd unto me, with a greate rowte with him; and here dothe threten me and my sisters, sayeng, that he hath the king's commission to suppress the house, spyte of my tethe. And when he saw that I was contente that he shulde do all things according to his commission; and shewyd him playne, that I wolde never surrender to his hande, being my awncyent enemye; now he begins to intreat me, and to invegle my sisters, one by one, otherwise than ever I harde tell that any of the kyng's subjects hathe been handelyd: and here tarieth and contynueth, to my greate cost and charges; and will not take my answere, that I will not surrender, till I know the king's gracious commandement, or your good lordeship's. Therefore I do moste humblie beseche you, to contynewe my goode lorde, as you ever have bene; and to directe your honorable letters to remove him hens. And whensoever the kyng's gracious commandement, or yours, shall come unto me, you shall find most reddie and obedyant to folloe the same. And notwithstand that doctor London, like an untrew man, hath informed your lordship, that I am a spoiler and a waster, your good lordship shall knowe that the contrary is trewe. For I have not alienatyd one halporthe of goods of this monasterie, movable, or unmovable, but have rather increasyd the same. Nor never made lease of any farme, or peece of grownde belongyng to this house; or then hath bene in tymes paste allwaies set under convent seal for the wealthe of the house. And therefore my verie truste is, that I shall fynde the kynge as gracious lorde unto me, as he is to all other his subjects. Seyng I have not offendyd. And am and will be moste obedyent to his most gracious commandment at all tymes. With the grace of Allmighty Jesus, who ever preserve you in honour longe to indure to his pleasure. Amen. Godiston the vth daie of November.

Your moste bownden beds woman
Katharine Bulkeley, Abbes there.

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NUMBER LV.

*A Letter to Bullinger from one of Maidstone, giving an Account of an Image, which seems to be the Rood of Boxley in Kent.*

[At Zurich.]

Johannes Hokerus Maydstanenses.

Ruit hic passim Azzotinus Dagon, Bel ille babylonicus jam dudum confractus est. Repertus est nuper Cantianorum deus ligneus, pensiis Christus, qui cum ipso Protheo concertare potuisset. Nam et capite nutare, innuere oculis, barbam convertere, in curvare corpus, adeuntium aversari et recipere preces scitissimè noverat. Hic cum Monachi sua causa caderent, repertus est eorum Templo, plurimo cinctus anathemate, linteis, cereis agricis . . . exterisque ditatus muneribus. Subodoratus est fucum cordatus Vir, Nicolai Patrigii nostri frater, affixum contra parietem è vestigio solvet, apparint artes, apparent imposturæ, mirus ac Polypeus præstigiator deprehenditur. Erant foraminoso corpori occultæ passim fistulæ, in quibus ductile per rimulas, ferrum à mystagogo trahebatur, laminis nihilominus artificiose celantibus. Hinc factum est ut populum Cantianum, imò Angliam totam jam seculis aliquot magno cum quæstu dementarit. Patefactus Meydstanuensibus meis spectaculum primitus dedit, ex summo se culmine confertissimo se ostentans populo, aliis ex animo, aliis Ajacem risu simulantibus. Delatus hinc circulator Londinum est. Invisit Aulam Regis, Regem ipsum, novus hospes: nemo salutat verè. Conglomerant ipsum risu aulico, Barones, Duces, Marchionis, Comites. Adsunt è longinquo, circumstand', intuend' et videnḍ penitus. Agit ille, minatur oculis, aversatur ore, distorquet nares, mittit deorsum caput, incurvat dorsum, annuit et renuit. Vident, rident, mirantur, strepit vocibus theatrum, volitat super æthera clamor. Rex ipse incertum gavisus ne magis sit ob patefactum imposturam, an magis doluerit ex animo tot seculis miseræ plebi suisse impositum. Quid multis opus? Res delata est ad Conciliarios. Hinc post dies aliquot habita est Londini concio, prædicabat è sacra Cathedra Episcopus Roffensis, stat ex adverso Danieli Bel-Cantianus, summo erectus pulpito. Hic denuò sese aperit, hic denuo coram fabulam scitè agit. Mirantur, indignantur, stupent. Pudet ab idolo tam turpitur suisse delusos. Cumque jam incalesceret Concionator, et Verbum Dei occultè operatur in cordibus auditorum, præcipitio devolvunt istum lignum truncum in confertissimos auditores. Hic varius auditur diversorum clamor, rapitur, laceratur, frustillatim comminuitur, scinditurque in mille confractus partes, tandem in IGNEM mittitur. Et hic tulit exitum illum.



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NUMBER LVI.

*A Consolatory Letter to Henry VIIIth, from the Bishop of Durham, after the Death of Queen Jane.*

[Cott. Lib. Titus B. 1. p. 121.]

Plese your highnes to understande that wher now of late it hath pleasyd Almighty God to take unto his mercy out off this present lyffe, the most blessed and vertuouse lady, your grace's most dearest wyffe the queen's grace, whose soule God pardone, and newes thereof sorrowfull to all men, came into these partes, surely it cannot well be expressed, how all men of all degrees dyd greatly lament and mourne the death of that noble lady and princesse, taken out of this world by bringing forth of that noble fruit that is sponge of your majesty, and her, to the great joy and inestimable comforte of all your subjects, consideringe withall that this noble fruit, my lord prince, in his tender age interyng into this world, is by her death lefft a dear orphant, commencinge thereby thys miserable and mortall lyffe, not only by weepinge and waylinge, as the mysery of menkynde requireth, but also refte in the begynnynge of his lyffe from the comforte of his most dear mother. And albeyt to hym by tenderness of his age, it is not known what he hath lost, yet we that do know and feel it, have much more cause to morne, seinge such a vertuose princesse who hath shewed so great hopes of much frute to come of her body, is so sudenly taken from us. But thys notwithstandinge your majesty whom thys chauncly most towcheth, must by your high wisdome consyder the misery of the mortal lyffe of mankynde, which no man born in this world, prince nor poore man, can exchue; seing it is the sentence of Almighty God, sayinge in the begynning aswel to the woman, "in dolore paries filios tuos;" as to the man, and by him to all his posterite, "pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris." In which mortal lyffe who soever is most vexyd and troubled, yf he take it patiently ys more accepte to God, and called in the scripture therby blessed; as it is written in the Book of Job, "beatus homo qui corripitur à Deo; in crepationem ergo Domini ne reprobes, quia ipse vulnerat et medetur, percutit et manus ejus sanabit." And it is written in the epistle of James lykewise, "beatus vir qui suffert tentationem, quum autem ille probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitæ." And as Saint Paul saies to the Hebrews, it is a sure tokyn that God favoureth them as his children, to whom he sendeth adversite, sayinge, "quem enim diligit Dominus castigat; flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit. In disciplina perseverate, tanquam filiis vobis se offert Deus: Quin enim filius quem non corrigit Pater; quod si extra disciplinam estis, cujus participes facti sunt omnes, ergo adulterini et non filii estis." And albeyt the disciplin of adversite be full of hevinesse for the tyme, yet it endeth alwayes in joy; as there folloeth, "omnis autem disciplina in presenti quidem non videtur esse gaudii sed mereris, postea autem fructum paratissimum exercitatis per eadem reddet justitiæ." And like as al men more do favour those their servants, that in a longe voiage do sustein more adversite, so Almighty God in thys lyffe (which all is but a voiage, for as Saint Paule saieth, "non habemus hic manentem civitatem sed futuram inquirimus,") most accepteth those his servants, that so sustein most adversite patiently. And Saint Paule, consyderinge the instabilite of this world, exhorteth all men to use al things therin as transitory, and not permanent both in prosperity and in adversite; for neither of both doth tary, but brively overpaseth; sainge, "tempus breve est; reliquum est, ut qui habent uxores tanquam non habentes sint, et qui flent tanquam non flentes, et qui gaudent tanquam non gaudentes, et qui emunt tanquam non possidentes, et qui utuntur hoc mundo tanquam non utatur, preterit enim figura mundi hujus." Then sence prosperite is fugitive and taryeth not, let us not trust to yt, and since adversite soon overpasseth and abideth not, let us not esteem it for after it sustenyd patiently sure we be that joy shall succeed. Consyder yf it like your majestie how oft tymes sence your most noble regne began, God hath sent you diverse and many tymes great flowings of prosperite, and therfor yf God sum tymes do sende a droppe of adversite, sustein it by your high wisdome, with patient suffering, as I trust assuredly, and doubt not but your highnes wyl; assured you may be that God for your so doinge shal hyghly requite that far beyond your highnes' expectations. Grete cities, towns, and regions, al people in them, and princes of the same, oft do sustein adversite bycause the hole world is alway subject to mutabilite, and lyke as after lygth succeedeth darknes, and after somer cometh winter, so darknes taryeth not, but light doth folow, and winter giffeth place to the somer again; so that I doubt not but God willing this storme of sorowful season, shal by your majestie's wisdome after a tyme overpass, and the somer of joyful gladnes shal succeed, not only to your grace comforte, but to the comforte of all your subjects, much mornyng at this tyme in their harts with your highnes. And when Almighty God hath taken from your grace, to your greate discomforte a moste blessed and vertuouse lady, consyder what he hath given your highnes again to your comforte, and to the rejoyce of all us your subjects, our most noble prince, to whom God hath ordeined your majestie not only to be father, but also as the tyme now requireth, to supply the roome of a mother also. So that therby he shal hereafter have double cause to honour your highnes. As it is not to be doubted, but God grantyng him lyfe herafter he wyl do. In whom in the mean tyme, Almighty God of infinite mercy grant, that your grace putting away all sorrowful pensivenesse, may to the comfort of your noble harte, long rejoyce, which shal be also to the high comfort of al the subjects of your grace's realme. And sense mornyng can in no wise amend the matter, and thanks given to God may sooner over-blow this storm. Best shall be to conclude with Job, "Dominus dedit, dominus abstulit, sicut Domino placuit ita factum est. Sit nomine Domini benedictum." God gave your grace that noble lady, and God hath takyn her away as it plesed hym. So it is done, laude by gyven to hym: and for to consyder also, how Job exhorteth by his example, al men being in like case, to patience, sainge, "Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini, mala autem quare non sustineamus:" which your highnes for your great wisdome and learninge can much better consider, then I can advertise the same, unlesse sorrowfulnes for the tyme put it out of remembrance. Almyghty God of his infinite mercy grant your grace spiritual comfort, and putting away al worldly hevynesse, ever to rejoyce in him, who

have your majestie alway in his blessed protection to your hart's desire, with encrease of much honore. From your citie of Yorke the xii day of November.

By your most humble subject, servant and chaplein,

CUTHBERT DURESME.

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NUMBER LVII.

*Injunctions geven by Edwarde Archbushope of Yorke, to be observed within the Dioces of Yorke, by all the Clergie of the same, and oder, whome the sayde Injunctions do concerne.*

You shall fyrste diligentlie observe all maner of injunctions, given unto you by the king's hyghnes commaundiment, and specially concerninge the abolicion of the papacie, or of the pretendyd jurisdiction challenged by the byshope of Rome within this realme; and also concerning the confirmation and establishment of the kyng's highness' title of suprime heade over thole catholique churche of Englande, aswel spirituall as temporall.

*Item.* Everie curate and preyste within this dioces, shall have an New Testament, in Englishe or Latten, within fourtie days nexte after the publication hereof; and shall daylie reade two chapitores of the same afore nowne, and two at aftre nowne, and that treatablie and distinctlie; and shall do his best indevoure to understande the same.

*Item.* Everie curate shall provyde to have the booke compyled by the king's highnes' commaundiment, namyd thinstitution of Christen man, with all convenient speyde, as soon as the saide book shall come forth by his commaundment: and in the same shall daylie read two chapitores, so that he may be able to declare the same to his parochians.

*Item.* All curates and heades of congregacions, religiouse and not religiouse, privileged and not privileged, shall, accordinge to the kyng's highnes' commandiment and injunctions, everie holie day, at mattens time, and betwene mattens and laudes, read the Pater Noster, and the Ave Maria in Englishe, treateabli and distincelie, and cause all theire parochians, whiche cannot all redy say it in Englyshe, yonge and olde, to reherse everie peticion by it selfe, to thend therof, after them; and in lykewise everi holy day, at masse, and immediatlie after the crede, shall rehers everie article of the crede by it selfe, and so shall cause the parochians to rehers after them, everie one by it selfe, to thende; and likewise every holy day, at even-songe, betwene even-songe and completorie, shall rehers the Tenne Commaundements, every one by it self, and to cause his parochians to rehers after him, everie one by it selfe, to thende, to thentente that they may lerne perfectelie all three. And for this purpose, the saide curates, and oder heades of the congregacion, must give warninge to thaire parochians, that none of them be absent at such times as any of the said three shall be rehersed. And shall furthermore declare unto them, that they shall not be admytted to resave the blessed sacrament of the altar at Easter, tyll they can perfectlie reherse them all three by rote: and therfore everie gostelie father, accordinge to the king's injunctions, muste everie lent examen ther parochians, in time of confession, to knowe wheder they have learned the premisses perfytly, or not.

*Item.* All curates muste continuallye call upon thaire parochians, to provide a booke of the hole byble in Englyshe, of the largieste forme, within fourtie dayes next after the puplication hereof, that may be chayned in some open place in the churche, that all men may resorte to reade it for theare instruction, under the payne of suspencion of ther churches. And the same to be boughte at the charges of the vicare or parsonne, and parochians, accordinge to the king's injunctions.

*Item.* All curates muste cause one booke, comprisinge the Pater Noster and Ave Maria in Englishe, the Crede and the Tenn Commaundements in Englishe, to be set upon a table in the churche openlie, that all men may resorte to learne them, at all such tymes as they woll. And this to be done, within twentie days after the puplication hereof.

*Item.* No curates, nor oder priestes of what sorte soever they be, shall haunte taverns or alehowses, or open hoistres, oder wayes than for necessarie meales and refections: if they canne have none in oder places, accordinge to the king's highnes' injuctions; but shall occupie themselves, ether in the churche, or in thaire chambers, with reading of holy scripture, or teachinge of children.

*Item.* All curates and priestes, beinge in one churche togeddre, shall (if they can so provide) live togedder at one commons; and not one to be in one place, and ane oder in an oder place. And shall, in all theire behaviors, shew good example, in worde, dede, countenaunce and habyte, to the better edifienge of the laye-people.

*Item.* They shall not be common hunters ne hawkers, ne playe at gammes prohibytede, as dycese and cartes, and such oder.

*Item.* That they shall (accordinge to the king's highnes' injunctions) in no wise discorage any man to reade in the English byble, which is the booke of lyefe; but shall comfort them therin: never the lesse exhorting them to enter in to the readinge therof, withe the sperite of mekenes, and purpose to be gostelie edified. And not to be brablers ne praters, arguers ne disputers therof, ne to presume that they know therin that they know not; but, for ther instruction, to resorte to such as be better lerned than they be, when they finde any dyfficultie therein.

*Item.* All curates and heades of congregations, religiouse and oder, privileged and oder, shall everie holy day reade the gospell, and the epistle of that day out of the Inglishe byble, planely and distinctlie: and they that have such grace, shall make some declaracion odre, of the one, or of bothe, (if the time may serve,) every holy day.

*Item.* Every curate, resident and hable, shall make four solempne sermons in the yeare, one everie quarter: not rescoent, havinnge 5*l.* or 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* de claro, shall finde one solempne sermon for the instruction of the people, in the begyninge of lent, havyng 10*l.* de claro, two solempne sermons; one in the begyning of lent, and othur at sume othur time of the yere. Having 15*l.* three sermons; one in the begynninge of lent, thoder at two convenient tymes. Havinge 20*l.* four sermons; one at lent, thoder three, at three convenient times. Havinge 30*l.* de claro, five sermons; one at lent, and the oder four at convenient times. Having 40*l.* six sermons; one in the beginninge of lent, and the oder five at convenient times. And as the cleare valew doth encrease, so mo sermons.

And yet nevertheles we now monishe, under the payne of the lawe, all parsons and vicares to be resident upon theire curis, beinge within this dioces, afore the feaste of Christenmas next; oneles they can and do shew, afore that day, a lawfull cause, why they may not, or shoulde not do so.

*Item.* That none be admytted to kepe cure, ne to say masse in any churche of this dioces; oneles he be admitted by me, or my officer, havinge commission fro me for the same; and allso do shewe the lettes of his orders.



*Item.* That no man be admitted to preache within this dioces, onelesse he have auctorite under the king's seale, or myne, accordinge to the king's highnes' injunctions.

*Item.* All curates and oder, havinge charge of any congregacion, must diligentlie informe theire flocke, accordinge to the king's highnes' injunctions, that they may in no wise yelde worshippe to any images, lowtinge or bowinge downe, or knelinge to the saide images, ne offering to them any money, or wax lighte or unlighte, or any oder thing: for so muche, as offeringe is to made to God onlie, and to no creature under God. Neverthelesse they may still use lightes in the roode lofete, and afore the sacrament, and at the sepulture at Easter; accordinge to the king's injunctions: so that they none use to the honor or worshippe of any image, ne by the way of offeringe made, odre to any image, or to any saincte represented by the same.

*Item.* They must teache theire flocke, that images be suffred onelie as bokes, by which our hertes may be kindeled to folow the holy steppes and examples of the saintes represented by the same; even as sainctes lives be written, and muste be redde in written bookes, for the same purpose: and that, as we do not worshipe our booke when we have rede the saints's liefe; so likewise, we shall not worshipe the images, which is as the booke to them that cannot read in odre bokes.

*Item.* They must declare to thaire flocke, that althoughe they see the image of the fadre represented as an olde man, yet they maye in no wise beleve, that the hevenlie father is any man, or that he haithe any bodie or age; but that he is a nature and substaunce, above all mesure passinge the capacite and understandinge, oder of mans witt or aungelles.

*Item.* Alle suche ymagies, to whiche any maner of resorte is usede, by waye of peregrenage or offeringe, they must depose and sequestre frome all sighte of men, and suffre them no more to be sett up.

*Item.* They must charge all the faders and moders, and heades of howse-holdes, and gode-fatheres, and gode-motheres, and schoole-maystres, accordinge to the king's highnes' injunctions, to see theire children, servantes and scoleres, well instructe in the Pater-Noster, Ave Maria, Crede, and Tenne Commandiments in Englishe, and all oder thinges compprised in theis injunctions. And for that purpose, all curates and heades of congregacions, muste ons in a quarter rede theis injunctions, in the churche, in thaudience of all the people; aswell for the remembrance of theire owne dewtie, as for ther citinge the people to knowe theire dewtie. And we charge and commaunde all curates, and all oder of this dioces to whome it shall apperteigne, to have a copy of theis injunctions, within fourtie days next folowinge the puplication hereof. And when the same shal be imprinted, we charge them to have them so imprinted within sex days aftre the same shall come to thire knowledge, under payne of excommunication.

*Item.* They muste instructe their parochians, that they nothinge please God, but displease him; doeng workes onlie in thaire owne will and devocion, by man's tradicion, and leaving the workes by God commanded, undone.

*Item.* They muste instruct their flocke, that their confidence for thatteyning of everlasting lief, must be only in God, and in his grace and marcy, and in the merits and redemption of our Saviour Jesu Christe: and that none of our workes, as ours, have any efficacie or vertue to save us, but only have their vertue and efficacie by the grace of God, and merits of Christ's passion.

*Item.* All curates must openly, in the church, teach and instruct the mydwiefes, of the very wordes and fourme of baptisme; to thentente that they may use them perfitely, and none oder: in time of nede, that is to say; that they, naming the child, must say these words, "John, or Thomas, or Agnes, I baptize thee in the name of the Fader, the Sonne, and the holie Gost:" and that saying thies wordes, they must cast water upon the child. For which purpose they must have ready at hand a vessel of cleane water.

*Item.* They must often upon the holidays, and specially at times of marriage, warn their parochians, that they in no wise make any privie contract of marriage, but afore two or three sufficient witnes required to be present for that purpose: and that afore they make any contract, they do their best endevour to know wheder there be betwene them any lawfull impediment, oder by Godds lawe, or any oder ecclesiastical yet used, afore they enter to make any contract.

*Item.* That the fadres, and oder freyndes, constrayne not them that be under their correccion and governance, to marry agenst their willes, ne afore they have discretion to consider what the bounde of marriage meaneth.

*Item.* All curates and oder heddes of congregacyons must never ceasse to imprinte in the hertes of their flocke the two commaundiments which our Saviour calleth the fulnes of the lawe; that is, the love of God above all thing, and thei love of thye neighbore as thy self: and likewise the sayd curates must continuallie engrave in the hertes of their flocke the two preceptes of the lawe of nature; that is, do as thou wolde be done unto, and do not that thou wolldest not to be done unto the.

*Item.* They muste alway emploie them self to mainteyn charitie and peace in our Lorde Jesu amongs their parochians, and to avoide all rancor and dissention amongs them.

*Item.* That they in no wise kepe thoes dayes for holy whiche by our soveraigne lord the kynge open juste consideracion be abrogat: ne asmoche as in them is suffer of their parochians to kepe them as holie, but that they in theme be occupied everie man in his busines, as in oder days, according to the kinge's highnes' injunctions.

*Item.* They must instructe their flocke, that in those dayes which be observed and kept for holiedayes, they must utterlie withdrawe themselfes frome all worldlie and fleshlie busines and occupacions, and houses of gammes and playes; speciallie frome all synne; and entierlie and hollie employ themselfes to goostelie works, behoveable for manis soule: and that therefore taverns, victailing-houses, may not thyes dayes be used and exercised, and speciallie in the tyme of divine servicie, onles necessitie oderwise require for them that travaile in journey.

*Item.* All houses of religion, colleges, hospitalls, and all oder havyng any benefices appropriated unto theme, shall, according to the value of their beneficies, have in their churches appropried certain sermons every year; as in like ordinance for curates as afore is comprised.

*Item.* All curates and oder havyng benefices appropriated by them self yf they can, or by oder preachers ons every quarter, must teache and instruct the people of their dewtie of fathefull and loyall obedience to our soverand lord the king, declaring that they be bounden to yield entier and perfect obedience to his highnes by Goddes lawe, expresse under the payn of dampnation everlasting: and that to make any styrryng, gathering of people, or commocion, withoute his expresse commandment, is to breke, not only Goddes commandment and lawe, but also all natural and politique

order, in which the heed governethe the membres, and not the membres the heed, in which also all the members, aswell by nature as by good policie, employe them selfe and indaunger them self for the preservation and mayntenance of the heed.

All which injunctions by thauctorite which we have under God, and our soveraigne lord the kynge, we charge all to whom it appertenyth to observe and kepe under the paynes lymyted in the same, and under the paynes of suspencion and sequestracyon of the frutes of theyre beneficies and promocyons ecclesiasticall, and oder paynes arbitrary, as we shall thynke convenient and reasonable.

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NUMBER LVIII.

*Injunctions given by the Bishoppe of Coventre and and Lychefelde throughe out his Diocesse.*

To all and singular of the clergie within the diocess of Coventree and Lichefelde, I, Rolande, by the grace of God byshop of the sayd diocesse, beynge commaunded therunto by the kinge's majestie, gyve these injunctions following, for the honour of God, thencrease of vertue, and abolyshmente of ignorance, vice, and viciouse lyvinge.

Fyrste, that ye and every one of you, shall with all your diligence and faythful obedience, observe and cause to be observed, all and syngular the contentes of the kynge's highnes' injunctions, by his grace's commissarys gyven, in such places as they in tymes paste have vysited, and also sent unto you at this tyme. And that ye and every of you shal provyde for copies of the same. to be had before the feast of Lammasse nexte ensuynge.

*Item.* That ye and every of you do instructe and teach your parishioners, the kinge's majestie to be only the supreme heed under Chryst in erthe of this his churche of Englande, unto whom all potentates and powers of the same owen to obey, being therto obliged and bounde by Goddes worde. And that the bishop of Rome, and his predecessours, did ever heretofore usurp upon the kynges of this realme, in the using any maner of jurisdiction or auctorite within the same. And that ye shal exhorte every Sonday al your parishioners, to the due obedience of our prince and soveraigne lorde, his heires and successors, kynges of Englande.

*Item.* That every person or proprietary of any parishe churche within my diocesse, shal on thisside the feast of Pentecoste nexte commynge, provide a boke of the hole Byble, bothe in Latin and also in Englishe, and laye the same in the quiere, for every man that will, to loke and reade theron: and shal not discorage, but ernestly comforte, exhorte, and admonishe every man to rede the Bible in Latin or Englishe, as the very worde of God, and the spiritual food of man's sowle, whereby they maye the better knowe their deutyes to God, to their soveraigne lord the kinge, and their neighboure: alwaye gently and charitably exhorting them to use a sober and a modeste haviour in the readynge and inquisition of the true sence, and that in no wise they stiffely or egerly contende. or strive with one another about the same, but referre the declaracion of those places that be in controversie, to the judgement of them that be better learned.

*Item.* I decree and ordeyne that all monasteries, collegiate churches, and al persons to whom any benefyces be impropried within my diocese, shal from henceforth four times in the year at the leaste, that is, one tyme every quarter cause one sermon to be preached, purely, sincerely, and according to the true scripture of God, in al such churches where they, or any of them, receive any profytes or commodities, upon peyne of sequestration of theyr fruites.

*Item.* I require and exhorte you, in our soveraigne lorde's name, and as his gracis mynister, I straitly charge and commaunde you, to declare and publishe every Sondaye in the pulpet at high masse tymes, the Pater Noster, Ave, and Crede in Englishe, distinctely, and in suche wyse as the people maye lerne the same. And that four tymes in the quarter ye declare to your paryshoners, the seven deedly sinns, and the Ten Commaundments, so as the people therby may not only lerne how to honour God, their prince, and parentes; but also how they shall avoide sinne and vice, and to lyve veruously, folowinge Goddes lawes and his commaundements.

*Item.* That ye bothe in your preachinges, secret confessions, and al other workes and doings, shall excite and move your parishioners unto such works as are commaunded expressly of God: for the whiche God shall demaunde of them a strayte reckeninge; as the Articles of the Fayth, the Ten Commandments, and all other workes which men do of their own will or devotion, to teache and instruct your parishioners, that they are not to be estemed, in comparison of the other. And that for the not doinge of any wilfull workes, God wyll not aske any accompte.

*Item.* That ye, nor any of you, sufre no fryer or other religious man, to have any cure or servyce within your churches or cures, excepte they be lawfully dispensed withal, or licensed by the ordinary.

*Item.* That ye, and every one of you, doo your dyligence, and endevour your selfes to your best industries and labour, to instructe and teache aswell chyldren as all other your people, both men and women, of that your parishe, the Pater Noster, Ave, and Crede, and the Ten Commaundments in Englishe, and that ye or any of you do admyt no man nor woman to receyve the sacrament of the Aultare, untyl that ye have harde them recite and declare at the least, the same Pater Noster, Ave, and Crede in Englishe, without boke.

*Item.* That ye, and every of you, shal two tymes in a quarter declare to your parishioners the bande of matrimony, and what great daunger it is to al men, that use theyr bodies, but with such personnes as they lawfully may by the law of God; and to exhorte in the said tymes your parishioners, that they make no privye contractes of matrimonie, but that they call two honest menne to recorde the same, as they wyll avoide the extreme payne of the lawes used within the kinge's realme by his gracis auctoritie.

*Item.* Where some frowarde persons, partly for malice and disdaine, neglecte theyr curates, and such as have the cure and charge of their soules, and partly to cloke and hyde their lewde and naughtie livinge, as they have used all the yere before, use at lent to go to be confessed to the fryers, and such other religious houses: therefore I wyl you to declare, and shew to your parishioners that no testimoniall, brought from any of them, shall stande in any effect: nor any such persones shall be admitted to Goddis bourde, unto they submit themselves to be confessed to their owne curates, onlesse for certayne arduate and urgent considerations of conscyence, they be, or shall be otherwise laufullye dispensed or lycensed withall, either by me or my deputies.

*Item.* Whereas unyversally reigneth this abhominable, detestable, and dyvelishe use and custome, that upon the holy dayes, in the tyme of divine servyce and preachyng, that youthe and other unthriftes, resorteth to ale-houses, and there use unlawfull games, blasphemie, dronkenness, with other enormities: so



that good people thereat be offended, and no punyshment hadde as yet: therefore I wil and commaunde you to declare to suche that kepe alehouses or taverns within your parishes, that at suche they suffre no more such unlawfull and ungodly assemblies; nor to receive suche persons to bollynge and drynkinge at such seasons in their houses, under peine of the kinges high displeasure, and to be punished for so doinge.

*Item.* Ye shall teache and instructe your paryshoners, at the least twelve tymes in the yere, the essential maner and forme of christeninges in Englishe, and that the mydwife may use it in tyme of necessitie: commaundinge the woman, when the tyme of birthe draweth nere, to have at all seasons a vessell of cleane water for the same purpose.

*Item.* Where I am credibly informed, that certain priestes in my diocesse, go in habite dissimuled more liker of the temporaltie than of the clergie, whiche may and dothe minister occasion to suche light persons whan they come in places, and to persons not knowen, to be more licentious, bothe of their communication and actes, to the great sclaunder of the clergie: therfore frome hensforthe I charge and commande, that in cities, towns, and villages, and in al other places, they weare mete, convenient, and decent apparrell, wherby they may be knowen of the clergie: as they and every one of them will avoide the penaltie of the lawes.

*Item.* I desire, require, and exhorte you and every of you, in the name of God, that he firmely do observe and kepe these all and singular mine injunctions. And that ye and every one of you that are priestes, having cure or not cure, as well benefyced, as not benefyced within my diocesse, do gette a copie of these injunctions, to the intente ye maye observe, and cause to be observed the contentes of the same.—God save the king.

Londini in Ædibus Thomae Bertheleti Regii Impressoris Excus. Anno M.D. XXXVIII. Cum Privilegio.

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NUMBER LIX.

*Injunctions given by the Bishop of Salysbury, throughout his Dioces.*

Injunctions made by me Nycolas Shaxton, bishop of Sarum, at mine ordinarie visitacion, done in tharchdeaconry of Dorset, in the yere of our lord God 1538, and in the 30th yere of the reign of our soveraigne lord King Henry the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of Englande and of France, Defender of the Faythe, lord of Ireland, and Supreme Hede here in erth, next under God, of the Church of England. All which and singuler injunctions, by thauctorite given to me of God and the kinge, I exhorte, and also commaunde all parsons, vicares, curates, chauntry prestes, and other of the clergy whatsoever they be, to observe, kepe, and perform, as concerneth every one of them, upon pain of inobedience, and also of all such lawes and statutes as may be laid against them, for breaking or violating of the same at any time hereafter.

Fyrst. Whereas beneficed men, having and taking cure of souls at the byshop's hands, do absent themselfs from their said cures without licence or counsell of the said byshop, not leavinge there able curates to discharge the said cures: I monyshe all such peremptorily, either to be personally upon their said cures, by Myghelmas nexte cumminge, or els to present unto me, or my deputies, such curates, as upon myne examinacion, shall be abled and admitted to serve and discharge the said cures, in thabsence of the said beneficed men. And that neither any French, or Irish preest, which cannot perfitly speke the Englysh tongue, serve no cure in this dyocesse, after the terme before specified.

*Item.* That all such having cures, do every Sonday and holidaye continually, recite, and sincerely declare in the pulpet, at the highe masse tyme, in the Englishe tonge, both the epystle and gospell of the same daye, (if ther be time therto) or elles the one of them at the leest; and also to set forthe the king's regall power to be supreme heade, and highest power, under God, in erthe, of the churche and realme of Englande: and to abolyshe the byshope of Rome's usurped power. And furthermore, to declare openly and distinctly the Ten Commaundements, the Articles of our Beleve, the Pater-Noster; and finally, bydde the beades, according to the king's ordinaunce, and none otherwise.

*Item.* That everie prebendary, or proprietary of any paryshe-churche, whose annuall fruytes extendeth to 20*l.* shall make, or cause for to be made foure times in the yere, (that is to saye, every quarter) one sermon there. And if the fruites be 15*l.* three sermons; if but 10*l.* two sermons; and if it be under that, he shall make one sermon at the leest, over and besydes the gyving of distribucions, almes, or other comfortable and bodily, or charitable socour amonge the poore parochians there, accordinge to theire appropriacions, or rate of their prebends.

*Item.* That ye suffre no man to preache, excepte he be especially licenced by his ordinary, or els the king's highnes' auctorite: nor that ye permit any friere, or other wearing a religiouse habyte, to have any service in your churches, neither to serve chauntry, nor trentall, neither any brothered service; and that no preeste saye two masses upon one daye, excepte Chrystmas daye only.

*Item.* That everie benefyced man, whose benefice is taxed at ten pounde, or above, have (before Whytsontide next) the holie bible; and all other preestes, beneficed or not beneficed, at the leest have the New Testament, both in Laten and in Englishe; and that everie one of them rede over and studye everie daye one chapiter at the leest, by order as they stande in the boke unto the ende, conferringe the Englishe and Latyn together. And if, by occasion of a lawfull let, it be undone one daye, be it supplied with two chapiters the nexte day, &c. so that one daye with another he faile not to study one chapiter.

*Item.* That every one of you procure diligentlie before Myghelmas nexte, to have copies of the king's injunctions made in his last visitation; and then to kepe and observe them effectually, upon paine therein mencioned.

*Item.* That every one having cure of souls, parson, vicar or curate, admitted, do perfitly con without boke the two whole gospells of Matheu and Johan, and the epistles of Paule to the Romayns, Corinthians, Galathians, and other as they stande, with the Actes of the Apostles, and the Canonical Pistles, after the rate, to con every fournyghte one chapiter without the boke, and the same to kepe still in memory; over and besides, to rede and studie everi day one chapiter within the boke, as is above expressed. And that the 28th chapiter of Deuteronomie be openly red in the church every quarter, in stede of the general sentence.

*Item.* That everie curat, the first Sonday of every moneth in the yere, do openly (in the pulpet) exhorte and charge his parochians, in no wise to make any prevye or secrete contract of matrimony; but that they utterly deferre it, untill such time as they may have two or three honest men, to hear and record the words and maner of their contract, as they will avoide thextreme paine of the lawe, if they do the contrarye.

*Item.* That none of you discorage any person from reding of the Holy Scripture, but rather animate and encorage them therto; so that it be done of them without braging or arrogancy, but onelie to lerne therby to live vertuously, folowing the lawes of God, and giving good examples and holsome counsell to other that be ignorant.

*Item.* That not only such as have cure of soules, but also chauntry preestes, do hensforth theire true diligence to instruct and teach children, until they can reade Englyshe; taking moderatly, for ther labours, of their frendes that be able to paye, which shall so put them to lerning.

*Item.* That yonge people be taught theire Pater Noster, Crede, and Tenne Commandments in Englyshe; so that none of them be admitted to receive the Sacrament of the Aulter, until he or she can, and do perfectly say and reherse in Englyshe unto the curate, the Pater Noster, Crede, and Tenne Commaundements, distinctly, wheresoever they be shryven, either at their parishe-churche, or els where. And in case any of them be obstinate to do, as is aforesaide, let them be detect immediatly after Ester, unto theire ordinary.

*Item.* That preaching be not left off for any other maner of observaunces of the churche, as processions, or exequies of the deade.

*Item.* That at your prechinge time, ye diligentlie see that youre parochians be present, and take hede therunto; and that none presume to be at an alehouse, tavern, or els where, at the preachinge-time, but onelie at the churche attentyfly hearing, as becometh good Christen people. And if any be disobedient, let them be first warned to amend; and afterward, if they amend not, detect them to their ordinarye.

*Item.* That ye suffre no night-watches in your churches or chapells, neither decking of ymages with gold, silver, clothes, lights, or herbs; nor the people knele to them, nor worship them, nor offre candles, otes, cake-bread, chese, wolle, or any such other thinges to them: but he shall instruct and teach them, how they ought and may use them; that is to say, only to beholde, or loke upon them, as one loketh upon a boke; wherby mens mindes be stirred and kendled some times to vertue and constancy, in faithe and love towards God, and sometimes to lament for their sinnes or offences. For otherwise there might be peril of ydolatrie, especially of ignorant lay-people, if they either in hert, or outward gesture worship them, or give honour to them, which ought onlie to be given to God, the Lord of all Saintes.

*Item.* Ye shall instruct your parochians, not to be envious about workes invented by their own folishe devocion, as to go about in idle pylgrimage, and say with vain confidence this prayer, and that prayer, with other superstitious observacions, in fastings, prayeng, and kepinge of olde folysh customs, which be not found commaunded or counseled, in any parte of Holy Scripture. But ye shall instruct them, and exhorte them, to know and do all such thinges, as be commaunded or commended in the Holy Scripture to be done; that is to say, to know and believe all the articles of our faith, conteined in the Crede, to kepe inviolably the Tenne Commaundementes, to performe the workes of mercy, after every mannes power and habilitie, to be in love and charite eche with other, and one to beare with other in his weaknes or infirmitie, and not to be vengeable for any offence.

*Item.* That every curate do at all times his best diligence, to reduce such as be at discord, to peace, love and charite, and one to forgive an other, how often so ever they be offended.

*Item.* That every curate, not only in his preaching, but also at all other times necessary, do perswade, exhorte, and warn the people, whatsoever they be, to beware of swering, and blasphemy of the holy name of God, or any part of Christ's precious body or blode. And also to beware and abstaine from cursing or banning, chidinge, scoldinge, bakbiting, slaundering, lyinge; and from adultry, fornicacion, glotony, dronkenship, sorcere, whitchcrafte: and if they be notoriously fauty in any of these, then to detect them, that they may be corrected in example of other.

*Item.* That every curat instruct his parochians, and especially the midwives, the essencial maner and forme how to christen a child in time of nede; commaunding the women, when the time of byrthe draweth nere, to have a vessel of clene water redy for the same purpose, charging also the said midwives, to beware that they cause not the woman, being in travaile, to make any folishe vowe, to go in pilgrimage to this ymage, or that ymage, after her deliveraunce, but only to call on God for helpe. Nor to use any girdels, purses, mesures of our lady, or such other superstitious things, to be occupied about the woman while she laboureth, to make her beleve to have the better spede by it.

*Item.* That none of you do magnifie and extol, praise, maintaine, or otherwise set forth, the superfluous holidayes abrogated by the kinge, with the advise of his ecclesiastical convocacion.

And finally, forasmoch as all Christen men ought ernestly to coveit and desiere their soules helthe, and the very meane therof is to obteine the true knowledge of God's worde, which is the fedyng of the soul: I exhort, desier, and, asmoche as I may I require, that in every honest paryshe-churche within my diocesse of Sarum, either of theire church-boxe, or of stockes given for mainteining of lightes before ymages, (with the which I dispence for this better use,) or els by waye of collection among themselfes, there be ordeined and bought an Englishe bible before Whitsondaye next, to be chained to a deske in the body of the church; where he that is letteryd may rede, and other unlerned may hear, holsome doctrine and comfort to their soules, and avoid idelnes and other inconveniences, whereunto the fraile disposicion of man is sone inclined.

Forasmoche as intollerable supersticion, and also abhominable ydolatrie, have no small time ben used in this my diocesse, by the occasion of suche thinges as be set forth and commended unto the ignorant people, under the name of holy reliques, being in veray dede vaine thinges, as I my self of certeine, which be alredie comen to myne handes, have perfite knowledge: namely, of stinking bootes, mucky combes, ragged rochettes, rotten girdles, pyl'd purses, great bullock's horns, lockes of heere, and filthy ragges, gobbetts of wodde, under the name of parcells of the holy cross, and such pelfrie, beyond estimacion; over and besides the shamfull abuse of such as peradventure be true reliques in dede, whereof nevertheles certain profe is none, but only that so they have bene taken, judged and estemed, ye and so called without monumentes had of them in any autentyke forme of writing. Therefore in remedy herof, I hertelie praie you all and singular my said brethren of the clergie in my said diocese; and nevertheless by thauctorite that I have under God and the kynge's highnes, and in their names I commaunde you, and everyche of you, that you send al suche your relyques (as they be called) one and other unto me at myne house at Ramesbury, or other where, togyther with such wrytings as ye have of the same, to thintent that I and my counsel may explore and try them what they be, and those that be estemed and judged to be undoubtedly



true reliques, ye shal not fayle at convenable tyme to have againe with certayne instruction how they ought to be used: that is to say, as memorials of them whose reliques they be, in whom and by whom Almighty God did worke all that ever they vertuously wrought; and therefore onely he ought in them all to be glorifyed, lauded, and praysed; so that he which rejoyceth may in the Lorde rejoyse; to whom be all honour and glorye, for ever and ever. Amen.

*Item.* That the bell called the pardon, or ave bell, whiche of longe tyme hathe been used to be tolled three tymes after, or before divine service, be not hereafter in any parte of my diocesse any more tollyd.

I exhorte, desire, require, and also (as ferre as I maye) commaunde you and all and every of you to provide you copies of these injunctions, and firmely to observe and perform them, and every of them, as ferre as they concerne you, and that for your welthe and my discharge to God and the kynge, of whom I have min auctorite in this behalf.

God save the kynge.

Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, at the sygne of the Sonne, by John Bydell, and are to sell at the Close Yate in Salysbury.

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NUMBER LXI.*

*The Petition of Gresham, Lord Mayor of London, to the King, for the City Hospitals.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4. p. 222.]

Most redowted, puysant, and noble prince. My most dradd, beloved, and naturall soveraigne lorde, I your poore humble and most obedient servaint, dailly considering, and ever more and more perceivyng, by your vertuous begynninge and charitable proceedings in all your causes, your persone, and majestie royall, to be the elected and chosen vessel of God, by whom not only the very and true worde of God is, and shall be sett forth, and according to the trewgh and verytie of the same; but also to be he whom God hath constituted and ordeyned, both to redresse and reforme all crimes, offences, and enormyties, beyng repugnant to his doctrine, or to the detryment of the common welth, and hurt of the poor people beyng your natural subjects; and farther to forsee, and vigilantly to provide for the charitable reformation of the same. Which thynk hath, and yet doth encourage me, and also my bounden dewtie obligeth me, in especiall beyng most unworthy your levetenant, and mayer of your cytie royall of London, to enforme and advertise your most gracious highnes of one thing in especiall, for the ayde and comfort of the poor, syke, blynde, aged, and impotent persons being not able to help themselffs, nor having no place certen where they may be refreshed or lodged at, tyll they be holpen and cured of their diseases and sicknes. So it is most gracious lorde, that nere, and withyn the cytie of London, be iij hospitalls, or spytells, commonly called Seynt Georges spytell, Seynt Barthilmewes spytell, and Seynt Thomas spytell, and the new abbey of Tower-hill, founded of good devotion by auncient fathers, and endowed with great possessions and rents, only for the releffe, comforte, and helping of the poor and impotent people, not beyng able to help themselffes, and not to the maynteinance of chanons, priests, and monks, to live in pleasure, nothing regarding the miserable people lying in every street, offendyng every clene persone passyng by the way, with theyre fylthy and nasty savours. Wherefore may it please your merciful goodness enclyned to pity and compassion, for the reliffe of Christ's very images, created to his own similitude, to order by your high authorite, as supreme head of this church of England, or otherwise by your sage discretion, that your mayor of your cytie of London, and his brethren the aldermen for the tyme being, shall and may, from henceforth, have the order, disposicion, rule, and governaunce, both of all the lands, tenements, and revenewes apperteynyng, and belongyn to the said hospitalls, governours of theym, and of the ministers which be, or shall be withyn any of them: and then your grace shall facilie perceyve, that where now a small number of chanons, preests, and monkes, be founde for theyr own profitt only, and not for the common utilitie of the realme, a great number of poore needy, syke, and indugent persons shall be refreshed, maynteyned, and comforted, and also healed and cured of their infirmities, frankly and freely by physicions, surgeons, and potycaries, which shall have stipende and salarie only for that purpose; so that all impotent persons not able to labour shall be releved, and all sturdy beggars not willing to labour shall be punished: for the which doyng your grace shall not alonely merit highly towards God, but shewe your selffe to be more charitable to the poor, then your noble progenitor kyng Edgar, foundour of so many monasteries; or kyng Henry the Thyrde, renewer of Westmynster: or kyng Edwarde the Thirde, foundor of the New Abbey: or kyng Henry the Fifte, foundor of Syon and Shene; but also shall have the name of conservatour, protectour, and defendour of the poor people, with their contynuall prayer for your health, welthe, and prosperitie long to endure.

Your humble and most obedient servant.

RYCHARD GRESHAM.

* No. 60 contained two passages accidentally omitted in the first part, and which in this edition have been restored to their proper place.—ED.

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NUMBER LXII.

*A Part of a Proclamation, chiefly concerning Becket.*

[Cott. Lib. Titus. B. 1.]

And whereas his most royall majestie, heretofore most prudently considering, as well the great and manifold supersticions and abuses which have crept in the harte and stomake of many his true, simple, and unlerned subjects, for lack of the sincere and true application, and the declaring of the true meaning and understanding of holy Scriptures, Sacraments, rites and ceremonies; as also the sondry strifes and contentions, which have and may growe amonges many of his saide loving subjects, for lacke of the very perfect knowledge of the true entent and meaning of the same; hath divers times most straitly commanded all and singular his archbishops, bishops, and other ministers of the clergie of this his noble realme, in their sermons and preaching, plainly, purely, sincerely, and with all their possible diligence, to set forth first to the glorie of God, and trouthe of his most blessed word; and after, the true meaning and end of the said sacramentalls and ceremonies; to the entent that all supersticious abuses and idolatries being avoided, the same sacramentalls, rites and ceremonies, might be qnietly used, for such only intent and consideration, as they were first instituted and meant. His majestie having knowledge, that this his most godly and most vertuouse commandment, hath not been executed according to his trust and expectation; therefore straitly eftsones chargeth and commandeth, all his said archbishops and bishops of this his realme, not only in their own persons, with more diligence to preach, teach, open and set forth, to his people and loving subjects within their cures, committed to them

by his highnes for that purpose, as often as they conveniently maie, the word of God sincerely and purely; declaring such difference between thinges commanded by God, and the rites and ceremonies aforesaid, and the use of them, in such wise as his people, being under their cures by his highnes to them committed, maie be brought to the true knowledge of their lively faith to God, and obedience to his highnes, with their love and charity also to their neighbours: but also his highnes straitly chargeth and commanded, all archdeacons, deans, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, and other ministers, and every of them, in their own persons, within their cures, truly and diligently to do the same. And further, in all their said sermons and collations, to stirre and exhorte the people to charitie, love and obedience; and also rede and heare with simplicitie, and without any arrogancie, the very gospell and holie scripture, and to conforme, by earnest deeds, their mindes and willes unto the same; avoiding all manner of contencion, strife and occasions, upon pain not only to incurre his majestie's indignacion, but also for their slacknesse and negligence in the executing of their cures and charges committed unto them by his highnes, to be imprisoned and punished at his majesty's pleasure.

*Item.* Forasmuch as it appeareth clearly, that Thomas Becket, sometime archbishope of Canterbury, stubbornely to withstand the holsome lawes established against the enormities of the clergy, by the king's highnes' most noble progenitor, king Henry the Second, for the common welth, rest, and tranquillity of this realme; of his froward mind, fled the realme into France, and to the bishop of Rome, maintenour of those enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said lawes, whereby arose much trouble in this said realm. And that his death, which they untruly called martirdome, happen'd upon a reskewe by him made: and that, as it is written, he gave opprobrious wordes, to the gentlemen which then counsailed him to leave his stubbornes, and to avoid the commotion of the people, risen up for that reskewe. And he not only called the one of them bawde, but also toke Tracy by the bosome, and violently shoke and plucked him in such manner, as he had almost overthrone him to the pavement of the church. So that uppon this fray, one of their company perceiving the same, struck him, and so in the throng Becket was slain. And further, that his canonisation was made only by the bishop of Rome, because he had been a champion to mainteine his usurped authority, and a bearer of the iniquitie of the clergie. For these, and for other great and urgent causes long to recite, the king's majestie, by the advice of his counsell, hath thought expedient to declare to his loving subjects, that notwithstanding the said canonization, there appeareth nothing in his life and exteriour conversation, whereby he should be called a saint, but rather esteemed to have been a rebel and traitor to his prince. Therefor his grace straightly chargeth and commandeth, that from henceforth the said Thomas Becket shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, nor called a saint, but bishop Becket: and that his images and pictures, through the hole realme, shall be put down and avoided, out of all churches, chappelles, and other places. And that from henceforth, the days used to be festivall in his name, shall not be observed; nor the service, office, antiphones, collettes, and praiers in his name redde, but rased and put out of all the bookes. And that all other festivall daies already abrogate, shall be in no wise solemnised, but his grace's ordenance and injunctions thereupon, observed; to the intent his grace's loving subjects shall be no longer blindly led, and abused, to committ idolatrie, as they have done in times passed; upon paine of his majestie's indignacion, and imprisonemente at his grace's pleasure.

Finallie, his majestie willeth, and chargeth all his said true, loving, and obedient subjects, that they, and every of them for his parte, shall keepe and observe all and singuler the injunctions made by his majestie, upon the paine therein conteined, and further to be punished at his gracis pleasure.—God save the king.

Westm' xvj. Novembris, Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi xxx.

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NUMBER LXIII.

*An Original Letter of the King's, much to the same purpose.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 6. p. 224.]

BY THE KING.

Henry R.—Trusty and welbeloved, we grete you well. And whereas we, chiefly and principally regarding and tendring the quiet, rest, prosperite and tranquillite of our nobles and commons, and ther conservacion no less than our own, directed lately our letters unto you, and other justices of our peace throughout this our realme, conteining our admonition and gentil warening, to have such speciall regard to the dewties of your office, according to the trust we have reposed in you, that not only for thimportance it is both unto us and our commonwelthe, ye shuld see our dignitie of supremacie of our church (wherwith it hath pleased Almighty God, by his most certain and undoubted word, to endowe and adorn our auctorite and crown imperiall of this our realme) to be set forth, and impressed in all our subjects' herts and mindes; and forsee, that the mayntenors of the bishop of Rome's usurped and fayned auctorite, with all his papistical supersticions and abuses, with which he hath in times past abused the multitude of our subjects; of whose yoke, tyranny and skornfull illusion, we have, by God's providance, deliver'd this our realm, and other his satellyts, which secretly did uphold his faction, shuld be by you diligently serched, enquired and tried out, and so brought to our justice, to receive condign punishment, according to their demerits; but also that tale-tellers about the cuntries, and spreders of rumors, and false inventors of news, to put our people in fears, and to styrre them to sedicion, should be apprehended and punished, to the terrible example of others. Also, that vagabonds, and valyant beggers, shall be avoided, and have worthy correction: and for the same purpos, to keep watches, and to see commun justice with indifferencie, and without corruption, to be observed and ministred unto all our subjects; like as by the purport and contents of our said letters, ye may more amply perceive. We have been credibly informed, that sundrie of you have for a time so well done your dewties, and endevored your selfs fulfilling our said admonicions, and causing the evil doers to be punished according to ther demerits, that our loving subjects have not been disquieted of a long season, untill now of late, that some ungracious, cankred, and maliciouse persons, have taken boldnes tattempt with sundry divelish persuasions, to move and seduce our true subjects; using false lyes, and most untrewe rumors. And amongst them, we understand, sundry parsons, vicars and curates of this our realme, to be cheef; which (to bring our people to darkness) of their owne perverse minde, not only to blinde our commons, do rede so confusely, hemmyng and hacking the word of God, and such our injunctions as we have lately set forth, that almost no man can understande the trewe meanyng of the said injunctions, and also secretly have suborned certain spreders of rumors and false tales in corners, which do interpretat and wrast our trewe meanyng and intencion of our said injunctions, to an untrewe sense: for wheras we have ordayned by our said injunctions, for the avoiding of sundry strives, processis and contentions, rising upon aege, lyneall descents, title of inheritance, legitimation, or bastardy, and for knowledge whether any person is our subject born or no: also for sundry other causes, that the names of all children christen'd from henceforth, with their birth, their father's and mother's names; and likewise all marryages and burials, with the time and date therof, should be registred from tyme to tyme in a booke in every parish-church, safely and surely to be kept. They have brutid and blowen abrode, most falsely and untreuly, that we do intend to make sum new examinations, at all christnyngs, weddings, and buryalls; the which in no wise we never meanyd, or thought upon. Alledging, for to fortefy and colour their false and manyfest lyes, that therein we go about to take away the liberties of our realm; for conservation whereof, they fayne, that bishop Becket of Canterbury, which they have tofore called saint Thomas, dyed for: where in deede ther was never such thyng don nor ment in that tyme, nor since: for the said Becket never swarved nor contended with our progenitor, king Henry the Second; but only to let, that those of the clergie shuld not be punished for their offences, nor justefied by the courts and lawes of this realm; but only at the bishop's pleasure, and after the decrees of Rome. And the causes why he dyd, were upon a wyllfull reskew and fraye, by him made and begon at Canterbury; which was nevertheles afterward alledged to be for such liberties of the church, which he contended for, during his life, with the archbishop of Yorke; yea, and in case he should be absent, or fugitive out of the realme, the king shuld not be crowned by any other, but constrayned tabyde his retorne. These, and such other detestable and unlawfull liberties, nothing concerning the commun wele, but only the partie of the clergie, the said Thomas Becket most arrogantly desired, and traytorously sewed, to have contrary to the lawes of this our realme. To the which most false interpretations, and wrasting of our trewe meanyng, they have joyned such myschevouse lyes, and false tales, for marking of catalls, and others lyke sedyciouse devises, whereupon our people were lately styrred to sedicion and insurrection, to their utter ruyne and destruction, onles Allmighty God, who by his divine providence gave unto us habundance of force, (as he allwayes doth unto rightfull prynces) had so with clemencie illumyned us, that whereas we, with the edge of the sword, and by our lawes might have overthrowen and destroyed them, their wives, children, and posterite for ever; we nevertheles, as ye can right well remember, extended upon them at that time our benygn and mercifull pardon. Those miserable, and papistical, superstitiouse wretches, nothing regarding the same, nor caryng what daunger and myscheef our people shuld incurre, have both raysed the said old rumors, and forged newe sediciouse tales, intending (as much as in them lyeth) a newe commocion, and all to satisfye their cankered herts. Wherfore, and for the immynent daunger to you, and to all our good subjects, and trouble that might ensews, onles good and ernest provision to repress them be taken thereupon: we desire and pray you, and nevertheless straitly charge and command you, that within the precynct and lymyt of your charge, ye shall not only endevour your selfs, and imploy your most diligence, to inquire and fynde out such canker'd parsons, vicars and curats, which do not truely and substantially declare our said injunctions, and the very word of God, but momble confusely, saying that they be compelled to rede them, and byd their parishioners nevertheles to do as they did in times past, to live as their fathers, and that the old fashion is the best, and other craftie sediciouse parables; but also with your most effectual vigillancie do inserche and try out such sediciouse tale-tellers, and spreders abroade of such bruts, tydings, and rumours, touching us in honour, or suretie, the state of our realm, or any mutation of the lawes, or customes thereof, or any other thing which might cause any sedition, and the same with their setters-forth, mayntenors, counsaylers, fautors, and adherers with all diligence to apprehend and commytte to ward, or prison, without bayl or mynprise till evidence to be given against them, at the arrival of our justice in that country, or otherwise upon your advertisement to us, or to our counsell, to be given, to our further pleasure known, they may be punished for their sediciouse demerits according to the lawe, to the fearful example of all others: employing and indevoring your self therunto, so ernestly, and with such dexteritie as we may have cause to think that ye be the men which above all thing desire the punishment of evil doers and offenders, and that will let for no travail to set forth all things for the common peas, quiet, and tranquility of this our realme: and like as the daunger is immynent no les to your self and your neighbours then to other, so ye of your own mind shuld procure and see with celeritie our injunctions, laws, and proclamations, as well touching the Sacramentaries and Anabaptists, as others, to be set forth to the good instruction and conservation of our people, and to the confusion of those which would so craftely undermind our common wealth, and at the last destroy both you, and all other our loving subjects, although we should give unto you no such admonishion: therefore fayle ye not to follow the effect, admonishion and commandment both in our said letters, and in these presents, and to communicate the whole tainour of these, to and with such justices of our peas, your neighbours, and other in that district, and to give unto them the trew copie therof, exhorting them likeas by these we desire and pray, and nevertheles straitly charge and command you, and every of you, that you will shew your diligence, towardnes, and good inclination to see every thing for his parte, put in execution accordingly, as ye and they tender our pleasure, and will deserve our condigne thanks, given under our signet at our manner of Hampton-court, the day of Decembre, in the 30th year of our reign.

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NUMBER LXIV.

*The Design for the Endowment of Christ-Church in Canterbury.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4. p. 301.]

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| First a provost . . . . . | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* 12 prebendaryes, each of them at 40*l.* by the year . . . . . | 480 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* 6 preachers, every of them 20*l.* a year . . . . . | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* A reader of humanitie in Greke, by the year . . . . . | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* A reader in divinitie in Hebrew, by the year . . . . . | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* A reader both in divinitie and humanitie, in Latin, by the year . . | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* A reader of civil . . . . | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* A reader of physike . . . | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* 20 students in divinitie to be found | | | |

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 10 at Oxford, and 10 at Cambridge, every of them 10*l.* by the year . . . . | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* 40 scolars to be taught both grammar and logik in Hebrew, Grek, and Laten, every of them 5 markes by the year . . . | 200 marks. | | |
| *Item.* A schole-master 20*l.* and and usher 10*l.* by the year . . . | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* 8 pety-canons to sing in the quer, every of them 10*l.* by the year | 80 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* 12 layemen to sing also, and searve in the quer, every of them 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by the year . . . | 80 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* 10 choristers, every of them 5 marks by the year . . . . | 38 | 6 | 8 |
| *Item.* A master of the children . . | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* A gospeler . . . . . | 6 | 13 | 4 |
| *Item.* A episler . . . . . | 5 | 6 | 8 |
| *Item.* 2 sacristens . . . . . | 6 | 13 | 4 |
| *Item.* 1 chief butler, his wages and diett | 4 | 13 | 4 |
| *Item.* 1 under butler, his wages and diett | 3 | 6 | 8 |
| *Item.* A cater to buye their diett, for his wages, and making of his books | 6 | 13 | 4 |
| *Item.* 1 chief cook, his wages and diett | 4 | 13 | 4 |
| *Item.* 1 under cook, his wages and diett | 3 | 6 | 8 |
| *Item.* 2 porters . . . . . | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* 12 poor men being old, and serving men, decayed by the warres, or in the king's serving, every of them at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by the year | 80 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* To be distributed yearly in alms . | 130 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* For yearly reparations . . | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* 6 to be employed yearly, for making and amending of high ways . | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* A stuard of the lands . . | 6 | 13 | 4 |
| *Item.* An auditor . . . . . | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| *Item.* For the provost's expences, and receyving the rents, and surveying the lands, by the year . . | 6 | 13 | 5 |

NUMBER LXV.

*A Letter of Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cromwell, upon the New Foundation at Canterbury.—An Original.*

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. F. 1.]

My very singular good Lord.—After my most hartie commendations, these shall be to advertise your lordshippe that I have received your letters, dated the 27th of November: and therewith a bill concerning the divise for the new establishment to be made in the metropolitan church of Canterbury, by which your lordshippe requireth my advice thereupon by writing, for our mutual consents. Surely, my lord, as touching the books drawn, and the order of the same, I think that it will be a very substantial and godly foundation; nevertheless, in my opinion, the prebendaries, which will be allow'd 40*l.* a piece yearly, might be altred to a more expedient use: and this is my consideration, for having experience, both in tymes past, and also in our daies, how the said secte of prebendaries have not only spent their time in much idleness, and their substaince in superfluous belly chere, I think it not to be a convenient state or degree to be mainteyned and established: considering firste, that commonly a prebendarie is neither a learner nor teacher, but a good viander. Then by the same name they look to be chief, and to bere all the hole rule and preheminence in the college where they be resident: by means whereof, the younger of their own nature, given more to pleasure, good chere, and pastime, than to abstynance, studye, and lerning, shall easily be brought from their books to follow the appetite and example of the said prebendaries, being their hedds and rulers. And the state of prebandaries hath been so excessively abused, that when learned men hath been admitted unto such room, many times they have desisted from their good and godlie studies, and all other vertuous exercise of preaching and teaching: wherefore if it may so stand with the king's gracious pleasure, I would wish that not only the name of a prebendarie were exiled his grace's foundations, but also the superfluous conditiones of such persons. I cannot deny but that the beginning of prebendaries was no lesse purposed for the maintenance of good learning and good conversation of living, than religious men were: but for as much as both be gone from their first estate and order, and the one is found like offendour with the other, it maketh no great matter if they perish both together: for to say the truth, it is an estate which St. Paule, reckoning up the degrees and estates alowed in his time, could not find in the church of Christ. And I assure you, my lord, that it will better stand with the maintenance of Christian religion, that in the stede of the said prebendaries were 20 divines at 10*l.* a peece, like as it is appointed to be at Oxford and Cambridge; and 20 students in the tongues and French, to have 10 marks a piece; for if such a number be not there resident, to what intent should so many reders be there. And surely it were great petie that so many good lectures should be there redde in vain: for as for your prebandaries, they cannot attend to applie lectures for making of good chere. And as for your 20 children in grammar, their master and their husher be daily otherwise occupied in the rudiments of grammer, then that they have space and time to hear the lectures. So that to these good lectures is prepared no convenient auditorie. And therefore, my lord, I pray you let it be considered what a great losse it will be to have so many good lectures redde without profitte to any, saving to the 6 preachers; farther, as concerning the reader of divinitie and humanitie, it will not agree well, that one man should be reader of both lectures. For he that studieth in divinitie must leave the reading of profane authors, and shall have as much to doe as he can to prepare his lecture to be substantially redde. And in like manner he that redeth had not need to alter his studie, if he should make an erudite lecture. And therefore in mine opinion, it would be office for ii sundry learned men. Now, concerning the dean and others, to be elected into the college, I shall make a bill of all them that I can here of in Cambridge, Oxford, or elsewhere, mete to be put into the said college, after my judgment: and then of the hole number, the king's highnes may choose the most excellente, assuring you, my lord, that I know no man more mete for the dean's room in England, then doctor Crome, who by his sincere learning, godly conversation, and good example of living, with his great soberness hath done unto the king's majestie as good service, I dare say, as any priest in England. And yet his grace daily remembreth all others that doth him service, this man only except, who never had yet, besides his gracious favour, any promotion at his highnes' hands. Wherefore, if it will please his majestie to put him in the dean's room, I do not doubt but that he should shew light to all the deans and ministers of colleges in this realm. For I know that when he was but president of a college in Cambridge, his house was better ordered than all the houses in Cambridge besides. And thus, my lord, you have my finale advice concerning the premisses, which I referr unto the kinge's grace's judgment, to be allowed or disallowed at his highnes' pleasure. Sending unto your lordshipp herewithall the bill again, according to your request. Thus, my lord, most hartely fare you well.

At Croyden, the xxixth day of November,
Your own ever assured,
T. Cantuarien.



NUMBER LXVI.

*A Part of a Letter concerning the Debates of the Six Articles in the House of Lords.*

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. 5, E. p. 129.]

And also newes here; I assure you, never prince shew'd himself so wise a man, so well lerned and so catholick, as the kinge hath done in thys parlyment. With my penne I cannot expresse his marvelous goodnes; which is come to such effecte, that we shall have an acte of parliament, so spirituall, that I think none shall dare saye, in the blessed sacrament of the aulter, doth remayne eyther bred or wyne after the consecration; nor that a prist may have a wife; nor that it is necessarie to receive our maker "sub utraque specie;" nor that private masses should not be used as they have be; nor that it is not necessarie to have auriculer confession. And notwithstanding my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Ely, my lord of Salisburie, my lord of Worcester, Rocester, and saint Davyds defended the contrary longe tyme, yet finally his highnes confounded them all with Goddes lerning. Yorke, Duram, Winchester, London, Chichester, Norwiche, and Carlile, have shewed themselfs honest and well learned men. We of the temporaltie have been all of one opynion, and my lord chancellor and my lord privye seale, as good as we can devise. My lord of Cant' and all theis bishopes have given ther opinion, and came into us, save Salisburie, who yet contynueth a lewed fole. Fynally, all England have cause to thank God, and most hertilie to rejoyse of the king's most godlie proceedings.

NUMBER LXVII.

*A Letter of the Visitors sent to examine the Abbott of Glastonbury.*

[Ex MSS. D. Tanner.]

Please hyt your lordship to be advertised, that we came to Glastenbury on Fryday last past, about tenn of the clock in the forenoone: and for that the abbot was then at Sharpham, a place of hys, a myle and somewhat more from thabbey, we, without any delay, went unto the same place; and there, after certain communication, declaring unto hym theffect of our coming, examined him upon certain articles. And for that his answer was not then to our purpose, we advised him to call to his remembrance that which he had as then forgotten, and so declare the truth. And then came with him the same day to the abbey, and there of new proceeded that night to search his study for letters and books: and found in his study secretly laid, aswell a written book of arguments, against the divorce of his king's majestie, and the lady dowager: which we take to be a great matter. As also divers pardons, copies of bulls, and the counterfeit life of Thomas Bequet in print. But we could not find any letter that was materiall. And so we proceeded again to his examination, concerning the articles we received from your lordship, in the answers whereof, as we take it, shall appear his canker'd and traiterous heart and mind against the king's majestie, and his succession; as by the same answers, syned with his hand, and sent to your lordship by this bearer, more plainly shal appear. And so, with as fair words as we could, we have conveyed him from hence into the Tower, being but a very weak man, and sickly. And as yet we have neither discharged servant nor monk; but now the abbot being gone, we will with as much celerity as we may, proceed to the despatching of them. We have in money 300*l.* and above; but the certainty of plate and other stuffe there, as yet we know not, for we have not had opportunity for the same; but shortly we intend (God willing) to proceed to the same; whereof we shall ascertain your lordship, so shortly as we may. This is also to advertise your lordship that we have found a fair chalice of gold, and divers other parcels of plate, which the abbot had hid secretly from all such commissioners as have bine there in times past; and as yet he knoweth not that we have found the same: whereby we think, that he thought to make his hand, by his untruth to his king's majestie. It may please your lordship to advertise us of the king's pleasure, by this bearer, to whom we shall deliver the custody and keeping of the house, with such stuff as we intend to leave there, convenient to the king's use. We assure your lordship it is the goodliest house of that sort that ever we have seen. We wold that your lordship did know it as we do; then we doubt not, but your lordship would judge it a house mete for the king's majesty, and for no man else: which is to our great comfort; and we trust verily that there shall never come any double hood within that house again. Also this is to advertise your lordship that there is never a one doctor within that house, but there be three batchelors of divinity, which be meanly learned, as we can perceive. And thus our Lord preserve your good lordship.

From Glastenbury, the 22d day of September.
Yours to command,
Richard Pollard. Thomas Moyle.
Richard Layton.

To the ryght honorable, and their syngular good lord, my lord pryvye seal, thys be dd.

This agrees with the original, in the possession of
Thom. Tanner.

NUMBER LXVIII.

*Cromwell's Letter to the King when he was committed to the Tower.*

[Cott. Lib. Titus, B. 1.]

Most gracyous king, and most mercyfull soverayng, your most humble, most obbeysand, and most bounden subject, and most lamentable servant and prysoner, prostrate at the feet of your most excellent majestye, have herd your pleasure by the mouth of your comptroller; which was, that I should wrytte to your most excellent highnes suche things as I thought mete to be wryttyn, conside ryng my most myserable state and condicyon. For the which your most haboundant goodnes, benignite and lycens, the Immortal God, Three and One, rewarde your majestye. And now, most gracyous prynce, to the matter. Fyrst, wher I have been accused to your majestye of treason, to that I saye, I never in all my lyfe thought willinglye to do that thing that might or should displease your majestye, and much less to doe or saye that thing, which of itself is so highe and abominable offence, as God knoweth, who, I doubt not, shall reveale the trewthe to your highnes. Myne accusers your grace knoweth; God forgive them. For as I ever have had love to your honour's person, lyfe, prosperite, health, wealth, joye, and comfort, and also your most dear and most entyerly beloved son, the prynce his grace, and your

proceedings. God so helpe me in thys mine adversyte, and confound me if ever I thought the contrarye. What labours, paynes, and travailes I have taken, according to my most bounden deutie, God also knoweth. For if it were in my power, as it is God's to make your majestye to live ever young and prosperous, God knoweth, I would, yf it had been, or were in my power, to make you so riche as ye myght enriche all men, God helpe me, as I would do it yf it had been, or were in my power, to make me so puissant, as all the worlde should be compellyd to obbey you, Christ he knowyth I woulde; for so am I of all other most bounde; for your majesty hath been the most bountiful prince to me, that ever was king to his subjects: ye, and more like a dear father, your majesty not offended, then a master. Such hathe been your most grave and godly counceyles towards me at sundrye tymes: in that I have offended I ask your mercy. Should I now for suche exceeding goodnes, benignite, liberalite, and bountye, be your traytor, nay then the greatest paynes were lityll for me. Should any faction, or any affection to any poynt, make me a trayter to your majestye, then all the devylls in hell confounde me, and the vengeance of God light appon me, yf I should ons have thought it. Most gracyous soverayng lord, to my remembrance, I never spake with the Chancellor of the Augmentations and Throgmorton together, at one tyme. But yf I did, I am sure, I spake never of any such matyer; and your grace knoweth what maner of man Throgmorton hath ever been towards your grace proceedings: and what master chancelor hath been towards me, God and he best knoweth. I will ne can accuse hym. What I have been towards hym, your majestye right well knoweth. I would to Christ I hadd obeyed your often most gracious, grave counseyles and advertisements, then it had not been with me as now it is: yet our Lorde, if it be his will, can do with me, as he did with Susan, who was falsly accused. Unto the which God, I have onlye commytted my soule, and bodye and goods at your majestie's pleasure, in whose mercye and pyete I do hollye repose me: for other hope than in God and your majestye I have not. Syr, as to your common welth, I have, after my wytt, power, and knowledge, travayled therin, having had no respect to persons (your majestie onlye except, and my duty to the same) but that I have done any injustice or wrong willfully, I trust God shall be my witness, and the world not able justlye to accuse me: and yet I have not done my duty in all things as I was bounde. Wherefore I aske mercy. That I have herde of any combinations, conventicles, or such as were offenders of your laws, I have (though not as I should have done) for the most parte revealed them, and also caused them to be punished; not of malise, as God shall judge me. Nevertheless, sir, I have medelled in so many matiers under your highnes, that I am not able to answer them all. But one thing I am well assured of, that wittingly and willingly, I have not had will to offend your highnes. But harde it is for me, or any other medling as I have done, to live under your grace, and your lawes, but we must dailye offende: and wher I have offended, I most humbly aske mercy and pardone at your gracious will and pleasure. Amongst other things, most gracious soveraigne, master comptroler shewed me, that your grace shewed hym that within these 14 days ye committed a matter of great secrecye, which I did reveal contrary to your expectacyon: syr, I do remember well the matter, which I never revelid to any creature: but this I did, sir, after your grace hade opened the matter, fyrst to me in your chamber, and declared your lamentable fate, declaring the things wich your highnes myslyked in the queen; at which time I shewed your grace that she often desired to speak with me, but I durst not: and ye said why should I not, alleging that I might do much good in goeing to her, and to be plain with her in declaring my mind: I theruppon taking opertunyte, not being little greyved, spake prevely with her lord chamberlayn, for which I aske your grace mercie, desiryng him, not naming your grace to him, to finde some means that the queen might be inducid to order your grace plesantlie in her behaveour towards you, thinking therbie for to have hade some faults amended to your majestie's comfort; and after that by general words, the said lord chamberlain, and other of the queen's counsayle being with me in my chamber at Westminster, for lycens for the departure of the strange maydens, I then required them to counsayle their mistresse to use all plesauntnes to your highnes: the which things undoubtedly were bothe spoken before your majesty commited the secret matter unto me, onlie of purpose that she might have been induced to such pleasant and honorable fassyons, as might have been to your grace's comfort, which above all things, as God knoweth, I did most covit and desire: but that I opened my mouth to any creature after your majestie committed the secresie thereof to me, other than onlye to my lord admyrall, which I did by your grace's commandment, which was uppon Sunday last in the morning, whom I then founde as willing and glad to seek remedye ffor your comfort and resolution, and saw by him that he did as much lament your highnes' fate as ever did man, and was wonderfullye grieved to see your highnes so troubled, wishing greatly your comfort; for the attaining whereof, he said your honour salvyd, he would spend the best blood in his body, and if I would not do the like, ye, and willingly die, for your comfort, I would I were in hell, and I would I should receyve a thousand deths. Sir, this is all that I have done in that matter; and if I have offended your majestie therin, prostrate at your majesty's feet, I most lowlye aske mercy and pardon of your highnes. Sir, ther was also laide unto my charge at mine examinacion, that I had retained contrarye to your lawes; and what exposycion may be made uppon retaynours, I know not, but this will I saye, if ever I retayned any man but such onlye as were my howshold servants, but against my will, God confound me. Most gracious soveraign, I have been so called on and sewyd to by them that said they were my friends, that constrained therunto I retayned thayr chyldren and friends, not as retayners, for their fathers and parents did promise me to finde them, and so toke I them, not as retayners, to my great charge, and for none evil, as God best knoweth, interpret to the contery who will. Most humbley beseeching your majestie of pardon, if I have offended therin; and I do knowledge my self to have been a most miserable and wretched sinner; and that I have not, towards God and your highnes, behaved my self as I ought and should have done; for the which mine offence to God, whiles I live I shall continually call for his mercy, and for mine offences against your grace, which God knoweth wer never malicious nor willfull: and that I never thought treson to your highnes, your realme, or posterite: so God helpe me, either in word or dede; nevertheles, prostrate at your majesty's feet in what thing soever I have offended; I appell to your highnes for mercy, grace, pardon, in such wise as shall be your pleasure; beseeching the Allmightie Maker and Redeemer of this world, to send your majesty continuall and long helth, welthe, and prosperitie, with Nestor's yeres to reigne, and your most dear son, the prince's grace, to prosper alwayes, and contenew after you: and they that would contrarye, short life, shame, and confusion:



writin with the quaking hand, and most sorrowfull harte, of your most sorrowful subject, and most humble servant and prisoner, this Satyrday, at the Tour of London.

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

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NUMBER LXIX.

*Questions concerning the Sacraments.*

The first question:—WHAT a sacrament is by the Scripture?

The second question:—What a sacrament is by the antient authors?

The third question:—How many sacraments there be by the Scriptures?

The fourth question:—How many sacraments there be by the antient authors?

The fifth question:—Whither this word sacrament be, and ought to be, attributed to the seven only; and whither the seven sacraments be found in any of the old authors?

The sixth question:—Whither the determinate number of seven sacraments be a doctrine, either of the Scripture or of the old authors, and so to be taught?

The seventh question:—What is found in Scripture of the matter, nature, effect, and vertue of such as we call the seven sacraments; so as although the name be not there, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no, and in what wise spoken of?

The eighth question:—Whether confirmation, *cum Chrismate*, of them that be baptized, be found in Scripture?

The ninth question:—Whether the apostles lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian king among them, made bishops by that necessity, or by authority given by God?

The tenth question:—Whether bishops or priests were first? And if the priests were first, then the priest made the bishop.

The eleventh question:—Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the Scripture, or no? And whether any other, but only a bishop, may make a priest?

The twelfth question:—Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop and priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?

The thirteenth question:—Whether (if it fortuned a Christian prince learned, to conquer certain dominions of infidels, having none but temporal learned men with him), if it be defended by God's law, that he and they, should preach and teach the word of God there, or no? And also make and constitute priests, or no?

The fourteenth question:—Whether it be forefended by God's law, that (if it so fortune that all the bishops and priests of a region were dead, and that the word of God should remain there unpreached, and the sacrament of baptism, and others unministred), that the king of that region should make bishops and priests to supply the same, or no?

The fifteenth question:—Whether a man be bound by authority of this Scripture (*quorum remiseritis*) and such like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest, if he may have him, or no?

The sixteenth question:—Whether a bishop or a priest may excommunicate, and for what crimes? And whether they only may excommunicate by God's law?

The seventeenth question:—Whether unction of the sick with oil, to remit venial sins, as it is now used, be spoken of in the Scripture, or in any antient authors?

NUMBER LXX.

*An Answer to the former Queries; with some Remarks on them, in the King's Hand, written on the Margin: together with some Persons' Names; but these are not written by the King.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 5.]

Why then should we call them so?

1. SCRIPTURE useth the worde; but it defineth it not.

2. In them is founde no proper definition, but a general declaration of the worde, as a token of an holly thinge.

3. So named only matrimony; in effects moo; and at the lest 7, as we finde in the scripture expounded.

Why these seven to have the name, more then the rest?

4. Auctors use the word sacrament, to signifie any mysterye in the Old and New Testament; but spiritually benote baptisme, euckarist, matrimonie, chrisme, "impositio manuum, ordo."

Arch-bp. Cant. St. David's.

Why then hath the church so long erred, to take upon them so to name them?

5. The worde, bycause it is general, is attribute to other thenne the seven; but whether it ought specially to be applied to the One only, God knoweth, and hath not fully revealed it soe as it hath been received.

6. The thing of al is found, but not named al sacraments, as afore.

7. The doctrine of scripture is to teach the thinge, without numbring or namyng the name "Sacrament," saving only the matrimony.

Arch-bp. Cant.

Then pennance is changed to a new name, the absolution of pennance. I read that without it we cannot be saved after relapse, but not so of absolution; and pennance to sinners is commanded, but absolution of open crimes is left free to the asker.

Old auctors number not precisely.

8. Scripture speaketh,

(1.) Of baptisme manifestly.

(2.) Of the holy communion manifestly.

(3.) Of matrimony manifestly.

(4.) Of absolution manifestly.

(5.) Of bishops, priests and deacons, ordred "per impositionem manuum cum oratione," expressely.

Laying on of hands being an old ceremony, is but a small proof of Confirmation.

Arch. Cant. S. Davids, Cox.

6. Laying of the hands of the bishop after baptisme, which is a parte of that is done in confirmation is grounded on Scripture.

7. Unction of the sick, with prayer, is grounded in Scripture.

The thing of confirmation is found in Scripture; the name "confirmation" is not there.

Then shew where.

Arch-bp. Cant. S. David's.

Of *Chrisma* Scripture speaketh not expressly; but it hath been had in high veneration, and observed synnes the beginning.

The answer is not direct, and yet it proveth nither of the two parts to be grounded in Scripture.

9. The calling, naming, appointment, and preferment of one before an other, to be bishop or priest, had a necessite to be don in that sort, a prince wanting. The ordering appereth taught by the Holy Gost in the Scripture, "per manuum impositionem cum oratione."

Where is this distinction? Now, since you confess that the apostles did occupate the one part, which you now confess belongeth to princes, how can you prove that ordering is only committed to your bishops?

Ubi hoc?

Arch-bp. Cant.
S. David's, Cox.
Arch. Cant.
B. Davids.

10. Bishops, or not after.

11. Scripture warranteth a bishop (obeying high power as his prince Christianed) to order a priest, "per manuum impo-

sitionem cum Oratione:" and so it hath been from the beginning.

12. Of other Scriptures speaketh not.

"Manuum impositionem cum oratione" is required, which is a consecration; so as only appointing is not sufficient.

13. It is to be thought, that God in such case assisting the perfection of such an enterprise, would further teach and inspire the conscience of such a prince, what he should and might doe, more then is yet openly taught by the Scripture: which, in that case, were a good warrent to folow. For a secret vocation supplieth where an open wanteth.

14. Sinnes the beginning of Christe's churche, wherin Christ himself made distinction of ministers, the order hath had a derivation from one to another, "per manuum impositionem cum oratione." How it should begin again of an other face, where it faileth by a case, Scripture telleth not; no doctor writte of it, that I have rede.

Arch. Cant. 15. Bounde ordinarely.

Arch. Cant. Bp. St. David's. 16. They may, being before of their prince auctorised to minister for open, publique, dedly synne.

Of excommunication by others, we rede not in the New Testament.

16. The thing is in Scripture, and in auncient authors, according whereunto the use should be: how it is in dede used, is a matter of fact, and not of lernyng.

Arch. Cant. B. S. David's.

Against the 15th article these names are set down:

Yorke. Duresme. Carlisle. Winchester. Curwen. Simon. Oglethorp. Edgworth. Day. Redman. Robinson.

And a little below:

Canterbury. Hereford. Rochester. Westminster. S. David's. Laton. Tresham. Cox. Crayford.

But these lists are not in the king's hand.

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NUMBER LXXI.

*Answers to these Queries.*

[Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 5.]

1. Scripture sheweth not what it is: but useth the worde sacrament in Latyn, for the worde misterium in Greek.

2. Sacrament, by the authours is called, "Sacri Rei Signum," or "Visibile Signaculum, Sacrosanctum Signaculum, Visibile Verbum, Visibilis Forma Invisibilis Gratiæ;" and perfytt diffinition we fynde noone.

3. In scripture we fynde no determynate number of sacraments.

4. There be very many in the most general signification; and there is no precise, or determinate number of sacraments in the ancyent authours.

5. Not only to the seven; but to many more. We fynde in the olde auctours, matrymony, the holly communyon, baptisme, confirmation, ordre, pennance, and extrem unction. In pennance, it is doubted of the name of sacrament.

6. As touching the determinate numbre of seven only, we fynd neyther in the scripture, nor auncient auctours, any such doctrine that ther shulde be seven onely.

7. Of baptisme, scripture speaketh, that by it synnes be remitted.

Of eucharista; that we be united by it to Christe, and receive thereby spirituall nurrishment, to the comforte of our soulles, and remission of our synnes.

Of matrymony; that the acte of it is made lawfull, and without synne; and grace given, wherby to directe ordinately of the lustes and appetites of the fleshe.

Of pennance; that by it we be restored again to the favour of God; from which we did fall by synne.

Of ordre; that by it, grace is given to mynistre effectually in preachinge the worde of God, and ministration of the sacramentes.

Of confirmation, (which is conteyned in scripture, speaking "de Impositione Manuum post Baptisma") it appeareth by scripture, how thereby encrease of grace is given.

Of inunction of the sick, scripture speaketh, that by unction of the sick, and prayer of the priestes, comforte is given to the sicke, and synnes be forgeven him.

8. "Impositionem Manuum post Baptisma," which we call confirmation, we reade in the scripture: but that it was don chrismate, we fynde not in the scripture expressed. But in the old auctours, we fynde, that chrisma hath been used in the sayd confirmation.

9. Making of bishops hath two partes; appointment, and ordering. Appointment; whiche the apostles, by necessity, made by common election, and sometyme by their own severall assignement, could not then be don by christen princes; because at that tyme they were not: and now, at these dayes, apperteineth to christian princes and rulers. But, in the ordering, wherein grace is conferred, as afore the apostells did folowe the rule taught by the Holly Ghoste, "Per Manuum Impositionem, cum oratione et Jejunio."

10. Christe made his apostles first, which were of his making bothe prestes and bishops; but whether at one time, some doubt.

After that, the apostells made bothe bishops and prestes: the names wherof in the scripture be confounded.

11. A bishop having auctorite of his christian prince to give orders, maye, by his ministerye geven to him of God in scripture, ordeyne a preste. And we rede not, that any other, not being a bishope, hathe, sence the beginning of Christ's churche, ordered a preste.

12. Onely appointment is not sufficient, but consecration, that is to saye, imposition of handes, with fasting and prayour, is also required. For so the apostles use to order them that were appointed; and so have been used continually: and we have not rede the contrary.

13. In that necessite, the prince and his lerned men shulde preache and teache the word of God, and baptize. But as for making and constituting prestes, the prince shall and may thenne do, as God shall thenne by inspiration teache him: which God hath promised to do allwayes to his church, in revling and teaching every necessary knowledge, where any doubt requiring discussion dothe arryse.

14. The aunswer to the other question next before, dissolveth this.

15. He that knoweth himself gylty of any secrete deadly synns, must, if he will obteine the benefite of absolucion ministred by the preste, confesse the same secrete synnes unto him.

Absolution to be ministred by a preste, if a convenient preste may be had, is necessarie.

Absolution by a preste, is the surest waye, if he may be conveniently had.

16. Bishopes and prestes auctorised by the prince, may excommunicate, by Gode's lawe, for publique and open crimes: but that other thenne bishopes or prestes may excommunicate, we have not rede in scripture. Some scolemen saye, that other thenne prestes, or bishopes deputed therunto by the churche, maye excommunicate; because it is an acte "Jurisdictionis," and not "Ordinis."

17. We fynde it spoken of in scripture, and in olde authors.



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NUMBER LXXII.

*The Examination of Q. Katherine Howard.*

Being again examined by my lord of Canterbury of contracts and communications of marriage between Deerham and me: I shall here answer faithfully and truely, as I shall make answer at the last day of judgment; and by the promise that I made in baptism, and the sacrament that I received upon Alhallowesday last past. First, I do say, that Deram hath many times moved unto me the question of matrimony; wherunto, as far as I remember, I never granted him more than before I have confessed: and as for these words, "I promise you I do love you with all my heart," I do not remember that ever I spake them. But as concerning the other words, that I should promise him by my faith and troth, that I would never other husband but him, I am sure I never spake them.

Examined what tokens and gifts I gave to Deram, and he to me: I gave him a band and sleeves for a shirt. And he gave me a heart's-ease of silk for a new-year's-gift, and an old shirt of fine holland or cambricke, that was my lord Thomas' shirt, and my lady did give it him. And more than this, to my remembrance, I never gave him, nor he to me, saving this sommer ten pounds about the beginning of the progresse.

Examined whether I did give him a small ring of gold upon this condition, that he should never give it away. To my knowledge I never gave him no such ring, but I am assured upon no such condition.

Examined whether the shirt, band, and sleeves of my own work. They were not of my work; but, as I remember, Clifton's wife of Lambeth wrought them.

And as for the bracelet of silkwork, I never gave him none; and if he have any of mine, he took it from me.

As for any ruby, I never gave him none to set in ring, nor for other purpose. As for the French Fenel, Deram did not give it me, but he said there was a little woman in London with a crooked back, who was very cunning in making all manner of flowers. And I desired him to cause her to make a French fenel for me, and I would pay him again when I had money. And when I was first come into court, I paid him as well for that as for divers other things, to the value of five or six pound. And truth it is, that I durst not wear the said French fenel, until I had desired my lady Breerton to say that she gave it me.

As for a small ring with a stone, I never lost none of his, nor he never gave me none.

As for velvet and satten for billyments, a cap of velvet with a feather, a quilted cap of sarcenet, and money, he did not give me, but at my desire he laid out money for them, to be paid again. For all which things I paid him, when I came into the court. And yet he bought not for me the quilted cap, but only the sarcenet to make it of. And I delivered the same to a little fellow in my lady's house, as I remember, his name was Rose, an embroiderer, to make it what work he thought best, and not appointing him to make it with freer's knots, as he can testify, if he be a true man. Nevertheless, when it was made, Deram said, What wife here be freer's knots for Fraunce.

As for the indenture and obligation of an hundred pound, he left them in my custody, saying, that if he never came again, he gave them cleerly unto me. And when I asked him whether he went, he said he would not tell me untill his return.

Examined whether I called him husband, and he me wife. I do answer, that there was communication in the house that we two should marry together; and some of his enemies had envy therat, wherefore he desired me to give him leave to call me wife, and that I would call him husband. And I said I was content. And so after that, commonly he called me wife, and many times I called him husband. And he used many times to kiss me, and so he did to many other commonly in the house. And, I suppose, that this be true, that at one time when he kissed me very often, some said that were present, they trowed that he would never have kissed me enough. Whereto he answered, "Who should lett him to kiss his own wife?" Then said one of them, "I trowe this matter will come to passe, as the common saying is." "What is that?" quoth he. "Marry," said the other, "that Mr. Deram shall have Mrs. Katherine Howard." "By St. John!" said Deram, "you may guesse twice and guesse worse." But that I should wink upon him, and say secretly, "What and this should come to my lady's ear?" I suppose verily there was no such thing.

As for carnall knowledge, I confess as I did before, that divers times he hath lyen with me, sometime in his doublet and hose, and two or three times naked: but not so naked that he had nothing upon him; for he had alwayes at the least his doublet, and as I do think, his hose also: but I mean naked, when his hose were put down. And diverse times he would bring wine, strawberryes, apples, and other things, to make good chear, after my lady was gone to bed. But that he made any special banquet, that by appointment between him and me, he should tarry after the keyes were delivered to my lady, that is utterly untrue. Nor I never did steale the keyes myself, nor desired any person to steale them, to that intent and purpose to lett in Deram, but for many other causes the doores have been opened, sometime over night, and sometime early in the morning, as well at the request of me as of other. And sometime Deram hathe come in early in the morning, and ordered him very lewdly, but never at my request nor consent.

And that Wilks and Baskervile should say, what shift should we make, if my lady should come in suddenly. And I should answer, that he should go into the Little Gallery. I never said that if my lady came he should go into the Gallery, but he hath said so himself, and so he hath done indeed.

As for the communication of my going to the court, I remember that he said to me, that if I were gone, he would not tarry long in the house. And I said again, that he might do as he list. And further communication of that matter, I remember not. But that I should say, it grieved me as much as it did him, or that he should never live to say thou hast swerved, or that the tears should trickle down by my cheeks, none of them be true. For all that knew me, and kept my company, knew how glad and desirous I was to come to the court.

As for the communication after his coming out of Ireland, it is untrue. But as far as I remember, he then asked me if I should be married to Mr. Culpepper, for so he said he heard reported. Then I made answer, What should you trouble me therewith, for you know I will not have you; and if you heard such report, you heard more then I do know.

Katherine Howard.

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NUMBER LXXIII.

*A Letter of Sir W. Paget's, of his treating with the Admiral of France.*

[Paper-Office.]

PLEASE it your most excellent majestie to be advertised that the 16th of this present, I received letters from my lordes, and others of your majestie's privey counsail, conteyning such several conferences as your majestie, and certain of your said counsail, have had with the French ambassader there sithens my last dispeche. And yesterday havinge the furst opportunitie to speke with the admiral, I said unto him, that albeit it was likelyhode that the king his master's ambassader then in England, did from time to time advertise them of the processe of the matier now in treatie; yet your majestie, reputing him to be a man of honour and singular vertue, and such a one, as with right judgment doth consyder the hole state of his master's causes, with the circumstances: and therefore conceiving no little affection towards him, had commanded me to signifie unto him, to the intent he might know certainly the plainnes of every thing, what communication had now last been had with their ambassador there. For the which, rising from his seate, and making a gret and humble reverence; after that he had given thanks unto your majestie, and with two or three great othes declared his affection towards you; I entred the accomplishment of your majestie's commandment. And when I had declared unto him from point to point at length, and word by word (for it was a lesson meet to be learned without book) as is conteyned in the said letter, aswel the communicacion had with your counsail at the furst congresse, and such kingly and philosophicall conference as your majestie had with him your self; as also the seven points uttered by your majestie's counsail at their last assemblies; and finally, the epilogo of all together pronounced of your said counsail as of themselfs; which he herd all together, not without twenty sighes, and casting up his eyes; for I marked him when he was not ware of it; accrossing himself, and gyving a gret sigh, he saide: as for the amytie which ought to be between our masters, how much I have travailed, and do travaile for the confirmation of it, God is my judge; and almost all the world knoweth that I am an English-French man, and that next after my master, I esteem the king your master's finger more than I do any prince's body in all the world, and would be glad to give all the goods I have in the world, that this matter went through between them; for I perceive by my master that he will not lyve alone, and yet I am sure he will seek no new friendship, nor accept none offred, until the king your master have refused this. As touching this matter, I knowe they be two princes of such honour, and of wise conduct in all their things; that though this marriage had never been spoken of, they would have continued friends according to their treaties; and this overture was never opened, neither for confirmation, nor for encrease of amitie between them; for greater cannot be, but marriage and commiction of blood with blood, doth unite and knit generation to generation, and posteritie; the benefit whereof how great it will be; how many inconveniences may therby be avoided by processe of time; the wisest man may soner think then be able to express. But, alas! said he, what is two hundred thousand crowns to give in marriage with so great a king's daughter to Monsieur Dorleans. Four hundred, five hundred thousand is nothing to him; Monsieur Dorleans is a prince of great courage; Monsieur Dorleans doth aspire to great things, and such is his fortune, or els I am wonderfully deceyved. It will grieve my master much when he shall here of this basse offer, as we have not herd yet from our ambassador; I marvail therof not a little; nay, to tell you plainly, as one friend shuld tell another, there is farre gretter offers, if we would herken unto them, we might have in redy money with the daughter of Portugall, four hundred thousand ducates, with the increase that hath grown of it sithens her father's departure, which will amount to asmuch and more. At the furst breaking of this matter, it was said the man must desyre the woman; now that we have desired her, you will give nothing with her; for what is two hundred thousand crowns; and herewithall giving a great sigh, stayed. And I because I perceived his tale such as was meet to be answered, said unto him, Monsieur l'Admiral, I have no more to say unto you on my master's behalf, then I have said unto you allready. But for because you have made a long discourse as it were sumewhat replying to that that I have reaported; if it shall like you to give me leave to say myn own fantasye, as a man that would this thing shuld take effect, if it may be equally done, I woll saye it. Yes (quoth he), with all my hart: why shuld not we talke together friendly, as two that be servants to two great friends; and I neither to take your words to be spoken as of an ambassader, nor you to take my words to be spoken of him that holdeth the place about his master that I do? Sir (quoth I), as touching the benevolence you bear unto my master, you may think it well employed; as well for that my master (I think) conceirneth like opinion of you in that parte, as also for that you have proved my master alwayes to be a perfaict friend unto your master. And to saye to you frankelly myn opinion: albeit I am no man at home, neither of great place nor of great counsaile, yet have I beene of court: and men, you knowe, of like sorte, whenne they mete together, will be oftentymes talking of matiers that they have litle to do in, and bable of heresayes. And I being one of that sorte, have many tymes herd that my master hath been allwayes much affected unto your master, and hath shewed towards him great kindnes, when that if he would have taken offers for the contrary, he might have had inestimable benefites. Yea, and that he hath been so well mynded unto your master, that neither the maner of your truce taken with the emperor, nor your strangenes at the emperor's being here, nor Pole's passage, nor the conveying of Brancester, nor the reteyning of the hosyer that called himself Blancherose, nor Cowbridge, nor nothing els could alienate him from you, such hath been his friendship towardes you. And therefore (I said), if you love him, *vous aves raison*. And if you have set furth this mariage for love, let it appere. Is not two hundred thousand crowns a faire offer? I graunt you well, that Monsieur d'Orleanns aspireth to gret things, and is of great courage: and reason it is, for he is a great king's sonne; and such a king, as both may and must, if he will have his courage mainteyned, give him wherewithall. It is not reason that my master shuld mainteyn his courage. My master hathe a sonne of his own, whom I trust he shall live to see a man of courage, and will, I doubt not, provide him therafter. And as for his daughter, he doth consyder her as reason requyreth. Had king Lowys any more with one of my master's systers than three hundred thousand crownes; and the king of Scotts, with another, any more than one hundred thousand? If our friendship be advisable unto you (for that was his terme), as you say it is, seke it by reasonable meane, I doubt not but you shall obteine it; and ask reasonably with her, and it shall be granted you to.



By my truth (quoth he), and so we doe. Doe you so (quoth I)? I have allwayes noted you a man of reasone, and so reaported you. Turn the case (quoth I). Would you remitt eight hundred thousand crownes, discharge an hundred thousand a year, for the mariage of your daughter? Yea, by my trouth would I (quoth he); for the eight hundred thousand crowns I compte nothing: and as for the pension, she shuld have redubled here in France; and we would be amys to amys, and enemies to enemies: I meane, *pour la defence de nostre estats* (quoth he). *Par nostre Dame* (quoth I), you shall not be myn auditour. Here is all the matier (quoth I): you take a wrong pathe; you compte these eight hundred thousand crownes nothing; and we, if it were wayed in an indifferent ballance, think they should waye down tenne hundred thousand. We have a saying in England, "a penny at a time is worth a pound." He that should lend me three or four hundred crowns at my nede, should do me even more pleasure then to offer me tenne hundred when I neded not: so much esteme I money lent at such a tyme. Consyder our parte (quoth he), and we must knowledge it great: consyder your parte (quoth he), it is nothing. The payn is past, and not to be reckened upon. You say not much amiss (quoth I) if we had an evil debter; but our debter is riche ynough, and a good debter. And though he have been bold of a long respite with his friend, yet he will pay it (quoth I). I doubt not (quoth he) but the princes will observe their treaties. My master hath, and will, I am sure (quoth I); and so I think will yours. I wot not what to say (quoth he). Marrye (quoth I), do that that I have said heretofore: aske reasonably for the dote, and make a reciproque for the rest, if you would be eased of it. Marke this; for it is to be embraced, and a great mariage to Monsieur d'Orleanns. By my trouth (quoth he), the dote you have offered is nothing; and if I wer as king Lewys and the king of Scotts wer, I would rather take your daughter in her kyrtel, and more honour wer it for me, then, being Monsieur d'Orleanns, to take her with eight hundred thousand crowns. But I wote not what you meane by that reciproque. Marry (quoth I), it is to do somthing again of like goodnes to the thing that you desire to have done unto you. As (quoth I) you desire to have our daughter, and for her you will give your sonne, there is one for an other. Your sonne is the reciproque of our daughter. You would have two hundred thousand crownes with her; the reciproque of that must be a like jointer. Here is sonne for daughter, dowery for dote. Now, if you will be discharged of 600,000 crowns, what other thing, that is as good, shall we have for that, and also for our pencion? Devise a reciproque. O! Monsieur l'Ambassadeur (quoth he), I understand your reciproque well. The king your master is a gentle prince, and a great prince; and what grive should it be to him, to lett passe eight hundred thousand crowns, and ywys we be not able to pay them. In faith (quoth I), seing he hathe borne so long with you for all, he will be contented to bear with you sumwhat longer for sum: and if you will give some in hand, I think he will give you terms for the rest. Ah Monsieur l'Ambassadeur (quoth he)! and shoke his head. As for the pension (quoth he), you shall have a reciproque here, a dowery mete for it. Nay (quoth I), your relative agreeth with a wrong antecedent: my master is the antecedent, and the reciproque must be to him, and not to Monsieur d'Orleans, for he should have the benefite by it. Nay (quoth he), it is your master's daughter, and it is no more but for your master to give from himself to his daughter. Ywys, the queen of Navarre's daughter is a greatter mariage; and as for the eight hundred thousand, if I were a right man, and able to give, I would paye a great pece of it my self, er it shuld stick. What the queen of Navarre's daughter is, I know not (quoth I); but if you might have my master's daughter upon these conditions, you might say, you had such a mariage as was never herd of. And here we stay'd both. At the last (quoth he), sudenly, when it was told me yesternight that you sent to speke with me, I thought it was for these matiers: and all this night I have turned and tossed, and thought upon them. I would God it had never been spoken of, if it take not effect. And evyn now cummyth into my head the overture that the king your master made ones unto me. What overture was that (quoth I)? Marry (quoth he), the overture of the marriage of the lady Elizabeth, his daughter; you to have had recompence for the perpetuel pencion upon Monsieur de Vandome's lands: and for the pencion vyager, to have bene converted to a estate. Without any other recompence (quoth I)? Yes (quoth he). We shuld have bene enemys to enemys, and left the bishop of Rome. That was sumwhat (quoth I); and yet not a reciproque; because you shuld not have given as good as you tooke. But then, was none arrerage (quoth I)? And here he paused again. I will tell you my fantasy (quoth he); but yon shall promise me by your faith that I shall never heare of it again. I woll speke it unto you, as a friende to a friende; and peradventure neither of both parties will like it. Sir (quoth I), you shall never take dishonour by things you shall say to me. What (quoth he) if the overture shuld take effect in one parte? As how (quoth I)? Marry (quoth he), the arrerage to be remitted, for the marriage of your daughter; and because you think it great, we to becum friends to friends, and enemys to enemys, and so to enter warre together: and of that, that shuld be conquered by commyn expenses, to lay out first a recompence for your pencion viager, and the perpetuel pencion to be supplied, as the king your majesty devised. How like you this devise (quoth he)? Mary (said I), if you will heare a fool's answer, I like it not; for what need we to fight for that we have allready? Mary (quoth he), then you should have it *in perpetuum*. What if you desyred this for a reciproque? Mary (quoth I), peradventure my master might purchase more land another waye than that might cost him. Why shuld we desire warre (quoth I); we have no quarrell? It is true (quoth he); but we would be the authors: and if you covenanted to be enemye to enemye, would you not joyne warre with us? By my trouth, sir (quoth I), you be entred now into a deep matier, which passeth my capacitie. It is a great matier indeed (quoth he); but I talk with you privement, neither because I would have you to declare this to your master, nor for that I will declare it to myne: and yet both you and I may use meanes to the same ende. Well (quoth I), I see you make cursey at the matier, and would have a great commodity, and yet are loth to offer for it; but I say unto you as a friend, aske, and offer reasonably, and go roundly to worke, and make an ende of it; for I fear I may say to you, if you will not, others will. Yea (quoth he), we know the emperor practiseth with you, as he doth with us; and that the bishop of London hath brought him three fayre palfreys from the king your master for a present. I name no man (quoth I); but whether the emperor practiseth with you, I reaport me to his offers and his demands. I think he practiseth with us both (quoth he) onely to dissever us; for with your master he will not joyne, onles he will returne again unto the pope: for so his

nuntio told the chancelor, and the chancelour told the queen of Navarre, who fell out with him upon the occasion of that conference, and told him he was ill ynough before, but now sithens he hath gotten the marke of the beast (for so she called it, because he was lately made priest), he was worse and worse. But to my purpose (quoth he); I think the emperor practiseth with us both; he seeketh nothing els but to disseuer us. You speake of his offers and his demaunds (quoth he); knowe you what they be? No (quoth I): and yet, indeed, I did cume by the knowledge of them within 24 howres before. Mary (quoth he), he would make the duke of Orleains king of Naples, and give us the seigneurye of Flanders. They be faire offers (quoth I); but what be his demands? Wherat he smiled. By my trouth (quoth he), I will tell you:—he desireth a renunciation of the title of Milan and Navarre, and the restitution of Piedmount and Savoy. What say you to it (quoth I)? The king my master, will none of it (quoth he); for he thinketh that the next war that shuld fall, being so great distance between father and sonne, the emperor would sende the duke of Orleains to his father *une Baton blanche*. I have herd saye (quoth I) the duke of Cleves also labourcth now sore to have his wife home, and smyled therwith. Why (quoth he), heare you any thing? Yea, mary (quoth I); I hear saye the emperor is in great practise with the duke of Cleves; and that he hath made him half a promise, that for to have Gelders quietly, he and his wife will renounce the title of Navarre. Which indeed I had never herd. But musing upon the word before, it came into my head at that time, and chauncyng then to speake it, I strucke the admirall into a great dumpe. Wherin, when he had pawsed a great while, I said, sir, I desease you. No, no, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur (quoth he): she is too young and sickly to go out of this country. When Monsieur de Cleves (quoth he) hath done the king sume good service, and declared himself to all the world to be *pour le Roy*, then shall he have his wife. You know what you have to do, sir (quoth I); but seeing you see the world so full of practises, it is good dealing with them that meane plainly. Yo say trouth (quoth he); and so it is:—we knowe the emperor doth nothing but practise with us, as he doth with your master; and we knowe how he offereth your master to accord hym with the pope, without breache of his honour, and that it shall be at the pope's suite. I am privye (quoth I) of no suche matiers; but if the emperor desyre my master's friendship, I cannot greately blame him, consyderinge he knoweth, partely by his own experience, and partely by evident tokens towards other men, my master is a friendly friend. And as for the bishop of Rome (quoth I), if he sue to be restored to my master's favour again, I think it will be herd for him to obteyn it, for vertue and vice cannot stand together in one predicament. Call you him Vice (quoth he)—he is the very divel. I trust once to see his confusion. I have begune to pick him a little; I trust to pick him better: every thing must have a tyme and a beginning. But when begin you (quoth I)? I think (quoth he), er it be ought long, the king, my master, will converte all the abbeis of his realme into the possession of his laye gentlemen, and so go furth by little and little (if you will join with us), to overthrow him alltogether:—why may not we have a patriark here in France? Which purpose, I think, he doth perceive; and his legate, therfore, now in Almayn, offred that for a reformation there should be a council called, and appointed the place either Mantua, Verona, or Cambray: he had as lief be hanged (quoth he) as have a general council; and even then will that be his sentence. I would fayne see you ones begyne somewhat (quoth I). A Monsieur le Ambassadeur (quoth he)! I am sherewdely matched. Why so (quoth I)? is not your master a king, and if he mynde that you speak of, who can match you? He favoreth wondrous well (quoth he); but every thing I saye must have a tyme: who was a greater champyon for the pope then was your master, now who is more contrary? If they might ones (quoth he), speke together, I think it will be one of the grettest benifites that ever came to Chrisendome, but that cannot well be, until these matiers cum to some nerer point. The faulte is not in us (quoth I) that it is not at a nerer point. Nor it shall not be long of us (quoth he); but paradventure sum of your master's counsail moveth him more to the emperor's friendship. And what is that friendship in comparison of this friendship! England is a kingdome perpetuel, and so is France. Our masters, their children, their succession, maye joyne for ever. We be under one clyme, and of one complexion: we be at hande one to another. The emperor is but one, and when he is dead, sum Almayn may be emperor, I wot not who. Truth it is, Spayne is a kingdome; but what is that alone! As for Flanders, it shall be our friend, if we joyne together. And as for Italy, when the emperor is dead, who shall be master, trowe you? And if the emperor might live allways, what is his friendship? He careth not if friend, father, and all together shuld sinke, so as his insatiable desyre to reign might be satisfied: did he not suffer two of his brethren-in-lawe to perishe for lacke of fifty thousand crowns; furst the king of Hungarye, and after the king of Denmark, whom he might have restored with ten thousand crowns? He is a covetous man, saving the honour of a prince, and yet he is now base ynough, and therefore let us take him while he is lowe, before he take his breth. Sir (quoth I), you are a man of a great trade, and knowe to discourse of things better then I am able to conceive. If you esteem the effect of this matier so necessary for you, and the emperor's friendship such as you speke of, take then a direct waye for the compassing of it; and if you have any thing in your stomachs that you would have uttered, but not to many, let your ambassadour utter it to sum one, and lett him utter it not coldly, but frankly; and that is the next waye to make an ende. Would God, Monsieur le Ambassadeur (quoth he), it laye in my hande, it shuld then be sone at an ende! Put to your good will (quoth I), in an honest cause God will help you. I marvaile much (quoth he) we here not from our ambassader there. So do I (quoth I); by lykelyhod he is ill at ease, or his man is sike by the way, or some other like matier. When send you to England (quoth he)? I have no great matiers to write of (quoth I); and yet I am determined within a day or two to send into England, for I have appointed my bank to be made at Paris, but now I must sende to have it changed to Lyons, because I here say the king goeth thither. I pray you (quoth he) conveye a lettre to our ambassadeur in England, which I will send to you to-morrow, which I promised him. And brake our communication; and so ready to depart, and standing, I asked him whither the ambassadeur was come to the king out of Almayn, or no? He asked me which ambassador? I told him for aid against the Turk. No, no (quoth he); thinketh men my master is so unwise, to aid the emperor and king Ferdinand for the defence of Hungarye, their private dominion? Should my master mainteyn their state at his dispens, which keep his state from him? not but if it wer to defend Almayn, my master would help the best he could. What doth the king your master?



gyveth he any ayde? I know not (quoth I) that any hath been yet asked. If any be, I think his majesty will make a reasonable answer. And thus we departed.

Sir, your majestie hath heard truely reported the diverse communication and varietie of matier that hath passed between the admirall and me: wherin, when I consyder myn accustomed protestations, me thinketh he shuld take none advantage of me; and on the other side, when I remember the simplenes of my wit with the scarcitie of myn experience, joyning therewithall their proceeding with other your majestie's ambassadeurs heretofore, whose saing they reaporte at will for their purposes; I cannot but tremble, fearing that sumthing may have passed me to hotely, sum what to coldly, sumthing spoken more then neded, or sumthing left out that shuld have been spoken. But sure you are my sayntuary, and my trust is only in your equanimitie; whom I beseech most humbly of your gracious and favourable interpretation, and of your benignitie, to consyder that this is the furst tyme that ever I came *in arenam;* and he with whom I am matched is an old player; nevertheless, if I had experience, or wit to judge a man, I would think him by his words and countenance to be none imperiall, and an utter enemye to Rome; and yet I must note a practise in him, for that he hath promised me twise one shuld be sent over, and none is yet sent. And besides that, wheras he hath told me heretofore, that no man knew of this last treatye but he and Madame Destampes, adding yesterday the queen of Navarre. I know of the demands the ambassadeur hath made there, by other meanes then by your majestie's signification: but your majestie knoweth him farre better, I am sure, than my foolishe wit can comprehend. And therefore I leave to your most excellent wisdom the judgment of his proceedings, the circumstance wherof your majestie knoweth without addition or diminucion of any thing, as nere as I could carye it away.

As touchin the occurents of this court, it may please your majestie to be advertised, that the emperor's grand escuyer passed by Paris eight days agone into Flanders, and came not att the court.

It is said here that the emperor is in great practise with your majesty, for the marriage of the lady Mary, your majestie's daughter, which they think here the rather to be true, for that you have sent the bishop of London to be ambassador there, whom they note here to be an imperial, saing commonly that the marriage between France and England is dashed.

Certain merchants of Lyons, and Monsieur Langey, a partener with them, have sentence for them of threescore and tenne thousand crowns against the state of Florence, and reprisalls out for execution.

Salmaiti and Antenori, two Florentynes, having their houses in Lyons, who were *fideiussores de soluendo indicato*, be fled into the emperor's dominion, into Bresse.

The Florentynes take the matier greviously, and think there is no justice in France; for they had moved theyr case before in all the universities and courts of Italy, and thinking it out of doubt, offred to put it to the judgement of France, wherof now they repent them, and will in no wise stand to it. And to advertise your majesty of the case briefly: the state of Florence bought of certain marchants of Lyons a quantitie of wheat to such a sume, to be delivered at Florence before such a day. The wheat arryved not before eight daies after the tyme appointed. The Florentines, constreyned by necessity, provided themselves other ways, and say the bargain is voyde. The Lyonnois alledge *tempestatem* for the lett, and say that *emptio* is *contractus bonæ fidei*, and that therefore the Florentynes must fulfill their bargayn; and so, leaving their wheat there, went their wayes.

Error is founde in the admirall's processe, and the sentence revoked; wherby the application of his lands to the crown, and the *amende pecuniaire* that he shuld have made to divers townes here in Bourgoyn is adnichilated, and he *restitutus in integrum*.

I thinke your majestie heareth from your agent at Venice, that James Bey, sumtyme a Christian man, is coming from the Turcque in ambassade to Venice; and, as I think, by this time arryved there, if the empereur have not intercepted him, who hath layed wayte for him in Ragusa: his cumyng is nothing pleasant to the Venycians; the cause therof being as the Venycians conjecture, the same that I have written to your majestie before; that is to saye, passage through their country, or to be enemyes to enemyes, or to redeem the same with sum great sumes of money, if nothing els be asked.

Seignior Horacio being heretofore accustomed to be lodged at the court, or near as the place required, is lodged now four leaggs of, and yet the king lyeth in a great town; wherof the nuntio's secretarye, complayning to the admirall, the admirall answered him in coler, he had one gyven him, and he refused it; we cannot give him here a palais, as though he were at Paris and turned his back, and would talk no longer with the secretary.

I sende unto your majestie herewith an other charte of Algiere, set furth after a sorte, with the emperor's assiege before it; the plate wherof varieth from the other I sent your majestie before: and yett I trust your majestie will take the same in good part; for as they came to my hands, being sent to such personages as they wer; thone to the French king, and this to the duke of Ferrare; I thought it my duety to sende both unto your majestie, leaving unto your excellent wisedome the judgment, whither this, or the other be true, or neither of them bothe.

I sende also unto your majestie a little book, both printed here in Paris, conteyning the conclusion of their dyet in Almayn against the Turk; whither the same be true or no, I doubt not but your majestie knoweth by such advertisements as you have out of those partes. And thus having nothing els to writte unto your majeste at this time, I beseche God to send you most prosperously and long to reigne. From Chabliz in Bourgoyn, the 19th of April.

Your majestie's most humble, faithful, and obedient subject, servant, and daily oratour,

WILLIAM PAGETT.

*Postscript.*

AFTER I had written to your majestie this letter, redy to send the same furthwith; and deffering the dispeche onely uppon attendance of the admirall's letter, to be conveyed into England; because the same came not, I sent the same night one to the courte, which is four long leaggs hens to the admirall to know his minde therin; which messenger he returned to me with this letter herincloced, written and defaced as your majestie seith the same; upon motion wherof, I was at his lodging the next day, by eight in the morning, but I found him not there. At my cumming a letter was delivered me from certain of your majestie's privy counsail, the tenor wherof, both before and sithens I have observed as far as my wit can extend, like as your majestie rather by your great judgment, and gracious interpretation of my discourses, then by my simple writtings may gather. Anone cummeth monsieur Admirall, accompaigned with monsieur Longeville, governour to the duke of Orleans, and with more solemnitie than was wont to be, took me with

them to the church, to passe the tyme (they said) untill the king wer up. Monsieur Longevile left the admirall and me walking, and entring communication after this sorte. Monsieur le Ambassadeur, I have been bold to put you to this great payne this morning; but this matier troubleth me so sore, that I am at my wittes end: by ———* I could not sleep for it all this night. We have received letters from our ambassadeur in England, conteyning the same discourses that you have declared, which my master is sorye to heare; mervailing that the king, his good brother, would offer that summe to his sonne with his daughter, that some of his gentlemen would not accept. The pope offred to monsieur de Guyses sonne, with his nepce, two hundred thousand crownes, and he refused it. To see us so farre asunder, after so long a traitye, by ———† it greveth me. For you must understand, that all which be of counsaile about my master, be not of one opinion. And upon the recepte of our last lettres, it was said to me, we told you wherto the enterprise of this matier would cum at length: but surely I have never repented me, nor myn affection can never diminishe, for the friendship that hath been showed on your parte, aswell in commyn, as to my particuler. And as for the pope's and the emperor's lyes and falsetes, we know well ynough. Wherfore, for the love of God, let us growe to some friendly point. After I had declared unto him for some recompense of his affection, what good affection I beare to France; I said unto him, monsieur l'Admirall, you knowe, we commun now privately, and therefore you shall hear my private opinion. Seing that you knowe other men's proceedings with you to have been so indirect as you speake of, and (as your self hath confessed unto me oftentymes) that the king's majestie, my master, hath been so perfaict and sincere a friende unto you at all tymes; embrace this friendship, consyder this friend, and think that he is to be desyred rather with one hundred, than any other with tenne hundred. You said, your master will not live alone. Ywys, my master may have company enough, if he would slippe out of the couple from you. Ye (quoth he), I know; but so will not every man of this counsaile knowe, their faulseties. True it is (quoth he) your friendship hath been much, and we do recognise it, and think our selfs in obligation to requite it. But we can do no more than we can do. But to come to a point; the matier consisteth in these termes. Within these two yeres, we shall owe you a million; after the which tyme, we must pay you during the king your master's life (God grant it to be long) a hundred thousand crownes yearly, and afterward fyfty thousande perpetually, you saye. As for the pencions (quoth he) there may be sumwhat sayde for things that shude be done by treaties: for our defence, things shuld have been done; shipps and men, and I wot not what. And he began to hack and to hume. Monsieur le Admirall (quoth I) speke out plainly: for if you have any thing to say in that parte, I can answer. Well, well (quoth he) let those things passe: you can clayme no pencion yet these two yeres. And herewithall the king sent for him. With whom, after masse, he went to the standing in a forest hereby; promising me to return ymedyately after dyner, and praying me hartely to tary his return. monsieur le Admirall (quoth I), in his eare, if you talk with the king, your master, of this matier, deduce him to conformitie. I speake for the affection I beare unto you: for I may say to you, there be others that woee harder thenne you, and yet hitherto we have not given like eare. But you know, a man may droppe water so long upon a stone, that it may sooke in. And herewith, monsieur Longevile took me at his hand by and by, and had me to monsieur D'Orleau's lodging, where I had an exceeding gret feast and chere. About two of the clock the admirall sent for me; and after our meting, every man avoided out of the chamber. Monsieur le Ambassadeur (quoth he) let us devise some good meane, to joyne these two princes together. Then must you (quoth I) go another way to worke. Devide your treatye into two partes: treate a marriage, and treate the redemption of the reste you desyre. Well, be it (quoth he): but I understand not yet very well your reciproque; (and here he began to be plaisant in his countenance, and to set his wordes merily:) and yet (quoth he) our ambassador writteth of the same terme, but I wot not what. You will not (quoth I) understande it: but you must learn it; for els I feare (wherof I would be wondrous sorye) that this matier will not go forwarde. Let me hear again (quoth he). I told him even the same lesson, that is declared in the former parte of this letter. It is not (quoth he) a hundred thousand crownes, or two hundred thousand, that can enriche my master, or impoverishe yours: and therfore, for the love of God (quoth he), let us go roundly together. We aske your daughter (quoth he): for her, you shall have our sonne, a gentyl prince (quoth he), and set him out to sale. We aske you a dote with her; and for that after the som you will give, she shall have an assignment after the custome of the country here. And as for the rest (quoth he), what reciproque demande you? what will you, that we do for you? As for the rest of the money (quoth I), take order for the payment of it; and for the pencions, devise a reciproque. Devise you (quoth he) what you will have us to do for it. Nay (quoth I), offer you first, for it passeth my capacitye, and reason is so, for the first commodity shall be yours. It is no mattier (quoth he), we will offer furst, and you shall aske nexte: or you shall offer furst, and we shall aske nexte; all is one. But I will now, as I did laste daye, speke unto you after myn passion, after myn own affection; for I would all the world knew I am not imperial. And here, with many qualifications and termes, he set forth his passion and affections. You will give us your daughter, and a summe with her (it maketh no matier what); howbeit, I trust, your gentle prince will aske no money of us. And as for the reciproque of the rest? and therewith stayed. Well (quoth he), to speake frankly to you myn affection; will you enter the warre with us against the emperor; and be enemye to enemye, for the defence of all such states as we have at this present, and of such as we shall conquere together; or of such as shall be comprised in treaty; the king, your master, to sett upon land in Flanders, tenne thousand Englishmen, and we tenne thousand Frenchmen; pay the wages of five thousand Almayns, and we of asmany; finde two thousand horsemen, and we three thousand; finde a certain number of shipps, and we as many. And yett shall the king, my master, chaffe the emperor in other places, he was never so chaffed: and spende a hundred, yea two hundred thousand crowns a month other wayes. And of such lands as shall be conquered, the pencion first to be redoubled, and the rest to be divided equally. What a thing will it be to your master, to have Graveling, Dunkirk, Burburg, and all those quarters joining to his Calais? Mary (quoth I), all the craft is in the catching. And here I put him a foolish question; What if you spent your money, and conquered nothing? Mary (quoth he), then should the pencion stand still as it standeth. Monsieur le Admirall (quoth I), these matiers you talk of, be of too great importance for my witt; and I have also no commission to medle in

* An oath. † An oath.



them. But to saye my fantasye, I knowe of no quarrel that my master hath against the emperor. ———* (quoth he), why say you so? Doth he not owe your master money? Hath he not broken his leages with him in 600 points? Did he not provoke us, and the pope also, to joine for the taking of your realme from you, in preye for disobedience? And hath he not caused even now the pope, to offer a council at Mantua, Verona, Cambray, or Metz (which place he added now last); the chief cause wherof, is to pick you? A pestilence take him, fause dissembler (quoth he): saving my dutie the majestie of a king. If he had you at such an advantage, as you maye now have him, you shuld well knowe it at his hande. And here he went furth at large against the bishop of Rome, and the emperor; discoursing what commoditie shuld ensue of this warre; and that he would have it in any wise beginne this yere, now that the emperor wer so lowe; and had, as he saithe, for all his millions, never a sols. And that he would the matier should take effect shortely; for the yere goith awaye: reckening how many moneths wer now lost mete for the warre: and how the conquests should be fortified in the winter; and the warre recommenced in the sommer. And that theis chiefe points resolved, his master shuld (if your majestie would) turne into Picardy, to entervieu. And a great discourse, sir, passing min experience, shewing themselfs by his wordes and countenance wonderfully gredy of presant warre: which when he had ended; What say you, monsieur le Ambassadeur (quoth he)? will you saye nothing to me in this matier? Sir (quoth I), and told him trueth, I wote not what to saye. Why do you not (quoth he)? Open the bottom of your stomack to the king, my master (quoth I) by your ambassadour there, by whom you have begun and treated this matier. And also I noted in our other conference, that you would not have these discourses reported again of your mouth. Monsieur (quoth he), this is indeed but my devise. Howbeit, to speake frankly to youe, I have spoken nothing therin, but I thinke to perswade my master to it: and write so to the king, your master (quoth he), and also the hole devise. That shall be as you will (quoth I). Nay (quoth he), I pray you to write, so as you write as devised of me; and repeted the overture hole together, as is before expressed. Sir (quoth I), seing you require me, I will write it, so that you will promise me to confirme my tale by your ambassador there. Yes (quoth he), and clapt his hande in mine. But I pray you (quoth he) send one in diligence, that no tyme be lost. Will you not write (quoth I)? Yes (quoth he): but your post will be there before ours. And so deperted.

Sir,—I beseeche your majestie most humblie on my knees, graciously to accept my good will, albeit my witt be not able to serve you in so great an affaire; and to pardon me, of your most gracious goodnes, if any thing have been said, more or less thenne was meet to have been spoken for the advancement of your purposes: of my faulte wherin, if it should please your majestie to advise me of, I should have the more witt another time, and take the better hede in a semblable case. For surely, sir, I have an exceeding good will to serve you; and if my witt wer as good, I am assured I should serve well, and that knoweth God: to whom I pray daily, for your prosperous and long continuance. From Chabliz, the 22d of April.

Your majestie's most humble, faithful, and obedient subject, servant, and daily oratour,

WILLIAM PAGETT.

To the king's most excellent majestie, 1542.

* An oath.

NUMBER LXXIV.

*Bishop Thirleby's Letter concerning the Duke of Norfolk and his Son.—An Original.*

[Paper Office.]

I WOULD write unto you my harte (if I coulde) against those two ungracious, ingrate, and inhumane "non homines", the duke of Norfolk and his sonne. The elder of whom I confess I did love, for that I ever supposed hym a true servant to his master; like as both his allegiance, and the manifold benefits of the king's majestie bounde him to have been; but nowe when I sholde begyn to wright to you herin, before God, I am so amased at the matter, that I know not what to say; therefore I shall leave them to receyve for their deads, as they have worthily deservyd; and thank God of his grace that hath openyd this in tyme, so that the king's majestie may see that reformed: and in this point, wher Almighty God hath not nowe alone, but often and sondry tymes hertofore, not only letted the malice of such as hathe imagenyd any treason against the king's majestie, the chiefe comforte, wealth, and prosperite of all good Englishmen next unto God; but hath so wonderfully manifest, that in suche tyme that his majestie's high wisdom myght let that malice to take his effecte, all good Englishe cannot therfore thanke God enough. And for our parts, I pray God, that we may, thorough his grace, so contynue his servants, that herafter we be not founde unworthy to receyve suche a benefyte at his hands. On Christmas even, about 10 of the clocke after noon here aryved Somerset, with the letters of the king's majestie's most honourable counsell, dated the 15th of December, at Westminster, wherby I perceyved the malicious purpose of the said two ungracious men: and for the execution of the king's majestie's commandment declared in the same letters, I suyd immediately for audience to the emperor, who entred this town within halfe an houer after Somerset was come. The emperor praied me of pacience, and to declare to the secretarie Joyse, that I wolde saie to him. For he said he had determyned to repose him selfe for 3 or 4 days; and had therfore for that tyme refused audience to the nuntio, the ambassador of France, and the ambassador of Venice, which had sued for audience. On Christmasday on the morning, at nine of the clocke, Joyse came to my lodginge, to whom I declared as well as I coulde the great benefits theis ungracious men had receyved at the king's majestie's hands, and how unkindly and traytorously they went abought to searve him, with the rest as myn instructions led me. The king's majestie, my master (taking the same affection to be in the emperor, his good brother, towards him, that his highnes hathe to the emperor, "ut amicorum omnia sint communia, gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus"), hath commanded me to open this matter to the emperor: that as naturally all men, and much more princes, ought to abhore traytors, and specially suche as had receyved so great benyfites as theis men had; so his majestie might rejoyse that the king's highnes, his good brother, had founde forthe this matter, or the malice coulde be brought to execution. Secretary Joyse said that he would advertise the emperor herof accordingly, and after a little talke of the haughtiness of the earle of Surrey, and a few salutations, he bade me fare well. When I asked him for monsieur de Grandevela, to whom I ssid, that I wolde tell this tale, for that I doubted not but that he, and all honest men wolde abhorre such traytors: he said that he was not yet come, but he wolde this day advertise him herof by his letters; for I wright (quoth he) daily to him. Albeit that this be the hole, and the

effecte of that I have done in the execution of the king's majestie's commandment, declared in my said lord's letters, yet I will as my dutie is, answer a-part their said letters to the king's majestie: herin I dare not wright. For, to enter the matter, and not to detest that as the cause requireth, I think it not convenient. And again on the side, to renew the memorie of these men's ingratitude (wher with all noble and princely harts above all others be sore wounded) I thinke it not wisdome. Therefore I beseeche you hartely, amongst other my good lords, there to make my most humble excuse to his majestie for the same. This ungracious matter that hath happened otherwise then ever I could have thought, hath caused you to have a longer letter than ever I had beene accustomed to wright. Ye shall herwith receyve a scedule of courte newis, whiche havyng lernyd while I wrote this, secretary Joyse hathe prayed me to sende the letter herwith enclosed to the emperor's ambassador in England, whiche I pray you to cause to be delivered, and hartely fare you well. From Halebourne the Christmas-day at night, 1546.

Your assured loving friend,

THO. WESTM'.

Herewith ye shall allso receyve the copie of my letters of the 19th of this mongth, sent by Skipperus, &c.

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NUMBER LXXV.

*A Letter of the Duke of Norfolk's, after he had been examined in the Tower.*

[Cott. Lib. Titus, B. 1. p. 94.]

MY very good lords, whereas at the being here with me of my lord great chamberlayne, and Mr. Secretary, they examynd me of divers thyngs, which as near as I can call to my remembrance were the effects as here after doth ensew.

First, whether ther was any cipher betwene me, and any other man: for answer wherunto, this is the truth, there was never cipher betwene me and any man, save only such as I have had for the king's majestie, when I was in his service. And as God be my judge, I do not remember that ever I wrote in cipher, but at such time as I was in France; my lord great master that now is, and my lord of Rochford being in commission with me; and whether I wrote any then, or not, as God help me, I do not remember; but and I wrote any thing, I am sure both their hands were at it: and the master of the horse privy to the same. I do remember that after the death of the bishop of Hereford, Fox, it was shewed me that the said bishop had left a letter, which I had sent him amongst his writings, which being found by a servant of his, that is now with master Deny, who shewed the same to the bishop of Durham that now is, he caused him to throw the same in fier; as I do remember, it was my said lord bishop of Dureham that advised him to burn it: and as I also do remember, the matter that was conteyned therin, concerned lewde speaking of the northern men after the time of the comotion against the said Cromwell: if there had been any thyng concerning the king's majesty's affairs, neyther the bishope nor he, were he now alyve, would not have concealed the same; and whether any part of that was in cypher or not, as I shall answer to God, I do not remember.

Theffect of another question there asked me, was, as near as I can call to my remembrance, whether anie man had talked with me, that and ther were a good peace made betwene the king's majestie, the emperor, and the French king, the bishope of Rome would brek the same againe by his dispensation? and whether I enclined that waies, or not, to that purpose? As God help me now, at my most nede, I cannot call to my remembrance, that ever I heard any man living speak like words. And as for mine inclinations, that the bishope of Rome should ever have aucthority to do such thing; if I had twentie lives, I would rather have spent them all against him, then ever he should have any power in this realme: for no man knoweth that better than I, by reding of stories, how his usurped power hath increased from time to time. Nor such time as the king's majestie hath found him his enemy, no living man hath, both in his harte and with his tounge, in this realme, in France, and also to many Scotish jantlemen, spoken more sore against his said usurped powre, then I have done, as I can prove by good witnes.

Also my said lord and Mr. Secretary asked me, whether I was ever made privy to a letter, sent from my lord of Wynchester and sir Henry Knevet, of any overture made by Grandville to them, for a way to be taken between his majestie and the bishope of Rome; and that the said letters should have come to his majestie to Dover, I being there with him. Wherunto this is my true answer: I was never at Dover with his highnes since my lord of Richmond died, but at that time, of whose death word came to Syttyngborne: and as God be my helpe, I never heard of no such overture, save that I do well remember, at such time as sir Francis Biryan was sore sike, and like to have died, it was spoken in the council, that my lord of Winchester should have said, he cou'd devise a way how the king's majestie might have all things upright with the said bishope of Rome, and his highnes' honour saved. Suche were the words, or much like. Wherupon, as I had often said in the councill, one was sent to the said sir Francis, to know if ever he heard the said bishope speake like words, which he denied: and as I do remember, it was sir Rauf Sadeler that was sent to the said sir Francis. And to say that ever I heard of any such overture made by Grandville, or that ever I commoned with any man conserning any such mater, other than this of the bishope of Winchester, as God be my help I never dyd; nor unto more then this, I was never prevye.

Now, my good lords, having made answer according to the truth of such questions as hath been asked me, most humblie I beseeche you all to be mediators for me to his most excellent majestie, to cause such as have accused me (if it might be with his high pleasure) to come before his majestie, to lay to my charge afore me, face to face, what they can say against me: and I am in no doubt, so to declare my selfe, that it shall appeare I am falsly accused. And if his pleasure shall not be, to take the paine in his royall person, then to give you commandment to do the same. My lords, I trust ye think Cromwell's service and mine hath not be like; and yet my desire is, to have no more favour shew'de to me than was shew'de to him, I being present. He was a fals man; and sewerly I am a trewe poore jantleman.

My lords, I think suerlie there is some fals man, that have laid some great cause to my charge, or els I had not be sent hither. And therefore, eftsonys most humblie I beseeche to finde the names, if they and I may not be brought face to face, yet let me be made privy what the causes are; and if I do not answer truely to every point, let me not live one howre after: for sewerlie I would hide nothing of any questions that I shall know, that doth concern my self, nor any other creature.

My lords, there was never gold tried better by fier and watter than I have been, nor hath had greater enemys about my soveraign lord, than I have had, and yet (God be thanked) my trouth hath ever tried me, as I dout not it shall do in theis causes. Suerly if I knew any thought I had offended his majestie in, I would suerly have declared it to his person.

Upon the Tuysdaye in Whitsonweek last past, I broke unto his majestie, most humbley beseeching him to helpe, that a marriage might be had between my daughter and sir Thomas Semour; and wheras my son of Surey hath a son and divers daughters; that with his favour, a crosse marriage might have been made between my lorde great chamberline and them. And also wher my son Thomas hath a son, that shall (be his mother) spend a thousand marks a yere, that he might be in like wise maried to one of my said lord's daughters. I report me to your lordships, whether myn intent was honest in this motion, or not. And wheras I have written, that my truth hath been severely tried, and that I have had great enemies. First, the cardinall did confes to me at Asser, that he had gone about fourteen years to have destroyed me; saying, he did the same by the setting upon of my lord of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, and my lord Sands, who said often to him, that if he found not the means to put me out of the way, at length I should seurely undo him.

Cromwell, at such tyme as the marquis of Exeter suffred, examined his wife more streitly of me then of all other men in the realme, as she sent me word by her brother, the lord Montjoy. He hath said to me himself, many times, my lord, ye are an happy man, that your wife knoweth no hurt by you; for if she did, she would undo you.

The duke of Buckingham confessed openly at the bar (my father sitting as his judge), that of all men living, he hated me most, thinking I was the man that had hurt him most to the king's majestie: which now (quoth he) I perceive the contrary.

Rice, who had married my sister, confessed, that (of all men living) he hated me most; and wished many times how he might find the meanes to thrust his dagger in me.

What malice both my neeys, that it pleased the king's highnes to marrie, did bere unto me, is not unknown to such ladies as kept them in this sute; as my lady Herberd, my lady Tirwit, my lady Kynston, and others, which heard what they said of me. Who tried out the falshod of the lord Darcy, sir Robert Constable. sir John Bulmer, Aske, and many others, for which they suffer'd for? But only I. Who shewed his majestie of the words of my mother-in-law, for which she was attainted of misprision? But only I. In all times past unto this time, I have shewed my self a most trewe man to my soveraign lord. And since these things done in tymes past, I have received more proffight of his highnes then ever I did afore. Alas! who can think that I, having been so long a trew man, should now be false to his majestie? I have received more proffight than I deserved: and a poore man, as I am, yet I am his own near kinsman. For whose sake should I be an untrewe man to them? Alas, alas! my lords, that ever it should be thought any ontruthe to be in me.

Fynally, my good lords, eftsonys most humble I beseech you to show this scrible letter to his majestie, and all joyntle to beseech his highnes to grante me the peticions that are conteyned in the same; and most especyall to remyt out of his most noble gentle hart such displeasure as he hath conceyved against me: and I shall, dewryng my lyff, pray for the continuence of his most royall estate long to endure.

By his highnes' poor prisoner,

T. NORFOLK.



## COLLECTION OF RECORDS BELONGING TO BOOKS IV. V. AND VI.

NUMBER I.

*Instructions given by Luther to Melanchthon*, 1534; *of which one article was erroneously published by me in my IId. Vol., and that being complained of, the whole is now published.*

Cogitationes meæ sunt: (*viz. Lutheri.*)

PRIMO ut nullo modo concedamus de nobis dici, quod neutri neutros antea intellexerint. Nam isto pharmaco non medebimur tanto vulneri, cum nec ipsi credamus utrumque verum hoc esse, et alii putabunt à nobis hoc fingi, et ita magis suspectam reddemus causam, vel potius per totum dubiam faciemus, cum sit communis omnium. Et in tantis animorum turbis, et scrupulis non expedit hoc nomine addere offendiculum.

Secundo, cum hactenus dissenserimus, quod illi signum, nos Corpus Christi asseruerimus, plane contrarii in Sacramento. Nihil minus mihi videtur utile, quam ut mediam et novam sententiam statuamus: Qua et illi concedant Corpus Christi addesse verè, et nos concedamus panem solum manducari. Ut enim conscientiam taceam, considerandum est certe; Quantam hic fenestram aperiemus in re omnibus communi cogitandi: Et orientur hic fontes quæstionum et opinionum: Ut tutius multo sit illos simpliciter manere in suo signo: Cum nec ipsi suam nec nos nostram partem, multo minus utrique totum orbem pertrahemus in eam sententiam: Sed potius irritabimus ad varias cogitationes. Ideo vellem potius ut sopitum maneret dissidium in duabus istis sententiis, quam ut occasio daretur infinitis Quæstionibus ad Epicurismum profuturis. Forsan novum.

Tertio, Cum stent hic pro nostra Sententia, primum Textus ipse apertissimus Evangelii, qui non sine causa movet omnes Homines, non solum pios: Secundo, Patrum dicta quam plurima, quæ non tam facilè possunt solvi; nec, tuta Conscientia, aliter quam sonant, intelligi, cum bona Grammatica textui fortiter consentiat. Tertio, quia periculosum est statuere, Ecclesiam tot annis per totum Orbem caruisse vero Sensu Sacramenti; cum nos fateamur omnes, mansisse Sacramenta et verbum, etsi obruta multis abominationibus.

Quarta, Dicta Sancti Augustini de Signo, quæ contraria nostræ Sententiæ videntur, non sunt firma satis contra ista jam tria Dicta. Maximè, cum ex Augustini Scriptis clarè possit ostendi, et convinci, eum loqui de Signo præsentis Corporis, ut illud, contra Adamantum, non dubitavit Dominus appellare Corpus suum, cum daret Signum Corporis sui: vel de Signo Corporis Mystici, in quo valdè multus est, præsertim in Joanne: Ubi copiosè docet, manducare Carnem Christi, esse in Corpore mystico; seu, ut ipse dicit, in Societate, Unitate, Charitate Ecclesiæ: Istis enim Verbis utitur.

Quinto, Omnium est fortissimus Augustinus, quod dicit, Non hoc Corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis, &c. Et tamen Conscientia memor apertorum Verborum Christi (Hoc est Corpus meum) hoc dictum S. Augustini facilè sic exponit: Quod de visibile Corpore loquatur Augustinus, sicut sonant verba (Quod videtis) ita nihil pugnat Augustinus cum claris verbis Christi: Et Augustinus infirmior est, quam ut hoc uno dicto tam incerto, imo satis consono, nos noveat in contrarium sensum.

Sexto, Ego S. Augustinum non intelligo aliter (sic et ipse Patres ante se forte intellexit) quam quod con-

tra Judæos et Gentes docendum fuit, apud Christianos non comedi Corpus Christi visibiliter, et more corporali. Hac ratione Fidem Sacramenti defenderunt. Rursus contra Hypocritas Christianorum docendum fuit, quod Sacramentum non esset salutare accipientibus, nisi spiritualiter manducarent, id est, Ecclesiæ essent uniti et incorporati. Et hac ratione Charitatem in Sacramento exegerunt. Ut ex Augustino clarè accipi potest; qui, absque dubio, ex prioribus Patribus, et sui Seculi usu, ista accepit.

Septimo, Istis salvis, nihil est quod à me peti possit. Nam et ego hoc dissidium vellem (Testis est mihi Christus meus) redemptum non uno Corpore et Sanguine meo: Sed quid faciam? Ipsi forte Conscientia bona capti sunt in alteram Sententiam. Feramus igitur eos. Si sinceri sunt, liberabit eos Christus Dominus. Ego contra captus sum bona certè Conscientia (nisi ipse mihi sim ignotus) in meam Sententiam. Ferant et me, si non possunt mihi accedere.

Si verò illi Sententiam suam, scilicet de Præsentia Corporis Christi cum Pane, tenere velint, et petierint nos invicem tamen tolerari; ego planè libenter tolerabo, in spe futuræ Communionis. Nan interim communicare illis in fide et Sensu non possum.

Deinde, Si politica Concordia quæritur, ea non impeditur diversitate Religionis: Sicut novimus posse Conjugia, Commercia, aliaque politica constare, inter diversæ Religionis Homines: Primo Corinth. 7. Christus faciat, ut perfectè conteratur Satan sub nostris pedibus. Amen.

Nostra autem Sententia est, Corpus ita cum Pane, seu in Pane esse, ut reverà cum Pane manducetur: Et quæcunque motum vel actionem Panis habet, eandem et Corpus Christi. Ut Corpus Christi verè dicatur ferri, dari, accipi, manducari, quando Panis fertur, datur, accipitur, manducatur; id est, Hoc est Corpus meum.

Coll. Corp. Christi, Febr. 4, 95-6.

We have collated this with the original paper of Luther, and find it to agree exactly. Witness our hands,

JOHN JAGGARD.
ROB. MOSS.
WILL. LUNN.

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NUMBER II.

*The Lady Mary's Letter to the Lord Protector, and to the rest of the King's Majesty's Council, upon their suspecting some of her Household had encouraged the Devonshire Rebellion.*

[Ex MS. D.G. Cooke.]

MY LORD,—I have received letters from you, and others of the king's majesty's council, dated the 17th of this present, and delivered unto me the 20th of the same, whereby I perceive ye be informed, that certayn of my servants should be the chief stirrers, procurers, and doers in these commotions, which commotions (I assure you) no less offend me, than they do you and the rest of the council. And you write also, that a priest and chapleyn of mine, at Sampford Courtney in Devonshire, should be a doer there. Of which report I do not a little marvel; for to my knowledge, I have not one chaplayn in those parts. And concerning Pooly, my servant, which was sometime a receiver, I am able to answer, that he remayneth continually in my house, and was never doer amongst the commons, nor came in their company. It is true that I have another servant of that name dwelling in Suffolk; and whether the commons have taken him or no, I know not, for he resorteth seldom to my house. But by report they have taken by force many gentlemen in these quarters, and used them very cruelly. And as touching Lionell, my servant, I cannot but marvell of that bruit, specially because he dwelleth within two miles of London, and is not acquainted within the shire of Suffolk or Norfolk; nor at any time cometh into these parts, but when he waiteth upon me in my house, and is now at London about my businesse, being no man apt or meet for such purposes, but given to as much quietness as any within my house.

My lord, it troubleth me to hear such reports of any of mine, and specially where no cause is given, trusting that my houshold shall try themselves true subjects to the king's majesty, and honest, quiet persons; or else I would be loath to keep them. And where you charge me that my proceedings in matters of religion should give no small courage to many of those men to require and do as they do: that thing aspeareth most evidently to be untrue, for all the rising about these parts is touching no point of religion; but even as ye ungently, and without desert, charge me, so I, omitting so fully to answer it, as the case doth require, do and will pray God, that your new alterations and unlawful liberties be not rather the occasion of these assemblies, than my doings, who am (God I take to witnesse) inquieted therewith. And as for Devonshire, no indifferent person can lay their doings to my charge; for I have neither land nor acquaintance in that country, as knoweth Almighty God, whom I humbly beseech to send you all as much plenty of his grace as I would wish to my self. So with my hearty commendations, I bid you farewel. From my house at Kennynghall, the xxth of July.

Your friend to my power,

MARY.

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NUMBER III.

*A Letter of Christopher Mont concerning the Interim.*

Christophorus Montius, S.D.—Wolph. Musculo.

[Ex MS. Tigur.]

CUM harum Lator mihi indicasset se Dominum nosse, nolui eum sine meis ad te reverti literis. Cùm ego Augustâ discederem: discessi autem, hujus nihil dum ibi innovatum fuit per Ecclesias, sed optimi quique vehementer verebantur Superstitiones inducendas propediem Concionator ad S. Georgium mihi significavit, Senatum à Concionatoribus eflagitare, ut modo in his calamitatibus civitatem non desereret, sed porro in ea permaneret, se eos maturè et in tempore certiores facturos, modo viderint superstitionem imminere, quasi modo non in media urbe dominetur. Rogavit quoque Senatus, ut Concionatores Populo Interim quam compositissimis et coloratissimis verbis possent, proponerent, quod major pars recusârunt, dicentes se hoc Scriptum laudare nulla ratione neque constantia posse, quod communi suffragio damnassent, duo tamen se id facturos receperunt, quod et factum audivi ad S. Crucem et Mauricium. Non dubito te audiisse, de eo Scripto, quod huc nuper allatum fuit ex Saxonia. Utinam Germana virtus et Constantia alicubi permanens emineat, ut si non fortiter agendo, saltem fortiter adversa propter Domini gloriam ferendo, professionem et officium nostrum testentur. Dux Gemini pontis Augustâ discessisse dicitur, ut qui Interim indictionem et promulgationem Diocesano præstandam et committendam dixerit, neque se neque suos huic executioni idoneos Ministros esse. Tamen qua conditione dimissus sit, certo nondum didici. Bremenses discessisse audio, nondum reconciliatos, nam tam graves eis conditiones præscribi audio, ut quas omnino etiam si eas accepe-



rint, præstare non possint. Multi putant consultò tam gravia præscribi, ut sub specie contumaciæ et obstinationis, obsidione pressi et expugnati Frisiæ jungantur. Civitas quoque ea plurimis rebus agendis aptissima est, ut quæ supra Visurgim et Albim posita accessum aperiat ad Chersonesum totam occupandam. Qua lege Constantienses redierint domum ex Domino nosse cupio. Rogo quoque ut mihi significare velis quæ concordiæ et communicationis spes ipsis inter se Helvetis sit. Literas quas ad me perlatas voles, cura ad D. Bucerum adferri. Bene vale. Argentinæ 18. Jul. 1548. Literas tectas exuras.

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NUMBER IV.

*A part of a letter of Hooper's to Bullinger, giving an Account of the Cruelty of the Spaniards in the Netherlands.*

[Ex MS. Tiguri.]

Nos 14 Aprilis relicta Colonia, iter versus Antwerpiam, per Campiniam Brabantinam, sterilem ac arenosam, instituimus. 18. ejusdem, venimus omnes, Dei Gratia, salvi et incolumes Antwerpiam. 20. Die, Precibus Oratoris Regis nostri, qui apud Cæsarem nunc agit, compulsus, Bruxellam me contuli, unà cum Joh. Stumphio, ut videret mollitiem ac miserias Aulæ, præterea servitutem Civium Bruxellensium, qui jam Hispanorum Imperium, latrocinium ac furtum, violationem Filiarum, Uxorum impudicitiam, minas denique ac plagas perditissimæ Gentis ferre coguntur; ut Statum ac Conditionem suæ Patriæ altius considerarat, ardentius pro illo oraret, ac diligentius suos admoneret, ut alienis malis edoctos cautiores redderet. Cæsarem non vidimus, quòd rarò Cubiculum suum egreditur, nec Filium, qui Pascha suum egit extra Civitatem, in Monasterio quodam. Ducem Saxoniæ Jo. Stumphius vidit per fenestram. Ego bis sui in Ædibus illius valdè humaniter acceptus à suis Germanis, qui ei adhuc inserviunt, ad numerum 30. Voluit Dux, bis vel ter, me admittere ad Colloquium; sed impedivit semper primi Capitanei Hispanorum præsentia. Vivit constanter in sua Fide. Non valet, quantum ad Valetudinem Corporis spectat, de liberatione illius nulla penitus affulget spes, nisi quod absit, Religionem suam mutet: non malè sperat de Verbo Dei. Catus Landgravius Captivus detinetur Auldenardi, septem milliaribus à Gandavo: Homo omnibus numeris miser et inconstans: nunc omnem Obedientiam Cæsari, ac Fidem pollicetur; Missam, ac cætera impia sacra, obviis ulnis amplectitur, nunc Cæsarem, cum suo interdicto, execratur ac detestatur. Dominus misereatur illius; miserè affligitur, ac meritas pœnas perfidiæ suæ jam luit. Et vidimus, præterea Lazarum Scuendi proditorem illum, quem nostis. De Brandeburgensi, ac aliis Germanis, Hispanorum mancipiis, nihil opus est quod scriberem. Legatus Papæ, pre totam Quadragesimam, in sua Aula est concionatus, quàm impiè non scribam. Hoc tamen pro certo scio, non bene convenire inter Papam et Cæsarem, nec inter Gallum ac Cæsarem. Uterque valdè sibi timet à Cæsare: Cæsar vicissim à fulmine Papæ maximè timet. Jam agitur seriò inter illos, an Concilium Generale Tridenti, an Bologniæ fit celebrandum. Papa urget, mandat, rogat ac jubet, ut Cæsar consentiat de Bolognia: Is renuit, negat ac pernegat, omnibus modis: et potius dicit se omnes Amicitias cum Papa definere, quam illum locum, Bologniam scil. admittere: Quid monstri in hoc, ex parte Papæ, lateat, facilè divinare licet. Diffidit Regno suo valde; nam hoc didici ab Oratore nostro, quòd si Cæsaris Confessor esset mediocriter pius, esset maxima spes, quod brevi in Cognitionem Christi induceretur. Nam apertè mihi retulit, et Cæsarem, et Consiliarios suos omnes regi, impelli, duci ac trahi, per Confessorem, qui omnia Papæ suasu et concilio agit. Et facilè credo: Nam ante septem Menses, cum Cæsar adhuc erat in superiore Germania, fuit derelictus à suo Confessore, quod crudelius voluit sævire in pios Viros, et in integrum Papatum restituere. Cæsar obtulit ei Episcopatum in Hispania, ad 20. Millia Coronatorum per Annum: neglexit Cæsaris Liberalitatem, et Cæsarem ipsum hisce Verbis, Ecclesiæ Christi me solum debeo, sed non Tibi, non Dono tuo, nisi Ecclesiæ mavis majori studio inservire. Jam de Cæsaris animo ergo Helvetiam. Omnes in hoc consentiunt illum vestræ libertati hostiliter invidere, propterea nullum non movere lapidem, ut rumpat inter vos concordiam: si hac via res non succedat, omnia aget pollicitationibus. Cavete igitur, ne lactet vos inani spe. Denique absque dubio vos aggredietur hostili manu, non ut sic vincat, vel multos ex suis exponat periculo, sed ut vobis incutiat timorem. Rogo itaque ut unanimiter ac mutuò vos diligatis, Deum timete, sanctè vivite, strenuè pugnate, ac expectate Victoriam à Deo, qui procul dubio vobis aderit ac defendet. Adhuc putem vobis non immineri periculum, sed sitis semper parati: et absit procul omnis securitas, ne obruat inopinantes. Adhuc Cæsar bene scit, se non posse pro Voto uti rebus Germaniæ. Doluit illi sæpius (ut accepi à Viris fide dignis), aliquid tentâsse in Religione: quidem si Germanis permisisset liberam maximè fuisse in re illius. Aiunt Cæsarem brevi profecturum, Gandavum et à Gandavo iterum petiturum Bruxellam, vel ascensurum versus Spiram. Copias militum habet probe Bremam ac civitates maritimas, sed otiosas: Nihil proficiunt res, à civibus multum timetur, indies magis ac magis Civitates suas muniunt et comeatum habent ad quinque annos, non multum Cæsaris gratiam amplius ambiunt. Quam graves exactiones à suis Cæsar jam exigit credo se non ignorare. Dicam tamen tristem ac deplorandam Orationem, quam effudit pia mulier, hospita nostra in Campinia: Si inquit ferre potuerim in sinu meo magnam ac jam nunc molestam turbam liberorum meorum, fugerem ac per stipem victum quærerem, nam Cæsare ac Reginæ exactores labores sudores nostri exantlant. Hac ex parte Angli etiam jam valde laborant, concessa est Regi quinta pars omnium bonorum. Sed adhuc de Helvetia unum. Heri 25. Aprilis invitatus ad prandium à quodam cive Antverpensi, qui optimè novit Helvetiam, ac sæpe in omnibus civitatibus Helvetiorum exposuit merces suas, is mihi retulit, se frequenter vidisse in aula Cæsaris ex eo quod Cæsar superiorem partem Germaniæ reliquerit, publicos Ministros Civitatis Lucernanæ, nam bene novit illos ex colore vestium, metuendum est, ne arcana patriæ per hujusmodi patefiant, vel aliquid majus malum lateat.

[The rest of the letter relates to private concerns.]

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NUMBER V.

*The Oath of Supremacy, as it was made when the Bishop did homage in King Henry the VIIIth's Time. The last Words were struck out by King Edward the VIth.*

[Ex MSS. Rymer.]

YE shall say and swere as foloweth, I shall be faithful and trewe, and faith and trowth I shall bere unto your majestie, and to your heires kings of this realme; and liff and lymme, and erththelie honour for to live and dye as your faithful subject, agayne all persons of what degre, state, or condition soever they bee: and I shall preferr, sustayne, and mayntayne the honour, surtie, right, preheminence, and prerogatif of your

majestie, and your heires kings of this realm, and jurisdiction of your imperiall crowne of the same, afore and agaynst all maner of persones, powers, and auctorites whatsoever they bee: and I shall not wit-lynglie do, or attempt, nor to my power suffer to be done, or attempted any thing, or things, prively or apertly, that may be to the dymunytion or derogation of your crowne of this realme; or of the lawes, liberties, rights, prerogatiffes belonging to the same, but put myne effectual endevour from tyme to tyme, as the case shall requier to advance and increas the same to my wit and uttermost of my power; and in nowise herafter I shall accept any othe, or make any promise, pact, or covenant, secretly or apertlye by any maner of means, or by any colour of pretence to the contrary of this my othe, or any part therof. And I shall be diligentlye attendant uppon your majestie, and to your heires kings of this realme, in all your commaundements, causes, and busynesses. And also I knowledge and recognize your majestie ymmediately under Almightie God to be the chief and supreme hede of the Church of England, and clayme to have the bishepriche of Chester, holye and allonlye of your gift; and to have and to hold the proffittes temporal and spiritual of the same allonlye of your majestie, and of your heires kings of this realme, and of none other; and in that sorte and none other, I shall take my restitution owt of your handes accordinglie, utterly renownsing any other suit to be had therefore to any other creature liffyng, or hereafter to be, except your heires. And I shall to my wit, and uttermost of my power observe, keep, mayntayn, and defende all the statutes of this realme made agaynst the reservations and provisions of the bishop of Rome, called the pope, of any of the archebusshopriches, or busshopriches in this realme, or of other your domynions. And also I shall observe, fullfill, defende, mayntayn, and kepe to the uttermost of my power all the hole effects and content of the statute made for the surtie of your succession of your crowne of this realme, and all the causes and articles mentioned and conteagned in the saide statute; and also all other statutes made in conformation, or for the due execution of the same. And all theis things I shall do without colour, fraude, or any other undue mean agaynst all persons, powers, and auctorities of the world, whatsoever they be. And in one wise for any maner of cause, colour, or pretence, prively or apertlye I shall move, do, or attempt, nor to any power suffer to be done, or attempted any thing or things to the contrary herof, so help me God, all sayntes, and the holye evangels.

"Per me Roland' Co' et Lich' Electum."

NUMBER VI.

*A Letter of Peter Martyr's to Bullinger, of the State of the University of Oxford, in the Year* 1550, *June* 1.

[Ex MS. Tiguri.]

S. D. Literis tuis vir eximie mihique in Christo plurimum observande, longè antea respondisse debueram, ad quod faciendum, non solum institutum officium inter amicos, verum etiam quod suavissimæ fuerunt et bene comitatæ aliis symmistarum epistolis jucundissimis: vehementer extimulabar sed quando redditæ sunt adversa valetudine nonnihil afflictabar: et statim ut convalui, ea mole negotiorum penè sum oppressus, ut quod maximè cupiebam facere non licuerit, cujusmodi autem fuerint hæ occupationes paucis expediam. Præter quotidianas Interpretationes Pauli, quod totum ferme hominem sibi vendicat, si velit in eis pro dignitate versari, accessit ex legibus modò latis à Regia Majestate, huic Academiæ novum onus. Quippe decretum est, ut frequenter publicæ Disputationes de Rebus Theologicis habeantur, hoc est alternis hebdomadis, quibus mihi præcipitur, ut et intersim et præsim. Deinde in hoc Regio Collegio ubi dego, singula quaque septimana, Theologicæ Disputationes agitantur, quæ cum ad illas audiendas aditus omnibus patet, identidem publicæ dici possunt, hisque sum constitutus pariter, atque aliis censor. Est itaque cum adversariis perpetuò luctandum, et quidem pertinacissimis, quò fit, ut velim nolim facilè cogar, alias non rarò seponere literas, et vocationi cui sum obstrictus, totum tempus mihi concessum transmittere. Verum certè scio boni consules, nec in malam partem capias (quæ tua est humanitas) quod à contemptione profectum non esse animadvertes. Gaudeo quas scripseram literas, abs te hilari lætoque animo fuisse susceptas: neque vulgares ago gratias, quod tuum præsidium, si quid me possit cojuvare, tam promtè atque alacriter offers. Recompenset Deus istum Animum, ut ego illum sincera charitate complector! Hic verò scitò negotium religionis procedere non quidem eo successu, eoque ardore quo velim, sed tamen plus quàm nostra peccata mereantur, et aliquantiò felicius, atque mihi ante quatuor menses polliceri ausus essem. Permulta certè sunt quæ nobis obstant, cumprimis adversariorum copia, concionatorum inopia, et eorum qui profitentur Evangelium crassa vitia, et quorundam præterea humana prudentia, qui judicant religionem quidem repurgandam sed ita vellent demutari quam minimè fieri possit, quod cum Animo sint et judicio civiles, existimant maximos motus republicæ fore perniciosos. Verum tu ipse cernis, cùm innumeræ corruptiones, infiniti abusus, et immensæ superstitiones in ecclesia Christi passim inoleverint, fieri non posse ut justa habeatur instauratio nisi quæ deflexerunt in vitium, ad suos genuinos ortus purissimos fontes et inadulterata principia revocentur. Satan astutè sanctos conatus aggreditur, vellet enim hoc prætextu q. numerosissimos papatus relinquere reliquias. Partim ne homines ejus facilè obliviscerentur, partim verò ut reditus ad illum facilior maneret. At vicissim inde Consolationis hausimus, quod Regem habemus verè sanctum, qui tanto studio Pietatis flagrat, ea est, hac ætate, prædictus Eruditione, eaque Prudentia jam nunc et Gravitate loquitur, ut omnes in admirationem stuporemque se audientes, convertat. Quamobrem, orandus est Deus contentissimis votis, et eum Regno et Ecclesiæ multò diutissimè conservet. Sunt et complures Heroes, Regnique Proceres, bene admodum sentientes; et aliquos Episcopos habemus, non pessimos, inter quos est uti signifer Cantuariensis. Deinde in eorum Album cooptatus est Hooperus, magna porrò bonorum omnium lætitia; utque audio, contigit ei Populus non malus: Me illum spero visurum, quando ad suum Episcopatum iter faciet. Nam si Glocestriam se conferet, quæ est ejus Ecclesia, per nos hac transibit. Quo autem pacto duci potuerit, ut fieret Episcopus, referrem pluribus, nisi compertissimum haberem, illum ipsum (quæ est ejus in te observantia) omnia fusissimè scripturum. Est alius præterea Vir bonus, Michael Coverdallus, qui superioribus annis agebat in Germania Parochum: Is multum in Devonia, et prædicando, et interpretando Scripturas, laborat; eum te probè nôsse arbitror, qui Excestrensis Episcopus fiet. Nilque potest commodi, ut et utilius fieri ad Religionis Repurgationem, quam si homines hujus farinæ ad Ecclesiæ Administrationem impellantur. Contulit etiam se huc Dominus Alasco, quum ejus Phrysia Imperatorium Interim admisit, utque olfacio, Londini Germanorum Ecclesiæ præerit; quod mihi vehementer placet. Degit nunc apud D. Cantuariensem. Accepisti jam quo loco nostræ Res



in Anglia sint, quæ adhuc nonnihil melioris spei efficit; Pax ista, cum Rege Gallorum facta, quæ videtur indies magis corroborari. Solum nonnulli verentur, ne in bonorum perniciem, quod jactitare incipiunt Papistæ celebretur Concilium: Verum si sapuerimus et hoc genus Cogitationum, in Deum rejiciamus. Sermones quos edidisti, fuerunt hoc tempore utiles monilares, qui ut ex mediis Scripturis sanctis recitati sunt, ita et grati fuerunt; et spero, non absque fructi legentur. Johannem ab Ulmis, et Stumphium, quos mihi commendâsti, eâ quâ possum Charitate complector; atque ipsi vicissim me colunt, et observant: ad me ventitant sæpius; et si quid vel scribendum, vel aliud agendum, mea causa sit, præstare non detrectant, sed lubenti volentique animo faciunt; qua de causa, illis non parum debeo. Sed audio, Stumphium ad vos delatum esse, quod contra quàm vestris Legibus liceat, nescio quod ab Anglis Stipendium accipiat; id verò certò scias, falsum esse. Vixit hic aliquandiu in nostro Collegio, sed sua pecunia; quod posthac non illi fraudi sit, utque ulla specie mali abstineat: Hic dicessit, et in Oppido, apud Civem Bibliopolam, divertit. Modò quòd superest, tuos, tuorumque Preces, quanta possum cum instantia imploro; quo progrediatur in hoc Regno Domini Opus, atque tandem Corda Patrum in Filios, et Corda Filiorum in Patres suos, nostro Ministerio revocentur. Oxonij, primâ Junij, 1550. Valeas in Domino; et me, ut facias, ama.

Tuus, ex Animo,
Petrus Martyr.

Salutes, quæso, isthic meo Nomine, omnes bonos in Fratres; ac nominatim, D. Bibliandrum, et Doctorem Ghisnerum.

*Inscriptio.*

Clarissimo, Pietate et Doctrina, Viro, D. Henrico Bullingero, Ecclesiæ Tigurinæ Pastori Fidelissimo, Domino suo ac Fr. Colendissimo, Tiguri.

NUMBER VII.

*A Mandate, in K. Edward's Name, to the Officers of the Archbishop of Canterbury; requiring them to see, that the Articles of Religion should be Subscribed.*

[Reg. Cranmer, f. 65.]

Mandatum pro Publicatione nonnullorum Articulorum veram proponi Fidem concernentium.

Edwardus Sextus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, et Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, et in Terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ Supremum Caput. Dilectis Sibi, Officiali Curiæ Cantuar' et Decano Decanatû de Arcubus Londin' ac eorum Surrogatis, deputatis aut locum tenentibus, Uni vel Pluribus, Salutem. Quoniam nuper, per Literas nostras Regias, Signeto nostro obsignatas, Reverendissimo in Christo Patri Consiliario nostro Fidelissimo, Thomæ Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primati et Metropolitano, dederimus in Mandatis. Quatenus ipse, ad Dei Optimi Maximi Gloriam illustrandam, nostramque, et Ecclesiæ nostræ Anglicanæ (cujus Caput Supremum, post Christum, esse dignoscimur) Honorem, et ad tollendam Opinionis Dissensionem, et Consensum veræ Religionis firmandum, nonnullos Articulos, et alia rectam Christi Fidem spirantia, Clero et Populo nostris, ubi libet infra suam Jurisdictionem degentibus, pro Parte nostra exponeret, publicaret, denunciaret et significaret; prout in Literis nostris (quarum Tenores, pro hic insertis haberi volumus) latius continetur, et describitur. Vobis igitur, et eorum cuilibet, tenore præsentium, districtè præcipiendo nostra sublimi Regia Auctoritate, mandamus; Quatenus moneatis, monerive faciatis, peremptoriè, omnes et singulos Rectores, Vicarios, Presbyteros, Stipendiarios, Curatos, Plebanos, Ministros, Ludimagistros cujuslibet Scholæ Grammatices, aut aliter vel alias Grammaticam, apertè vel privatim profitentes, aut pubem instituentes, Verbi Dei Prædicatores, vel Prælectores, necnon quoscunque alios, quamcunque aliam Functionem Ecclesiasticam (quocunque Nomine, aut Appellatione, censetur, habetur, aut nuncupetur) obtinentes et habentes. Oeconimos quoque cujuslibet Parochiæ, infra Decanatum de Arcubus prædictum, existentes aut degentes, quod ipsi omnes, et eorum quilibet, per se compareat, et compareat personaliter, coram dicto Reverendissimo Patre Cantuar' Archiepiscopo, in Aula Ædium suarum apud Lambehithe, die Veneris vicesimo tertio die præsentis Mensis Junij, inter Horas septimam et nonam, ante Meriediem ejusdem Diei. Hisque tunc is ex Parte nostra fuerint significanda, humiliter obtemperaturos, facturosque ulterius et recepturos, quod consonans fuerit Rationi, ac suo convenerit erga nostram Regiam Dignitatem Officio. Mandantes quatenus, dictis Die, Loco et Horis, eundem Reverendissimum, de Executione hujus Regij nostri Mandati, unà cum Nominibus et Cognominibus, omnium et singulorum, per vos Monitorum, ritè, rectè, et autenticè reddatis, certiorem, unà cum præsentibus, uti decet. Teste Thomâ Cant' Archiepiscopo, prædicto, decimo nono die Junii, Anno Regni nostri Septimo.

*Certificatorium factum super Executione Mandati prædicti.*

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Domino Domino Thomæ, Permissione Divina, Cantuariense Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primati et Metropolitano; Auctoritate Illustrissimi in Christo Principis, et Domini nostri Domini Edwardi Sexti, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, ac in Terrâ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ Supremi Capitis; sufficienti Auctoritate fulcito Johannes Gibbon Civilium Legum Professor, vestræ celcitudinis observantissimus, pariter eidem addictissimus decanatus vestr' Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, de Archibus London, Commissarius omnem que decet Reverentiam, et Obedientiam, tanto Reverendissimo Patri debitam cùm Honore. Mandatum Illustrissimi et Potentissimo Domini nostri Regis, presentibus annexum, nuper accepimus, cujus vigore pariter et auctoritate omnes et singulos Rectores, Presbiteros, &c. Dat. Vicessimo Secundo Die Mensis Junii, Anno Domini Millessimo Quingentessimo Quinquagessimo Tertio.

NUMBER VIII.

*The King's Mandate to the Bishop of Norwich, sent with the Articles to be subscribed by the Clergy.*

BY THE KING.

Right reverende father in God, right trustie and well-beloved, we grete you well: and bicause it hath pleased Almightie God in this latter time of the world, after long darkenes of knowleadge to reveale to this his Churche of Englande; whereof we have under Christ the chief charge in Earth; a sincere knowledge of the gospell, to the inestimable benefit of us and our people, redeemed by our saviour Christ. We have thought it mete, and our dutie for the pure conservacon of the same gospell in our church, with one uniforme profession, doctryne, and preachinge, and for the avoyding of many perilous and vain opinions, and errors, to sende unto you certayne articles, devised and gathered with great study, and by council, and good advice of the greatest lerned parte of our byshoppes of this realm, and sundry others of our clergie; which articles we wyll and exhort your self to sub-

scribe, and in your preachings, redings, and teachings, to observe and cause to be subscribed and observed, of all other which do, or hereafter shall preache, or reade, within your dioces. And if any person, or persons, having benefice within your dioces, shall from henceforth, not only refuse wylfully to sett their hands to these articles, but also obstinatly exhort their parrochians to withstande the same, and teache the people in a contrary way; our pleasure is, that beinge duly proved, ye shall advertise us, or our cownsaile of the hoole mattier, fully to thintent suche further ordre may by direction from us, or our said cownsail, to be taken as the case shall require, and shall stande with justice, and th'ordre of our lawes. And further, that when, and as often as ye shall have any manner of person presented unto you to be admitted by yowe as the ordinary to any ecclesiastical ordre, ministry, office, or cure, within your dioces, that ye shall before you admit him, conferre with him in every theis articles. And finding him therto consentinge, to cawse him subscribe the same in one legier book to be fourmed for that purpose, which maye remayne as a registre for a concorde, and to let him have a copye of the same articles. And if any men in that case shall refuse to consent to any of the said articles, and to subscribe the same, then we will and command you, that neither ye, nor any for you, or by your procurement in any wise shall admitt him, or allowe him as sufficient and mete to take any ordre, ministery, or ecclesiastical cure. For whiche yower so doinge, we shall discharge yowe from all maner of penalties, or daungers of actions, suits, or plees of premonirees, "quare impedit," or such lyke. And yet our meaning is, that if any partie refuse to subscribe any of these articles, for lack of learning and knowledge of the trewth, ye shall in that case by teachinge, conference, and proof of the same by the scriptures, reasonably and discretely move, and perswade him therto before yow shall peremptorilye judge him as unhable and a recusant. And for the tryall of his conformitie, ye shall according to your discrecion prefix a time and space convenient to deliberate and give his consent, so that be betwixt three weks and six weks, from the time of his first accesse unto yowe. And if after six weks he wyll not consent and agree wyllinglie to subscribe, then ye may lawfullye, and shall in any wyse refuse to admytt or enhable him. And where there is of late sett fourthe by our authoritie a cathechisme for the instruction of younge scolers in the feare of God, and the trewe knowleage of his holy religion, with expresse commaundyment from us to all scole maisters to teache and instruct their scolars the said cathechisme, making it the beginning and first foundacion of ther teaching in ther scholes: our pleasure is, that for the better exeqution of our said commaundyment, ye shall yearely, at the least once visit, or cause to be visited, every schole within your saide dioces, in which visitacion yt shall be enquired both howgh the scole maister of every such schole hath used himself in the teaching of the said cathechisme: and also howgh the scholars do receyve and follow the same, making playne and full certificate of the offendors, contrary to this our ordre, and of their severall offences, to the archbishop of that province, within the monethes from tyme to tyme after every such offence. Yeoven undre our signet at the manor of Grenewich, the IXth daye of June, the VIIIth yeare of our reign.

This is faithfully transcribed from the beginning of a folio MS. book in the principal registry of the lord bishop of Norwich.—After which immediately follow "Articula de quibus in Synodo Londinensi, Anno Domini 1552. ad tollendam Disensionem et Consensu veræ Religionis, firmandum inter Episcopos et alios eruditos Viros, convenerat Regiâ Authoritate in lucem Editi.

42 articles as in the appendix of IId part of the History of the Reformation, n. 55. Subscribed by about 50 hands, thus:

Per me MILONEM SPENSER.
Per me JOHANNEM BARRETT.
Per me PETRUM WATTS, &c.

Feb. 12, 1713.
(Examined by) THOM. TANNER.

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NUMBER IX.

*Ornatiss. Viris Dominis Sands, ac Regentibus et Non-Regentibus Academiæ Cantabr.*

ÆQUUM est, ut qui se Literarum Studiis dediderunt, et in veri Inquisitione versantur, illius Disciplinæ veritatem profiteantur, quæ ad vivendum est utilissima, et ad judicandum cum Verbo Dei convenientissima. Cùm autem in redintigranda religione, multum diuque Regiæ Majestatis Authoritate, et bonorum atque eruditorum Virorum judiciis sit elaboratum, et de Articulis quibusdam in Synodo Londonensi Anno Domini 1552. ad tollendam opinionum dissentionem, conclusum: Æquissimum judicavimus, eosdem Regiâ Authoritate promulgatos, et omnibus Episcopis ad meliorem Dioceseos suæ Administrationem traditos, vobis etiam commendare, et visitationis nostræ Authoritate præcipere ac statuere de his, ad hunc modum.

Singuli Doctores et Bachallores Theologiæ, et singuli præterea Artium Doctores, solenniter et publice, ante creationem suam, hoc jurejurando sequenti se astringant, et in Commentarios Academiæ, ad id designatos, suâ ipserum manu referant. Quod ni fecerint gradus sui capiendi repulsam patiantus.

Ego N.N. Deo Teste promitto ac spondeo, primo me veram Christi Religionem, omni Animo Complexurum, Scripturæ Authoritatem Hominum judicio præpositurum, Regulam Vitæ et summam Fidei, ex Verbo Dei petiturum, cætera quæ ex Verbo Dei non probantur, pro humanis et non necessariis habiturum. Authoritatem Regiam in hominibus summam, et externorum Episcoporum Jurisdictioni minime subjectam æstimaturum; et contrarias Verbo Dei Opiniones, omni voluntate ac mente refutaturum. Vera consuetis, Scripta non Scriptis, in Religionis Causâ antehabiturum. Deinde me articulos, de quibus in Sinodo Londenensi Anno Domini 1553. ad tollendam Opinionum Dissensionem et consensum veræ Religionis firmandum inter Episcopos et alios eruditos Viros convenerat, et Regiâ Authoritate in lucem editos, pro veris et certis habiturum, et omni in loco tanquam Consentientes cum Verbo Dei defensurum, et contrarios Articulos in Scholis et Pulpitis vel respondendo vel concionando oppugnaturum. Hæc omnia in me recipio, Deoque Teste, me Sedulo facturum promitto ac spondeo.

An. 1553, 1 Jun. Ex MS. Coll. Corp. Chr. Cant.

Tho. Ely Canc. Joannes Cheeke. Gul. Meye. Tho. Wendy.

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NUMBER X.

*King Edward's Devise for the Succession, written with his own hand.*

[Ex MS. Petyti.]

FOR lack of *issue male* of my body, *to the issue male coming of the issue female*, as I have after declared. To the said Frances' heirs males, if she have any; for lack of such issue before my death, to the said Jane and heirs males; to the said Katherine's heirs males; to the lady Mary's heirs males: to the heirs males of the daughters, which she shall have hereafter. Then to the lady Marget's heirs males. For lack of such issue, to the heirs males of the lady Jane's daughters; to the heirs males of the lady Katherine's daughters, and so forth, till you come to the lady Marget's heirs males.

2. If after my death the heir male be entred into eighteen year old, then he to have the whole rule and governance therof.

3. But if he be under eighteen, then his mother to be governes till he enters eighteen year old: but to do nothing without the advice and agreement of six parcell of a councill, to be pointed by my last will, to the number of 20.

4. If the mother die before the heir enter into eighteen, the realm to be governed by the councill: provided that after he be fourteen year, all great matters of importance be opened to him.

5. *If I died without issue, and there were none heir male, then the lady Frances to be gouvernes regent. For lack of her, her eldest daughters; and for lack of them, the lady Marget to be governes after, as is aforesaid, till some heir male be born; and then the mother of that child to be governes.*

6. *And if, during the rule of the gouvernes, there die four of the councill; then shall she, by her letters, call an assembly of the council within one month following, and chuse four more: wherein she shall have three voices. But after her death, the sixteen shall chuse among themselves, till the heir come to fourteen year old; and then he, by their advice, shall chuse them.*

[The last two paragraphs, and what is scored underneath, are dash'd out, yet so as to be legible.]

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NUMBER XI.

*The Council's Original Subscription, to Edward the VIth's Limitation of the Crown; in these words:*

[Ex MS. Petyti.]

EDWARD,—We whose names are underwritten, having heretofore many times heard the king's majesty our most gracious sovereign lord's earnest desire and express commandment, touching the limitation of the succession in the imperial crown of this realm, and others his majesty's realms and dominions; and having seen his majesty's own device, touching the said succession, first wholly written with his most gracious hand, and after copied out in his majestie's presence, by his most high commandment, and confirmed with the subscription of his majestie's own hand; and by his highnes deliver'd to certain judges, and other learned men, to be written in full order: do, by his majestie's speciall and absolute commandment, eftsoones given us, aggree, and by these presents signed with our hands, and sealed with our seals, promise by our oaths and honours, to observe fully, perform and keep, all and every article, clause, branch and matter, contained in the said writing delivered to the judges and others, and superscribed with his majestie's hand in six several places: and all such other matter as his majesty, by his last will, shall appoint, declare or command, touching or concerning the limitation of the succession of the said imperiall crown. And we do further promise, by his majesty's said commandment, never to vary or swerve, during our lives, from the said limitation of the succession; but the same shall, to the uttermost of our powers, defend and maintain. And if any of us, or any other, shall at any time hereafter (which God forbid) vary from this agreement, or any part thereof, we, and every of us, do assent to take, use and repute him, for a breaker of the common concord, peace and unity of this realme; and to do our uttermost to see him or them so varying or swerving, punished with most sharp punishments, according to their deserts.

T. Cant. T. Ely, Canc. Winchester. Northumberland. J. Bedford. H. Suffolk. W. Northampton. F. Shrewsbury. F. Huntington. Pembroke. E. Clinton. T. Darcy. G. Cobham. R. Ryche. T. Cheyne.
John Gate. William Petre. John Cheek. W. Cecill. Edward Mountague. John Baker.
Edward Gryffin. John Lucas. John Gosnald.

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NUMBER XII.

*Articles and Instructions annexed to the Commission for taking the Surrender of the Cathedral of Norwich.*

FIRST, the said commissioners shall repair to the cathedral church of Norwich, declaring to the dean and chapter of the same, that the king's majesty's pleasure for diverse good and reasonable causes and considerations, to have the said college to be surrendered and given up into his majesty's hands; to the intent that the same shall be altered in such good and godly wise, as the king that dead is (whose soul God pardon) amongst other his godly purposes and intents, and the king's majesty that now is, by the advice of his honourable council, hath determined. And that they shall practise and conclude with them, for and in his highnes's name, for the same surrender, to be had, done, and performed, in such manner and form as by their discretions shall be thought most reasonable and convenient.

2. And after the said surrender and gift made of the said college, and of all lands, tenements, hereditaments, and possessions of the same, by the dean and chapter thereof, to the use of the king's highnes, according to a deed and writing, devised and delivered to the said commissioners for that purpose; the said commissioners to take order, with the dean and prebendaries, canons, and all other officers and ministers of the said cathedral church, that they shall be, remain, continue and minister there, in such sort as they do, until the alteration of the said church shall be made perfect. Declaring further to the same dean, prebendaries and canons, that they, and every of them, shewing themselves willing and conformable, according to the king's majesty's commission, shall, from the time of the said surrender, have as much in profit and commodity, for and towards their living, as they had before the same surrender, in such wise as they shall have good cause to be well satisfied and contented.

3. Also the said commissioners shall make an inventory of all the plate and jewels, ornaments, goods and chattels of the said cathedral church, and deliver the same to the dean and prebendaries, by bills indented: and the said commissioners are to take order with them, that the same may continue, remain, and be used there, until the new erection of the said church, to the intents and purposes that they were ordained for: and declaring further that the same shall be assigned, and given to them, upon the new erection and foundation of the said cathedral church.

4. Also the said commissioners, calling to them the officers and ministers of the said cathedral church, shall cause a perfect book, rental, of value, to be made of all the possessions, as well spiritual as temporal, of the same church, with the reuts, resolute, and deduction of the same: and also to note and certify the

decays thereof, if any be: and to cause the same rentals, book or value, to be certified and delivered into the court of augmentations and revenues of the king's majesty's crown, with as convenient speed as it may be done.

5. *Item.* The said commissioners are to do and execute all such other things as they shall think convenient and necessary, to the full accomplishment of this commission; and to certify the truth and circumstance of the same, together with this commission.

*Vera copia*, H. Prideaux.

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NUMBER XIII.

*An Original Letter of Queen Mary's to King Philip, before he wrote to her.*

[Cott. Lib.]

MONSIEUR,—Mon bon et perpetuel Allie: entendant que l'Ambassadeur de l'Empereur, Monseigneur et bon Pere, residant ches moy depeschoyt le Porteur de cestes devers vostre Haultesse. Encores que ne niayes particuliezement escript dois, que nostre Alliance à este traictee. Si est ce me sentant tant obligee, de la sincere et vray Affection que me portes, que ves confirmee, tant par les effectz que par les lettres escriptes, audict Ambassadeur, et par la Negociation que le Sieur d'Egmont et aultres, et l'Ambassadeur de mondict Seigneur ont traicte. Je ne peu delaisser, vous tesmoigner le Vouloyr et Debuoyr, que jay de vous correspondre a jamais: Et vous Mercie treshumblement tant de bons Offices, et joynctement vous advertis, que le Parlement, qui represente les Estats du mon Royaulme, à approuve les Articles de nostre Maryage sans Contradiction, comme trouvant les Condicions dicelluy Honorables, Advantaigueses, et plusque raissonables; que me meet en entiere confidence, que vostre venue par deca sera seure et agreable. Et esperant de brief suplier le surplus Verbalement, je feray Fin aux presentes; priant le Createur qui vous donnat, Monseigneur, mon bon et perpetuel Allie, faire vostre Voyage par deca en prosperite et sante, me recommendant tresaffectuensement et humblement à vostre Haultesse.

A Londres, le xx. d' April.

Vostre Entierement, Assuree, et plus Obligee Alliee,

MARYE.

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NUMBER XIV.

*Queen Mary's Letter to the Earl of Sussex, to Care of Elections in Parliament.*

[Ex MSS. Petyti.]

MARY THE QUEEN.—Right trusty and welbeloved cosen, we greet you well. And where for diverse causes, tending principally to the advancement of God's glory and the commonwealth of this our realme, we have thought convenient to call our high court of parliament on the 12th of the next moneth, as by our writ of summonds, sent unto you for that purpose, ye may at better length perceive; likeas for your own part, wee doubt not but ye wil be ready to assist us with your best advice and counsail for the furtherance of our good purpose, in such matters as are to be treated of in our said parliament; so to the end the same may be more gravely debatet, and circumspectly handled, to the honour of Almighty God, and general comodity of our loving subjects, wee have thought convenient specially to require and pray you to admonish on our behalfe such our good and loving subjects as by order of our writs have the elections of knights, citizens, or burgeses, within our rule, to choose of their inhabitants, as being eligible, by order of our lawes, may be of the wise, grave, and catholick sort. Such as indeed mean the true honour of God, with the prosperity of the commonwealth. The advancement whereof wee, and our dear husband the king, doe chiefly professe and intend, without alteration of any particular man's profession, as amongst other false rumours, the hinderers of our good purposes and favorers of heresies, do utterly report. And to the end wee may the better confer with you about these matters that are to be treated of in our said parliament, our pleasure is, you do put your self in a readiness to make your repair hither, so as ye may be with us against the feast of All-Saints at the furthest. Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster the 6th of October, the iid year of our reigne.

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NUMBER XV.

*Cardinal Pole's First Letter to Queen Mary.*

[Ex MS. penes me.]

BENEDICTA Manus Omnipotentis Dei, quæ non solum Majestatem tuam in alto Throno, et Possessione Regni collocavit (quod multos Annos ad eam spectabit, et ab omnibus bonis optabatur, atq; inter Sacras Preces petebatur a Divina Clementia): Sed etiam eò res deduxit, ut non modo res ipsa, verum etiam ratio ipsius rei conficiendæ omnes Amicos incredibili lætitia perfundat, et precipuè Pium Animum tuum, quia sine sanguine res peracta est, prope cum magna clades esset timenda propter fraudes Adversariorum, quæ non parvis viribus erant suffultæ ad eam justissima Successione privandam; atque cum propter longum sibi divinitus concessum ad suas insidias subtexendas, putarant se ad finem optatum cum scelere suscepti consilii pervenisse, sine novis auxiliis, sed solis viribus quas Spiritus Dei excitavit in Animis mortalium, effectum est Divina Providentiâ, ut brevi momento Temporis irriti ac delusi sint omnes Mortalium apparatus: Ita conversi sunt, qui Humanæ Malitiæ militabant ad protegendum Honorem Dei, Majestatis tuæ incolumitatem, ac totius Regni salutem.

Si quis itaque miratur cur tua Majestas nullis externis Viribus, paucis etiam subditis audentibus ejus partes amplecta, potuerit Regnum ita Usurpatum adversus tantam Hominum malitiam et Potentiam recuperare; aut siquis rogaret, quo modo factum est istud? Res ipsa respondere poterit; Spiritus Sanctus supervenit in corda Hominum, qui ea ratione tibi Regnum restituere voluit; atque hoc uno Exemplo non solum vestris Populis, sed Universis Christianis, et Barbaris Nationibus Manifestum fit, quia nullum fit Consilium, nec Prudentia, nec Fortitudo contra Dominum Deum, et quod excelsus dominetur, in Regno Hominum, et cui voluerit, et quando voluerit dabit illud. Ejus Divinæ Providentiæ in rebus Humanis Credulitas (Præcipium nostræ Religionis Fundamentum) si unquam in istud Regnum introduci, et confirmari debuit, per ullam Manifestam Experientiam; hoc maxime tempore introduci necesse est, quo propter impiorum tam diuturnam Authoritatem, ita erat in Animis Hominum debilitata et in eorum Animis præsertim, qui prudentiores, sapientioresque putabantur, ut penitus videretur extincta. Cum Divinæ itaque Bonitati placuerit, ita evidentibus signis suam potentiam in tua Majestate extollenda, tunc cum à suis inimicis, et à multis aliis prorsus oppressa putabatur, declarare; hoc est cur maximè omnes Boni et Pii Glorientur, et quod tibi magis gratum esse certò scio, quam Regiam Dignitatem. Atque, si ulla fœmina debuit Deum laudare iis Verbis suæ Sanctissimæ Matris, cujus nomen refers, quibus ea usa est ad



exprimendam lætitiam propter Divinam Providentiam ad sui, Humanique generis salutem, cum Spiritu Sancto repleta inquit, Magnificat Anima mea Dominum, cum iis quæ sequuntur; tua Majestas justissima de Causa eum Psalmum canere potest; cum in se ipsa sentiat, quod omnes vident, ut Divina Bonitas respexit Humilitatem ancillæ suæ: Et fecit potentiam in brachio suo, statim deposuit Potentes de sede ex exaltavit humiles. Hoc dictum de Divina Providentia erga Majestatem tuam semper manifestius in Administratione cognoscetur tua, cum incremento illo lætitiæ, quod desideratur ad honorem et laudem Divinæ Majestatis. Enimvero mea erga Deum, et suam Ecclesiam Pietas, et erga Majestatem tuam me cogit ut unum tibi in memoriam revocem initio regnandi; quod est cum ita singulare Beneficium à Deo acceperis, diligenter consideres è quibus radicibus perturbationes pullularint, rerum adjustitiam pertinentium et ad veræ Religionis cultum; quippe cum illæ indies cum tanta ruina succreverint, in isto Regno Privata et Publica, quanta non ignorantur: atque si hoc ita feceris; percipies perfecto Principium et Causam omnium malorum tunc pullulasse, cum perpetuus humani generis Adversarius Patri tuo persuasit impurum Concilium; ut divortium fieret Matris tuæ optimæ Reginæ, atque illi magnæ in Deum, in ipsam, in te in seipsum injuriæ, majus additum est scelus, quod à Matre Spiritus divortium fecit omnium Christianorum; à Sancta Catholica Obedientia et ab Apostolica Reverentia. Ex hoc iniquo et impio semine tot pestiferi fructus nati sunt, ut ita Regnum corruperint, ut nullum neque justitiæ neque Religionis vestigium apperuerit: Tanquam relegatæ sint ambæ, quando Reverentia, et Obedientia Ecclesiæ ejecta fuit; neque prius sunt redituræ, quam Divina Obedientia in Animum recepta sit eorum, qui rebus præfuerint. Hoc facile tua Majestas illi servo suo potest credere, qui omnium viventium plura, et istâ Majestatis vestræ Causâ passus est: Neque ullam defendendæ Causæ tuæ rationem prætermisi, ubi aliquod extaret remedium, quo toties molestiis sublevarem. Quod nisi mei labores eum finem consecuti sint, quem semper desiderâvi; sæpius vel vitam ipsam periculis exponens; tamen nunc multo magis lætor, quam si ipse adjutor fuissem; cum apertissimè cognoverim, Divinæ Providentiæ in Majestatem tuam propensam voluntatem: Nam profectò noluit Deus ulla humanâ manu te adjuvari, neque Cæsaris, neque ullius Principis: Quamvis nunquam cessavit Pontifex Cæsarem ad opem ferendam adhortari: Neque mea defuit diligentia, utrisque ad hoc pium opus sollicitantibus, sed Divinitus Res protracta est donec statutum tempus à Deo adventarit, quo Divinâ manu sublevareris. Interim usus est Deus eadem ratione, qua erga carissimos et dilectissimos uti consuevit, quos nutrit, et educat in omni calamitatum, ærumnarumque genere: Ut gratiæ suæ semen altiores radices in corde ipsorum posset extendere, meliusque floreat, ac nobiliores fructus producat, cum visum fuerit in pristinam fælicitatem revocare. Istud nunc omnes boni expectant, atque ego in primis, cui major concessa est dotes Animi tui, quæ Divinitus tibi concessæ sunt, à teneris cognoscendi. Ea res me multò etiam magis impellit, ut Majestati tuæ id significem de re tanta, quanta est Ecclesiæ Obedientia, me magis etiam sollicitum esse, quàm antea, qua mente sis erga Religionem, et quo pacto affecta: nam cum circiter trecenta millia passuum distam ab Urbe Roma, nuper ad me de rebus Britannicis est delatum; per literas summi Pontificis certior factus sum, te ad summum imperium esse provectum, et quod ego sim delectus Legatus a Sancta sede Apostolica ad Majestatem tuam et ad Cæsarem, atque ad Galliarum Regem, ut tibi gratularer pro Victoria Dei in hac Causa ipsius Dei: Sed quia quanti res sit intelligo, censui non inutile fore, si Majestatis tuæ mentem quo pacto Deus moverit, prius percunctatus fuero: Cujus causâ præsentem nuncium cum meis literis mitto: Neque istud quidem, quia de optime voluntate tua subdubitem, quoniam te semper gratam, erga Deum suisse cognovi, et acceptorum non immemorem, legumque divinarum observantissimam, inter quas Obedientia Apostolicæ sedis continetur, cui maximè omninum favere debes. Nam certè quidem Majestatis tuæ Pater nullâ aliâ de Causa Apostolicam Obedientiam reliquit, nisi quia nollet Pontifex Romanus Causæ suæ favere turpi, et iniquo ejus desiderio assentiri. Sed quoniam tot annos tanta facta est mutatio, tantâque malitia conata est evellere ex Animis Hominum penitusque restinguere hanc ipsam Obedientiam et Observantiam, mihi visum est non absurdum fore, si ex te ipsa percunctarer, quod tempus, aut quæ ratio aptior, commodiorque videretur futura ad ipsius Vicarii Christi Legatione perfungendum, idque ad istius Regni Beneficium et Consolationem, cujus Fælicitas et Quies semper magis oppressa fuit, ex qua Sancta Obedientia expugnari cæpta est, coactaque solum vertere. Decrevi igitur prius responsum expectare, quod ut expectationi meæ optimæ respondeat, ab Omnipotente Deo suppliciter peto, omniumque piorum spei, quam habent de Majestate tua conceptam, idque ad confirmationem, et incrementum Fælicitatis tuæ, et istius Regni. Quod si mihi benignam audientiam concesseris, spero futurum Dei optimi maximi Beneficio, ut intelligas in hac ipsa Obedientia Ecclesiæ consistere, et collocatum esse fundamentum et stabilimentum omnium bonorum ipsius Regni. Sic igitur rogans Omnipotentem Deum, ut pro sua infinita Misericordia Majestatem tuam fortunet in ipso imperio, in quo collocavit, finem faciam dicendi. Cænobio Megazeni Benaci. Eidus Sextilis. 1553.

REGINALDUS POLUS.

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NUMBER XVI.

*The Queen's Answer to it.*

OPTIME sobrine Pole, in Christo Observandissime; accepi literas tuas, quas tuus familiaris mihi reddidit, exquibus intellexi perpetuam tuam optimam voluntatem erga hoc Regnum, Patriam tuam nimirum, et erga Legitimos Hæredes, cum summa lætitiæ significatione ob ea, quæ placuerunt Divinæ Clementiæ Omnipotentis Dei in ostendenda sua erga me vera, justissima, infinitâq; Misericordia; propter quam me tibi etiam non parum debere sentio, cum monitus amantissimos præterea in literis addideris: Quod si nullum naturæ vinculum inter nos intercederit, quod certè maximum intercedit; tamen vel hac unâ de Causa maximas tibi deberem gratias, quod me tam amenter monueris; atque ego dabo operam pro viribus, ut monitis tuis satisfaciam, quippe cum neq; unquam fuerim, nec sim, neq: ut Divinæ Misericordiæ confido unquam futura sim Catholicæ abhortationis in tuis literis contentæ adversaria. Quod attinet ad meam Obedientiam, et debitam Observantiam erga sponsam Christi, et Matrem Divinam, suam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam, harum literarum lator poterit te commodè docere: Is non poterit explanare quanta sit Animi mei molestia, propterea quod non possim Animi mei Sententiam, in hac re prorsus patefacere; sed cum primum data erit facultas sinceritatis Animi mei erga Divinum cultum explicandæ, Obedientiæq: quid Sentiam exequendæ, faciam te per literas certiorem. Quod spectat ad Coronationem, idem Nuncias omnia planè explicare poterit, multâq; alia quibus illum adesse volui; cum mirificè Omnipotentis Dei Misericordia confidam, futurum ut hæc

Comitia omnia statuta abrogent, unde omnium calamitatum hujusce Regni semina pollularunt. Spero autem futurum ut delictorum veniam à summi Pontificis Clementia obtineam, cui te rogo, ut meo nomine humillimè gratias agas pro sua multiplici in me Bonitate, ut in eadem persistat Clementia, omnemq; præteritorum commissorum Oblivionem concedat; hunc igitur remitto spe postulationis non irritiæ futuræ operâ tuâ; quando tantum Benevolentiæ, et fraternæ Charitatis, mihi pignus obtulisti: Me itaque plurimum Sancto Patri, ac tibi commendans, finem facio scribendi.

Westmonasterij, Sexto Idus Octobris.

MARIA REGINA.

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NUMBER XVII.

*Cardinal Pole's General Powers, for Reconciling England to the Church of Rome.*

[Ex MS. penes me.]

JULIUS Papa III.

DILECTE Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Dudum, cum charissima in Christo Filia nostra, Maria Angliæ tunc Princeps, Regni declarata fuisset, et speraretur Regnum Angliæ, quod, sæva Regum Tyrannide, ab Unione Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ separatum fuerat; ad Ovile Gregis Domini, et ejusdem Ecclesiæ Unionem, ipsa Maria primum regnante, redire posse. Nos Te, præstanti Virtute, singulari Pietate, ac multa Doctrina insignem, ad eandem Mariam Reginam, et universum Angliæ Regnum, de Fratrum nostrorum Consilio, et unanimi Consensu, Nostrum et Apostolicæ Sedis, Legatum de Latere destinavimus. Tibique, inter cætera, omnes et singulas utriusque Sexus, tam Laicas quam Ecclesiasticas, Seculares, et quorumvis Ordinum Regulares, Personas, in quibusvis etiam Sacris Ordinibus constitutas, cujuscunque Statûs, Gradûs, Conditiomis et Qualitatis existerent, ac quacunque Ecclesiasticâ, etiam Episcopali, Archiepiscopali, et Patriarchali; aut mundano, etiam Marchionali, Ducali, aut Regia Dignitate præfulgerent: Etiamsi Capitulum, Collegium, Universitas, seu Communitas forent: quarumcunque Hæreseum, aut novarum Sectarum, Professores, aut in eis culpabiles, vel suspectos, ac credentes, receptatores, et fautores eorum, etiamsi relapsæ fuissent, eorem Errorem cognoscentes, et de illis dolentes, ac ad Orthodoxam Fidem recipi humiliter postulantes, cognita in eis, vera et non ficta, aut simulata Pœnitentia, ab omnibus et singulis per eos perpetratis (Hæreses, et ab eadem Fide Apostasias, Blasphemias, et alios quoscunque Errores, etiam sub generali Sermone non venientes, sapientibus). peccatis, criminibus, excessibus et delictis; nec non Excommunicationum, Suspensionum, Interdictorum, et aliis Ecclesiasticis, ac Temporalibus etiam Corporis afflictivis, et capitalibus sententiis, censuris et pœnis, in eos Præmissorum occasione, à Jure vel ab Homine latis, vel promulgatis; etiam si in iis viginti, et plus annis insorduissent; et eorum Absolutio, Nobis et Divinæ Sedi, et per Literas, in die Cœnæ Domini legi consuetas, reservata existeret, in utroque, Conscientiæ videlicet, et contentioso foro, plenariè absolvendi, et liberendi, ac aliorum Christi fidelium consortio aggregandi: Nec non cum eis super irregularitate, per eos, præmissorum occasione, etiam quia sic ligati, Missas et alia divina Officio, etiam contra et Ritus et Ceremonias ab Ecclesia eatenus probatas et usitatas, celebrassent, aut illis alias semiscuissent. Contracta nec non Bigamia per eosdem Ecclesiasticos, Seculares vel Regulares, verè aut fictè, seu alias qualitercunque incursa (etiamsi ex eo quod Clerici in Sacris constituti, cum Viduis vel aliis corruptis, Matrimonium contraxissent, pretenderetur); rejectis et expulsis tamen prius Uxoribus, sic de facto copulatis. Quodque Bigamia, et irregularitate ac aliis præmissis non obstantibus, in eorum Ordinibus, dummodo ante eorum Lapsum in Hæresin hujusmodi, ritè et legitimè promoti vel ordinati fuissent, etiam in Altaris Ministerio ministrare, ac quæcunque et qualitercunque etiam curata Beneficia, secularia vel regularia, ut prius, dummodo super eis alteri jus quæsitam non existeret, retinere: Et non promoti, ad omnes etiam Sacros et Presbyteratus Ordines, ab eorum Ordinariis, si digni et idonei reperti fuissent, promoveri, Beneficia Ecclesiastica, si iis alias canonicè conferentur, recipere et retinere valerent, dispensandi et indulgendi: Ac omnem infamiæ, et inhabilitatis maculam sive notam, ex præmissis quomodolibet insurgentem, penitus et omnino abolendi; nec non ad pristinos Honores, Dignitates, Famam et Patriam, et bona etiam confiscata; in pristinumque, et eum, in quo ante præmissa quomodolibet erant, Statum restituendi, reponendi, et reintegrandi: Ac eis, dummodo corde contriti eorum errata et excessus, alicui per eos eligendo Catholico Confessori, sacramentaliter confiterentur, ac Pœnitentiam salutarem, eis per ipsum Confessorem, propterea injungendam omnino adimplerent, omnem publicam Confessionem, Abjurationem, Renunciationem, et Pœnitentiam jure debitam, arbitrio suo moderandi, vel in totum remittendi. Nec non Communitates et Universitates, ac singulares Personas quascunque, à quibusvis illicitis Pactionibus et Conventionibus, per eos cum Dominis aberrantibus, seu in eorum favorum, quomodolibet initis, et iis præstitis Juramentis, et Homagiis, illorumque omnium observatione; et si quem eatenus occasione eorum incurrissent Perjurij reatum, etiam absolvendi, et Juramenta ipsa relaxandi. Ac quoscunque Regulares et Religiosos, etiam in Hæresin hujusmodi ut prefertur lapsos, extra eorum regularia loca absque dictæ Sedis licentia vagantes, ab Apostasiæ reatu, et Excommunicationis, aliisque Censuris ac Pœnis Ecclesiasticis, per eos propterea etiam juxta suorum Ordinum instituta incursis, pariter absolvendi. Ac cum eis ut alicui Beneficio Ecclesiastico curato, de illud obtinentis consensu; etiam in habitu Clerici secularis, habitum suum regularem, sub honesta toga Presbyteri secularis deferendo, deservire, et extra eadem regularia loca remanere, liberè et licitè possint, dispensandi. Nec non quibusvis Personis, etiam Ecclesiasticis, ut quadragesimalibus, et aliis anni temporibus et diebus, quibus usus ovorum et carnium est de jure prohibitus, butiro et caseo, et aliis lacticiniis; ac dictis ovis et carnibus, de utriusque seu alterius, spiritualis, qui Catholicus existeret, medici Consilio, aut si Locorum et Personarum Qualitate inspecta, ex defectu Piscium aut Olei, vel indispositione Personarum earundem, seu alia Causa legitima id Tibi faciendum videretur, ut tuo arbitrio uti et vesci possint, indulgendi et concedendi. Nec non per Te in præteritis duntaxat Casibus, aliquos Clericos seculares, tantum Presbyteros, Diaconos, aut Subdiaconos, qui Matrimonium cum aliquibus Virginibus, vel corruptis Secularibus, etiam Mulieribus, de facto eatenus contraxissent, considerata aliqua ipsorum singulari qualitate, et cognita eorum vera ad Christi Fidem conversione, ac aliis circumstantiis, ac modificationibus tuo tantum arbitrio adhibendis; ex quibus aliis præsertim Clericis in sacris Ordinibus hujusmodi constitutis, quibus non licet Uxores habere, scandalum omnino non generetur; citra tamen Altaris, ac alia Sacerdotum Ministeria, et Titulos Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, ac omni ipsorum Ordinum Exercitio sublato, ab excommunicationis Sententia, et aliis Reatibus propterea incursis; injuncta inde eis etiam tuo arbitrio pœnitentia salutari, absolvendi ac cum eis dummodo alter eorum superstes remaneret, de cætero sine spe Conjugij, quod inter se



Matrimonium legitimè contrahere, et in eo postquam contractum foret, licite remanere possent, Prolem exinde legitimam decernendo, misericorditer dispensandi. Ac quæcunque Beneficia Ecclesiastica, tam Secularia quam Regularia, et quæ per Rectores Catholicos possidebantur, de ipsorum tamen Rectorum Catholicorum consensu, seu absque eorum præjudicio, cuicunque alteri Beneficio Ecclesiastico, ob ejus fructûs tenuitatem, aut Hospitali jam erecto vel erigendo, seu Studio Universali, vel Scholis Literariis; uniendi, annectendi, et incorporandi, aut fructus, reditus, et proventus, seu bonorum eorundem Beneficiorum dividendi, separandi, et dismembrandi; ac eorum sic divisorem separatorum et dismembratorum partem aliis Beneficiis, seu Hospitalibus, vel Studiis aut Scholis, seu piis Usibus, similiter arbitrio tuo perpetuo applicandi et appropriandi. *At cum Possessoribus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum (restitutis prius si Tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebitè detentis) super fructibus malè perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus, consumptis, concordandi, et transigendi, ac eos desuper liberandi et quietandi.* N. B. Ac quicquid Concordiis et Transactionibus hujusmodi proveniret, in Ecclesia cujus essent bona, vel in Studiorum Universalium, aut Scholarum hujusmodi, seu alios pios Usus convertendi; omniaque et singula alia, in quæ in præmissis, et circa ea quomodolibet necessaria et opportuna esse cognosceres, faciendi, dicendi, gerendi, et exercendi. Nec non Catholicos locorum Ordinarios, aut alias Personas Deum timentes, Fide insignes, et Literarum Scientia præditas, ac Gravitate Morum conspicuas, et Ætate veneranda; de quarum Probitate et Circumspectione, ac Charitatis Zelo plena, Fiducia conspici posset, ad præmissa omnia, cum simili vel limitata Potestate (Absolutione et Dispensatione Clericorum, circa Connubia, ac Unione Beneficiorum, seu eorum fructuum et bonorum separatione, et applicatione, ac concordia cum Possessoribus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum, et eorum liberatione duntaxat exceptis) substituendi et subdelegandi: Ac diversas alias Facultates, per diversas alias nostras tam sub plumbo quam in forma Brevis confectas literas, concessimus, prout in illis plenius continetur. Verum cum Tu ad Partes Flandriæ, ex quibus brevissima ad Regnum transfreatio existit, Te contuleris, ac ex certis rationalibus Nobis notis Causis inibi aliquandiu subsistere habeas, ac à nonnullis, nimium forsan scrupulosis, hæsitetur; an Tu, in Partibus hujusmodi subsistens, prædictis ac aliis Tibi concessis Facultatibus, uti ac in eodem Regno locorum Ordinarios, aut alias Personas (ut præmittitur) qualificatas; quæ Facultatibus per Te, juxta dictarum Literarum Continentiam pro Tempore concessis utantur, alias juxta earundem Literarum tenorem substituere et delegare possis. Nos causam tuæ Subsistentiæ in eisdem partibus approbantes, et singularum Literarum prædictarum tenores, præsentibus pro sufficienter expressis, ac de verbo ad verbum insertis, habentes, Circumspectioni tuæ, quod quamdiu in eisdem partibus de licentia nostra moram traxeris, Legatione tua prædicta durante, etiam extra ipsum Regnum existens; omnibus et singulis prædictis, et quibusvis aliis Tibi concessis, et quæ per præsentes Tibi concedentur; Facultatibus etiam erga quoscuuque, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, ac Abbates, aliosque, Ecclesiarum tam Secularium, quam quorumvis Ordinum Regularium, nec non Monasterium, et aliorum Regularium Locorum Prelatos, non secus ac erga alios inferiores Clericos, uti possis; nec non erga alias Personas, in singulis Literis prædictis quovismodo nominatas, ad Te pro Tempore recurrentes, vel mittentes; etiam circa Ordines, quos nunquam aut malè susceperunt, et Munus Consecrationis, quod iis, ab aliis Episcopis vel Archiepiscopis, etiam Hæreticis et Schismaticis, aut alias minus ritè et non servata forma Ecclesiæ consueta impensum fuit: Etiam si Ordines et Munus hujusmodi, etiam circa Altaris Ministerium temerè executi sint, per Te ipsum, vel alios, ad id à Te pro Tempore deputatos, liberè uti; ac in eodem Regno, tot quot Tibi videbuntur Locorum Ordinarios alias Personas (ut præmittitur) qualificatas, quæ Facultatibus per Te, eis pro tempore concessis (citra tamen eas quæ solum tibi ut præfertur concessæ existunt) etiam te in partibus Flandriæ hujusmodi subsistente, libere utantur; et eas exerceant et exequantur: Alias, juxta ipsarum Literarum continentiam ac tenorem substituere et subdelegare. Nec non de Personis quorumcunque Episcoporum vel Archiepiscoporum, qui Metropolitanum aut alias Cathedrales Ecclesias de manu Laicorum etiam Schismaticorum, et presertim qui de Henrici Regis et Edvardi ejus nati receperunt, et eorum regimini et administratione se ingresserunt, et eorum fructus reditus et proventus etiam longissimo tempore, tanquam veri Archiepiscopi aut Episcopi et mere et de facto usurpando, etiamsi in Hæresin aut prefertur, inciderint, seu ante Hæretici fuerint, postquam per te unitati Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ restituti exstiterint, tuque eos rehabilitandos esse censueris, si tibi alias digni et idonei videbuntur, eisdem Metropolitanis et aliis Cathedralibus Ecclesiis denuo, nec non quibusvis aliis Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis Ecclesiis per obitum vel privationem illorum Præsulum, seu alias quovis modo pro tempore vacantibus, de Personis idoneis pro quibus ipsa Maria Regina juxta consuetudinis ipsius Regni, tibi supplicaverit Authoritate nostra providere ipsasque Personas eisdem Ecclesiis in Episcopos aut Archiepiscopos præficere: Ac cum iis qui Ecclesias Cathedrales et Metropolitanas, de manu Laicorum etiam Schismaticorum ut prefertur, receperunt, quod eisdem seu aliis ad quas eas alias rite transferri contigerit, Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis Ecclesiis, in Episcopos vel Archiepiscopos præesse ipsasq; Ecclesias in Spiritualibus et Temporalibus regere et gubernare ac munere Consecrationis eis hactenus impenso uti, vel si illud eis nondum impensum extiterit, ab Episcopis vel Archiepiscopis Catholicis per te nominandis suscipere libere et licite possint. Nec non cum quibusvis per te ut præmittitur pro tempore absolutis et rehabilitatis, ut eorum erroribus et excessibus preteritis non obstantibus, quibusvis Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis Ecclesiis in Episcopos et Archiepiscopos prefici et præesse, illasq; in eisdem Spiritualibus et Temporalibus regere et gubernare: Ac ad quoscunq; etiam Sacros et Presbyteratos Ordines promovere, et in illis aut per eos jam licet minus ritè susceptis Ordinibus etiam in altaris Ministerio Ministrare, nec non munus Consecrationis suscipere, et illo uti libere et licite valeant; dispensare etiam libere et licite possis, plenam et liberam Apostolicam Authoritatem per presentes concedimus Facultatem et Potestatem: Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, ac omnibus illis quæ in singulis Literis præteritis voluimus non obstare, cæterisq; contrariis quibuscunque.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, Die 8. Martis 1554. Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

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NUMBER XVIII.

*A Letter from Cardinal Pole to the Bishop of Arras, upon King Philip's Arrival in England, and his Marriage to the Queen.*

A Monsr. d'Arras.

MOLTO ILL. E REV. SIG.,—Havendo à quest' hora ricevuto particolari avisi dopo l'arrivo del Serenissimo

Principe nel Regno d' Inghilterra, del felice successo del Matrimonio mi e parso convenire al debito mio rallegrarmene con S. Majestà Cesarea sicome, fo con l' alligata la quale indirizzo à V. S. per la confidenza che ho nella solita sua cortesia, pregandola sia contenta presentarla a sua Majestà col baciarle riverentemente le mani da parte mia. L' Abbate Sagante suo l' altri' hieri mi communico una Lettera di V.S. che dava particolar aviso della ritirata de Franzesi il che mi su di molta consolatione. Ben si e visto di quant' importanza sia la presenza di S. Majestà. Ancor non e arrivato il messo mio da Roma, ma spero non possa tardar molto: subbito che sarà gionto, non mancarò di darne aviso a V.S. alla quale di cuore mi racommando e prego N. Sigr. Iddio la conservire favorisca a suo servitio. Di Bruxelles alli 29 di Luglio 1554.

REGINALDO CARD. POLE.

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NUMBER XIX.

*A Letter from Cardinal Pole to the Cardinal de Monte, acknowledging the Pope's favour in sending him full powers.*

Al Card. di Monte.

REV. ET ILL. SIG. MIO OSS'MO,—Scrissa a V. S. Reverendissima per l' ultime mie, l' aviso dell' arrivo in Inghilterra del Serenissimo Principe, il qual' e poi stato con la Serenissima Regina a Vincestre, ove hanno celebrato il sponsalitio il dì di San Giacomo con gran sollennita, come V. S. Reverendissima piacendole potra intendere dall' essibitor di questa, al quale mi rimetto in quel di piu, che in tal proposito io le potessi dire e bacio humi mente la mano di V. S. Reverendissima e Illustrissima in suo buona gratia reccommendandomi. di Bruxelles alli 29 di Luglio 1554.

In quest' hora e giunto l'Ormaneto con l'Espeditione che e piacciuto darle alla Santità di nostro Signore, tutto secondo quello, che si potesse desiderare dalla pietà e benignità sua in servitio di Dio, e della sua Chiesa in questa causa cossi importante del che prego V. S. Reverendissima sia contenta baciarne humilmente a nome mio i piedi a sua Beatit^ne. alla quale con la prima occasione non mai caro di dar pieno aviso di quanto sarà bisogno. In vero l' arrivar dell' Ormanete non poteva esser più a tempo, e spero che N. Signor' Iddio ci fara gratia, che le cose s' indrizzeranno in modo che sua Santità col servitio di sua Divina Maestà ne resterà consolata. Il tempo non patisce che per hora io possa essere più lungo, e di nuovo bacio humilmente le mani di V. S. Reverendissima et Illustrissima.

REGINALDO CARD. POLO.

Alli 29 di Luglio, 1554 il Signore Ormaneto arrivo a Bruxelles con l' infratta speditione.

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NUMBER XX.

*A Breve impowering Cardinal Pole to execute his Faculties with relation to England, while he yet remained beyond Sea, and out of England.*

Al Card. Polo.

JULIUS Papa III.

DILECTE Fili noster salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Superioribus mensibus ex diversis tunc expressis causis te ad Charissimam in Christo Filiam nostram Mariam Angliæ Reginam Illustrem, et Universum Angliæ Regnum primò, et deinde pro conciliando inter eos pace ad Charissimos in Christo Filios nostros Carolum Romanum Imperatorem semper Augustum, et Henricum Francorum Regem Christianissimum, nostrum et Apostolicæ sedis Legatum de latere de Fratrum nostrorum Concilio destinavimus. Et licet te multis, et quidem amplissimis facultatibus, quibus etiam in partibus Flandriæ existens, quoad Personas et Negocia Regni Angliæ hujusmodi uti posses per diversas nostras tam sub plumbo, quam in forma brevis confectas litteras muniverimus, prout in illis plenius continentur. Quia tamen ob Schismata, et alios errores, quibus dictum Regnum diutius infectum fuit, multi casus potuerunt contingere, qui provisione per dictam sedem facienda indigebunt et sub dictis facultatibus veluti infiniti, et inexcogitabiles comprehendi nequiverunt, et insuper à nonnullis hæsitatur an tu facultatibus hujusmodi in insulis et Dominiis eidem Mariæ Reginæ subjectis uti possis, quibus item facultatibus apud Carolum Imperatorem et quibus apud Henricum Regem præfatos existens utaris: Nos de tuis fide, pietate, religione, doctrina, et prudentia, in Domino benè confidentes, et volentes omnem in præmissis hæsitandi materiam amputare, circumspectioni tuæ, ut ubicumq; fueris etiam extra partes Flandriæ Legatione tua hujusmodi durante, omnibus et singulis tibi concessis hactenus, et in posterum concedendis Facultatibus, quo ad Personas et Negotia Regni ac Insularum et Dominiorum hujusmodi per te vel alium vel alios juxta ipsarum Facultatum continentiam, et tenorem uti, ac omnia et singula quæ tibi pro Omnipotentis Dei, et nostro ac ejusdem sedis honore, nec non Regni, Insularum et Dominorum prædictorum ad Sanctæ, Catholicæ, Ecclesiæ Communionem, reductione ac personarum in illis existentium Animarum salute expedire judicaveris, et si ea in generali mandato et Facultatibus tibi alias concessis non veniant, sed specialem expressionem et mandatum magis speciale requirant, dicere, facere, exercere, et exequi, nec non quandiù pro pace hujusmodi tractanda, vel aliis Negociis nostrum, et sedis prædictæ honorem concernentibus, apud dictum Carolum Imperatorem fueris, omnibus et singulis Facultatibus olim dilecto Filio Hieronimo Tituli St. Matthæi Presbitero Cardinali tunc apud ipsum Carolum Imperatorem nostro et præfatæ sedis Legato de latere concessis, et in omnibus Provinciis, Regnis, Dominiis, Terris, et Locis, sub illis comprehensis. Si vero apud dictum Henricum Regem extiteris eis omnibus, que dudum dilecto Filio Hieronimo Sancti Georgii ad velum Aureum Diacono Cardinali tunc apud Henricum Regem eundem, nostro et dictæ sedis legato concessæ fuerunt, Facultatibus, et in omnibus Provinciis Regnis, Dominiis, Terris, et locis sub illis comprehensis uti liberè et licetè valeas, in omnibus et per omnia perinde ac si illæ tibi specialiter et expressè concessæ fuissent, Apostolica autem tenore presentium concedimus, et indulgemus, ac Facultates tibi concessas prædictas ad hæc omnia extendimus. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus, et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, ac omnibus illis, quæ in singulis Facultatibus tam tibi, quam Hieronimo Presbitero, et Hieronimo Diacono Cardinalibus præfatis concessis, voluimus non obstare cæterisq; contrariis quibusq; dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, Die xxvi Junii, 1554, Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

JO. LARINEN'.

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NUMBER XXI.

*A Second Breve containing more special Powers relating to the Abbey-Lands.*

JULIUS Papa III.

DILECTE Fili noster salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Superioribus mensibus oblata nobis spe



per Dei Misericordiam, et Charissimæ in Christo Filiæ nostræ Mariæ Angliæ Reginæ, summam Religionem, et Pietatem, Nobilissimi illius Angliæ Regni, quod jamdiu quorundem Impietate, à reliquo Catholicæ Ecclesiæ corpore à vulsum fuit, ad ejusdem Catholicæ et Universalis Ecclesiæ unionem, extra quam nemini salus esse potest, reducendi; te ad præfatum Mariam Reginam, atque Universum illud Regnum, nostrum et Apostolicæ sedis Legatum de latere, tanquam Pacis et Concordiæ Angelum, de venerabilum Fratrum nostrorum, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalium Consilio atque unanimi assensu, destinavimus, illisque Facultatibus omnibus munivimus, quas ad tanti Negotii confectionem Necessarias putavimus esse, seu quomodolibet opportunas. Atque inter alia Circumspectione tua, ut cum bonorum Ecclesiasticorum Possessoribus, super fructibus malè perceptis, et bonis mobilibus consumptis, concordare et transigere, ac eos desuper liberare et quietare, ubi expedire posset, Authoritatem concessimus et Facultatem, prout in Nostris desuper confectis Literis plenius continentur: Cum autem ex iis Principiis, quæ ejusdem Mariæ Sedulitate et Diligentia, rectaque et constante in Deum Mente, tuo et in ea re cooperante Studio atque Consilio, præfatum reductionis opus in prædicto Regno usque ad hanc diem habetur, ejusdemque præclari Operis perfectio indies magis speretur; eoque faciliores progressus habitura res esse dignoscatur, quo nos majorem in bonorum Ecclesiasticorum Possessionibus, in illa superiorum Temporum confusione, per illius Provinciæ homines occupatis, Apostolicæ Benignitatis et Indulgentiæ spem ostenderimus. Nos nolentes tantam dilectissimæ Nobis in Christo Nationis Recuperationem, et tot Animarum pretioso Jesu Christi Domini nostri Sanguine redemptarum, Salutem, ullis terrenarum rerum respectibus impediri; more Pij Patris, in Nostrorum et Sanctæ Catholicæ Filiorum, post longum periculosæ peregrinationis tempus, ad Nos respectantium et redeuntium, peroptatum complexum occurrentes; Tibi, de cujus præstanti Virtute, singulari Pietate, Doctrina, Sapientia, ac in Rebus gerendis Prudentia et Dexteritate, plenam in Domino Fiduciam habemus, cum quibuscunque bonorum Ecclesiasticorum, tam mobilium quam immobilium, in præfato Regno Possessoribus, seu Detentoribus,

N. B. pro quibus ipsa Serenissima Regina Maria intercesseret, de bonis per eos indebitè detentis, Arbitrio tuo, Authoritate nostra, tractandi, concordandi, transigendi, componendi, et cum eis ut præfata bona fine ullo scrupulo in posterum retinere possint, dispensandi, omniaque et singula alia, quæ in his, et circa ea quomodolibet necessaria et opportuna fuerint,

N. B. concludendi et faciendi. Salvo tamen in his, in quibus, propter rerum magnitudinem et gravitatem, hæc Sancta Sedes merito tibi videretur consulenda, nostro et præfatæ Sedis, beneplacito et confirmatione, plenam et liberam Apostolicam Authoritatem, tenore præsentium, et ex certa scientia, concedimus Facultatem. Non obstantibus Literis, fælicis Recordationis Auli Papæ II. Prædecessoris nostri, de non alienandis bonis Ecclesiasticis, nisi certa forma servata, et allis quibusvis Apostolicis, ac in Provincialibus et Synodalibus, Conciliis, Edictis Generalibus, vel Specialibus, Constitutionibus, et Ordinationibus. Nec non quarumvis Ecclesiarum et Monasteriorum, ac aliorum regularium et piorum Locorum, Juramento, Confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis alia Firmitate raboratis, Fundationibus, Statutis et Consuetudinibus, illorum Tenores pro sufficienter expressis habentes contrariis quibuscunque.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, Die 28. Junij 1554, Pontificatûs Nostri Anno Quinto.

NUMBER XXII.

*A Letter to Cardinal Pole, from Cardinal de Monte, full of High Civilities.*

Al Card. Polo.

REV. E ILL. SIG. MIO COL',—Ritornando à V. S. Reverendissima et Illustrissima l' Auditor suo con l' Espeditioni, che ella vedrà, à me non occorre dirle altro se non supplicarla, che si degni mantenermi nella sua bona gratia, è di non si scordare d' haver qui un Servitore che in amarla, et osserverla non cede à qualsivoglia altra Persona, è che il maggior Favore, che io sia per aspettare sempre da V. S. Reverendissima e Illustrissima sarà, che le piaccia di comandarmi in tutto questo, che mi conoscerà buono per servirla; il che so d'haverle scritto più volte, e non mi e grave di replicarlo. Sua Sanctita sta cossi bene della Persona come sia stata di dieci anni in quà, ringratiato Iddio: e saluta e benedice V. S. Reverendissa et Illustrissima e li desidera, e prega ogni prosperità nelle sue Negociationi importantissime a tutta la Christianita, et io le bacio humilmente le Mani. Di Roma alli xv. di Luglio, 1554.

H. CARD. DI MONTE.

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NUMBER XXIII.

*A Letter from Cardinal Morone to Cardinal Pole, telling him how uneasy the Pope was to see his going to England so long delayed; but that the Pope was resolved not to recal him.*

Al Cardo. Polo.

REV. E ILL. SIG. MIO OSS'MO,—Avanti la partita mia di Roma hebbi la Lettera di V. S. Reverendissima dell 25 di Maggio in risposta delle mie, che gli haveuo scritto pur alli 6 di Maggio, quando vennero li primi avisi del Nuncio, doppo che V. S. Reverendissima fu ritornata alla Corte dal Viago di Francia, hebbi ancora l' altra di 28 del Medesmo, con la Querela Christiana, che ella fà contra di me, anzi per dir meglio con la Dottrina che V. S. Reverdissima con Sancta Charità querelandosi m'insegna, sopra la quale non m'occorre dir altro, se non che ella ha gran Raggione, et che io l'ho fatto torto a scriverle in quel modo, di che in una parte mi pento, e spero che ella mi habbi perdonato; nell' altra mi allegro, havendo havuto occasione di Guadagnar questa sua altra Lettera, e dato a lei occasione di esplicarsi in questo modo in Lettere come ha fatto, e ne ringratio Dio prima, e poi lei ancora, che si sia degnata mandarmi Lettera cossi grata, la qual potrà servire a più d'un proposito.

La prima di 21, fù in summa communicata da me a Nostro Signore parendomi necessario charir bene sua Sanctità, si per Giustificatione delle attioni passate di V. S. Reverendissima come per non lasciar, che sua Sanctità stesse nella disperatione dimostrata gia della cose d'Inghilterra, e della bonta del mezzo della Persona sua: e benche S. Sanctità non havesse patienza secondo l'ordinario suo di leggere, o di udir la Lettera, nondimeno le dissi talmentè la summa, che mostrò restare satisfattissima, e disse esser più che certa, che quella non haveua dato causa ne all' Imperatore, ne ad altri d'usar con lei termini cosi estravaganti. E quanto alla Revocatione di V. S. Reverendissa, sempre persisteva che non si potesse fare senza grand indignità sua, e dishonor della Sede Apostolica, e carico dell' Imperatore istesso, e di V. S. Reverendissima, e gran pregiudicio del Regno d' Inghilterra: e benche dicesse di scrivere alla Cæsarea Majestà, nondimeno non si

risolveua in tutto, com anco non si risolveua nella materia delli beni Ecclesiastici, sopra la qual sua Sanctità ha parlato molte volte variamente; e nel rescrivere alla Regina d' Inghliterra, ed al Prencipe di Spagna, come V. S. Reverendissima havera inteso da M. Francisco Stella, ed intenderà hora dall' Ormaneto, il qual sarà portator di questa, e tandem vien' espedito in tutti li punti quasi conformi al bisogno, ed al desiderio suo.

Io son venuto a star qui a Sutrio sin le prime acque d'Agotto, che poi piacendo a Dio ritornero a Roma. E le cause della partita mia V. S. Reverendissima hora l' intenderà dal prefato Ormaneto, non essendo stato opportuno scriverle prima; non ho havuto altro scrupulo se non partirmi, restando il Negocio, e l' Espeditioni dell' Ormaneto cossi in pendente. Ma conoscendo la sufficienza, e la diligenza, e la buon' Introduttione, che hanno quelli Ministri di V. S. Reverendissima giudicando, non poterui far di più di quel che già più volte haveua fatto, pensai che esse haveriano potuto supplire meglio di me, come hanno di poi fatto.

Non occore al presente che io le scriva più a lungo venendo il detto M. Nicolò informato, che non e bisogno affaticarla in leggere mie Lettere. Resta solo che Iddio conduca esso, e M. Antonio a salvamento essendo il viaggio in ogni parte da qui in Fiandra tanto pericoloso, doppo che io preghi, che sua Majestà Divina prosperi e feliciti V. S. Reverendissima, ad Honor e Gloria sua in quell' Attioni, che ha per mani, come son certo farà, e che quella mi ami, e mi comandi al solito, perche comme ho detto, faccio conto, s' altro non mi interviene, avanti che di quella possi haver risposta da lei, poter' esser di retorno a Roma, e con questo faccio fine, e baciandole humilmente la mano in buono Gratia di V. S. Reverendissima mi raccomando. Di Sutrio, alli 13 di Luglio 1554.

Il Card. Morone.

Al Card. Polo.

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NUMBER XXIV.

*A Letter from Ormanet to Priuli, giving an account of what passed in an Audience the Bishop of Arras gave him.*

A Monsieur Priuli.

Claris. e molto Rev. Sig. mio,—Questa mattina assai per Tempo io gionsi al Campo, et ancor che io poco sperassi d' haver commodo audienza da Monsieur d'Arras, stando si sul Marchiare, nondimeno l' hebbi con la Gratia di nostro Signiore Iddio, assai commoda e grata, e fui gratiosamente visto da Signoria alla quale feci intendere tutto quello, che mi era stato commesso da Monsieur Illustrissimo. La Risposta fù che l' Imperatore haveuo molto a cuore queste cose della Religione, e che non haverebbe mai mancaco d' aiutare questa sant' impressa come ha sempre atto in simili occasioni con pericoli fin della Vita, ma che quanto all' opportunità del tempo, la quale era stata il principio e fundamento del mio Raggionamento, a lui pareva, che si fosse caminato alquanto prosperamente, non si sapendo altro doppo la venuta del Rè d' Inghilterra, che la Celebration' e solennità del matrimonia, e che pur sarebbe stato a proposito, innanzi che s' andasse più oltre, veder che camino pigliavano le cose del Regno, e che dovendosi dar conto a sua Majestà di quello, perche io ero stato mandato, esso giudicava necessario che si fosse venuto più al particolare circa due cose, la forma delle faculta d' intorno questi beni (che gran differenza sarebbe se fosse stata commessa la cosa o al S. Cardinale, o alli Serenissimi Principi) e poi il modo che voleua tener sua Sig. Reverendissima circa questo asetto, e qui esso tocco che fosse stato bene vedere la Copia delle Faculta. A la cosa del tempo io risposi che per questa opera era sempre maturo, immò che non se ne doveua perdere momento per il pericolo dell' anime, oltre che dovendosi dar principio a quest impressa col far capace ogn' uno di quello, che veramente fosse il ben suo, e persuaderlo ad abbracciarlo, il qual' Officio spetta principalmente al Signior Legato, non si vede che a far questo il tempo non sia sempre maturo, soggiongendo che S. Majestà non doverebbe mai lasciar passer l' occasione di questa venuta del Principe suo figlivolo in dar compimento a questa riduttione, percio che facendosi hora, l' honor di questa impressa sarebbe stato attribuito a lui. Quanto al particolar delle facultà, dissi che havendo detto a S. Signoria che questo assetto era stato commessa all' arbitrio di S. Signoria Illustrissima mi pareva d' haver satisfatto assai, e che del modo del procedere ella non era ancora risoluto, non si potendo pigliare in una cosa tale alcuna risolutione se non sul fatto, e doppo che ella fosse stata presente, per la necessaria informatione di molte cose che corrono in questa materia, circa la quale toccai alcuni altri punti, che S. Signoria Reverendissima intendera più lungamente alla mia venuta. La conclusione fù che esso non mancarebbe d' informar sua Majestà del tutto, e per far ogni buon officio in questo, e qui mi disse dell animo che haveva sempre havuto d' aiutar queste cose della Religione, e del desiderio che teneva di servir sempre S. S. Illustrissima ringratiandola che l' adoperasse io. Circa l' aspetter la risposta di S. Majestà mi disse che non potendo esso far' all' hora questo officio per la partita del campo, io me ne venissi a Valentiana, dove havuta la resolutione da S. Majestà mi farebbe chiamarè: e che non mi pigliassi altro affanno di questa, e cossi me ne son venuto quà con questo disegno, di dar tempo tutto dimane a S. Signoria di far quest' officio, e posdimane non essendo chiamato ritornarmene a sollicitare l' espeditione. Io ho voluto dar questo conto di quello che fin' hora e passato acciò che non ritornando io, a quel tempo che fossi stato aspettato, non si stesse in qualche sospension d' animo. Sua Majestà sta gagliarda, e cavalca, e va personalmente vedendo l' essercito, e le cose come passano, il qual' essercito hoggi innanzi mezzo giorno e partito da Dolci quattro leghe lontano di quà, ed e andato ad un altro viaggio chiamato lieu S. Amando lontano da quello una legha, e più vicino al campo Francese, il quale questa mattina e partito da Crevacore e venuto una legha più in quà. Bascio la mano a Mons. Illustrissimo e mi raccomando a V. S. da Valentiano. L'ultimo di Luglio 1554.

Ser' Nicolo Ormaneta.

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NUMBER XXV.

*The Letter that the Bishop of Arras wrote to Cardinal Pole upon that Audience.*

Al Card. Polo.

Ill. e Rev. Sig. mio Oss'mo.—Trovomi con due Lettere di V. S. Illustrissima nella prima delle quali elle si rallegra della felice arrivata del Principe N. S. adesso Rè d' Inghilterra in quel Regno, e del consumato Matrimonio la Lettera del medesimo per S. Majestà Cesarea ho data io medesimo, alla quale e piacciuto sommamente l' officio tanto amorevolmente da V. S. Illustrissima: di poi arrivò assai presto il suo Auditore portator di questa, venuto da Roma, dal quale ho inteso quanto V. S. Reverendissima li haveva commesso di riferirmi sopra le Lettere Credentiali, che egli mi ha portato, di che tutto ho fatto relatione a S. Majestà Cesarea, la quale mi ha comandata risponderle quello che esso suo Auditore le potrà riferire, non giudicando S. Majestà conveniente, che V. S. Reverendissima pigli il camino d' Inghilterra fin tanto, che consultato il tutto con quelli Serenissimi Re, come fa con un corriero expresso partito hoggi, s' intenda da loro il stato presente delle cose di la e quello che conforme a questo quel Regno potria al presente comportare, accio che inteso il tutto S. Majestà possa meglio risolversi alla risposta che ella haverà a dare a V. S. Reverendissima su quella che di sua parte ha proposto il detto suo Auditore: non dubitando punto che come suo Maestà e V. S. Illustrissima hanno il zelo, che esse ed ambidoi i Rè hanno alle cose delle Religione, che terranno per certo, che non lascieranno preterir punto di quello che convenghi al rimedio d' esse nel punto Regno; caminandovi contal moderatione, che in luogo di farvi del bene, non si troncasse per sempre il camino al remedio. E senza più a V. S. Illustrissima bacio humilmente la mano. Dall' exercito Cesarea appresso Buchain li iij d' Agosto 1554.

Di V. S. Reverendissima Humil Serv.,

Il Vescovo d'Arras.

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NUMBER XXVI.

*Cardinal Pole's Answer to the Bishop of Arras his Letter.*

A Monsr. d' Arras.

Molto Ill. Rev. Sig.—Dalla Lettera di V. S. e dalla relatione del mio Auditore ho inteso quanto e piaciuto a sua Maestà farmi per hora sapere della mente sua, intorna il negocio della mia legatione in Inghilterra, riservandosi a darmene maggior risolutione, quando haverà inteso da quelli Serenissimi Prencipi il presente stato delle cose di la, perilche haveva spedito subbito un corriero; Io mio sono molto rallegrato, vedendo che in mezo di tanti, et si urgenti negocii della guerra S. Majestà habbia havuto tanta cura e sollicitudine di questa causa di Dio, la quale quando sia ben conclusa, non dubito le porterà seco ogni buon successio in tutto il resto; starò a spettando quello che piacerà a S. Majestà di farmi sapere, poiche haverà havuto risposta d' Inghilterra, ne altramente pensai prima mi convenisse fare. Ed in questo mezo pregarò la bontà d' Iddio, che cossi faccia ben intendere a tutto il corpo di quel Regno questo tempo, nel quale sua Divina Maestà lo visita con la gratia sua, come son certo intendino benissimo i capi loro, acciò che non si habbita a dir contra di essi, miluus cognovit tempus suum, populus autem hic non cognovit tempus visitationis suæ, ma havendo Iddio data gratia e quei Catholici Principi, a i quali tocca far' intendere ed essequir' a gli altri, quello che in questa causa con l'honor di S. Majestà farà di salute, ed universal beneficio di tutti, spero che le Maestà loro non siano per mancare di far' in ciò quello, ch' ogn' uno aspetta dalla pietà loro, essende massimamente eccitati, et aiutati, ed in ciò dall' authorità e prudentia di sua Majestà Cesarea: havendo inteteso che a V. S. faria stato di satisfattione veder copia del Breve della facultà concessami da N. Sr. circa la dispositione di i beni ecclesiastici, io glie la mando con questa, pregandola sia contenta farmi intendere dalla ricevuta, e molto la ringratio dell' amorevolezza sua verso di me, e della cortesia usata al detto mio Auditore. Dal Monasterio di Diligàm. alli 5 d' Agosto 1554.

Reginaldo Card. Polo.



NUMBER XXVII.

*Cardinal Pole's Letter to King Philip.*

Al Re d' Inghilterra.

Serenissime Rex,—Cum maximè antea lætatus essem, cognito ex fama ipsa, et litteris meorum optatissimo Majestis tuæ in Angliam adventu, et fælicissimis nuptiis, quæ cum Serenissima Regina nostra summo omnium gaudio et gratulatione celebratæ sunt: tamen hanc meam lætitiam magnoperè cumularunt Serenitatis tuæ litteræ a Domino Comite de Horne, cum is in castris apud Majestem Cæsaream remansisset, heri missæ ad me per nobilem Virum D. de Sto. Martino Majestis tuæ domesticum, eumdem cui ego has ad illam preferendas dedi. Etenim expressam in illis imaginem vidi ejus humanitatis ac benignitatis, qua Majestatem tuam præter reliquas eximias virtutes excellere omnes prædicant, quæ quidem virtus ab animi verè Regii altitudine proficiscitur. Itaq; ego Majestati tuæ ob hoc benevolentiæ signum mihi impertitum maximas ut debeo gratias, ac tametsi per alia Litteras uberius hoc ipso officio functus sum, tamen iterum illi de hoc fælici matrimonio divina providentia, ut planè persuasem habeo, ad istius Regni quietem conciliato, gratulor. Idq; eo magis quod confido brevi futurum, ut ad coram sibi Pontificis Maximi nomine gratulandum, quemadmodum in mandatis habeo, Majestatis tuæ pietas aditum mihi patefaciat cum summo totius Ecclesiæ gaudio, et istius Regni salute. Reliquum est ut Majestati tuæ omnia obsequa, quæ illi vel pro Legationis munere publice præstare possum, vel jam ut meo Principi ac Domino privatim debeo, deferam, atque pollicear. Quæ quidem in rebus omnibus, quæ ad ejus amplitudinem, laudem, honoremque pertinebunt studiosissimè semper præstabo. Deus Opt. Max. Majestatem tuam, una cum Serenissima Reverendissima Regina custodiat, ac diutissimè fœlicem conservat. Monrio. Diligà prope Bruxellas, vii Idus Augusti 1554.

Reginaldo Card. Polus.

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NUMBER XXVIII.

*A Letter of Cardinal Pole's to the Pope, giving an Account of a Conference that he had with Charles the Vth, concerning the Church Lands.*

Beatissime Pater,—E molto tempo che non havendo cosa d' importanza, non ho scritto a V. Santita per non molestarle: facendole col mezo del mio Agente intendere tutto quello che occurreva; e benche hora jo non habbia da dirle quanto desiderarei, nondimeno mi e parso conveniente scriverle, e darle conto del raggiamento prima havuta con Monsieur d' Arras e poi di quel che ho negotiato con sua Majestà. Mons. d' Arras alli ex che fu il giorno istesso che sua Majestà torno, esssndomi venuto a visitare, trovandosi all hora meco Monsieur il Nuncio, mi disse, che sua Majestà havea veduta la Lettera che io mandai ultimamente per l' auditor mio, e che ella era benissimo disposta verso questo negotio della Religione in Inghilterra come si conveniva e si poteva credere per la sua Pietat, ed anche per l' interesse, che ne sequeria de quel Regno e de questi Paiesi per la congiuntione che e tra loro. Si che quanto a questa parte di disponer sua Majestà non accader far altro. Ma che era ben necessario, che io venissi a particolari, ed atrattar de gli impedimenti, e della via di rimoverli: Sopra che sua Maesta mi udiva molto volontieri, jo risposi che veramente non era da dubitare del buono e pronto animo di sua Maesta, e che io ni era stato

sempre persuassissimo. Na che quanto pertineva all officio mio per esser io stato mandato da V. Santita per far intender l'ottima sua mente verso la salute diquello Regno, e la prontezza di porgere tutti quei remedii che dall' autorita sua potesser venire; a me non toccava far altro, che procurar d'haver l'adito: E che ad esse Principi, quali sono sul fatto, e hanno il governo in mano, le apparteneva, far intendere gli impedimenti, che fussero in contrario: E tornando pur esso Monsieur d'Arras che bisognava che io descendessi alli particolari, io replicai che in questa causa non conveniva in modo alcuno che si procedesse come si era fatto inquella della pace; nella quale ciascuna delle parti stava sopra di se non volendosi scoprire, ma solo cercando di scoprirne, l'altra, per rispetto de gli interesse particolari; percio che questa e una causa commune e nella quale V. Santita e sua Maesta Cesarea, e quei Principi hanno il medesimo fine, e noi ancora come ministri. Confermo cio esser vero quanto al tratar della pace, con dire in effetto in tratar del negocio della pace io mi armo tutto. Ma pur tuttavia tornava a dire, che io dovessi pensare e raggionar in particolare, con sua Maesta di quest impedimenti. E Monsieur il Nuncio al hora voltatosi a me desse, che in effetto era bisogno venire a questi particolari: E cosi al sine restammo che ogniuno ci pensasse sopra.

Alli xi poi nell andar da S. Majesta, Monsieur d'Arras torna a replicarmi il medesimo; nell audientia di S. Maesta, nella quale si trovo presente Monsieur il Nuncio, e Monsieur d'Arras, poiche mi fui ralegrato con sua Maesta, che havendo liberato questi suoi paesi della Molestie della Guerre, doppo tanti travagli e d' animo e di corpo fusse tornato piu gagliarda e meglio disposita che quando si parti; in che si videva che il Signior Iddio haveva preservata e preservata, a maggior cose in honor di S. Divina Maesta a beneficio commune. Sua Maesta confermo sentersi assai bene, e disse dele indispositione che haveva havuta in Arras e altre cose in simil proposito: Entrai poi a dire della Lettera, che io haveva scritta a S. Maesta della resposta che Monsieur d' Arras mi haveva fatta, che era stata di rimetersi al breve. Retorno di sua Maesta qui e dissi che se havessi a tratter questo negocio con altro Principe, della Pieta del quale non fussi tanto persuaso, quanto io sono certo diquella di sua Maesta dimostrata da lei con tanti segni, e nella vita sua privata, e nell attioni publiche, cercarei de essortarlo per tante vie quante si potria ad abbracciar, e favorir questa cosi santa causa. Ma che non essendo bisogno fare questo con S. Maesta, e tanto piu per esser in questa causa con honore d'Iddio, congionto anco il beneficio di S. Maesta et del Serenissimo Re suo figlivolo, solo aspettava da lei ogni ajuto per remover gli impedimenti, che suffero in questo negocio: I quali per quanto io poteva considerere sono di duo sorti: Uno pertinente alla Doctrina Catollica, nella quale non poteva esser in alcun modo indulgente, per esser cosa pertinente alla fide ne poteva sanar altrimente questo male, che con introdure de nuovo la buona Doctrina. L' altro impediment essendo de i beni, gli usurpatori di quale, sapendo la severita delle Leggi Ecclesiastiche, temevano per questa causa di ritornar al Obedienza della Chiesa desse dissi che in questa parte V. Santita poteva, et era disposta ad usar la sua benignita et indulgenza: E primo quanto alle Censure e pene incorse, ed alle Restitutione de frutti percetti, che era di grand' importanza, V. Santita haveva animo nell una nell altra di questo due cose d'usar ogni indulgenza, rimittendo liberamento il tutto: Ne pensava d'applicar parte alcuna de detti beni a se, ne alla Sede Apostolica, come multi temevano: benche di Raggione lo potesse fare, per le ingiurie e damni recevuti; ma che voleva convertir il tutto in sevitio d'Iddio, ed a Beneficio del Regno, senza haver pur una minima consideratione del suo privato interesse: E confidandosi nella Pieta di quei Principi, voleva far loro quest' Honore di far per mezo del suo Legato, quelle gratie che paressero convenienti secondo la proposta ed intercessione delle loro Maesta, a quelle Persone che esse giudicassero degne d' essere gratificate, ed atte ad ajutar la Causa della Religione. Sua Maesta respondendo ringratio prima molto V. Santita mostrando di conoscere la sua bona mente, e con dire, che ella in vero haveva fatto assai: Poi disse che per gli impedimenti ed occupationi della guerra, non haveva potuto attendere a questo negocio, come faria stato ij suo desiderio: Ma che hora gli attenderia; e che haveva gia scritto e mandato Inghilterra, per intender meglio in questa parte il stato delle cosa, ed aspettava in breve risposta: E che bisognava ben considerare fin dove si potesse andare nel rimover questo impedimento d' beni; il quali esso per lesperienza che haveva havuto in Germania, conosceva esser il principale. Perchioche quanto alla Doctrina, disse, che poco se ne curavano questo tali, non credendo ne all' una ne all' altra via: Disse anche che essendo stati questi beni dedicati a Dio, non era da concedere cosi ogni cosa, a quelli che li tenevano: E che se bene a lei io dicesse fin dove s'estendesse la mia faculta, non pero si haveva da far intendere il tutto ad altri: E che sara bisogni veder il breve della faculta, per ampliarle dove fusse necessario: Alche io risposi haverlio gia fatto vedere a Monsieur d' Arras, il quale non disse altra: E dubitando io che questa non fusse via di maggior dilatione dissi a S. Maesta, che devendosi come io intendeva e come S. Maesta doveva saper meglio, fare in breve il Parlamento, era d' avertire grandimente, che non si facesse senza Conclusione nella causa dell obedienza della Chiesa; che quando altrimente si facesse, sarebbe d' un grandissimo scandalo a tutto il Mondo, e danno alla detta causa: E che se bene la Regina a fare un cosi grande atto, haveva giudicato haver bisogno della congiuntione del Re suo Marito, come che non esse bonum Mulierem esse solam, se hora che Iddio ha prosperito e condotto al fine questa santa congiuntione, si differisse piu l' essecutione di questo effetto, che dove essar il Principio ed il Fundamento di tutte le loro Regie attioni, non restarebbe via di satisfar a Dio, ne a gli Huomini: E dicendo S. Maesta che bisognava anco haver grand respetto alla mala Dispositione de gli interessati, e quanto universalmente sia abborito questo nome d' obedienza della Chiesa, e questo cappel rosso, e l' habito ancora de i Religiosi. Voltatosi all hora a Monsieur Nuncio e in tel proposito parlando de frati condotti di Spagnia dal Re suo figlivolo, che fu consegliato far loro mutar l' habito, se bene cio non si feci, ne si conveniva fare: con dire anco di quanto importanza fusse il tumulto del Popolo, ed in tal proposito toccando anche de i mali officij, che non cessavano di fare per ogni via i nemici esterni. Io risposi che volendo aspettare che tutti da se si disponessero, e che cessasse ogni impedimento, saria un non venir mai a fine, perchioche, gli interessali massimamente, altro non vorriano se non che si continuasse nel presente stato, con tenere et godere esse, tutto quello che hanno. In fine fu concluso che si aspettasse la riposta d' Inghilterra, col ritorno del Secretario Eras, che saria fra pochi di, e che in questo mezzo io pensassi, e conferissi di quelle cose con Monsieur d'Arras. V. Beatitudine puo con la sua prudenza vedere in che stato si trovi questa causa; e come sara necessario, che qui si trattino le difficulta sopra questa beni; e per non tediarla con maggior lunghezza, quel di piu che mi occurreria dirle V. Santita si degnira intendere dall Agente mio, alla quale con la debita reverenza bacio i santissimi piedi preghando il Sig. Iddio, che la conservi longamente a Servitio della sua Chiesa. Di Bruxelles alli 13 d'October, 1554.

REGINALDUS CARD. POLUS.



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NUMBER XXIX.

*A Part of Mason's Letter to Queen Mary, concerning Cardinal Pole.*

CARDINAL POOLE having been sent to these quarters for two purposes, th'one for the meanning of a cyvill peas between the French king and the emperor, and the other for the helping to conclude a spirituall peas, as he termeth yt, in the realme of England: perceyving neither of them both to come to such a pass as his good mynde doth desyre, dothe begynne, as me semeth, to be owte of comfort: and being in manner clerely in dispayre of th'one, yf he receyve not shortlye some likeliadde of the other, being wery of so much tyme spent wythout frute, begynneth in that case to talk of his return to Italy. If he return without the seing of his countrey, lyke as he shall retourne a sorrowful man, so shall the realme have lost the fruition of such a one, as for his wysdome, joyned with learning, vertue, and godlynes, all the world seeketh and adoureth. In whom it is to bee thought, that God hath chosen a speciall place of habitation. Such is his conversation, adorned with infinite godly qualities above the ordinary sorte of men. And whosoever within the realme lyketh him worst, I wold he might have with him the talke of one half howre: it were a right stony harte, that in a small tyme he could not soften. If it be his fortune to depart, without shewing the experience herof in the realme, his going away shall be, in myne opinion, like the storye of the gospell, of such as dwelt in regione Geresenorum, who uppon a fond feare, desyred Christe, offring himself unto them, "ut discedere a finibus illorum."

Thus, most humbly desyring your grace to pardone my bolde and presumptiouse medling in matters passing my capacitye. I commit the same to the tuicion of Almighty Godde.

Your Grace's most humble, faithful, and obedient subject, JOHN MASONE.

From Bruxells, the vth of Octobre, 1554.

To the Queen's most excellent Majestie.

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NUMBER XXX.

*A Letter of Cardinal Pole's to Philip the IId, complaining of the Delays that had been made, and desiring a speedy admittance into England.*

SERENISSIME REX,—Jam Annus est, cum istius Regiæ domus fores pulsare cæpi, nedum quisquam eas mihi apperuit. Tu vero, Rex, si quæras, ut solent qui suas fores pulsare audiunt, quisnam pulset? Atque ego hoc tantum respondeam, me esse qui, ne meo assensu Regia ista domus ei clauderetur, quæ tecum simul eam nunc tenet, passus sum me Domo et Patria expelli, et exilium viginti annorum hac de causa pertuli. An si hoc dicam, non vel uno hoc nomine dignus videar, cui et in Patriam reditus, et ad vos aditus detur? At ego, nec meo nomine, nec privatam Personam gerens pulso, aut quidquam postulo, sed ejus nomine ejusque personam referens, qui Summi Regis et Pastoris Hominum in Terris vicem gerit. Hic est Petri Successor; atque adeo ut non minus verè dicam, ipse Petrus, cujus Authoritas et Potestas, cum antea in isto Regno maximè vigeret ac floreret, postquam non passa est jus Regiæ domus ei adimi, quæ nunc eam possidet, ex eo per summam injuriam est ejecta. Is Regias per me fores jampridem pulsat, et tamen quæ reliquis omnibus patent ei uni nondum aperiuntur. Quid ita ejus ne pulsantis sonum an vocantis vocem non audierunt, qui intus sunt? Audierunt sane, et quidem non minore cum admiratione Divinæ Potentiæ et Benignitatis erga Ecclesiam, quam olim Maria illa affecta fuerit, cum ut est in Actis Apostolorum, Rhode ancilla ei nunciasset Petrum quem Rex in vincula conjecerat, ut mox necaret, et pro quo Ecclesia assidue precabatur è carcere liberatum ante ostium pulsantem stare. Ut enim hoc ei cæterisque qui cum illa erant magnam attulit admirationem, ita nunc qui norunt eos qui Petri Authoritatem Potestatemq; in isto Regno retinendam esse contendebant, in vincula Herodiano Imperio conjectos, et crudelissime interfectos fuisse, quin etiam Successorum Petri nomina è libris omnibus sublata in quibus precationes Ecclesiæ pro eorum incolumitate ac salute continebantur, qui inquam hæc norunt, facta ad omnem Memoriam Petri Autoritatis à Christo traditæ penitus ex Animis Hominum delendam, qui fieri potest ut non maximè admirentur hoc Divinæ Benignitatis et Potentiæ pignus ac testimonium: Petrum nunc quasi iterum è carcere Herodis liberatum, ad Regiæ domus fores unde hæc omnia iniquissima in eum edicta emanarunt, pulsantem stare, et cum hoc maximè mirandum est, tum illud non minus mirum, à Maria Regina domum hanc teneri: Sed cur illa tamdiu foras aperire distulit. De ancilla quidem illud Mariæ Scriptum est, eam Petri Voce audita præ nimio gaudio suæ quasi oblitam, de aperiendo non cogitasse: Remprius, ut Mariæ aliisq; qui cum ea erant nunciaret, accurrisse, qui cum primo an ita esset dubitassent, mox cum Petrus pulsare pergeret aperierunt, neq; illum domo recipere sunt veriti, etsi maximam timendi causam habebant, Herode ipso vivo et regnante. Hic vero quid dicam de Maria Regina, gaudeo ne eam an timore esse prohibitam quominus aperuerit; presertim cum ipsa Petri Vocem audierit, cum certo sciat eum ad domus suæ januam jamdiu pulsantem stare: Cum admirabilem Dei in hac re potentiam agnoscat, qui non per Angelum, ut tunc Petrum è carcere Herodis, sed sua manu eduxit, dejecta porta ferrea quæ viam ad Regiam ejus domum intercludebat: Scio equidem illam gaudere, scio etiam vero timere; neq; enim nisi timeret tam diu distulisset. Verum si Petri liberatione gaudet, si rei miraculum agnoscit, quid impedimento fuit quo minus ei ad januam lætabunda occurrerit, eumque meritas Deo gratias agens introduxerit. Herode presertim mortuo, omniq; ejus imperio ad eam delato? An fortassis Divina Providentia quæ te dilectum Petri Filium et ei Virum destinarat, illam timore aliquo tantisper affici permisit, dum venisses, ut utriusq; ad rem tam præclaram et salutarem agendam, opera atque officium conjungeretur: Equidem sic antea hunc Mariæ Reginæ conjungis tuæ timorem, quod etiam ad eam Scripsi sum interpretatus: Ac propterea ad te nunc, Virum ejus, Principem Religiosissimum, scribo, et abs te ipsius Petri Christi Vicarii nomine postulo, ut illi omnes timoris causas prorsus excutias: Habes vero expeditissimam excutiendi rationem, si consideres eique proponas, quam indignum sit si dum te illa Corporis sui sponsum accerserit, cum non deessent quæ timenda viderentur, tamen omnem timorem sola vicerit, nunc te tanto Principi illi conjuncto, timore prohiberi quominus aditum ad se aperiat sponsæ animæ suæ, mecum una et cum Petro tamdiu ad fores expectanti: qui presertim tot et tam miris modis custodem ejus se, defensoremq; esse declaravit. Noli enim, Rex, putare, me aut solum ad vestram Regiam domum, aut uno tantum Petro comitatum venisse; cujus rei hoc quidem tibi certum Argumentum esse potest, quod tamdiu persevero pulsans:

Nam sive ego solus venissem, solus jampridem abiissem, querens et expostulans quæ aliis omnibus pateant, mihi uni occlusas esse fores: sive una mecum solus Petrus, jampridem is quoque discessisset, meque secum abduxisset, pulvere pedum excusso, quod ei preceptum fuit a Domino ut faceret quotiescunque ejus nomine aliquo accedens non admitteretur. Cum vero nihil ego, quod ad me quidem attinet conquerens, perseverem, cum Petrus pulsare non desistat, utrumque scito ab ipso Christo retineri, ut sibi sponso animæ utriusque vestrum aditus ad vos patefiat. Neque enim unquam verebor dicere, Christum in hac Legatione, qua pro ejus Vicario fungor, mecum adesse: Quamdiu quidem mihi conscius ero me nihil meum, me non vestra, sed vos ipsos toto animo omnique studio quærere. Tu vero, Princeps Catholicæ, cui nunc Divina Providentia et Benignitate additum est alterum hoc præclarum Fidei Defensoris cognomen, quo Reges Angliæ Apostolica Petri Autoritate sunt aucti atque ornati, tecum nunc considera quam id tuæ Pietati conveniat, cum omnibus omnium Principum ad te Legatis aditus patuerit, ut tibi de hoc ipso cognomine adepto gratularentur, solum Successoris Petri qui hoc dedit, Legatum, qui propterea missus est ut te in solio Regni Divina summi omnium Regis quam affert pace et gratia, confirmet, non admitti? An si quidquam hic ad timorem proponitur, quominus eum admittis non multo magis Christi hac in re metuanda esset offensio, quod ejus Legatus qui omnium primus audiri debuit, tamdiu fores expectet, cum cæteri Homines qui multo post venerunt, nulla interposita mora, introducti auditiq; sint et honorifice dimissi. At hic conqueri incipio; conqueror quidem, sed idcirco conqueror, ne justam tuæ Majestati causam de me conquerendi præbeam, quam sane præberem, si cum periculi, quod ex hac cunctatione admittendi Legati à Christi Vicario missi, nobis vestroq; Regno impendet, Reginam sæpe admonuerim, nihil de ea re ad Majestatem tuam scriberem; quod officium cum tibi à me pro eo quo fungor munere maximè debeatur, id me satis persoluturum esse arbitror, si his Literis ostendero quantum periculi ei imminеat, cui illud vere dici potest, distulisti Christum tuum. Is autem Christum differt, qui Legatum missum, ab ejus Vicario, ad requirendam Obedientiam Ecclesiæ, ipsi Christo debitam, ex quo nostra omnium pendet salus, non statim admittit. Differs vero, tu Princeps, si cum accercitus fueris, ut pro munere Regio viam ad hanc Divinam Obedientiam in tuo isto Regno restituendam munias, ipse alia agas.

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NUMBER XXXI.

*The Lord Paget's and the Lord Hastings's Letter concerning Cardinal Pole.—An Original.*

[Paper Office.]

It maie please your most excellent majesty to be advertised, that arriving here upon Sunday last in the forenoone, we had audience of the emperor's majestie in the afternoone, notwithstanding that the same had that daie received the blessed Sacrament, wherby we noted a great care in him, for the expedicion of us hence again: after dew commendation made unto him by us, on your majestie's behalfe, and the causes of our comyng declared unto him with suche circumstances, as by the tenure of our instructions, we have in charge to open unto him, he rejoyced verey much to here the same; and first giving unto you both most harty thanks for your commendations, and then inquiering very diligently of your good prosperities and wellfares, and specially (madame) of the state of your majestie's persone, he roused himself with a merry chere, and said, that among many great benefits, for the which he thought himself most bounden unto God, this was one of the greatest, that it had pleased him to hold his blessed hand over that realme; and so taking occasion to reherse in what good estate, and great reputation, he knew the realme of England had bene in the beginning; and afterward in to what calamities the same fell into, much (he said) to his regret; he gave God thanks, not only for the great miracles which he had shewed upon your majestie to make you his apt minister for the restoring of that kingdome to the auncient dignitie, welth, and renowne, but also for that it hath pleased him to give you so sone, so certaine a hope of succession; wherof like as he hathe cause for his parte (he said), to rejoyce and take great comforte, so hath all England greater cause to think themselfs most bounden unto God, to please him, and to serve him for the same: these tydings, he said, of the state of your majestie's person (madame) with the reaport that we had made unto him of the great conformite, and hole consent of the noble men, and others in their proceedings before your majesties, touching the receiving of my lord cardinal into England, and their earnest submissions to the obedience, and union of the catholique church, were so pleasant unto him as if he had been half deade, yet they shuld have been ynoughe to have revived him again. These and many other suche like wordes he used to declare the joy, and contentment of his minde, for the good successe of this matter. In the mayning whereof there, if any thing (said he) shuld fortune, wherin his advise might be thought requisite, your majesties shuld not onley find the same ready, but also in any other thing that laie in him, which might serve to your honors, and the benefite of the realme: to this when we for our parts had joined such talk, as to this purpose semed to our poor witts convenient, declaring your godly dispositiones in this mater, how much you reposed your selfs upon his great wisdome and experience; what confidence you had in his fatherly love, and friendly affections towards your majesties, and the benefite of your realms: we toke our leaves of his majestie, and repaired furthwith unto my lord cardinal, whose gladnes of our comyng we shall not need with many words to declare unto your majestie; nor yet what speech he used to set furth, how much he was bounden unto your majesties for your gracious dispositions towards him, and how much both you and he were bounden to Almighty God, for the bending of your harts this waies, for your majesties shall and maie perceive the same more plainly by himself at his comyng unto your presence. This under your majestie's corrections we maie be bold to write unto you, that we believe verely that whensoever he shall be in England, the same shall fare the better for him, for he is the man of God, full of all godlines and vertue, ready to humble himself to all facions that may do good; and therefore he is contented, not only to come into England in such sort as your majesties have appointed, not as a legate, but as a cardinal, and ambassador to your majesties, but in any other sort whatsoever it be, that your majesties will apoint; he assuring your majesties, that touching the matter of possessions, all things shall come to passe, on the pope's behalfe, in such sort as every man there shall have cause to be contented. Yesterday night he toke his leave of the emperor, and so did we also. This daie he repaireth onwards his journey, to an abbaye two miles hence, whither he hath used much to resorte, the tyme of his abode here. To-morrow at night to Dendermount; Thursday to Gawnte; Friday to Bruges; Saturday to Newport; Sunday to Dunkirke; Monday to Calice (for his weake body can make no great journies); and his estate also is to be considered. In this journey we shall not faile to do him all the honour and service we can, aswell for that we take it to be our special charge, as for that also his great vertues have wonne us, and bind us to the same: we have written now, besides our speaking at our passing by, to the lord depute of Calice, for all things to be in a redines for his transportation; so as we trust we shall not have occasion to tarry long there. And thus we beseeche Almighty God to preserve both your majesties long, and long to live together to your own good contentments, and to the great comfort and benefit of us your poor subjects. From Bruxells the 13th of November in the morning, 1554.

Your majesties most humble, faithful, and obedient servants,

William Paget.
Edward Hastings.

To the king and queen's majesties.

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NUMBER XXXII.

*An Original Letter of Mason's, of a Preacher that pressed the Restitution of Church-Lands.*

[Paper-Office.]

After most hartie commendations, I have sent to my lords at this present the emperor's commissaries answere made at the diett, to a letter lately sent from the French king to the said diett, of the circulls of Germanye assembled at Francfort. And forasmuche as yt chanced me, at the closing up of my lettre, to have the sight of an other answer made to the saied lettre, by some bearing good will to the emperor's affaires, I thought good to coppye it, and to send it unto you; albeit by the reading therof, yt may appere yt was made by some man rather to assaye his witte, and to declare his affection, then of intent to answere perticulerly the matier. It was this morning told me by one of the emperor's counsell, who misliked muche the matier, that a preacher of ours, whose name he rehersed, betithe the pulpet jolyly in England, for the restitution of abbaye lands. If it be so meant by the prince, and be thought convenient so to be, then doth he his duetie; but yf contrarely, yt be neither meant nor thought convenient, it is a strange thing in a well-ordered commonwelth, that a subject shall be so hardie to crye unto the people openly such learning, as wherby your winter works maye in the somer be attempted with some storme. And wer the thing fitt to be talked of, yet were the princes and the counsell, who might remedy it, meter to be spoken with therin then the multitude, who therby may receyve an yll impression, and an occasion of lewd thinking, and lewde talking, and lewd doing also, if it may lye in their powers; and that is all, that of sowing thies maters amongs them can ensue. These unbridled preachings were so much to be misliked in the yll-governed tyme, as good men trusted, in this good governance, it should have been amended. And so maye it be, when it shall please my lords of the counsell as diligently to consyder it, as it is more then necessarie to be loked unto. The partye, me thinketh, might well be put to silence, if he were asked, How, being a monk, and having professed and vowed solemply wilfull poverty, he can with conscience keep a deanery and three or four benefices? I heare, by the report of other ambassadors here, of the return of the realme to the unitie of Christen church, wherof all good men have much cause to rejoyse. I would have been glad to have been able, at the least, to have confyrmed the news by some certaine knowledge: but being the ordenarye of ambassadors of England, to knowe least of all others of the matiers of the realm, I must content my self; trusting that, as I am enformed, the ambassador ther hath lost his name: for that it is not thought necessarie the father to have an ambassador to the sonne, so shall with tyme, this office on this side being no more needfull then it is, be discharged also. Or if myne abode shall be longer, then wold I att lesure be a suter to you, to be a mean for besure to come over for three weeks, or a month, to see the king's highnes, and to doe his majesty my duty, and so to return. I mean no haste, but as matter and occasion may serve hereafter. Thus I committ you to the keeping of Almighty God. At Brussels, the 12th day of December, 1554.

Your most assuredly

John Masone.

12th of December, 1554.

To the right honourable sir Wm. Peter, kt., king and queen's principal secretarye.

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NUMBER XXXIII.

*Cardinal Pole's Commission to the Bishops, to reconcile all in their Dioceses to the Church of Rome.*

[Ex Reg. Norwic. F. 58, b.]

Reginaldus, Miseratione divina, Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedim Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Cardinalis Polus, Nuncupatus Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ, et Sedis Apostolicæ, ad Serenissimos Philippum et Mariam, Angliæ Reges, et universum Angliæ Regnum, de Latere Legatus. Venerabili, ac Nobis in Christo Dilecto, Episcopo Norwicensi, seu ejus in Spiritualibus [Vicario] Generali, Salutem in Domino sempiternam. Cum Sanctissimus in Christo Pater Dominus noster, Dominus Julius, divina Providentia Papa Tertius, inter alias Facultates, pro hujus Regni, omniumque Personarum in eo existentium, Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Reconciliationem faciendam necessarias, Nobis in nostra hac Legatione concessas, hanc specialiter indulgerit, ut quoscunque in Hæresium et Schismatis errores lapsos, ab iis, et à quibuscunque censuris et pœnis propterea incursis, absolvere, et cum eis super irregularitate præmissorum occasione contracta dispensare, et alia multa ad hæc necessaria, seu quomodolibet opportuna facere. Et hoc idem munus Catholicis locorum Ordinariis, et aliis Personis Deum timentibus, fide insignibus, et Literarum scientia præditis, demandare possumus; prout in ejus Literis, tam sub plumbo, quam in forma brevis expeditis plenius continetur. Cumque Dei Benignitate, et Serenissimorum Regum Pietate, Regnum hoc universaliter, et omnes Domini, Spirituales et Temporales, aliæque Personæ communitatum, in eo quod proximè celebratum est, Parliamento congregato singulariter primo: Et deinde universum Corpus Cleri Provinciæ Cantuariens', et omnes ferè Personæ singulæ dictum Corpus representantes, coram nobis existen', aliæque pleræque fuerint Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, per Nos ipsos reconciliatæ. Speramusque fore, ut omnes aliæ quæ reconciliatæ adhuc non sunt, reconciliari debeant; difficileque, et potius impossibile sit, ut tam numerosa Multitudo per Nos ipsos reconcilietur. Ideo vices nostras, in hoc, Locorum Ordinariis, et aliis Personis ut supra qualificatis, delegandas duximus: Circumspectioni igitur vestræ, de cujus Probitate, et Charitatis zelo, plenam in Domino Fiduciam obtinemus, Auctoritate Apostolica, Nobis, per Literas ejusdem Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ concessa, et per nos vobis nunc impensa, omnes et singulas utriusque Sexus, tam Laicas quam Ecclesiasticas, Seculares, et quorumve Ordinum Regulares vestræ Civitatis et

Dioces' Personas, in quibusvis etiam Sacris Ordinibus constitutas, cujuscunque Status et Qualitatis existant, Etiam si Capitulum, Collegium, Universitas, seu Communitas fuerit, quarumvis Hæresum aut novarum Sectarum Professores, aut in eis culpabiles vel suspectas, ac credentes, receptatores, aut fautores eorum, suos errores agnoscentes, ac de illis dolentes; et ad orthodoxam Fidem recepi humiliter postulan' cognita in ipsis, vera, et non ficta, aut simulata * Potentia, ab omnibus et singulis Hæresum, Schismatis, et ab orthodoxa Fide, Apostasiarum et Blasphemiarum, et aliorum quorumcunque similium errorum; etiam sub generali Sermone non venientium peccatis, criminibus, excessibus et delictis; de quibus tamen jam inquisiti, vel accusati, seu condemnati non fuerint, et quibusvis Excommunicationis, Suspensionis, et Interdictorum, et aliis Ecclesiasticis et Temporalibus, Censuris et Pœnis, in eas præmissorum et infrascriptorum occasione, à Jure vel ab Homine latis vel promulgatis; etiam si in eis pluribus Annis insorduerint, et earum Absolutio, dictæ Sedi etiam per Literas in Cœna Domini legi consuetas, reservata existat in utroque Conscientiæ, scilicet et contentioso foro, eos vero qui jam inquisiti, vel accusati, aut condemnati fuerint, ut præfertur, ad cor revertentes in foro Conscientiæ, tantum plenariè absolventur et liberentur. Necnon cum eis super irregularitate, per eos præmissorum occasione contracta, etiam quia sic Ligati, Missas et alia Divina Officia, etiam contra Ritus et Ceremonias hactenus probatas et usitatas celebraverint, aut illis alias se immiscuerint, contracta quoque irregularitate, et aliis præmissis non obstantibus, in suis Ordinibus, etiam ab Hæreticis et Schismaticis Episcopis, etiam minus ritè, dummodo in eorum collatione, Ecclesiæ Forma et Intentio sit servata, per eos susceptis, et in eorum susceptione; etiamsi Juramentum contra Papatum Romanum præstiterint; etiam in Altaris Ministerio ministrare, ac quæcunque, quotcunque, et qualiacunque; etiam Curata invicem tamen se Compatientia, Beneficia Secularia vel Regularia, Dignitatibus in Collegiatis, Ecclesiis Principalibus, et in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis post Pontificalem, majoribus exceptis; etiam à Schismaticis Episcopis, seu aliis Collatoribus; etiam Laicalis Pietatis prætextu habita, Auctoritate Apostolica retinere, dummodo alteri Jus quæsitum non sit, et non promotos ad omnes etiam Sacros, et Presbiteratus Ordines, à suis Ordinariis, si digni et idonei reperti fuerint, ritè et legitimè promoveri, ac Beneficia Ecclesiastica etiam curata, si eis alias canonicè conferantur, recipere et retinere valeant, qualitate temporis, Ministrorum defectu, et Ecclesiæ Necessitatibus, Utilitatibusque ita poscen' dispensand' et indulgend' ac omnem inhabilitatis et infamiæ maculam, sive notam, ex præmiss' quomodolibet insurgen' penitus et omnino abolend'. Necnon in pristinum, et eum in quo ante præmissa quomodolibet erant, Statum ita ut omnibus et singulis Gratiis, Privilegiis, Favoribus et Indultis, quibus cæteri Christi Fideles gaudent, et gaudere quomodolibet possunt, uti et gaudere valeant, in omnibus, et per omnia; perinde ac si à Fide Catholica in aliquo nunquam defecissent, restituend' et reponend' et redintegrand', et eis, dummodo Corde contriti, sua errata et excessus, Circumspectioni vestræ, alicui alteri per eos eligend', Catholico Confessori sacramentaliter confiteantur; et Peniten' salutare eis præmiss' injungend' omnino adimpleatur: omnem publicam Confessionem, Abjurationem, Renunciationem et Pœnitentiam, jure debit' arbitrio vestro moderan', vel in tot' remitten'. Necnon quoscunque Regulares et Religiosos, extra eorum regularia loca, absque Sedis Apostolicæ Licentia, errantes ab Apostasiæ reatu et Excommunicationis, aliisque Censuris et Pœnis Ecclesiasticis, per eos propterea, etiam juxta suorum Ordinum instituta incurs', injuncta eis pro modocula, Pœnitentia salutari pariter absolvend': Et super quacunq; irregularitate propterea, per eos contracta, ac cum eis ut alicui Curato Benefic' de illud obtinen' consensu, etiam in habitu Clerici Secularis, habitur' suum regularem sub honesta toga Presbiteri Secularis deferen', deservire, et extra eadem loca regularia remanere ad beneplacitum nostrum, liberè et licitè possunt, eadem Auctoritate Apostolica, ob defectum Ministrorum, et alias prædictas causas, dispensandi. Ac quoscunque quum in Sacris Ordinibus constituti, Matrimonia etiam cum Viduis et corruptis Mulieribus de fact' contraxerint, postquam Mulieres sic copulat' rejecerint illisque abjuraverint, ab hujusmodi excessibus, et Excommunicationis Sententia imposit', eis pro modo culpæ, Pœnitentia salutari, in forma Ecclesiæ consueta absolvend': Ac cum eis, postquam Pœnitentiam peregerint, et continenter ac laudabiliter vivere cogniti fuerint, super Bigamia propterea per eos contract'; Ita ut ea non obstan', in quibusvis susceptis et suscipiendis Ordinibus; etiam in Altaris Ministerio ministrare, ac alicui Beneficio Ecclesiastico, de illud obtinentis consensu, deservire; et extra tamen Diœcesin, in qua fuit copulatus eisdem de caus' dispensand'. Necnon Parochialium Ecclesiarum tuæ Dioces' Rectores sive Curatos, de quorum Fide, Probitate, Circumspection' ac Charitatis zelo, plena Fiducia conspici possit, ad quarumcunque utriusque Sexus suæ Parochiæ Personarum Laicarum, tantum Absolutionem, et Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Reconciliationem, ut præfertur, Auctoritate Apostolica, faciendam. Et si qui ex Curatis prædictis ad id idonei non fuerint, in eorum defectum alias idoneas et sufficientes Personas, qui eorum Vices suppleant nominand' et deputand' quas sic per eos nominat' et deputat' in locum nostrum in remissionibus, absolutionibus, et reconciliationibus substituimus eiisque vices nostras subdelegamus: plenam et liberam Auctoritate Apostolica nobis ut præmittitur concessa, tenore presentium concedimus Facultatem; vosque in præmissis omnibusque in nostrum locum substituimus præmissis ac regula de insordecen' et ordinationibus Apostolicis, et omnibus illis, quæ in Literis Prædictis Sanctitas sua voluit, non obstare, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque presentibus in præteritis casibus locum haben' et ad beneplacitum nostrum duraturis. Dat' Lambeth' prope Londin' Winton' Dioc' Anno à Nativitate Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Quinquegesimo Quinto Quarto Calen' Februarii Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri Domini Julii Divina Providentia Papa Tertii Anno Quinto Regni.

F. 60, a.

CARLIS. POLUS, Leg.
M. ANTONIUS FAITA, Secr.

* L. Pœnitentia.

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NUMBER XXXIV.

*Articles of such things as be to be put in Execution.*

[E Libro Memorandorum temp. Tho. Thirlby, Jo. Hopton, et Jo. Parkhurst, Epp. Norvic. in Reg. Prin. R. P. Dom. Ep. Norvic. F. 56.]

1. THE divorce of married priests according to the canons.

2. The restitution of them by penitence, thereupon to recommende them to other diocesses as penitents.

3. To certifie the exhilitie of benefices, which for want of livings have noo curats.

4. To certifie the counsaill of as maney as they know to have taken into their hands the goods of the church.

5. To certifie what chauncells of benefices impropered by some * decaye, as they need present reparacion; and to signifie therwith in whome the fault is.

6. Not to confirme aney lease of aneye benefice, to the prejudice of the successor.

7. To cause the churches decay'd with vacant fruits and goods, ministred with what remaineth in the executors' names.

8. To interrupt them that eat flesh by pretence of dispensacion granted by the princes.

9. To appoint suche as dwell in scites of monasteries, to repaire to some churche for to hear the servyce.

10. To keep the registre for buryeinge, christininge, and marriage.

11. A fourme of sute for layemen to receyve their tythe in spiritual courts.

*Instructions given by the Cardinal to the Bishops, and their Officials.*

SINGULI Domini Episcopi, necnon Officiales Ecclesiarum quæ nunc vacant pro exequutione eorum quæ à Reverendissimo Domino Legato sunt eis demandata Ordinem quam infrascript est, poterint observare.

F. 55, 6.

Primum vocatum ad se totum singularum civitatum, quibus singuli presunt Clerum, de hiis quæ sequuntur, instituere procurabunt.

De Paterno Amore et Charitate quam Sanctissimus Dominus noster Julius Papa Tertius erga Nationem Anglicam declaravit, qui ut primum cognovit Serenissimam Mariam fuisse Reginam declaratam Reverendissimum Dominum Reginaldum Cardinalem Polum de suo Latere ad has Partes Legatum misit ut Regnum hoc tot jam Annos ab Ecclesia Catholica separatum, ad ejus unionem reducere, et in errorem lapsos Consolari atque in Dei Gratiam restituere studeret.

De ejusdem Domini Legati adventu, quanta lætitia et honore is exceptus fuerit tum à Serenissimis Regibus, tum ab aliis omnibus.

De hiis quæ in Proximo Parliamento Acta et conclusa sunt. Scilicet de omnibus Dominis de Parliamento et Universo Regno à Schismate et Censuris incursis absolutis et Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, reconciliatis: de omnibus Legibus quæ contra Authoritatem Sedis Apostolicæ et Romani Pontificis fuerant per Henricum Octavum et Edvardum Sextum latæ et promulgate, revocatis et abolitis. De restituta Sanctissimo Domino nostro Papæ et Ecclesiæ Romanæ eadem Obedientia quæ ante hoc perniciosissimum Schisma prestabatur.

DE AUCTORITATE Episcopis restituta et maximè ut possint contra Hereticos et Schismaticos procedere, et eos juxta Canonicas Sanctiones coercere et punire: hiis ita expositis veniant ad Facultates sibi ad eodem Reverendissimo D. Legato concessas, quæ recitentur, et hic omnes qui in Schismata vel alios Errores lapsi sunt invitentur ad Absolutionem et Reconciliationem humiliter et ex toto corde petendam. Necnon dispensationes tam super Ordinibus quam super beneficiis Necessarias et opportunas postulandas; deinde præfigatur dies infra quem dicti de Clero Humiles et Penitentes compareant ad petendum suppliciter Absolutionem, Reconciliationem et Dispensationes Prædictas: secundum vero Dominium Episcopi postquam illi omnibus Erroribus suis renunciaverint et promisserint Sacramentaliter ipsis, aut alteri Sacerdoti Catholico Confessuros esse Errores suos Penitentiam sibi injungendam adimpleturos eos absolvent, et Ecclesiæ reconciliabunt, et cum ipsis juxta formam Facultatum perpetendum Necessitatibus prout sibi visum fuerit, dispensabunt: adhibendo semper convenientem distinctionem inter eos, qui solum in schisma et hereses inciderunt, et eos qui ea etiam Publicè docuerunt et alios ad peccandum induxerunt.

F. 56, a.

EODEM DIE constituetur Dies Festus et Solemnis in quo astante in Ecclesia Populi Multitudine Domini Episcopi omnes Curati Ecclesiis suis, omnia eadem quæ Clero jam exposit' fuerunt Populo quoq; insinuabent et omnes invitabunt Paterne et cum omni affectu, ut agnitis erroribus suis ad Ecclesiæ Catholicæ gremium revertantur: promittendo fore, ut omnibus, preterita Crimina omnia condonentur et remittantur modo eos ex animo illorum peniteat, et illis renuncient. Prefigatur autem terminus, ut pote tota paschatis Octava, infra terminum omnes Ecclesiæ reconcilientur alioquin eo lapso contra ipsos et eos qui post, reconciliationem ad vomitum aversi fuerint severissime procedetur, dicatur etiam de Facultate concessa à Reverendissimo Domino Legato Episcopis, et aliis ut absolvere possint, omnes quicunq; ad vos reversi fuerint.

Idem Domini Episcopi et Officiales nominabunt et deputabunt, Ecclesiarum Parochialium Rectores seu alias Personas idoneas, quæ Laicos ab Heresi, Schismate, et quibuscunq; Censuris absolvant juxta Facultatum Formam et tenorem. Data per Episcopos formula qua in Absolutione et Reconciliatione uti debeant.

Eadem poterint cum Clero totius Dioces' observari prout commodius visum fuerit. Domini Episcopi et officiales præfati, necnon omnes Curati seu alii ad id deputati, habeant Librum in quo nomen et cognomen Parochianorum reconciliatorum inscribantur: et postea sciatur qui fuerint reconciliati et qui non.

Idem Domini Episcopi et Officiales Octava Paschatis elapsa poterint facere visitationem Civitatis primo, deinde Dioc' et se qui non fuerint reconciliati, poterint eos ad se vocare, et cognoscere propter quas ab erroribus suis nolint recedere, et si in eis obstinate perseverarint, tum con' eos procedent.

In hac secunda visitatione attendant diligenter quæ in hoc brevi compendio sunt notata, et maximè faciant ut omnes Ecclesiasticæ Personæ ostendant Titulos suorum Ordinum et Beneficiorum, ut si in eis aliquis alius defectus in sit illis, provideant et omni studio procurent ut Errores quibus Dioceses eorum sint infectæ extirpentur, ut veritas fidei tum in concionibus tum in confessionibus doceatur: deputando Personas idoneas ad conciones faciendas, et confessiones audiendas. Id et curent; ut Sacrorum Canonum instituta in omnibus observentur et Nomen Divi Thomæ Martyris necnon Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papa ex Libris dispunctum in illis restituatur et pro eo secundum morem Ecclesiæ ut ante Schisma fiebat oretur.

In publicationibus hujusmodi erit ante omnia facienda commemoratio miseriarum et in felicitatis preteritorum temporum et Magnæ Gratiæ, quam nunc Deus pro sua Misericordia Populo huic exhibuit, hortando omnes ad hæc grato animo cognoscendum, et infinitas Gratias Divinæ ipsius Bonitate assiduè agendum.

Hortandi et sunt omnes ut devote orent Deum pro Salute et Felici statu horum Serenissimorum et de hoc Regno optimè meritorum et merentium Regum et specialiter pro filici statu Serenissimæ et Piissimæ Reginæ.

Faithfully transcribed from the old book aforementioned, with which collated by

THOM. TANNER.

* L. "be so in."

NUMBER XXXV.

*The Process and Condemnation of Bishop Hooper, and the Order given for his Execution.*

Condemnatio Johannis Hooper super Articulos Hæreticam pravitatem concernentes.

Acta Die Lunæ xxviii. Die Januarii Anno Domini in sequendo computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ M.CCCCC.LIIII. in Ecclesia Parochiali Sancti Salvatoris in Burgo de Southwarke Winton' Dioc' coram Reverendo Patre Domino Stephano Permissione Divina Winton' Episcopo, &c. Auctoritate sua Ordinaria illic judicialiter seden' assisten' sibi Reverend' in Christi Patribus Episcopis, &c. In Presentia nostra Antonii Husey, Roberti Johnson, et Willielmi Day, Notariorum, &c.

Officium Domini contra Johannem Hooper.

Quibus Die et loco Productus fuit in Judicium Joannes Hooper Clericus de et super Hæretica pravitate, Publicè et Notoriè infamatus: cui dictus Reverendus Pater palam proposuit, quod cum ipse Superiori Die coram eodem Reverendo Patre et nonnullis aliis à Privato Consilio Dominorum Regis et Reginæ ad hoc specialiter destinatis evocabatur et exhortatus fuerat, ut agnoscens transactæ Vitæ suæ et Perversæ Doctrinæ Errores et Hereses, rediret cum cæteris ad unitatem Ecclesiæ Oblataque fuerat ei sic volenti preteritorum Erratorum et facinorum suorum condonacio. Ipseq; Johannes tunc indurato animo sic redire renuerit. Propterea in Presentiarum in Publicum justitiæ forum ad respondendum Articulis Heretica pravitate concernen' coram eodem Reverendo Patre Auctoritate sua Ordinarie sedente evocatus fuit. Offerens preterea Publice tunc et ibidem quod si adhuc se reconsiliare vellet, libenter in gremium Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ reciperetur. Et ipse Johannes Hooper non solum facere renuit, verum etiam in nonnullas Blasphemias impudenter perrupit. Et deinde Dominus Episcopus, &c. inter cæteros complures Articulos, et Capita, hos sequentes eidem Johanni Hooper specialiter objecit.

In Primis, Quod Tu Johannes Hooper, existens Presbyter et Religiosus, Regula à Jure approbata expressè professus, quandam Mulierem de facto, cum de jure non debuisti, in Uxorem, sive Conjugem accepisti; et cum illa, tanquam Uxore et Conjuge tua cohabitâsti in nephariis et illicitis cum ea amplexibus cohabitando. Matrimoniaq; pretensa hujusmodi licita, et de jure divino valida fuisse, et esse, tam infra Dioc' Winton', quam alias quamplures Dioc' hujus Regni Angliæ. asseruisti, prædicâsti, docuisti, Librisq; editis publicâsti et defendisti, et sic asseris et credis in præsenti. Et ministramus conjunctim, et de quolibet.

Ad quem quidem Articulum respondet et fatetur, Se Presbiterum et Religiosum professum, quandam Mulierem in Uxorem legitimè accepisse, et cum eadem tanquam cum Uxore legitima cohabitâsse: Et quod hujusmodi Matrimonia, in locis prædictis, licita, et de Jure divino valida fuisse, et esse, asseruit, prædicavit, docuit, et Libris editis publicavit et defendit; sicq; asserit, credit, et defendere paratus est in præsenti, ut dicit.

Secundo, Quod Tu Joannes Hooper, in locis prædictis, asseruisti, prædicâsti, docuisti, et Libris editis publicâsti et defendisti; sicq; credis, tenes, asseris et defendis, Quod propter Culpam Fornicationis, sive Adulterij commissam, Personæ legitimè conjungatæ, possunt ex Verbo Dei, ejusq; Auctoritate ac Ministerio ab invicem pro Adulterio à Vinculo Matrimonij separari et divorciari: Sicq; licebit Viro aliam accipere in Uxorem; et Mulieri similiter, alium accipere in Maritum.

Ad quem quidem Articulum respondit affirmativè, Quodque paratus est defendere contenta in eodem, contra omnes Adversarios, esse vera, de Jure divino et humano.

Tertio, Quod Tu, locis prædictis, asseruisti, tenuisti, publicâsti, libris edictis docuisti et defendisti; sicque credis, asseris, tenes, et defendis in præsenti, Quod in Eucharistia, sive Sacramento Altaris, verum et naturale Christi Corpus, et verus et naturalis Christi Sanguis, sub speciebus Panis et Vini verè non est: Et quod ibi est materialis Panis, et materiale Vinum tantum, absque veritate et præsentia Corporis et Sanguinis Christi.

Ad quem quidem Articulum, sub hoc contemptu verborum, respondit; viz. "That the very natural body of Christ is not really and substantially in the Sacrament of the Altar: saying also, that the mass is the iniquity of the devil; and that the mass is an idol."

Præmissis expeditis, Dominus assignavit eidem Johanni Hooper, ad comperendum in hoc loco crastina die, inter Horas 8m et 9m ante Meridiem, ad videnḍ' ulteriorem Processum, &c. Quibus Die et Loco, inter Horas assignatas, coram dicto Reverendo Patre, Winton' Episcopo, &c. assistentibus sibi Reverendis Patribus, &c. in nostra Notariorum prædictorum Præsentia, rursus compernit dictus Johannes Hooper, quem Dominus Episcopus Wintoniensis, multis rationibus, ad sese reconciliandum, suasit et exhortavit: Dictus tamen Johannes Hooper, in Pertinacia et Malicia sua perseverans, perrupit in Blasphemias, dicendo etiam publicè, "That matrimony is none of the seven sacraments: and that if it be a sacrament, he can prove seven-score sacraments." Deinde Dominus Episcopus, perspecta ejus pertinaci duritia, tandem tulit contra eum Sententiam definitivam, in Scriptis condempnando eum pro Hæretico et Excommunicato: Et consequenter eum tunc ibidem tradidit Curiæ Seculari, atq; in manus Davidis Woodroff, et Willielmi Chester, Vicecomit' Civitatis Londini; qui eundem Johannem Hooper tunc secum abduxerunt. Super cujus Sententiæ Prolatione et Lectura, idem Reverendus Pater requisivit nos Notarios, &c. ad conficiendum Instrumentum, Testesq; subscript' ad perhibendum Testimonium, &c. Præsentibus tunc ibidem Nobilibus et Egregiis Viris, &c. et aliis quampluribus, in Multitudine copiosa tunc ibidem congregatis, &c.

Faithfully transcribed from a folio book of proceedings in ecclesiastical courts, collected in queen Mary's, or the beginning of queen Elizabeth's time, by Anthony Style, notary publick; now in the hands of

THOM. TANNER.

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NUMBER XXXVI.

*The Queen's Letter, ordering the Manner of Hooper's Execution.*

[Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.]

Right trusty and well-beloved, &c. Whereas John Hooper, who of late was called bushop of Worcester and Gloucester, is, by due order of the lawes ecclesiastique, condempned and judged for a moste obstinate, false, detestable heretique, and committed to our secular power, to be burned according to the holsome and good lawes of our realme in that case provided. Forasmuche as in those cityes, and the diocesse therof, he hath in tymes paste preached and taught most pestilent heresyes and doctryne to our subjects there: we have therefore geven order, that the said Hooper, who yet persisteth obstinate, and hath refused mercy when it



was gracyously offred, shall be put to execution in the sayd cytie of Gloucester, for the example and terror of suche as he hath there seduced and mistaught, and bycause he hath doone moste harme there. And woll that you, calling unto you some of reputation dwelling in the shire, such as ye thinke best, shall repayre unto our said cytye, and be at the said execution, assisting our mayor and shriefs of the same cytie, in this behalf. And forasmuche also as the said Hooper is, as heretiques be, a vain-glorious person, and delyteth in his tongue, and having liberty, may use his sayd tongue to perswade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the myserable opinion that he hath sowen among them: our pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said Hooper be neither, at the tyme of his execution, nor in goyng to the place therof, suffred to speak at large; but thither to be ledde quietly, and in sylence, for eschuyng of further infection, and such inconvenyence, as may otherwise ensue in this parte. Whereof fayle not, as ye tender our pleasure.

A true copy of an old paper in my custody, which seems to be the first draught of a letter from the queen to the lord Chandois, &c. who went to see execution done on bishop Hooper.

THOM. TANNER.

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NUMBER XXXVII.

*A Letter of Bishop Hooper's to Bullinger, written out of Prison.*

[Paper Office.]

Hooperus Bullingero.

Gratiam et Pacem à Domino. Literas tuas, Compater Charissime, datas Tigur' 10 Octobris, 11 Decembris accepi. Fuere mihi perjucundæ, quia plenæ Consolationis. Ex quibus, Animum, Amorem, et Pietatem tuam erga me pristinam, facilè intellexi. Habeo tibi Gratias immortales, quod hisce Temporibus difficillimis, nostri non te capit oblivio: Semper te, ob eximias tuas Virtutes, et præclara Dei in te Dona, præ cæteris amavi. Et quod à me, uti scribis, hactenus per annum integrum nullas acceperis Literas; hoc accedit, non quia non scripserim, sed quas scripseram parum candidis reddendas commisi. Nec omnes quas ad me miseras accepi, sed vel in Curia Tabellarij periere, vel invidia malorum fuerunt interceptæ. Idem accidit et Literis et Libello Domini Theodori. Nam de Concione Domini in monte, quam mihi destinavit, nihil intellexi, usque ad aliquot dies post mortem Sanctissimi Regis nostri Edwardi. Et id quidem in Confinibus Valliæ, in bibliotheca pij cujusdam Viri, quem Ecclesiis quibusdam Decanum constitui. Sed quas nunc scripsisti omnibus Conceptivis meis Fratribus, legendas curabo mitti. Incolumitatem et Constantiam vestræ Ecclesiæ, vobis omnibus gratulor: Et Deum precor, propter Filium suum Jesum Christum, illam, contra Tyrannidem Antichristi semper muniat, ac defendat. Apud nos, in integrum, vulnus quod accepit, sanatum est; et pro Capite Ecclesiæ denuò habetur, qui Membrum Ecclesiæ Christi non est. Ab aliis, Res nostras, et Statum Reipublicæ intelliges. Versamur in maximis periculis, quemadmodum hactenus, jam per sesquiannium fermè. Indies hostes Evangelij magis ac magis negotium facessunt. In carcere seorsim servamur, et omni ignominiarum fastidio afficimur: Mortem quotidie minitantur; quam nihili facimus. Ferrum et flammas, in Christo Jesu, fortiter contemnimus. Scimus cui credimus; et certi sumus, quod animas nostras deposituri sumus bene faciendo. Interim adjuvate nos vestris Precibus, ut qui in nobis bonum opus incepit, perficiat usque in finem. Domini sumus; faciat quod videatur bonum in oculis suis. Rogo, ut subinde digneris Literis tuis Uxorem meam, modestissimam et piam mulierem consolari; et exhortari, ut studiosè Liberos nostros, Rachelem Filiolam tuam, optimæ indolis adolescentulam, ac Filium Danielem piè educat, in Cognitione et Timore Dei. Præterea, tuæ Pietati jam mitto duos Libellos legendos, judicandos, ac corrigendos, si quæ occurrant, Verbo Dei parum Convenientia: Cui Titulum feci, "Hyperaspismus de vera Doctrina et Usu Cœnæ Domini;" quem Senatui Angliæ dedicavi hoc nomine, ut publicè, in Curia Parliamenti, adversariis nostris respondeamus. Alteri Titulum feci, "Syntagma, de falsa Religione dignoscenda et fugienda." Et rogo, ut quam citissimè fieri possit, imprimantur. Hic, apud omnes pios et doctos, uterque Liber est approbatus. Scripsi præterea multas Literas alias ad Episcopos, ut Libros in Parliamento promoverent, et illos imprimi etiam cupio, ut omnes intelligant, quam iniquè et injustè nobiscum agitur. Non opus est, ut multa hac de re scribas: Ex ipsis Libellis et Literis, facilè intelliges quid volo. Et si Froscoverus vester aliis gravioribus Libris impediatur imprimendis; rogo, ut Basileam mittat, ad D. Operinum, qui valdè castè imprimit, et omnia nitidè in lucem emittit. Hoc faciet, scio, modò Libelli tuis Literis ad se veniunt commendati: Quod ut facias, vehementer oro. Nihil est quod mihi metuatis, quasi propter Libellos atrocius et severius hostes Evangelij sævient: Habeo Salutis meæ fidelissimum Custodem, et Propugnatorem, Patrem nostrum Cælestem, per Christum Jesum, cui meipsum totum commendavi: Illius Fidei ac Tutelæ meipsum commendo; si dies meos elongaverit, faxit, ut sint ad Gloriam Nominis sui; sin huic brevi et flagitiosæ Vitæ finem voluit, æque duco, Fiat Voluntas illius. Quia furtim scribo, breviores et perturbatiores Literas tuæ præstantiæ facio, quas boni consule quæso. Raptim ex Carcere xi Decembris 1554. Saluta officiosè castam tuam Conjugem, cum tota tua Familia, domi et foris, ac alios omnes ut nosti.

Tuæ præstantiæ ut debeo Studiosissimus

J. Hooperus.

*Inscriptio.*—Præstantissimo Viro, Domino Henrico Bullingero, Compatri suo longe Charissimo Tiguri.

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NUMBER XXXVIII.

*A Letter of Mason's, concerning a Treaty began with France, and of the Affairs of the Empire.*

After my hearty commendations. Your last was of the xxiiid of the last month, and my last to you wer of the viith of this present. By these you shall understand that the emperor hath appointed Monsieur de L'Allain, governor of Hennalt; Monsieur de Boningcourt, governor of Arthoys; the bishop of Arras; the president of the counsel here, named Viglius; and the president of the counsel of Mallynes; to resort to Gravelynghe, for the tretynge of a peaxe with soch others as may lyke the Frenche kynge to send to Ardres; wherof the connestable, and the cardinal of Lorrayne, he hath alredye appointed. But by reason of the death of the pope, I thinke the cardinal of Lorrayne goeth an other way. In whose place ys to be thought some other shall be appointed, with the others, to answer to the numbre assigned by the emperor. The cardynal and my lord chawncelor came out of hand to Callais to be mediator on the queen's behalf, to bring these princes, yf their will be, to some composition. O Lorde, assist them so with his grace, as Christendome may have a treattyng tyme. The ivth of this month the king and queen went to Hampton-Court to keep their Easter; wheather Easter done they retorne to London, or goo to

Wyndesor, the certentye ys not yet knowen. Bolls of Cambridgeshire, and sir Peter Mewtas, remayne still in prison. The first in the Tower, and thother in the Flete, and lytle words made of them; so yt is thoght the suspition was more vehement then founde to be of any grete ground. The dean and prebendaries of Westminster have laid sore lawe to defend th'alteration of the church into an abbay; in which matter Dr. Cole sheweth hymself very stowte, alleging that monks have no institution of Christ, wherein prestis have the advantage of them, &c. What thende will be yt is not known; but yt is feared they shall be put to chose, whether they will depart with their wills, or against their wills.

The emperor hath, by reason of his long unseasonable cold, ben very ill handled of his gowte, wherof he is now indifferently well amended.

The princes of Almayne do moche myslyke the arryving of cardinal Moron at Augusta; for the satisfaction of whom the emperor hath given full auctoryte to the kynge his brother, as so ys the cardinal lyke to retayne, "con la picca in sacco." The duke of Alva ys not yet departed owt of England; neither yet in the way, so far as I can yet here, albeit his baggage and a good number of his company are arrived at Callais. On Tuesday last, the ambassadors, or agents, name them as you will, of Cremona, Novaria, and Lodi, passing between Dover and Callais, hitherword, wer taken by a French shallop; but it is thought they shall shortly be set at libertye, as well for that they were publycke persons, and not subjects to the emperor, as for that they were taken out of an English vessel. Their money and baggage is saved, whatsoever is become of their persons. Thus for lack of other matter I bid you most hartely well to fare. From Bruxells the xivth day of April, 1555.

Your own most assuredly,

JOHN MASONE.

Endorsed—To the honourable Mr. Petre Vannes, the queen's majestie's ambassador at Vennis.

This letter is faithfully transcribed from the original in the hands of THOM. TANNER.

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NUMBER XXXIX.

*A Translation of Charles the Vth's Letters, resigning the Crown of Spain to King Philip.*

[Paper-Office.]

To our counselours, justyces, the nobilyte, curats, knights, and squiers; all kinde of ministers, and offycers; and all other our learn'd men within that our town of Tolledo, greeting. By such letters as I have from time to tyme taken order to be wrytten unto you, since my departing out of the kingdome of Spain, you have fully bene advertised of the successes of myne affayres; and namely how that for religion's sake I enterprised the warre of Almayne, uppon the great desire I had, as reasone was; and according to my bounden dewty to reduce, and to returne agayne those countreys into the unitye of the church, procuring and seeking by all the means I could, to sett peas and quietnes in all the estates of Christendome, and do what might be done for the assembling and assisting of a general counsale, bothe for the necessarye reformation of many things; and so draw home also therby, with lesse difficultye, such as had separated themselves, and were swerved from the Catholike faith of Christ. Which my great desyre having brought, by God's goodnes, to a very good pointe; the French kinge suddenely, without all reasone, or any good foundation, alluring to his ayde the Allmaynes, and making a league with them, agaynst theire othes and fydelityes, brake with me, and openned the warre agaynst me, bothe by sea and the land. And not satisfyed herewith, he procured the coming of the Turcques' armye to the notable domage of Christendome; and namely of our estates and seigneueryes; wherby I was forced and dryven to bring an armye to my no little trouble, aswell by my great payns taken in myne own persone in the felde, as by my traveil otherwise; which thereuppon I was constrayned to endure, in the treating and maynayng of sundry urgent and great matters daylie and contynually falling out upon the same, which were the greate and in effect the only occasions of the greate and paunefull infirmity and indisposition of my body, which I have since had these yeres passed, and yet have, wherby I find my self so encumbred, and so destitute of healthe, that not onely have I been, or ame able by myne own persone, to discharge such a traveil, and to use such a diligence in resolutions, as was requisyte; but have also, which I do confesse, been a lett and an hindrance to sundry things wherof I have had and now have a greate conscynce. And I wold to God I had sooner taken therin such an order as I now am determyned to take: which nevertheles for many considerations I could not well doe, in the absence of the high and mighty prince the king of England and Naples, and my right dear and right well-beloved sonne: for that it was necessary many things to be first communicated unto him, and to be treated with him. And for this purpose, after the marriage put in dew execution with the high and excellent princesse the queen of England, I lastly took order for his coming hither: and within a short tyme after, I took order to resigne, and to renounce unto him, lyke as I have done all those my estates, kingdomes, and seigneueryes, of the crown of Castella and Leon, with all their membres and appertennes, in such sorte as more fully and more amplye is conteyned in such instruments as I have signed and agreed unto of the date of these presents; trusting that with his greate wysedome and experience, wherof I have hitherto had a right greate proofe in all such things as have been passed and handled by him for me, and in my name, he will now for himself, and in his own name, govern, order, defend, and mainteyne the same with peas and justice. And not doubting but that according unto your olde and comendable loyaltye, fayth, love, and obedyence, which you have borne, and do beare, both to him and to me; wherof for my parte I have had always large experyence by your deeds, you will serve him and obey him as apperteyneth to my trust and your duties, for the good-will borne to you so many yeeres. Commanding you, nevertheles, and straightly charging you that displaying and setting upp banners, and doing all other ceremonies and solemnities requisyte, and which have been accustomed to have been done in like cases, for the dew execution of the purpose above sayed, in the same manner and sorte as yf God had taken me unto his mercy, you doe obey, serve, and honour, from henceforth the saide king, accomplishing his will and pleasure in all such things as he shall by word and writing command you, as you ought to do to your true and natural lord and king; even as you have, and ought to have, during my reigne passed to you from me: wherin besydes that you shall doe your duetyes, and do that as you are bound to doe, you shall doe unto me acceptable pleasure. Given at Brussells the 17th of Januarie, 1556.

Copye of the lettre sent by the emperor to sundry estates in Spaine, upon the resigning of the same unto the king's majestie, turned out of Spanish into English.



NUMBER XL.

*A Remembrance of those Things that your Highnes's pleasure was I shold put in writing, as most convenient, in my pore judgment, to be commoned and spoken of by your Majestie, with your counsell, called to your presence thys afternoone.*

[Written in the hand of Cardinal Pole.—Titus, B. 2, f. 177.]

FURST of al, that your majestie shold put them yn remembrance of the charge the kyng's highnes gave them at his departure; which beyng reduced to certen articles, and put in writing, it seemeth wel if some of the lords for ther sudden departure after ther charge had not the same in writing, that it were rehersed and given unto them with exhortation to employ al ther diligence for the due execution therof.

And whereas amongst other charges, thys was one, that those that be named in the first parte counsellours, were al to be present in the courte, thys first your highnes may require them that they do observe: specially beside, for the weight of the matters that be now in hand; the tyme besyde being so shorte, after the parliament to examyn them. And that the kyng's plesure ys, as the matters be proposed in the counsell, afore the further execution of them, to be ynformed therof, to knoe his pleasure theryn. And amongst other, hys majestie beyng in expectation to know the uttre resolution of the councell, twichyng those matters that be to be intreatyd in thys parliament. Thys ys that your majestie looketh of them thys day, to send with all spede to the kyng's highnes.

And wheras for the dylation of the kyng's comyng, your majestie thought it well to put in consulte, whether it were better therfor to make a dilation and prorogation of the parliament to Candelmas, beyng thought bey ther opinion, that for necessite of money that is to be demanded in the parliament, and otherwyse can not be provided, the prorogation of that should be much dispendiose. Your majestie not disalowing ther deliberation; but consydering wyth all the great need of money for to be had, for the discharge of the present necessite, which requyreth present provision of money, as is for the settyng forth of the ships, as wel for the emperor's passage to Spain, as for the king's return.—And besyde thys, for the payment of that is dew at Calise, as for your credyte wyth the merchants approchyng the day of payment; and for the dett of Ireland also, of al these it may please your majestie to know thys day of your counsell what is don.

And bycause the most ordynarie and just way, touching the provision of money to pay your highnes' detts, is to call in your own detts; which charge hath been specially committed afore, and is principally considered and renewed in the writing the kyng's highnes left tuchyng such affayres, that his counsell shold presently attend into, wher be ther names also that same: the charges speciall therfore, your majestie shall do wel this day to charge them with the same; that with all diligence they attend to the prossecution therof, givyng them all autoryte that shal be necessary for them, to make the most spedy expedition theryn. Wylling them withall, that they never let pass one week, but in the end of the same, at the least, your majestie may know specially of that is coming yn, and that order is taken for the rest.

Also yf it pleasyd your majestie in generall, for all matters whych be intreated in the counsell, which requyre commission and execution, to give thys order, that those that have had commission to execute any matter, let never passe the weke, but they ynforme the counsell what execution is made of ther commyssions: and that the counsell themselfs should never begyn entretance of new matters the second week; but that they have information first, what is done in those which wer commytted to be executyd the week afore; I think it should help much to the spedy expedition of all causes. Thys ys my poore advyse, remitted al to the godly and prudent judgment of your majestie.

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NUMBER XLI.

*Some Directions for the Queen's Council; left by King Philip.*

[Cott. Lib. Titus, B. 1.]

IMPRIMIS, pro meliori et magis expedita Deliberatione, in iis quæ in Consilio nostro agenda sunt ex reliquis consiliariis nostris; eos, quorum Nomina sequuntur, seligendos putavimus; quibus specialem Curam omnium Causarum Status, Finantiarum, et aliarum Causarum Graviorum Regni, committendam duximus et committimus.

Legatus Cardinalis Polus, in Causis magnis, ubi voluerit, et commodè poterit.
D. Cancellarius, D. Thesaurarius, Comes de Arundell, Comes de Pembroke, Episcopus Eliensis, D. Paget, Mr. Rochester Comptroller', Mr. Petre Secretarius.

Consiliarij prædicti omnes et singuli erunt præsentes in Aula, et intelligent, et considerabunt omnes Causas Status, omnes Causas Financiarum, Statum Possessionum, Debitorum, et quomodo Debita cum honore solvi possint; et generaliter, omnes alias Causas majoris momenti, tangentes Honorem, Dignitatem, et Statum Coronæ.

Et quo melius Consilium Nobis dare possint, hortamur eos in Domino, quod omnem discordiam, si quæ inter eos sit, mutuo remittentes, concorditer, amicè, et in timore Dei, ea in Consiliis proponant et dicant, quæ Dei Gloriam, Nostrum et Regni nostri Honorem et Utilitatem, promovere possint.

Volumus, quod quoties aliqua erit Occasio, Nos adeant, vel aliquos ex se mittant, per quos intelligere possimus Deliberationes suas, in omnibus Causis quæ coram eis proponentur, et ad minus ter qualibet Septimana, referant Nobis quæ fuerint per eos acta et deliberata.

Dicti Consiliarij deliberabunt de Parliamento, quo tempore habendum fit, et quæ in eodem agi et proponi debeant: Et quæ agenda et proponenda videbuntur in Parliamento, in Scriptis redigi volumus, ante Parliamenti initium.

Quod singulis diebus Dominicis, communicent reliquis Consiliariis præsentibus, ea quæ videbuntur eis communicanda.

Quod habeant specialem Curam pro Debitorum solutione, diminutione Sumptuum, et provida gubernatione et collectione Reddituum, Terrarum, Possessionum et Vectigalium, et pro Administratione Justitiæ.

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NUMBER XLII.

*A Letter to the Ambassadors concerning the Restitution of Calais.*

[Paper-Office.]

AFTER our right harty commendations to your good lordships, by our last letters of the 4th of this mounth, we signifyed unto you our well lyking of your opinions, to have the matter touching Calleys moved in the parliament: and that we being also of the same mynde our selfs, ment to propose the case there with all the

expedition we might, and to make you answer of that sholde be farther resolved therein, as shortly as we could. Sence which tyme, uppon consultation had amongst our selfs, how the matter shold best be opened and used there: and being of opinion, as we have byn from the begyning, that it were not convenient to have the same broken to the hole house, but only to the nobilite, and some other of the best and gravest sort; we thought it allso necessarie, before we proceeded any farther, both to declare our opinions unto the Queen's majestie, and to understande her highness's good pleasure and resolution therein. Whose majestie, uppon the opening thereof unto her, thought mete for good respects, we sholde fyrst write unto the King's highnes to such effect, as by the coppie of our letters presently addressed to his majestie, for that purpose (which you shall receyve herewith), you may at better length perceyve; and then understanding his highnes' answer, sholde either goe forwarde with our former deliberacion, or otherwyse use the matter, as we sholde see cause. Wherefore, lyke as we have thought good to give your lordships knowledge by these, so when we shall have receyved the King's majesties answer herein, we will not fayle to signify unto you with diligence, what shall be farther resolved touching this matter. And in the mean tyme, we byd your good lordships right hartely well to fare.

The Queen's majestie remayneth yet still both sicke and very weake; and although we hope of her highnesses amendment, for the which we daylye praye, yet are we dryven both to feare and mistrust the worst; which we beseche Almighty God to remedye, when it shall lyke hym.

After that we had written the letters inclosed to the King's majestie, we receyved yours of the 4th of this instant; by the which we do understande, that the French commissioners contynue still of the same mind that they were at your meeting with them, not to leave the possession of Callais. By your sayd letters appereth allso, that the King's majestie tolde you, that his commissioners were agreed with the French well nere upon all matters; and that his highnes nevertheless wolde not agree to any conclusion, but that the Queen's majestie sholde be fyrst satisfied for the matters of this realme.

After that we had considered the effect of these your letters, considering of what importance the leaving of Callice is for this realm; howe much it wolde touche the honour of their majesties, and of this crowne, that so many restitutions being made on bothe sydes, this sholde be suffred to passe unrestored; and fynally, howe yll the subjects of this realme will digest this matter, if there sholde any suche thing be agreed unto; we neither can of our selfs well consyder what to answer, nor think mete to propose it to the parliament, untill we may yet once agayne heare from you. And where policy fayleth, we are compelled to use playnes. You knowe these warres wherein Calice is lost, began at the King's majesties request, and for his sake. We do consider, that other his majesties freends and confederats be restored to things taken many yeres past. And what may be judged in this realme, if this peas be concluded, and Calice left in the French king's hands, so many other restitutions being made, it may be easely considered. On the other syde, his majesties commissioners being so nere an agreement for all other matters, muche were to be indured for the welthe of Christendome.

And it hath byn consideryd here, howe much this realme is travayled and spent allready with these warres.

These things being amongst us consideryd, knowing his majesties gracious disposition and favour towards this realme, we think good your lordships doe plainly open these considerations to hym, in such good sorte as you may think good. And fyrst to desyre to understande his majesties disposition playnely, if you may for Calice: the remayning whereof in the French king's hands, doth as much importe for his Lowe Countries as for this realme.

And secondly, that it may please his majesty to gyve us his good advise for our further doings, and manner of proceeding in this matter; wherein albeit our meaning is to use the advise of the rest of our nobilitie and parliament, yet do we stay that to do, untill we have answer again from you, and understande his majesties playne and determinate answer therein. And we doe hartely pray your lordshipes to use your accustomed good wisdomes in the good opening of the premisses, and to send us answer as soon as you may.

November the 8th, 1558.

Minute from the counsell unto the Earle of Arrundell, and the rest of the commissioners beyonde the sees.

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NUMBER XLIII.

*A Letter of the Ambassadors concerning Calais.—An Original.*

[Paper-Office.]

After our right heartie commendacions to your good lordships, by Francisco Thomas the post, we have receyvid two letters from your lordshippes. The first of the 29th of the last month; and the later, of the first of this present. With other letters directed to the king's majestie; upon the receipt wherof, we having mette together, and consulted upon the contentes of the same, datermyned to open to the kinge's majestie by our letters, the matters wherof your lordships wrote unto us; for his majestie is not in these parties heere, but is at Bruxelles, or beyond. The copy of our letter to his majestie in that behalfe, we send your lordshipes heerwith. And where your lordshipes wryte unto his majestie, that by our letters doth appeare that the French king by no means will leave the possession of Callais: and that he would rather hazard his crown, then to consente to the restitution of it: true it is, that we wrote to your lordshipes, that the French commissioners yn their conference with us, and with the king's commissioners, have ever refused to consent to the restitution of Callais. And that the French have declared to one of the king's commissioners, that the French king, for to hazard his crowne, will not forgo Callais. And albeit that for because of the good face sett upon that matter by the French commissioners, we somewhat mistrusted, that that which they spoke was the king their maisters determynacion: yet indeed did we not affirm it to be so. No, nor did not then utterlye despayre, but that the French, yf they wer kept somwhat shorte, would at the length relente; for elles to what purpose had it been agreed and appointed, that both the king's and the French king's commissioners shuld retourne to their maisters, to declare what hath been done allready, and to know what their maisters' further pleasure was theruppon? And forasmuch as we have ever been of opynion, that yf the king's majestie refuse to conclude any thing with them, without the restitution of Callais, that may the sooner induce the French to agree to it. And likewise yf they perceyve the king's majestie, or his mynisters, not so earnest therin, but that by a bragge of the French; they will the sooner gyve over, and stande the more fayntely for the restitution of it; that will make the French the bolder, and to stand the more earnestlye in their refusal. Therefore we have



not thought it meet to use anye kynde of wordes to the king, wherby his majestie might by anye meanes thinke that the queen's highnesse, and the realme of England, coude be contente to conclude a peace without the restitution of Callais. Aswell for because our instructions importe that, as allso trustinge that that wold move his majestie and his commissioners to be the more careful for the restitution of it. And seeinge that his majestie, and his commissioners, have ever sayde, that they will conclude nothing without the queen's highnes be first satisfyed; yt seemed to us, that if her highness, and your lordshipes, did stande earnestlye in the repetition of Callais, that the French at this time must either forsake Callais, or elles the peace. And in case this occasion to redemaunde Callais be now forsloune, God knoweth when ever England shall have the lyke again. And where your lordshipes wryte, that the king's commissioners beeinge so neere to agree with the French upon the hole, much wer to be endured for the wealth of Christendom; it is even so indeede as your lordshipes wryte. Mary that all other shuld have restitution of their owne, and poor England that beganne not the fraye, bear the burthen and the losse for the rest; and specially of such a jewel as Callais is, we feare will seem verye harde and strange to all the realme. And yet yf the losse of Callais might purchase a sure peace to Christendom, that wer yet some colour why somwhat the rather to agree to it. But yf we may be so bold to saye playnely our mindes unto your lordshipes; we not onely thinke not that, that the leaveing Callais to the French shall purchase Christendom a sure peace; but rather ar persuaded that nothing can more evidentlye shew, that the French entend no peace to contynue, speciallye with England, then the retention of Callais, yf they earnestlye and finallye persist theron. Your lordships do right well understande what advantage the French have to annoy us by Scotland, which now is much ruled by France. And in case any peace be made, then shall the French have good tyme and leasure to establish and order their matters so yn Scotland, specially considdering the mariage of the Dolfyn, and the queen of Scotts, is now done; that Scotland shall be every whitte as much at their commandment as any part of France is. And what the French pretend unto by that mariage, is not unknowne to your lordshipes.

If now Callais shall remayn yn their hands too, wherby neither England shall have the commoditie to offende their enemyes, nor to succour their friends, nor lykewyse to receyve succour from their friends at their need, but by very uneasy means: yea, and wherby England shall in a manner be excluded from knowledge of all things done both by their enemys and by their freends; or at the least, the knowledge therof shall not come, but so late that it will searve to little purpose. And that Callays lyeth so commodyouselye to be a scourge for England, as it was before king Edward the Third took it: which caused him to adventure himself, and his son the prince, to come but with a meane armye from Normandye into France, and thence through all Picardye, to go to beseege Callais: he beinge contynuallye poursewed by his ennemyes with greate armyes, with the which he was enclosed and compassed about, and fynallye constrained more than once to fight it out, and specially at Crecy, where his enemye's armye was thryse as greate as his, and to lye so longe at the seege before Callais, as he did. This scourge of England, so well knowne by experyence then, and therefore so dearly bought by king Edward the IIId, and now not yet known for lacke of experyence; yf the French shall retayne yn their hands, they having likewyse Scotland on the other side, how dangerous this shall be to England, is easy to be consydered. These, and other consyderations, make us to be of opynion, that leaving Callais to the French, they will be content to delyver you a peece of parchemyn sealed with a little wax; but that they meane anye continuance of peax we cannot be perswaded, no more then king Francis did by a nombre of peeces of parchment sealed, which he sent to king Henry the VIIIth: nor the French king that now is, did, by the parchemyne sealed, which he sent to king Edward the VIth. And whereas now the king's majesties contreys ar in warre with France as well as England: if the peace be ones made, the French will soon seek occasion to fall out with England againe; and then may it perhaps chaunce so, that Spaine will not think it necessarye for them to venture yn warre againe with France. Whereas now the king's majestie cannot honorablye, nor entendith not (as he himself hath declared and said) to make any peace without us. So that the premisses consydered, we cannot for our parts thinke that Christendom shall be restored to a good peace, though we forsake Callais, but that then we shall be more oppressed with war than before. And in case we must needs have war, as good it seemeth to contynue in it yet for a while, being conjoyned to the king's majestie, who beareth the chief burthen and charges of it; then shortelye after to begynne a new, and to stand in danger to have all the burthen lye on our neckes. And then should we know what a jewell we had forsaken, when we did agree to forgo Callais; and that by the retencion of Callais, the French meant nothing less then the quietnes of Christendom.

We have thought it our dutie to declare to your lordshipes what our opynion is heerin. Which nevertheless we pray your lordshipes to accept yn good parte.

I the bishop of Ely retourned to Cercamp, according to the king's majesties appointment; where I have contynued till now that I came hither to consult upon these matters with my colleagues. And all this while hath there nothing ben done yn our matters for England; but the other commissioners have been busye contynuallye. And as far as I can learn, they are not yett all agreed uppon the matters of Piedmount, nor of Corsica, nor Siena. Yea, and as I heere, the French begyne now to call the matters of Navarre in question; and to ask restitution thereof; yn so much, that some begyne to thinke contrary to that hath ben commonlye thought hitherto; that the ende of this matter will be, that all shall departe, "re infecta."

After we had written thus farre, I, the earle of Arundall, receyved a letter from the bishope of Arras, of the 17th of this present; wherin amonge other things he writeth thus: "Monsieur Levesque de Ely vous aura dit en quels termes nous estions à son Partement en ce Purgatoire. Et hier les François nous declarerent qu'en toutes choses condescendront ils plustot que de venir à ce de Calais: ne qu'il leur eshappe: et nous leur declarasmes derechef au contraire que sans satisfaire à Royaume d'Angleterre nous ne traiterons en façon quelconque avec eux, et fut nostre depart sur ce stil qu'il y a plus d'apparence de rompre que de conclusion."

So that by this lykewise it may seme that they agree not best: but whether that be for Callais onelye, we doubt much. And thus we bid your good lordshipes most hartely well to fare. From Arras the 18th of November, 1558.

Your good lordshipes' most assuredly,

Arundell. Thomas Elye. N. Wotton.

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NUMBER XLIV.

*A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, from Strasburgh, of the State of Affairs in England.*

[Scripta (ut videtur) 1558.—Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Juellus ad Martyrem.

S. P.—De prima illa nostra Profectione, et de novis omnibus, quæ tum ferebantur Basileæ, scripsi ad te per D. Simlerum nostrum. Quinto postridie vix pervenimus Argentinam; tantoper miseri coacti sumus hærere in luto. Hic omnes nostros invenimus incolumes, et cupidissimos tui. Quid Sandus, Hornus, aliique nostri fecerint in Anglia, nihil adhuc audivimus. Neque id sanè mirum. Profecti enim Argentina ad Vicesimum primum Decembris, vix Vicesimo post die potuerunt pervenire Antuerpiam, quod Rhenus constrictus glacie, illorum Navigationem impediret. Hoc tantum audimus, Reditum illorum Reginæ esse gratissimum; idque illam non obscurè præ se ferre. Si Episcopi pergant porro ut cæperunt, erit brevi magna Vilitas Episcopatuum. Certum enim est, Christophersonum, Rabulam illum Cicestrensem, esse mortuum; quod idem de Vatsono quoq; Lincolniensi nunciatur: Quod si ita est, vacant hoc tempore Episcopatus quatuordecim. Whitus tuus, in funere Mariæ, quemadmodum ad te scripsi cum essem Basileæ, habuit ad Populum insanam, et turbulentissimam Concionem; Omnia potius tentanda esse, quàm ut quicquam de Religione immutaretur. Bonum factum, si quis exules reduces interfecerit. Accusatus est Seditionis à Marchione Vintoniensi Thesaurario, et Hetho Archiepiscopo Eboracensi. Londinensis jussus est, reddere Hæredibus D. Ridlæi, quæcunque illis per vim et injuriam eripuerat. Vocabitur brevi ad Causæ dictionem; interim jubetur, se domi continere, tanquam in carcere. Regina edixit, ne quis habeat Concionem ad Populum, neve Papista, neve Minister Evangelij. Id alij factum putant, quòd cum unus tantum esset Minister Verbi tum temporis Londini, Benthamus, tantus esset numerus Papistarum. Alij, quòd audita una tantum Benthami publica Concione, Populus inter se cœperit litigare de Ceremoniis: Et alij Genevenses esse vellent, alij Francofordiani. Quicquid est, utinam ne nostri Homines nimium prudenter et politicè versari velint in Causa Dei. Multi putant D. Coquum fore Magnum Cancellarium; Hominem bonum quidem, et pium, uti nósti; sed illi muneri, meo judicio, non aptissimum. Eliensis hæret adhuc apud Philippum, dum aliquid de ista præclara Pace, si Deo placet, transfigatur; quæ qualis, aut quam firma, et diuturna futura sit, *θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται*. D. Isabella, spero, vocabitur in Angliam. Video enim alios quoque nostros Homines, de ea re seriò cogitare. D. Zanchius etiam scribet ad Reginam: Erat scripturus ad totum Parliamentum, nisi ego dissuasissem; id enim mihi videbatur alienum. Cranmerus Puer relictus est Argentinæ apud Abelum, ut meæ Fidei committeretur: Ego ab Abelo mutuo sumpsi Coronatos pueri nomine. Oro Julium, ut Sarcinam et Pecuniam, quam reliquimus numeratam apud te, ad illum mittat Argentinam. Ille tibi curabit cautionem, eamq; vel deponet apud D. Zanchium, vel, si mavis, ad te mittet. Bene vale, mi dulcissime Pater, et plus quam Animi dimidium mei. Nolo ad te omnia; oportuit enim me etiam ad D. Bullingerum aliquæ scribere: Cui ego Viro, pro summa ejus erga me Humanitate, debeo omnia. Sed ea, quæcunque sunt, non dubito, tibi cum illo fore communia.

D. Hetonus, D. Abelus, D. Springhamus, D. Parkhurstus, te plurimùm salutant, et cùm tibi cupiant omnia, nihil tamen magis cupiunt hoc tempore quàm Angliam. Saluta D. Muraltum, Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, et omnes tuos meosque, meo nomine.

D. Fr. Beti, et D. Acontius, sunt nunc Argentinæ: Uterque te plurimùm salutant. Ego D. Beti reddidi Literas D. Isabellæ: Id obsecro, ut illi significes.

Argentinæ, 26. Januar.

JOHANNES JUELLUS
Ex Animo, et semper, Tuus.

*Inscriptio.*—Ornatissimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, in Ecclesiâ Tigurinâ Professori S. Theologiæ, Domino suo Colendissimo.

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NUMBER XLV.

*A Letter of Gualter's to Dr. Masters, advising a thorough Reformation.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Domino Richardo Mastero, Medico Regio, Amico veteri, et Fratri suo dilecto.

GRATULABAR mihi non parùm, Annis superioribus, quando regnante Edvardo Sexto Sanctæ Memoriæ, tu prior scribendi officium, quod multis annis intermissum fuerat, repetere cæpisti. At nunc multò magis et tibi et mihi gratulor, Vir doctissime, et Frater in Christo observande, quòd ea Tempora Angliæ vestræ, per Dei Clementiam, reducta esse audimus; quando sub Reginæ piissimæ Tutela, piis Hominibus, Deum verè colendi Libertas restituetur, et Amicorum Literæ tutò hinc inde ferri et referri poterunt. Agnoscimus in his admirabilem Dei Sapientiam et Bonitatem, qui Ecclesiæ suæ Ærumnas lætis vicibus temperare solet, ne tentationum fluctibus toti obruamur. Faxit idem ille, ut Spei fidelium, quam de Angliæ Regno jam omnes conceperunt, satisfiat. Quod eò magis futurum puto, si quotquot illic in aliquo Dignitatis gradu collocati estis, Ecclesiæ et Religionis Curam ad vos cum primis pertinere memineritis, nec illorum admiseritis Consilia, qui cum Papatum nec honestè defendi, nec totum retineri posse vident, ad artes convertuntur, quibus Religionis Formam mixtam, incertam et dubiam fingunt, et eandem, sub Evangelicæ Reformationis prætextu, Ecclesiæ obtrudunt; ex qua deinde facillimus est ad Papisticam Superstitionem et Idolomaniam transitus. Quod non eò scribo, quòd tales apud vos esse sciam, sed quod ne tales sint metuo. Jam enim annis aliquot in Germania, magno Ecclesiarum malo experti sumus, quantum ejusmodi Homines valeant. Eò quod illorum Consilia, carnis judicio, Modestiæ plena, et ad alendam concordiam, cumprimis idonea esse videantur, et credibile est, publicum illum humanæ Salutis hostem, apud vos quoque sua flabella inventurum, quorum opera Papatûs semina retinere studeat. Quibus Scripturæ sanctæ, et Verbi Divini armis, constanter resistendum fuerit, ne dum circa prima initia, aliquam mediocrem animorum offensionem declinare studemus; multa ad tempus duntaxat duratura admittantur, quæ postea vix ullo studio, et non absque gravissimis tentationibus omnino tolli possint. Exempla hujus mali Germanicæ Ecclesiæ multa viderunt, quorum consideratione edocti, suspecta habemus quæcunque cum syncera Verbi Doctrina, aliqua ex parte pugnant. Nec me alia ratione, ut hæc moneam, adduci credas, quam quod Angliæ vestræ, ob veterem Consuetudinem, cujus vel sera Recordatio mihi etiam hodie jucundissima est, mirificè faveo. De Rebus nostris certiorem te reddet Parkhurstus, noster Frater, et Hospes meus dilectissimus, quem tibi commendatissimum esse velim. Sustinuit ille jam toto quinquennio, graves exilij molestias; inter quas tamen, admirabilem Fidei Constantiam, et Patientiam incredibilem conjunxit. Nunc spe læta plenus, in Patriam contendit, ut Ecclesiæ renascentis Causam pro suo talento adjuvet. Nec dubito, quin bonam operam præstiturus sit, cum Scripturarum Cognitionem habeat præclaram, et



Veritatis studiosissimus sit, et à Contentionibus abhorreat, quarum studiosi vix aliquem in Ecclesia fructum faciunt. Optimè ergo feceris, si tua Authoritate illum juves, et pro viriti provehas. Mihi verò nihil jucundius fuerit, quàm si ex tuis Literis intelligam, nostræ Amicitiæ memoriam penes te adhuc salvam esse, quæ certè in animo meo nunquam intermori poterit. Vale, Vir præstantissime. Tiguri, 16 Januarij, 1559.

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NUMBER XLVI.

*A Letter of the Earl of Bedford's to Bullinger, from Venice.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

TIT.—Doctissimo Viro Domino Bullingero, Sacræ Theologiæ Professori eximio Tiguri.

CUM meus in Te Amor singularis, et perpetua Observantia, quâ te semper Religionis Causâ sum prosecutus, tum tua erga me incredibilis Humanitas, multis modis à me perspecta, cùm Tiguri fuerim, (Bullingere Doctissime) fecerunt, ut hasce Literas animi erga Te, mei pignus certissimum, et veluti Tabulas obsignatas mei in Te perpetui amoris quas extare volui, huic adolescenti ad Te darem. In quibus ita tibi gratias ago, propter tuam Humanitatem, ut etiam me tibi relaturum pollicear, si quâ in re tibi unquam gratificari queam. Atque hæc ita à me dicta velim accipias, non sicut Homines qui hodie verborum quandam speciem inducunt, et officiosam formam, magis id adeo ut videantur, quàm quod esse velint id quod præ se ferant: sed potius, ut ab animo sincero, et prorsus tibi devinctissimo profecta, certissimum tibi persuadeas. Itaque, si quid tuâ Causâ unquam facere possim, (quod quàm exiguum sit non ignoro) illud tamen, quantulumcunque erit tuum erit totum. Sed de hoc satis, et fortasse superque, præsertim etiam cùm adhuc mihi statutum sit, (si alia non intervenerint, quæ inceptum iter aliò evadere possint) ut vos obiter invisam in Angliam reversuro. Ubi id vivâ voce confirmare, quod hic nudis verbis solummodò declarare possum. Juvenis, qui has Literas perfert mihi, nunciavit de obitu Conradi Pellicani, (quem Honoris Causâ nomino) quod ut audivi, sanè quam pro eo ac debui, graviter molestèque tuli, non tam suâ, quam Ecclesiæ universæ Causâ. Is enim hujus vitæ Curriculum, in curis, vigiliis, assiduis studiis, literatis Hominibus promovendis, gloriosissimè confecit, ac denique moriendo quemadmodum vivebat ad meliorem vitam in Cœlum translatus est. At illa multum desiderabit plurimis nominibus, virum absolutissimum: Itaque, ut illius Causa lætor, ita hujus vicem non possum non magnopere dolere. At hujus mæstitiæ causam tui (ut spero et opto) præsentia facilè mitigabit, quem Ecclesiæ, bonisque omnibus, diù incolumem Deus Opt. Max. per suam Misericordiam esse velit. Venet. 6 Calend. Maias.

Tui Nominis Studiosissimus,
F. BEDFORD.

Domino Gesnero, et Domino Gualthero, meis amicissimis diligenter à me, quæso, Salutem dicito.

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NUMBER XLVII.

*A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, of the State he found Matters in when he came to England.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

S. P.—Tandem tamen aliquando, Quinquegesimo, videlicet, Septimo post Die, quam solvissemus Tiguro, parvenimusque in Angliam. Quid enim necesse est multa *προοιμάζειν*, apud te præsertim, qui rem potius ipsam quæras, et longos istos logos non magni facias? Interea verò, Deum immortalem, quæ illa Vita fuit, cùm et Aqua, et Terra, et Cælum ipsum nobis indignaretur, et omnibusque modis reditum nostrum impediret? Quid quæris? Omnia nobis toto illo tempore odiosissima, et adversissima acciderunt. Verùm hæc antea ad te, et ad D. Bullingerum fusius, cùm adhuc hærerem Antwerpiæ. Nunc accipe cætera. Quanquam hic, ut verè dicam, arte opus est et myrothecûs: Non tam quidem, quod mihi nunc ornanda, et polienda sint nova, quæ nescio an ulla sint hoc tempore. Scio tamen à te plurima expectari, quàm quòd recantanda sint vetera. Illa enim ferè omnia, quæ ego ad te jam antea scripsi ex itinere, multò tùm erant alia, et longè auditu jucundiora, quàm quæ postea re ipsa inveni domi. Nondum enim ejectus erat Romanus Pontifex: nondum pars ulla religionis restituta: eadem erat ubique missarum proluvies: eadem pompa, atq; insolentia Episcoporum. Ista tamen omnia nunc tandem mutare incipiunt, et pene ruere. Magno nobis impedimento sunt Episcopi: qui, cum sint, ut scis, in superiori Conclavi inter primores, et proceres, et nemo ibi sit nostrorum Hominum, qui illorum fucos, et mendacia possit, coram dicendo refutare, inter Hominum Literarum, et rerum imperitos soli regnant, et paterculos nostros facile vel Numero, vel Opinione Doctrinæ circumscribunt. Regina interea, etsi apertè faveat nostræ Causæ, tamen partim à suis, quorum Consilio omnia geruntur, partim à Legato Philippi Comite *Ferio* Homine Hispano, ne quid patiatur innovari mirificè deterretur. Illa tamen quamvis lentiùs aliquantò, quàm nos velimus, tamen et prudenter, et fortiter, et piè persequitur institutum. Et quamvis hactenus Principia, paulo visa sunt duriora, tamen spes, est aliquando rectè fore. Interea, ne Episcopi nostri queri possint se potentia tantum, et lege esse victos, res revocata est ad Disputationem, ut novem ex nostris, Scoræus, Coxus, Withedus, Sandus, Grindallus, Hornus, Elmer, Ghestus quidam Cantabrigiensis, ex ego, cum quinque Episcopis, Abbate Westmonasteriensi, Colo, Cheadsæo, Harpesfeldo, de his rebus coram Senatu colloquamur. Prima nostra assertio est: in publicis precibusq; et Administratione Sacramentorum alia uti Lingua, quàm quæ à Populo intelligatur, alienum esse à verbo Dei, et à consuetudine Primitiva Ecclesiæ. Altera est; quamvis Ecclesiam Provincialem, etiam injussu Generalis Concilii, posse vel instituere, vel mutare, vel abrogare Ceremonias, et Ritus Ecclesiasticos, sic ubi id videatur facere ad Ædificationem. Tertia sacrificium illud propitiatorium, quod Papista fingunt esse in Missa, non posse probari ex Sacris Literis. Pridie Calendarum Aprilis instituitur Prima conflictatio. Episcopi interim, quasi partâ Victoriâ, jamdudum Magnificè Triumphant. Ubi Froschoverus ad nos venit, scribam de his rebus omnia disertius. Regina te gerit in oculis. Literas tuas tanti fecit, ut eas iterum, tertiosq; cupidissimè relegerit. Librum tuum, ubi advenerit, non dubito, fore multò gratiorem. Oxonii à tuo discessu duæ præclaræ virtutes incredibiliter auctæ sunt, inscitia, et contumacia: Religio, et spes omnis Literarum, atq; ingeniorum funditùs periit. Brochas Episcopus Glocestriensis bestia impurissimæ Vitæ, ex multò impurioris Conscientiæ, paulò antequam moreretur, miserabilem in modum exclamavit, sese jam se ipso judice esse damnatum. Faber tuus præclarus, scilicet, Patronus castitatis deprehensis est in adulterio: Ex ea Causa, quod alioqui vix solet fieri, cùm Maria adhuc viveret, novô more, nullo exemplo jussus est cedere Lectione Theologica. Bruernus simili, sed longè flagitiosiori de scelere coactus est relinquere Professionem Linguæ Hebraicæ. De Martiali nihil Scribo, ne Chartas contamirem. De Westono audisti antea. Sed quid istos, inquies, Commemores? Ut intelligas, quibus judici-

bus oportuerit B. Cranmerum, P. Ridlæum, P. Latimerum condemnari. De Scotis, de Pace, de Bello nihil. Ternas ad te dedi Literas ex itinere: quæ utrumq; ad te pervenerint, nescio. Sed quoniam longè absumus, longiùs, ô Deum Immortalem, et diutius multò, quàm vellem, Literæ nostræ interdum ventis et fortunæ committendæ sunt. Vale, mi Pater, et Domine in Christo Colendissime, Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Lavaterum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum, D. Hermannum, et convictores tuos Trevicenses. Omnes nostri te salutant. Londini 20 Martii, 1559.

Jo. Juellus.

Istæ sunt Primæ, quas ad te scribo, ex quo redii in Angliam. Ita posthac subscribam omnes, ut scire possis, si quæ forte interciderint.

*Inscriptio.*—Doctissimo Viro D. Petro Martyri Vermilio, Professori Sacræ Theologiæ in Ecclesia Tigurina Domino suo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

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NUMBER XLVIII.

*A Letter of Jewel's to Bullinger, concerning the State of Things in the beginning of this Reign.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

S. P.—Gratissimæ erant mihi Parkurstoque meo literæ tuæ, ornatissimè vir, vel quòd à te sint, cui quantum debeamus, nunquam possumus oblivisci, vel quo suavitatis, et humanitatis erga nos tuæ, quam toto nos tempore exilii nostri experti sumus maximam, altissima vertigia retinerent. Atque utinam possimus aliquando pietatis tuæ partem aliquam compensare. Quicquid erit, animus certe nobis nunquam deerit; quod nos hortaris, ut strenuè ac fortiter nos geramus, erat ille aculeus non tantùm non ingratus nobis sed etiam penè necessarius. Nobis enim in hoc tempore non tantum cum adversariis, sed etiam cum amicis nostris, qui proximis istis annis à nobis defecerunt et cum hostibus conjurarunt, jamque acrius multò, et contumacius resistunt, quàm ulli hostes, quodque molestissimum est, cum reliquiis Hispanorum, hoc est cum teterrimis vitiis, superbia, luxu, libidine luctandum est. Facimus quidem nos, fecimusque quod potuimus. Deus bene fortunet, et det Incrementum. Sed ita hactenus vivimus, ut vix videamur restituti ab exilio. Ne dicam aliud: ne suum quidem adhuc restitutum est cuiquam nostrum. Quanquam, et si molesta nobis est ista tam diuturna expectatio, tamen non dubitamus, brevi rectè fore. Habemus enim Reginam et prudentem, et piam, et nobis faventem et propitiam. Religio restituta est in eum locum, quo sub Edwardo rege fuerat, ad eam rem non dubito, tuas, reipublicæque vestræ literas et exhortationes multum ponderis attulisse. Regina non vult appellari aut scribi, Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ: graviter enim respondit, illam dignitatem soli esse attributam Christo: nemini autem mortalium convenire. Deinde illos titulos tàm fœdè contaminatos esse ab Anti-christo ut jam non possint amplius satis piè à quoquam usurpari. Academiæ nostræ ita afflictæ sunt, et perditæ, ut Oxonii vix duo sint, qui nobiscem sentiant, et illi ipsi ita abjecti et fracti, ut nihil possint. Ita Soto fraterculus, et alius, nescio quis, Hispanus Monachus, omnia ea, quæ D. Petrus Martyr pulcherrimè plantaverat, everterunt à radicibus, et vineam Domini redegerunt in solitudinem. Vix credas tantam vastitatem afferri potuisse tam parvo tempore. Quare et si magnam alioqui voluptatem capturus sim, si vel canem Tigurinum videre possem in Anglia, tamen non possum esse Author hoc tempore, ut juvenes vestros aut literarum aut religionis causâ ad nos mittatis, nisi eosdem remitti velitis ad vos, impios et barbaros. Rogavit me nuper D. Russelius qua maximè re tibi, aliisque tuis fratribus, et Symmistis gratum facere. Hoc videlicet, sensit, vellè se Humanitatis vestræ, quam semper prædicat et hospitii causa aliquid ad vos dono mittere. Ego verò nihil tibi tuisque fore gratius, quàm si religionem Christi studiose ac fortiter propagaret et papistarum insolentiam imminueret. Quod ille et recep.t se facturum, et certè facit, quantum potest. Venerunt hodie Londinum Legati Regis Galliæ, qui gratulantur de pace; Princeps legationis est juvenis Momorancius. De nuptiis Reginæ adhuc nihil. Ambit quidem filius Johannis Frederici, et frater secundus natu Maximiliani. Vulgi tamen suspicio inclinat in Pikerinum hominem Anglum, virum et prudentem et pium, et regia corporis dignitate præditum. Deus bene vertat, quicquid erit. Istæ primæ sunt, quas ad te seorsim scripsi, ex quo redii in Angliam: sed quoniam, quæ scripsi ad D. Martyrem, scio illum propter summam inter vos conjunctionem tecum habuisse communia non dubito, quæcunque ad illum scripsi, eadem ad te quoque scripta dicere. Bene vale mi pater, et Domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta optimam illam mulierem uxorem tuam: D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum D. Zuinglium, D. Lavaterum. Si quid unquam erit, in quo possim, aut tibi aut tuis esse voluptati, aut usui, polliceor tibi non tantum operam, studium, diligentiam, sed etiam animum et corpus meum. 22 Maij, Londini, 1559.

Tui Studiosis.

Jo. Juello.

*Inscriptio.*—Viro longè Doctissimo D. Henricho Bullingero Pastori Ecclesiæ Tigurinæ Dignissimo et Domino suo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

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NUMBER XLIX.

*A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, concerning the Disputation with the Papists at Westminster.*

[Ex MS. Tigur.]

Idem ad P. Martyrem.

S. P.—De illis disputationibus inter nos, et Episcopos, quas proximis Literis Scripsi indictas fuisse in ante Calendas Aprilis quid factum sit, paucis accipe. Sic enim visum est continuare Orationem sine proœmis. Primum ergo, ut omnis causa jurgiorum et otiosæ contentionis tolleretur, Senatus decrevit, ut omnia utrinque de scripto legerentur, et ita describerentur tempora, ut primo die assertiones tantum utrinque nudæ proponerentur: Proximò autem conventu, ut nos illis responderemus, et illi vicissim nobis. Pridiè ergò Kal. April. cum magna expectatione, majori credo frequentia convenissimus Westmonasterii, Episcopi, pro sua fide, nec scripti, nec picti quicquam attulerunt, quod dicerent, se non satis temporis habuisse ad res tantas cogitandas: Cum tamen habuissent plùs minùs decem dies, et interea copias auxiliares Oxoniò et Cantabrigiâ, et undiq; ex omnibus angulis contraxissent. Tamen me tot Viri viderentur frustra convenisse, D. Colus subornatus ab aliis venit in medium, qui de prima quæstione, hoc est, de peregrina Lingua, unus omnium nomine peroraret. Ille verò cum omnibus nos contumeliis et convitiis indignissimè excepisset, et omnium seditionum authores et faces appellasset, et supplosione pedum, projectione brachiorum, inflexione laterum, crepitu digitorum, modò dejectione modò sublatione superciliorum, (nosti enim hominis vultum et modestiam) sese omnes in partes et formas convertisset, huc postremò evasit, ut diceret, Angliam ante mille trecentos Annos recepisse Evangelium. Et quibus, inquit, Literis, quibus annalibus, quibus monumentis constare potest, Preces tum



publicas in Anglia habitas, fuisse Anglicè. Postea cùm in illo Circulo sese satis jamdiu jactavisset, adjecit seriò, et vero vultu, atq; etiam admonuit, ut omnes hoc tanquam quiddam de dictis melioribus diligenter attenderent, atque annotarent, Apostolos ab initio ita inter sese distribuisse operas, ut alij Orientis Ecclesias instituerent, alij Occidentis. Itaque Petrum et Paulum, in Romana Ecclesia, quæ totam propè Europam contineret, omnia Romano sermone, hoc est, Latinè docuisse. Reliquos Apostolos in Oriente, nullo unquam alio Sermone usus fuisse, nisi Græco. Tu fortasse ista rides: Atqui ego neminem audivi unquam, qui solenniùs et magistratiùs insaniret. Si adfuisset Julius noster, centies exclamâsset, "Poh! Horson Knave." Verùm ille, inter alia, nihil veritus est, mysteria ipsa et penetralia, atq; adyta prodere Religionis suæ. Non enim dubitavit graviter et seriò monere, etiamsi alia omnia maximè conveniunt, tamen non expedire, ut Populus, quid in sacris ageretur, intelligat. Ignorantia enim, inquit, Mater est veræ Pietatis, quam ille appellavit Devotionem. O Mystica sacra, atque Opertanea Bonæ Deæ! Quid tu me putas interim de Cotta Pontifice cogitâsse? Hoc videlicet illud est, In Spiritu et Veritate adorare. Mitto alia. Cum ille jam calumniando, convitiando, mentiendo magnam partem illius temporis, quod nobis ad disputandum datum erat, exemisset; nos postremò nostra pronunciavimus de scripto, ita modestè, ut rem tantum ipsam diceremus, nihil autem læderemus adversarium, postremò ita dimissa est Disputatio, ut vix quisquam esset in toto illo Conventu, ne Comes quidem Salopiensis, quin Victoriam illius diei adjudicaret nobis. Postea inita est Ratio, ut proximo die Lunæ, de secunda Quæstione eodem modo diceremus; utque die Mercurij, nos illorum primi Diei Argumentis responderemus, et illi vicissim nostris.

Die Lunæ, cum frequens Multitudo, ex omni Nobilitate cupidissima, audiendi convenisset, Episcopi, nescio pudoreve superioris diei, an desperatione victoriæ, primùm tergiversari, habere se quod dicerent de prima Quæstione, nec oportere rem sic abire. Responsum est à Senatu, Si quid haberent, id tertio post die, prout ab initio convenerat, audiri posse: nunc hoc potius agerent, neve turbarent Ordinem. Dejecti de hoc gradu tamen huc evaserunt, si dicendum omnino sit, nolle se priores dicere; se enim in Possessione constitisse: nos, si quid vellemus, priori loco experiremur. Magnam enim se facturos injuriam causæ suæ, si paterentur, nos posteriores discedere cum applausu Populi, et aculeos Orationis nostræ recentes in auditorum animis relinquere. Senatus contrà, Hanc ab initio institutam fuisse Rationem, ut illi, quòd dignitate priores essent, priori etiam loco dicerent; nec eam nunc mutari posse. Mirari verò se, quid hoc sit Mysterij, cùm omnino necesse sit, alterutros priores dicere; alioqui enim nihil posse dici: Et præsertim, cum Colus in primis Disputationibus etiam injussus, ultrò prior ad dicendum prosiluerit. Postremò, Cum altercationibus magna pars temporis extracta esset, nec Episcopi ullo pacto concedere vellent de secundo loco, ad extremum sine Disputatione discessum est. Ea verò res incredibile dictu est, quantum imminuerit Opinionem Populi de Episcopis: Omnes enim cæperunt jam suspicari, quod nihil dicere voluissent, ne potuisse quidem illos quicquam dicere. Postero die, Vitus Vintoniensis, amicus tuus, et Vatsonus Lincolniensis, de tam aperto contemptu et contumacia, damnati sunt ad Turrim: Ibi nunc castrametantur, et ex infirmis præmissis concludunt fortiter. Reliqui jubentur quotidiè, præstò esse in Aula, et expectare quid de illis Senatus velit decernere. Habes ἔντευξιν ἀτελῆ, et pene ἀνάλτευκτον; quam tamen, quò melius rem omnem intelligeres, descripsi pluribus, fortasse, quam oportuit. Benè vale, mi pater, Decus meum, atque etiam Animi dimidium mei. Si quid est apud vos novarum rerum, hoc tempore, id malo esse proximarum Literarum Argumentum. Saluta plurimùm, meo nomine, venerandum illum Virum, et mihi in Christo Dominum colendissimum, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Wolphium, D. Gesnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum, et Julium tuum meumque. Nostri omnes te salutant, et tibi omnia cupiunt. Londini, 6 April. 1559.

Jo. Juellus tuus.

*Post-script*—Istæ sunt secundæ, quas ad te scribo, ex quo redij in Angliam.

*Inscriptio.*—D. Petro Martyri, Professori Sacræ Theologiæ in Ecclesia Tigurina, Viro Doctissimo, et Domino suo in Christo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

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NUMBER L.

*A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, of the Debates in the House of Lords; and of the State of the Universities; and concerning the Inclinations to the Smalcaldick League.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

S. P.—Accepi ternas à te Literas, omnes eodem fermè tempore: Quæ cum multis de causis mihi essent, ut certe debebant, jucundissimæ, vel quòd essent à te, vel quòd Rerum tuarum Statum significarent, et amorem erga me tuum: Tamen nullâ aliâ causâ mihi visæ sunt jucundiores, quàm quòd officium meum requirerent, meq; vel oblivionis vel tarditatis, blandè ac tacitè accusarent; quorum alterum magnitudo tuorum erga me meritorum, alterum negotia mea non sinunt. Scripsi quidem ego ad te ternas Literas, ex quo redij in Angliam; quas tamen video, cùm tu illas tuas scriberes, nondum ad te pervenisse. Et fieri potest, ut sæpe sit, ut aut hæreant uspiam, et ignavæ atq; otiosæ imitentur Religionem nostram, aut etiam perierint in itineri. Sed quicquid est, nulla potest in ea re magna jactura fieri. Erant enim pene inanes, quòd non multum adhuc esset, quod aut tu audire libenter velles, aut ego scribere. Nunc agitur Causa Pontificis, et agitur utrinque fortiter. Episcopi enim sudant, ne quid errâsse videantur: atq; ea Causa moratur, et impedit Religionem. Difficile est enim Cursum incitare. Fecnamus, Abbas Westmonasteriensis, opinor, ut authoritatem addent Professioni suæ, cùm peroraret in Senatû, Nazaræos, Prophetas, Christum ipsum, et Apostolos conjecit in Numerum Monachorum. Nemo Causam nostram acriùs oppugnat, quam Eliensis. Is et locum suum in Senatu, et ingenium retinet. Episcoporum prædia redacta sunt in fiscum: illis ex permutatione dabuntur Sacerdotia, quæ antea attributa erant Monasteriis. Interim de Scholis, et cura Literarum magnum ubique Silentium. Regina de te honorificè et loquitur, et sentit. Dixit nuper D. Russelio, se velle te accersere in Angliam; id enim ille, aliique urgent, quantum possunt. Sed nisi et seriò, et cupidè, et honorificè petaris, nunquam ero author, ut venias. Nihil equidem magis, aut miserius cupio, quam te videre, et dulcissimis illis Sermonibus tuis frui, sive (quod ô utinam aliquando contingat) in Anglia, sive etiam Tiguri. Verùm quantum video obstabit desiderio nostro, inauspicata illa ex Saxis ac Saxonibus damnata πρεσβία. Nostra enim nunc cogitat Fœdus Smalcaldicum. Scribit autem ad illam quidam è Germania, illud Fœdus non posse ullo pacto coire, si tu ad nos venias. Illum autem quendam, si addo aliquando fuisse Episcopum, si nunc esse exulem, si hominem statum, si vetera-

torem, si aulicum, si Petrum, si Paulum, magis eum fortasse nôris, quam ego. Sed quicquid est, nos Articulos omnes Religionis, et Doctrinæ nostræ exhibuimus Reginæ, et ne minimo quidem apice discessimus à Confessione Tigurinâ. Quanquam Amicus tuus Inventum illud, nescio quod, suum tuetur mordicus, et nobis omnibus mirificè succenset. Adhuc nemini nostrùm ne de obulo quidem prospectum est. Itaque ego nondum abjicio insignia illa, quæ mihi finxi Tiguri, Librum et crucem. Goodmannum audio esse apud nos; sed ita, ut non ausit venire in publicum. Sed quanto satius fuisset sapuisse in tempore? Si velit agnoscere errorem, nihil erit periculi. Verùm, ut homo est satis acer, et in eo, quod semel suscepit, nimium pertinax, non nihil vereor, ne nolit cedere. Libri tui nondum venerunt: id ego tanto magis miror, quòd tot Angli jam pridem redierint Francofordiâ. Munus tuum ubi advenerit, non dubito Reginæ fore gratissimum. Illud ego, quoniam tu ita jubes, quamvis alioquim sit per se ornatissimum, tamen si dabitur facultas, verbis ornabo meis. De illo autem Libro, quem tu seorsim ad me misisti, equidem non invenio, quibus verbis tibi agam gratias. Itaque malo, et huic humanitati tuæ, et superiorum tuorum erga me meritorum magnitudini ultrò succumbere. Certè etsi te nunquam ex animo eram dimissurus, tamen hâc commonefactione, et mnemosyno excitatus, tanto acriùs et reverentiùs colam, quoad vixero, Nomen tuum. Alij tui Libri jampridem allati sunt à Bibliopolis, et emuntur cupidissimè. Omnes enim libenter videre capiunt, quibus Venabulis illa Bestia confossa sit.

Benè vale mi Pater, et Domine in Christo Colendissime. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum: Dicerem et Frenchamum, nisi illum putarem jamdudum aut in Balneo esse, aut in via. Hoc enim Anni tempore, cum auditur Cuculus, vix solet esse apud se. Londini, 28 Apr. 1559.

Tui Cupidissimus, Tuoq; Nomini Deditissimus,
JOHANNES JUELLUS.

Istæ sunt Quartæ.

*Inscriptio.*—Doctissimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, in Ecclesiâ Tigurinâ Professori S. Theologiæ, Domino suo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

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NUMBER LI.

*A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr of the State of Affairs both in England and Scotland.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Ejusdem ad Eundem.

HACTENUS minus frequenter ad te scripsi, mi Pater, quod multa me negotia publica, privataq; impedirent. Nunc scribo, non quod plus nunc otii sit, quàm antea, sed quod minus posthac futurum sit multò, quam nunc est. Alterum enim jam pedem in terra habeo, alterum penè sublatum in equum. Mox enim ingredior longinquam et difficilem legationem constituendæ religionis ergò per Redingum, Abindonam, Glocestriam, Bristollium, Thermas, Welliam, Exonium, Cornubiam, Dorcestriam, Sarisburiam. Ambitus itineris nostri erit plus minus septingentorum milliarium: vix ut quartò demum mense putem nos esse redituros. Quare ne me interea putares esse mortuum, etsi ante duodecim dies, nescio quid, ad te scripserim de rebus communibus, tamen non alienum fore duxi, si nunc quoque paucis te quasi in degressu salutarem. Res nostræ satis nunc sunt in proclivi: Regina optimè animata: Populus ubique sitiens religionis. Episcopi, potiùs, quàm ut relinquant papam, quem toties jam antea abjurarunt, malunt cedere rebus omnibus. Nec tamen id religionis causa faciunt, quam nullum habent, sed constantiæ, quam miseri nebulones vocari jam volunt conscientiam. Sacrificì jam tandem mutata religione passim abstinent à cœtu sacro, quasi piaculum summum sit, cum populo, Dei quicquam habere commune. Est autem tanta illorum nebulonum rabies, ut nihil suprà. Omnino sperant, et prædicant, est enim, ut scis, genus hominum prædictiosiosum, et valdè deditum futuritionibus ista non fore diuturna. Sed, quicquid futurum est, nos agimus Deo Optimo Maximo gratias, quòd res nostræ eò jam tandem loco sint, quo sunt. In Scotia fervent omnia. Knoxus cinctus mille satellibus agit conventus per totum regnum. Regina vetula coacta est sese includere in præsidium. Nobilitas conjunctis animis, et viribus restituit ubique religionem invitis omnibus. Monasteria passim omnia æquantur solo, vestes scenicæ calices sacrilegi, idola, altaria comburuntur: ne vestigia quidem priscæ superstitionis et idolatriæ relinquuntur. Quid quæris? Audisti sæpè, σκοθιστὶ πιεῖν: hoc verò est σκοθιστὴ ἐκκλησιάστιν. Rex Galliæ, qui nunc est, scribit se Regem Scotiæ, et hæredem Angliæ, si quid Reginæ nostræ, quod Deus avertat, contingat humanitùs. Sed mirari non debes, si nostri homines molestè ferant: et quo res eruptura tandem sit, Θεοῦ ἐν γούνασι κεῖται. Fortassè, ut sit, communis hostis conciliabit nobis vicinum Scotum. Quod si sit, etsi accedant etiam nuptiæ, sed desino divinare. D. Hetonus te salutat, idque non minùs amice, quàm si illi pater esses. Aliquot nostrum designamur Episcopi. Coxus Eliensis, Scoræus Erfordiensis, Alanus Roffensis, Grindalus Londinensis, Barlovus Chichestrensis, et ego minimus Apostolorum Sarisburiensis. Quod ego onus prorsus decrevi excutere. Interea in Academiis mere est ubique solitudo. Juvenes diffugiunt potiùs, quàm ut velint in religionem consentire. Sed comites jamdudum exspectant, et clamant, ut veniam. Vale ergo, vale, mi Pater, et dulcissimum decus meum; saluta venerandum virum et mihi nominibus in Christo Colendissimum. D. Bullingerum, ad quem etiam seorsim scriberim, si esset otium. Saluta D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Trisium, D. Hermannum. Habeo quinque pistolettos aureos à D. Barth. Compagno ad venerandum senem D. Bernardinum, et ab eodem ad eum literas. Scriberim ad eum de rebus omnibus, nisi excluderer augustiâ temporis. Quanquam hoc, quæso te, ut illi significes, præter istos aureos, nihil adhuc confectum esse. Res aulicæ, quantùm video, ita sunt difficiles, ut nesciam, an quicquam possit exprimi. Regina jam abest procul gentium in Cantio, ut agi nihil possit. Vale, mi Pater, vale. Quantùm ego tibi optare possum, tantum vale. Et Julium tuum, Annamque et Martyrillum meo nomine. Londini, Calendis Augusti, 1559.

Jo. JUELLUS TUUS,
Tibi omnibus modis deditissimus.

*Inscriptio.*—Viro longè Doctissimo D. Petro Martyri Vermilio, Profitenti Sacram Theologiam in Ecclesia Tigurina—*Tiguri.*

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NUMBER LII.

*A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, before he went his Progress into the Western Parts of England.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Ejusdem ad Eundem.

S.P.—Et quid tandem ego ad te Scribam? Nos enim adhuc omnes peregrini sumus domi nostræ. Redi ergo, inquies, Tigurum. Utinam, utinam, mi



Pater, id mihi aliquando liceat. Te enim, quantum video, nulla spes est venturum unquam in Angliam. O Tigurum, Tigurum, quanto ego nunc sæpius de te cogito, quàm unquam de Anglia, cum essem Tiguri. Quamvis autem, ut dixi, in Patria nostra simus hospites, excipimus tamen interdum quædam ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἀδιήγατα. Verùm πολλάκι τὸ κακὸν κατακείμενον ἔνδον ἄμεινον. De religione transactum est, utinam bonis auspiciis, ut esset eo loco, quo fuit ultimis tuis temporibus sub Edouardo. Sed, quantum quidem ego adhuc videre possum, non est ea alacritas in nostris hominibus, quæ nuper in Papistis fuit. Ita miserè comparatum est, ut mendacium armatum sit, veritas autem non tantum inermis, verùm etiam sæpe odiosa. Agitur nunc de sacro et scenico apparatu, quæque ego tecum aliquando ridens, ea nunc, à nescio, quibus, nos enim non advocamur in consilium, seriò, et graviter cogitantur, quasi religio Christiana constare non possit sine pannis. Nos quidem non ita otiosi sumus ab animo, ut tanti possimus facere istas ineptias. Alii sectantur auream quandum, quæ mihi plumbea potius videtur, mediocritatem: et clamant, dimidium plus toto. Quidam ex nostris designati sunt Episcopi, Parkerus Cantuariensis, Coxus Norvicensis, Barlovus Cicestrensis, Scoræus Herfordensis, Grindallus Londinensis. Nam Bonerus jussus est cedere: qui quando adituri sint possessionem, nescio. Ego ex isto flore, quod tu devino soles, facile divino, quæ sit futura vindemia. Adversarii interi mnostri καραψυλάκτουσι, et pollicentur sibi, ista non fore perpetua. In Scotia, nescio quid, audimus tumultuatum de religione: Nobiles ejectis Monachis occupasse Monasteria: et aliquot milites præsidiarios Gallos in tumultu occidisse: Reginam iratam edixisse, ut Knoxus concionator inflato cornu, est enim ille in Scotia mos solennis, si quem volint extorrem facere, ex omnibus finibus ejiceretur. Quid de illo factum sit, nescio. Nunc instituitur legatio in totam Angliam de formanda religione. Sandus ibit in Lancastriam: ego in Devoniam: Alii aliò. Regina non vult appellari Caput Ecclesiæ, quod mihi certè non displicet. Interim, quid il cavetso de la Chiesa cogitet, aut murmuret, aut quas turbas daturus sit, tu quoniam propius abes, facilius audire potes. Papistæ nostri odiosissimè pugnant, neque alii ulli contumacius, quam qui à nobis discesserunt. Tanti est semel gustasse de Missa. Qui bibit inde, furit: Procul hinc discedite, queis est Mentis cura bonæ: qui bibit inde, furit: vident exceptò illò palladio omnia ventura in periculum. Pax inter nos et Gallum ita convenit, ut Caletum, octo post annus redeat in potestatem Anglorum. Quod ut Julius noster credat, opus est incredibili, et robustâ fide. Quicquid erit tamen nos eo nomine exspectamus pignora è Gallia. De nuptiis Reginæ adhuc nihil. Tamen ambit hac tempore Suecus, Saxo, Carolus Ferdinandi, mitto Pikerinum Hominem Anglum. Tamen, quid malim, scio. Et ista sunt ut scio μυστικότερα: Et apud nos proverbii loco dici solet matrimonia esse fatalia. Bene vale, mi Pater, et Domine in Christo Colendissime. Saluta quæso optimum senem D. Barnardinum, D. Muraltum, D. Wolphium meo nomine. Liber tuus, quem Reginæ misisti dono, redditus est à D. Cæcilio: Ad meas manus, nescio quo casu, non pervenit. Ego tamen, quoties sum in aula, diligenter exquiro, numquid illa velit: et adhuc nihil audio. Sed quicquid erit, faciam ut intelligas. Londini.

Istæ sunt quintæ, tu vide an aliquæ perierint.

*Inscriptio.*—Doctissimo Viro D. Petro Martyri, Professori Sacræ Theologiæ in Ecclesia Tigurina, Domino suo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

NUMBER LIII.

*A Declaration made by the Confederate Lords of Scotland, to the Queen of England; of their taking arms against the Queen Dowager of Scotland, and the French.*

[Cott. Lib. Calig. b. 10. fol. 24.]

IT may be, that on the French parte it wyll be saide, that it behoveth them to subdue the rebellion in Scotland; and to that end only bringe all this power thither: first it may be, and that truly saide, the begynning and ground, yea, and the proceding hitherto being truly considered, is no rebellion. For true it is, that when the French kyng had long sought to compasse the yonge queene of Scotland, and to have her caryed owt of Scotland into Fraunce, there was great difficultie made yn it by the Scots, and att length brought to passe only by the continuall travayle of the mother, being dowager queene; partly by corruption with money, partly by authoritie, partly by fayre promises; and yet was the matter thus ended, that before her person coulde be transported thence, assurance was made by treaty, by othe, by parlement, by the great seal of Fraunce, by the seal of the dolphyn, that Scotland should not be otherwyse governed but by the lawes, by the nobilitie, by the people of the land; that the offices of the land shuld remayne in the nation of Scotland; that no garrisons should be kepte by the French. After that tyme much labour and practise was made by the queene dowager to procure the favour of the nobilitie of Scotland, to accorde to the mariadge of the queene with the dolphyn; and fynally that obtaygned in a parlement in Scotland, and was the crowne assigned to the queen, and the heirs of her body; and for default therof, to the duke of Chastellerault, and his hires, and so he declared the seconde person. Then allso was on the parte of Fraunce othes taken, chartres delyvered under the greate seale of Fraunce, and confirmed by the yong queene under her seal, and by the dolphin under his seale, that Scotland shuld be governed by the counsayle of the land; that no liberties shuld be violated; that Edinburg Castell shuld be delivered to the lord Arskin to be kept, for the preservation of the rights of the realme; and Dunbritton Castell shuld be delyvered to the duke for his interest as heyre apparent. These things were done, and duplicats made of the grants of Fraunce. One parte delyvered to be kept in Edenburg Castell in the treasury; the other delyvered to the duke: hereupon an ambassade was sent in Anno 1558, of 8 persons, 2 bishops, 2 earles, 4 lords of Scotland, and the mariadge then concluded in Fraunce; which done thur, was attempted that the ambassade shuld return home, and in parlement obtayne, at the yong queene's request, that the crown of Scotland might be given to the dolphin her husband; which matter, the ambassade so much misliked, and utterly refused; alledging that it could never be obtayned; that in the end they were thus abused, yt was devised they should retourne, and procure that a matrimoniall crowne shuld be granted to the kyng: by which words they weare made believe there was a great difference; and yet they could not lyke the matter, but required leave to retourne home, and they would doo that they might. In their departure at Deepe, theyr nombre was made in one night sodenly lesse by one bishope, 2 erles, and 2 barons, and so departed home the other three, much amased att the matter. At theyr return, the dowager queene practised all the ways she could in parlement to obtayne this purpose; which she sought by two ways: one by rewarding those who had not received favour of the duke in the time of his gover-

naunce, partly for the favour they bare at that time to England, parte for other respects; and so sett an enmitie betwixt the duke and them. One other way, she offered to certayne of the lords a permission to lyve freely accordyng to their conscience in religion; and at length she became very stronge, and in parliament obtained this matrimoniall crowne, with these conditions, that the duke's right shuld not be empayred therby. Thus proceded she towards her purpose, and daily usurped against the liberties and promises made. She spared not to begin with the greatest. She committed to prison the chancellor of the realme, the erle Huntley, being one of the principal frends to the duke. She took a great fyne of him, and took the seale from hym; committed that to one Rubay, a Frenchman, an advocate of Paris. Not content therwith, she committed the sayd erle to prison, untill she had put hym to a great raunsome, which she took of hym: and to flatter hym, gave hym the name of chancelor, and put the office in Rubaye's handes. Nexte to this, she hath taken the office of the comptroller of the hole realme, to whom belonged the charge of the whole revenues of the crowne; and hath allso committed it to another Frenchman, a servant of her owne, named Vulemore. She hath also sequestred all matters of counsaill of the governaunce of the land, from the Scottish men borne, and retayned all the secreties to French men. But these weare but small thynges, yff greater had not followed. Having peace with England, she kepte all the garrisons of French men still in the countrey, who lyved upon discretion, which was a new offence to Scotland. Wages they had none out of France at all: the revenue of the crowne, which was not greate, was sent into Fraunce; and to paye the French band a new device was made. She procured out of Fraunce a certayne nombre of franks, being altogether in a certayne coyne of sowces, which had bene, for theyr emtiness, decried and barred in Fraunce two yeres before, and were but bullion: these she made currant in Scotland, to paye the soldiors. She allso erected a mynte, and therin abassed a grete quantite of the Scottish money, and therwith allso payed her soldiers. In that mynte allso, she permytted certayne of the principalls of the French to coyne theyr owne plate, to theyr owne most advantage: which matter both did notable great hurt in all Scotland, and much offended the realme.

Now follows the practises of the queene with diverse noblemen, to becom parties agaynst the duke: meanes was made, fyrst to have wonne the lord Arskin, to deliver the castell of Edinburgh; next, to have stolen it: but this prevailed not. In this season, and before allso, which had much exasperated the people of the land, the queene gave away abbeys, that fell voyd, to French men: som to her brother, the cardinal Guyse, som to other. And generally, she hath kept in her hands these three hole yeres allmost all the ecclesiastical dignities that have fallen voyde; saving such as were of any value, which she gave to French men. Generally she governed all things so, as she never would in any matter followe the counsell of the lordes and nobilite, which, at her first coming to the regiment, were appoynted to be of counsell. Agaynst these her doynges, many intercessions were made by the nobilitie, both joyntly together in good companyes, and advices allso gyven aparte, by such as were sory to see that this governance wold be so dangerous, as it could not be borne: but nothing avayled. And then followed a practise, of all other most dangerous and strange, and, for a personage of honor, a great indignity. The principall matter that was coveted by the queene, was to have cutt away the duke and his house, and to make a party agaynst hym; by persuasion, this was devised. The lord James, being a bastard, son of the last kynge, a man of greate courage and wysdom; and certayne erles and barons of the realme; in whom were considered these two thynges—no great love towards the duke, nor certayne ceremonies of the churche; and yet being men of courage, were borne in hand by the queene, that she her selfe wold beare with theyr devotion in religion, and upon condition that they would joyne with her governaunce agaynst the duke, for the favour of Fraunce, they shuld lyve freely according to theyr conscience in religion, without any impedyment. Herupon they were somwhat boldned, and therby incurred the censures of the churche, and were also, by a private lawe of the land, ignorantly in danger of treason: wherupon processe was made, they endangered. And then was it tyme for the queene to tempt them to forget theyr country, and become French. But when no inticement could prevayle, then began she to threaten them with the lawe, and would neds declare them traytors. This matter the queene pursued, taking it for a great advantage. But, for their defence, the nobilitie of the realme made much labour. Nothyng would staye the queene; but forthwith she produced her garrisons to the feld, proclaymed them traytors, gave away their lands, entred with men of war into a principal towne, called St. John's Towne, changing the provost of the towne agaynst the wyll of the burgesses; and left there four bands of men of warre, to fortefie her new provost. And she fynding the whole realme much offended herwith, and charging her dayly with misgovernance, and violating the liberties of the realm, and her power there not sufficient to procede, as she ment, to conquer the land; she sent for the duke, and the erle Huntley, and pretended in this necessitie a new good will to them, who travayled for her, and stayed all the adverse part in quietness: and then she promised all matters to be stayed and redressed at parlement the next spring: and promised also diverse other thyngs, for the benefite of the land. And then the duke and the erle Huntley tooke upon them to make a quiet with the adverse part. And whiles this was in doyng, the duke's sonne and heyre was sought and sent for, to the courte in Fraunce; from whence he was certainly advertised by diverse of most secret knowledge, that his ruine shuld follow, and that he should be accused, and executed for matters of religion. At the length he abode, untill certayne of good authoritie were depeched from the court, to bryng hym eyther quick or dead. Before their comming, he escaped, without daunger: and they toke his yonger brother, a child, abowt fifteen yeres of age, and commytted him to prison. In this tyme, thyngs being well appeased in Scotland, and every noble man returned to theyre countrees, by the duke's meanes principally, who shewed most favour to the quene, and had gaged his fayth to the nobilitie of Scotland, for keping of all thynges in quiet, untill the parlement; there arrived certayne bands of souldiours out of Fraunce into Leethe, whose comming made such a chaunge in the queene, as she newly caused the towne of Leeth to be fortified, being the principall porte of the realme, and placed twenty-two enseignes of souldiors, with one band of horsemen, therin. Herupon the nobilitie challenged the duke, who had nothing to saye, but entreated the queen, by his most humble letters, to forbeare these mannor of doinges, wherin he could not prevayle. The force of the French was then encreased, Leeth fortified, all ammunition carried into the towne, nothyng left to the Scotts, whereby either well to defend themselfes, or to annoye the towne. Beside this, out of



Fraunce there came dayly French powre by sea; yea, ther went allso, not denyed by the queen's majestie of England, captayns by land through England. Well, at the length, the duke, and all the nobilitie made new intercession by theyr letters, that she would forbeare this fortificacion; for otherwyse her purpose of conquest would appeare to the whole realm; wherupon would grow great disquiet. But her comforth grew so greate owt of France, that she despised all requestes. And thus came the matter to the termes which the French courted; for now thought they it would be but 3 or 4 dayes' work to subdue Scotland: wherunto nevertheless besydes theyre owne powre, she entretayned two or three meane lords, such as lay betwyxt Leeth and Barwick, which was the erle Bothwell and lord Setan, who be the only two, of all the nobilitie of Scotland, that keepeth company with the queen; and yet, as they do notify themselfes by their doyngs, have their harts with their countrymen. And nowe the duke and the rest of the nobilitie, with the barons and burgeses of the realme, fynding no hope of remedy at her hands, but perceyving an eminent danger to the realme, which could not be avoyded by any entreaty, assembled themselves, as regrating the afflicted realme. They began depely to consyder, on the one part, the right of their soveraign lady, being married to a strange prince, and out of her realme, in the hands of Frenchmen only, without counsell of her own natural people; and therwith the mortalitie of her husband, or of her self, before she cold have issue: and on the other side, what the dowager, being a French woman, systar to the house which ruleth all in France, had done, attemped, and dayly persisted in ruinating unnaturally the liberties of her daughter, the queen's subjects, for ambition, to knitte that realme perpetually to France, whatsoever becam of her daughter; and so to execute their old malace upon England, the stile and title wherof they had already usurped; were in the end constrayned to constitute a counsayle, for the governaunce of the realme, to the use of theyr soverayn lady: and therwith humbly to signifie to her the reasonable suspension of the dowager's authoritie; which to mayntayn, they have of themselves, as naturall subjects, convenient strength, being sore oppressed with the French powre; which untill this presant day they do, as theyr powers can endure, being very mean and unable that to do, compared to the meanest force of France: so as although they have been of long tyme occasioned thus to doe; and now for safety, as well of theyr soveraign's right as of the ancient right of the crown, have been forced to spend all ther substance, to hazard theyr lifes, theyr wifes and children, and country: yet can they not longer preserve themselves and the realm from conquest, by this power that is now arrived in Scotland, and is in readiness to be sent thither before next spring. And therfore they have communicated their hole cause to certayn of the queen's majestie's ministers upon the borders, and seek all the ways they can, how they might, without offence of hir majesty, committ theyr just and honorable cause to the protection of hir majesty; onely requiring this, that theyr realme may be saved from the conquest by France, and the right of theyr soveraign lady preserved, with all other rights of their nation of Scotland depending thereupon

August, 1559.

*The Petition of the Lords of Scotland, signed with there own hands.*

We desire yat he hall nommeris of Frenchmen of weir being presentlie within yis realme, may be removed with speed; that we may in tymes coming leif quyetlie without feir of thair troubill.

*Item.* That we may haif place to sute of the king and queen our soveraignis sik articlis as ar necessarie for us, for pacification and perfect government of the realm, without alteration of our anteant liberties.

James Hamilton*. Ard Argyll. Glencarn.
James Stewart†. Alex. Gordon‡. John§.
R. Boyd. Uchiltre. John Maxwell.
Ruthuen. James Stewart ‖.

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NUMBER LIV.

*A short Discussion of the Weighty Matters of Scotland, Aug. 1559.—In Sir W. Cecil's Hand.*

[Cott. Lib. Calig., B. 10.]

QUESTION, Whether it be mete that England should helpe the nobilitie, and Protestants of Scotland, to expell the French: or no?

*That No.*

I. It is against God's law to ayd any subjects against their naturall prince, or their ministers.

II. It is dangerouse to doo it; for if the ayd shal be no other than maye be kept in secretie, it cannot be great; and so consequently it shall not suffice. If it shall be open, it will procure warres, and the end therof is uncertain.

III. It maye be dowted that when money spent is, and aide shall be given, the French maye compownd with the Scottes, and pardon that error, to joyne both in force ageynst England; which is more easy to be beleved, because they had rather make a shamefull composition with Scotland, than suffer it to be rejoyned, and united to the crown of England.

IV. It may be dowbted, that to staye the progress of religion, ageynst the see of Rome, the emperor, the king catholicke, the pope, and the potentates in Italy, the duke of Savoye, will rather conspyre with the French king, than to suffer theis two monarchies to be joyned in one manner of religion. And in this part may be doubted that many, aswell Scottes as English, that can lyke very well to have these two kingdomes perfectly knitt in Amytye, will not allowe them to be knitt in a lyke religion.

*That Yea.*

I. First, It is agreeable, both to the law of God and nature, that every prynce, and publyck state, shuld defend it self; not only from perrills presently sene, but from dangers that be probably sene to come shortly after.

II. Secondly, Nature and reason teacheth every person, politick, or other, to use the same manner of defence, that the adversary useth in offence.

Uppon theis two prynciplees agreed will evidently follow, that England both maye, and ought to ayde Scotland to kepe owt the Frenche.

I. First, The crowne of England hath a good title to the superiorety of Scotland; and owght to defend the libertyes thereof, as themperor is bound to defend the state of Millane, or of Boheme, being held of the empyre. And to prove this superiorety, remayne undowted prooffes under seale, of sondry homagees done to this crowne by the kings of Scotland successyvely. Of their accesses to the parlements of England. Of the episcopall jurisdiction of the see of York over Scotland: In consideration wherof, if it may appere that the French meane to subdue Scotland,

* The earl of Aran always signs thus, for the title of Aran was in his father at that time.

† This seems to be the lord James, afterwards made earl of Murray.

‡ The earl of Huntley's son.

§ Cannot be read.

‖ Probably the earl of Atholl's son.

and so to exempt that realme from the amytye of England, it semeth that England is of duety, and in honour bound to preserve the realme of Scotland from such an absolute dominion of the French.

2. *Item.* Beside this interest that England hath in the crowne of Scotland, for the quiet possession, wheras France hath onely by there warres kept the realme of England*. It is most manifest that France cannot any wise so redely, so puissantly, so easely, offend, yea, invade, and put the crown of England in daunger, as if they may recover an absolute authorite over Scotland: And before that be proved, it semeth not out of order, though not very nedefull to make manifest that the French ar to be taken as enemyes in will, though not in manifest words.

How long time they have bene enemyes to England, how brickle, how false, how double their pacts of peace have bene, the storyes be witnesses, theis seven hondred yeres. Was there ever king of England, with whom they have not made warres? And now of late, upon what occasion they made peace with England, is too manifest. It was by reason of wearyness and povertye, which was such, as the late French king forboare not to expresse in his letters to the queen of England, mentioning the invasions made in Bryttaine by sea. And indede this is to be received as a principle, that France cannot be poor above one or two yeres, nether can so long be out of wars. The revenues of the French crown are thyngs unknown: the insolency of the French nation, being in hope of victory, is not unknown. The long old hatred of the House of Guise, which now occupyeth the king's authorite, agaynst England, hath been often well understood.

And, to come nerer to the matter; it is manifest many wayes what manner a platt that House hath made, to bereave the queen's majesty of hir crowne. In Queen Mary's tyme, the French did not let to divulge ther opinions agaynst this lawful title of the queen's majesty; and, as it was well knowen, had not Almighty God favored the Queen's Majesty to come to the Crowne with such universall joy of hir people, the French had proclaimed ther title both in France and Scotland.

And likewise in the treaty of the peace at Chasteau in Cambresis, it appeared what they would have compassed, when they pressed the Burgundians to conclude with them, and over-pass the treaty with England —alledging, that they could not tell how to treat with England, but to the prejudice of ther right: the dauphiness, his daughter, then having right to the crown of England. How bold they wold have been, if at that tyme she had been queen of France and her husband king, as he now is? For then the wisdom of the constable governed the rashness of the Guisians.

Sence the peace concluded, whilest the French king lived, what means they made at Rome to have made the queen's majesty to be declared illegitimate, is manifest; and so as it is known that the same sentence is brought into France, under the Pope's bulls. Likewise, at the confirmation of the peace betwixt Spain and France, at the solemnities even when the French king was slayne, it appereth, what manifest injurye and dishonour they did to the Queen's Majesty, to assign the arms of England and Ireland to the French queen, and that in all their pageants: And being admonished thereof by the ambassador, wold nether make collorable excuse nor leave it, but both continued therein, and also to despise the queen's majesty's ambassador, and ratification of the peace with the stile. M. Meulas served them with silver vessell stamped with the same usurped armes. How lightly they have esteemed the queen's majesty in all this tyme appereth: for here they be bound by treaty to deliver 4 hostages; notwithstanding that they have been pressed therto, they have sent but three,—wherof one or two be such as if they had not been here; but, whether the queen's majestie had not suffered the dishonour, to have one of her subjects murdered, and no redress therof, but, as it appered, when they had committed the murder, they disdained, and quarrelled against such as did but seke to understand the offenders.

Now the very cause why they stay the prosecution hereof is this, their interruption and parboylls unlooked for in Scotland, which doth so occupy them as they nether can ne dare to utter ther former maliciose purpose untill that be ended.

But surely, besid there old cankered malyce to this realm, this matter so inflameth the house of Guise, that they will not forbear one day longer than of mere necessity they shall be constreyned, to bord this realm with that fayned tytle, and to avance the same. It is knowen that they have sent a great seale into Scotland with the armes, and very stile and title of England and Ireland, and what more manefest arguments can be to shew what they mean and intend then these. In princes practices it is mere childeshness to tarry until the practices be set abrode, for then were it as good to tarry till the trumpet sound wars. All things have there causes precedeing before, but nothing hath his causes precedeing more secretly than the practices of princes; and of all other none is so conning as the French.

It followeth to be considered, that now the French have no convenient way to invade England but by Scotland; by Carlisle they were accustomed, by sea is not so convenient for them, the same being too chargeable for them to assayle: wherefore if it be sene that they will persue their purpose, and that by Scotland, then reason must force England, to confess that to avoyd this danger so apparant, can no way be devised, but to help that the French have not such rule and overhand in Scotland as that they may by that realm invade England.

Lastly, It is to be considered how dangerouse it is for England to be invaded by the way of Scotland.

First, If the French shall present to England a battle, either they will do it with strangers, or French and strangers. If they win, which God forbid, they put in hazard this crown; and though they lese, yet do they not put there own kingdom of France in danger. And therefore it is double the danger for England, to venter battle upon the frontiers of England, to a battle upon the marches of Calais, or Bulloyness.

*A Conclusion.*

It seemeth the weightiest matter to be considered, that either hath, or can chance to England, what is presently to be done for the aid of Scotland; for if it shuld be nedefull the delay will adventure the whole: and if loss come it is unrecoverable. Wherefore it were good that the cause were well and secretly weighted: first, by discreet and wise men, that have experience, affected to the English nation, special love to the queens majesties person; and that done, to send by some colour for the nobilitie, and to consult with them, or ells to send some trusty persons with credit to understand their minds.

* A word seems wanting; probably "in danger."



NUMBER LV.

*The Bond of Association with this Title, Ane Contract of the Lords and Barons, to defend the Liberty of the Evangell of Christ.*

[Copied from the original at Hamilton.]

At Edinburgh, the twintie seventh of Apryll, the year of God ane thousand fyve hundred threescore years: we whaes names are underwriţten, haif promittit and obliedged our selves faithfully, in the presence of our God, and be thir presents promitts, that we altogether in general, and every one of us in special, be himself, with our bodies, goods, friends, and all that we may do, sall set forwart the reformation of religion, according to Goddes worde; and procure, be all means possible, that the true preaching of Goddes word, may haif free passage within this realme, with dew administration of the sacraments, and all thinges depending upon the said worde. And sicklyke deiply weighing with our selves the misbehaviour of the Franche ministers heir, the intolerable oppressions committed be the Franchmen of weir upon the puir subjects of this realme, be meyntenance of the queen dowriare, under collour and pretence of authority; the tyranny of their captains and leaders, and manifest danger of conqueist, in whilk this countrie presently stands; be reason of diverse fortifications on the sea-coast, and other novelties of late attemptat be them; promitts that we sall als weell every one with others, as altogether with the queen of England's armie, presently come in for our deliverance, effectually concurr and joyn together, taking one fold and plain part of the expulsion of the said strayngars, oppressors of our liberty, furth of this realme, and recovery of our ancient freedomes and liberties; to the end in tyme coming we may, under the obedience of our king and queen our soverains, be only reulyt be the laws and customes of the countrie, and by the men of the land: and that never any of us all haiff pryvy intelligence, be writing, or message, or communication, with any of our said enemys or adversars in this cause, bot be the advyce of the rest, at leist of fyve of our numbers: attour, that we sall tender this present cause, as if it were the cause of every one of us in particular; and that the cause of every one of us now joyned together, being leiful and honest, shall be all our causes in general. And he that is enemy to the cause forsaid sall be enemy to us all: in so far, that whatsomever person will plainly resist thir our godly interprysis, and will not concurr as ane guid member of this common weill, we sall fortify the authority of the counsell, to reduce them to their deuty: like as we sall fortify the said authority of the counsale in all things tending to the furtherance of the said cause. And giff any particular debate, quarrell, or contraversee sall aryse, for whatsomever cause, bygain, present, or to come, betwixt any of us, (as God forbid,) in that case we sall submit our selves and our said questions to the decision of the counsale, or to arbitrators to be named be them. Provyding allwayes, that this be not prejudicial to the ordinar jurisdiction of judges: but that men may persue their actions by ordour of law, civilly or criminally, befor the judges ordinars, gif they please.

NUMBER LVI.

*A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, setting forth the Progress that Superstition had made in Queen Mary's Reign.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Juellus ad Martyrem.

S.P.—Tandem tamen aliquando Londinum redij, confecto molestissimo itinere, confecto corpore. Tu fortasse me, quòd nihil scriberem, putabas esse mortuum. Ego verò interea tres totos menses longinqua, et perdifficili Legatione distinebar. Cum essem Bristolij, redditæ mihi sunt Literæ tuæ, quas secum Randolphus noster adduxerat; ita amicè scriptæ, itaq; suaves, ut mihi omnem illam molestiam itinerum, atque occupationum prorsus exciperent ex Animo. Tanquam enim si præsens adfuisses, ita tum mihi videbar tecum colloqui. Randolphus, antequam ego redirem, abierat in Gallias: Itaque ego miser, privatus sum bona parte suavitatis tuæ, quam tu illi præsens præsenti verbis commendaveras. Literas meas in itinere intercidisse, video: Quas enim ego octavas dederem, eas video ad te vix quintas pervenisse. Sed de Legatione, inquies, illa vestra quid tandem factum est? Accipe ergo uno verbo, quod mihi exploratu perlongum fuit. Invenimus ubique animos multitudinis satis propensos ad religionem; ibi etiam, ubi omnia putabantur fore difficillima. Incredibile tamen dictu est, in illis tenebris Mariani temporis, quanta ubique proruperit Seges, et Sylva Superstitionum. Invenimus passim votivas Reliquias superstitiosas Divorum, clavos, quibus fatui Christum confixum fuisse somniabant; et, nescio quas, Portiunculas Sacræ Crucis. Magarum et veneficarum numerus ubique in immensum excreverat. Ecclesiæ Cathedrales nihil aliud erant, quam speluncæ latronum, aut si quid nequius, aut fœdius dici potest. Si quid erat obstinatæ militiæ, id totum erat in Presbyteris, illis præsertim, qui aliquando stetissent à nostra Sententia. Illi nunc, credo, ne parùm consideratè videantur mutâsse voluntatem, turbant omnia: Sed turbent, quantum velint. Nos tamen interim, illos de gradu, et de Sacerdotiis exturbavimus. Hardingus, Homo constans, locum mutare maluit, quàm sententiam. Sidallus subscripsit quidem, sed constanter; hoc est, per invitus. Smithæus autem tuus; quid ille? inquies. An potest à Nazareth quicquam proficisci boni? Mihi crede, ut veterem illam suam Constantiam retineret, nunc tandem etiam quinto recantavit. Fatuus, cum videret Religionem esse immutatam, mutata veste, statim fugam ornaverat in Scotiam. Sed cum hæreret in finibus, captus est, et retractus ex itinere. Ibi statim Homo gravis, et Columen atque Antistes Religionis, accessit ad nos, reliquit omnes suos, et repente factus est Adversarius infestissimus Papistarum. I nunc, et nega Transubstantiationem. Papistarum acies penè sua sponte ceciderunt. O, nisi nobis deesset operæ, non male de Religione sperari posset. Difficile enim est currum agere sine jumento, præsertim adverso monte. Heri, ubi primum Londinum redij, audivi ex Episcopo Cantuariensi, te invitari ad nos, et tibi Lectionem illam tuam veterem asservari. Quid sit, nescio: Hoc tantum possum affirmare, neminem adhuc delectum esse, qui Oxonij doceat sacras Literas. Equidem te, mi Pater, videre percupio, et præsertim in Anglia. Quid enim ni cupiam, quem toties cupio etiam nunc videre Tiguri? Sed novi tuam Prudentiam: Nosti Genium, et Ingenium Insularum. Ea, quæ nunc videmus, esse inchoata, utinam sint boni Principia. Nihil est hodie illâ Scholâ desperatius. Putabis te, cum ibi esses, penè lusisse operam: Ita in lætissima

aliquando Segete, nunc infelix Lolium, et steriles dominantur avenæ. Liber tuus de Votis, ut alia tua omnia, avidissimè distrahitur. Omnes nunc expectamus, quàm mox editurus sis alias Commentationes in Librum Judicum, et in duos Libros Samuelis. Omnes enim nunc nostri sciunt, te illos Libros habere præ manibus, et velle edere. Suecus, et Carolus Ferdinandi F. mirificissimè ambiunt. Sed Suecus impensè: Ille enim, modo impetret, montes argenteos pollicetur. Sed illa fortasse Thalamos propiores cogitat. Alanus noster obiit diem suum, postquam designatus esset Episcopus Roffensis. Ex Scotiâ hoc tempore nihil audimus, quod tibi possit videre novum. Docetur Evangelium, Ecclesiæ assiduè colliguntur, et omnia priscæ Superstitionis Monumenta convelluntur. Galli tamen sperant, se posse et Regnum, et Religionem retinere. Quicquid futurum est, scribam ad te aliàs pluribus. Instat nunc Annus sexagesimus, de quò mihi tu solebas aliquando ex Torquato quodam Stato, nescio quæ, mirifica prædicare. Faxit Deus, ut verum et solidum Gaudium gaudeamus, ut aliquando Orbi terrarum patefiat ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀπολείας, et in omnium oculos incurrat Evangelij Jesu Christi Veritas. Vale, mi Pater, et Uxorem tuam meis verbis resaluta, Mulierem mihi quidem ignotam, sed nunc ex tuis Literis, et Abeli nostri Prædicatione, notissimam. Gratulor et te illi, et illam tibi.

Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Bernardinum, D. Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum. Frenshamum meum longum valere jubeo. Puto enim illum jam solvisse à vobis, et esse cum Christo. Omnes nostri te salutant, tibique omnia precantur. Londini, 2 Novembr. 1559.

Tuus ex Animo, Jo. Juellus.

D. Etonus instantissimè rogavit, ut te suo Nomine salutarem. Si posset ipse Latinè scribere, non uteretur manu mea. Crede mihi, Nemo de te aut sæpius, aut honorificentius loquitur. Uxor etiam ejus Salutem, et tibi dicit, et Uxori tuæ.

*Inscriptio.*—Doctissimo atque Ornatissimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti Sacras Scripturas in Ecclesia Tigurina.

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NUMBER LVII.

*A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, concerning the Earnestness of some about Vestments and Rituals.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Idem ad Eundem.

Biduo, postquam ex longo et perdifficili itinere rediissem, et lassus de via, atq; anhelans, nescio quid, ad te scripsissem, redditæ mihi sunt à te literæ ternæ eodem tempore: Quarum suavissimâ lectione ita sum exhilaratus, ut omnem illam superiorum dierum molestiam prorsus abjecerim ex animo. Etsi enim quoties de te cogito, quod certò assiduè, et in singulas Horas facio, et nisi facerem, ingratus essem, ipsa cogitatione, et memoriâ tui nominis perfundor gaudio, tamen cum literas tuas ad me scriptas lego videor mihi esse Tiguri, et te videre coram, et tecum amœnissimè colloqui: Quod equidem, mihi crede, pluris æstimo, quam omnes opes Episcoporum. De Religione quod scribis, et veste scenica, ô utinam id impetrari potuisset. Nos quidem tam bonæ causæ non defuimus. Sed illi, quibus ista tantoperè placuerunt, credo, sequuti sunt inscitiam presbyterorum: Quos, quoniam nihil aliud videbant esse, quam stipites, sine ingenio, sine doctrina, sine moribus, veste saltem comica volabant populo commendari. Nam ut alantur bonæ literæ, et surrogetur seges aliqua doctorum hominum, nulla, ô Deus bone, nulla hoc tempore cura suscipitur. Itaque quoniam vera via non possunt, istis ludicris ineptiis teneri volunt oculos multitudinis. Sunt quidem istæ, ut tu optimè scribis reliquiæ Amorelıæorum. Quis enim id neget? Atque utinam aliquando ab imis radicibus auferri, et extirpari possint, nostræ quidem nec vices ad eam rem, nec voces deerunt. Quod scribis esse quosdam, qui nullam adhuc significationem dederint suæ erga te voluntatis, subolfacio equidem quos dicas. Sed, mihi crede, non sunt eo numero, aut loco, quò tu fortasse putas, quoque omnis Israel illos sperabat fore. Nam si essent. Non scripserunt hactenus ad te, non quòd noluerint, aut tui obliti fuerint, sed quòd puduerit scribere, nunc uterque laborat gravissimè, è quartana, sed Ἀρκιμάγουρος, quoniam est naturâ tristiori, multò graviùs. Ingemuisti, pro tua erga communem causam pietate, cùm audires nihil prospectum esse cuiquam nostrum. Nunc ergo rursus ingeme. Nam ne adhuc quidem quicquam. Tantum circumferimus inanes titulos Episcoporum, et à Scoto, et Thoma defecimus ad Occamistas et Nominales. Sed, ut scis, magna sunt momenta regnorum. Regina ipsa et causæ favet, et nobis cupit. Quamobrem, etsi satis dura sunt ista initia, tamen non abjicimus animos, nec desinimus sperare lætiora. Facilè intereunt, quæ facilè maturitatem assequuntur. De Libro tuo, memini me, antequam discederem Londino, ad te scripsisse pluribus. Sed illæ literæ fortasse, ut fit, perierint itinere. Hoc etiam adscripsi, Reginam ultrò et cupidè legisse, Epistolam, et apud ipsam, atq; in universam doctrinam, atque ingenium tuum mirificè prædicasse: Librumque illum tuum ab omnibus bonis tanti fieri, quanti haud scio an aliud quicquam in hoc genere. Nihil autem tibi hactenus donatum esse, hei mihi, quod ego dicam? Pudet me, nec scio, quid respondeam. Tamen Regina sedulò sciscitata est nuntium, quid ageres, ubi viveres, quâ valetudine, quâ conditione esses, an posses per ætatem iter facerè. Omninò velle se omnibus modis te invitari in Angliam, ut, qui tua voce coluisses Academiam, eandem nunc dissipatam, et miserè habitam eadem voce irrigares. Postea tamen, nescio quo pacto, Deliberationes Saxonicæ, et Legationes Segulianæ ista Consilia peremerunt. Tamen quicquid est, nihil est hoc tempore celebrius, quam Petrum Martyrem invitari, et propediem venturum esse in Angliam. O utinam res nostræ aliquando stabilitatem aliquam, et robur assequantur. Cupio enim, mi Pater, te videre, et suavissimis Sermonibus, et amicissimis Consiliis tuis frui. Quem ego diem si videro, vel potius, uti spero, ubi videro quas Samarabrinas, aut Sarisburias non contemnam? Vale dulce decus meum, atque animi plusquam dimidium mei. Saluta uxorem tuam optimam mulierem meo nomine. Deus faxit, ut feliciter pariat, et pulchra faciat te prole Parentem. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, Julium, Juliam, et Martyrillum, D. Hermanum tuum, meumque. Nostri omnes te salutant. Londini, 5 Novemb. 1559.

Tuus ex animo quantus quantus,

Jo. Juellus.

*Inscriptio.*—Doctissimo atque Ornatissimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti sacras literas in Schola Tigurinâ Domino suo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

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NUMBER LVIII.

*A Letter of Jewel's to Peter Martyr, full of Apprehensions.*

Ejusdem ad Eundem.

S. P.—Etsi ante non ita multos dies ad te scripserim, et hoc tempore nihil hic sit, quod tu magnopere



scire velis, tamen, quoniam te ita velle non dubito, illud ipsum, nihil malo scribere, quam istum nuntium, quem fortè audieram velle Coloniam proficisci, inanem à me dimittere. Religio apud nos eo loco est, quo jam antea ad te scripsi sæpius. Omnia docentur ubique purissimè. In ceremoniis et larvis passim plusculum ineptitur. Crucula illa argenteola malè nata, malè auspicata, adhuc stat in larario Principis. Me miserum: Res ea facile trahetur in exemplum. Spes erat aliquando tandem ereptum iri. Idque ut fieret, nos omnes dedimus diligenter, et adhuc damus operam. Sed jam quantum video conclamatum est. Ita prorsus obfirmati sunt animi. Nimis prudenter ista mihi videntur geri, nimisq; mysticè. Et quo tandem res nostræ casuræ sint, Deus viderit. Ἵπποι βραδύποδες morantur currum. Cæcilius causæ nostræ impensè favit. Episcopi adhuc designati tantùm sunt: Interim prædia pulchrè augent fiscum. Academia utraque, et ea præsertim, quam tu non ita pridem doctissimè atq; optime coluisti, miserrimè nunc disjecta jacet, sine Pietate, sine Religione, sine Doctore, sine spe ulla Literarum. Multi de te cogitant primarii, et tibi non ignoti viri, et te primo quoque tempore, vel invitis omnibus Seguleiis, accersitum cupiunt. Ego vero, qui tibi, si quis alius mortalium, et animo, atq; unicè cupio, author sum, ut si voceris, quod tamen inter ista arma futurum vix puto, tamen ne quid præcipites. Novi ego Prudentiam tuam: Et tu vicissim, spero, Observantiam erga te meum. Equidem hoc possum verè affirmare, neminem esse Hominem, cui conspectus tuus jucundior futurus sit; quam mihi. Tamen ut sunt res nostræ fluxæ, incertæ, instabiles, utque uno verbo dicam, insulares, magis te salvum audire absentem cupio, quàm præsentem videre cum periculo. Sed ista parùm opportunè. Literas enim silere æquum est inter arma. Nos terra mariq; juvamus vicinum Scotum. Nôsti enim, Tùm tua res agitur paries cùm proximus ardet. Gallum adventurum aiunt cum omnibus copiis. Et fortassè non minoribus excipietur. Londini, 16 Novemb. 1559.

Jo. Juellus,

Istæ sunt Nonæ. Totus tuus.

*Inscriptio.*—Ornatissimo et longè Doctissimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti Sacras Scripturas in Schola Tigurina, Domino suo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

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NUMBER LIX.

*The Queen's Letter to the Emperor, concerning her Aversion to Marriage.—An Original.*

[Paper Office.]

Nos, in ipsius animi nostri sensus diligenter inquirendo, non Invenimus in nobis Voluntatem ullam deserendi hanc Solitariam Vitam, sed potiùs, juvante Deo, libentem animi Inductionem in eadem diutiùs porro vita perseverandi: nos certe necessario ob eam ipsam causam eo in his literis utemur sermone, qui cum corde nostro omnino consentiat, quem ut amanter accipiet, et benevole interpretetur vestra Majestas, admodum rogamus. In quo nostro sermone, si novum aliquid inesse videatur, quod facile potest accidere, si ætas nostra cum reliquis conditionis nostræ rationibus consideretur. Nullum tamen nos novum hoc tempore, aut subitum Consilium suscipere, sed vetus potius retinere videri jure debemus; cum tempus quidem fuit, quo tempore consensisse ad præclara sane et honorata Connubia eripere nos potuisset, è certis quibusdam magnis mœroribus et periculis: De quibus rebus non amplius dicemus; nos tamen nec discriminis mala, nec libertatis cupiditate moveri potuimus, ut animi nostri Voluntatem ullo modo ad eam rem adduceremus. Itaque haud voluimus, vel aperte recusando videri, Vestram Majestatem offendere, vel contra, occasionem dando id verbis concedere, quod mente et voluntate non instituimus.

5 Januarii, 1559.

Vestræ Majestatis bona Soror et Consanguinea,

Elisabetha R.

R. Ascamus.

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NUMBER LX.

*A Letter of Bishop Jewel's to Peter Martyr, concerning the Cross in the Queen's Chapel.*

Ejusdem ad Eundem.

O mi Pater, quid ego ad te scribam? Rei non multùm est, temporis verò multò minùs; sed quoniam te scio delectari brevitate, te authore scribam brevius. Nunc ardet Lis illa Crucularia. Vix credas in re fatua quantum homines, qui sapere aliquid videbantur, insaniunt. Ex illis, quos quidem tu noris, præter Coxum, nullus est. Crastino die instituetur de ea re Disputatio. Arbitri erunt è Senatu selecti quidam viri. Actores inde Cantuariensis et Coxus; hinc Grindallus Londinensis Episcopus, et ego. Eventus ἐν κριτῶν γούνασι κρίται. Rideo tamen, cum cogito, quibus illi, et quàm gravibus, ac solidis rationibus defensuri sint suam Cruculam. Sed quicquid erit, scribam posthac pluribus. Nunc enim sub judice lis est; tamen quantum auguror, non scribam posthac ad te Episcopus. Eò enim jam res pervenit, ut aut Cruces argenteæ et stanneæ, quas nos ubique confregimus, restituendæ sint, aut Episcopatus relinquendi.

Sed quid ago? destituor tempore, et obruor negotiis, et invitus cogor finem facere. Tamen hoc scire debes, Vitum, amicum tuum summum, et popularem Episcopum Vintoniensem, et Oglethorpum Carliolensem, et Bainum Litchfildensem, et Tonstallum Saturnum Dunelmensem, ante aliquot dies esse mortuos. Samsonus ruri agit longè gentium; Parkhurstus in Regno suo. Itaque mirum videri non debet, si ad vos scribant infrequentius.

Saluta, quæso, Reverendissimum Patrem D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Wolphium, D. Hermannum, et Julium: Ad quos ego omnes libenter scriberem hoc tempore, si esset otium. Saluta optimam illam Mulierem, Uxorem tuam, et Annam, et Martyrillum tuum. Etonus, Etona, Abelus, Abela, Grindallus, Sandus, Scoræus, Falconerus, Elmenus, te salutant, et cùm tibi omnia cupiunt, nihil magis cupiunt, quàm Angliam. Quamquam, ut adhuc sunt Res nostræ, crede mihi, pulchrum est esse Tiguri. Benè vale, mi Pater, benè vale. Londini, 4 Februarij, 1560.

Tibi Deditissimus,

Jo. Juellus tuus.

*Inscriptio.*—Doctissimo Viro D. Petro Martyri, Vermilio, profitenti Sacras Literas in Schola Tigurina, Domino suo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

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NUMBER LXI.

*A Letter of Bishop Sands, expressing the Uneasiness he was in, by reason of the Idol in the Queen's Chapel.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Edwinus Wigornensis ad Martyrem.

Salutem in Christo.

Quod nullas tam diu, Vir Reverende, Literas ad te dederim, non officij quidem erga te mei oblitus, aut quid tua de me mereatur Humanitas leviter perpendens, id feci, sed negotiorum multitudine obrutus, scribendi munus pro tempore invitus intermisi, quod

cum Tabellarij jam sese offert opportunitas, diutius differendum non censeo. Sub Augusti initium, cum Literas ad te dedissem, in partes Angliæ boreales, ad abusus Ecclesiæ tollendas, et Ritus Pietati et veræ Religioni consonantes, eidem restituendos, tanquam Inspector et Visitator, ut vocant, cum Principis Mandato dimissus; et illic ad Novembris usque initium, assiduè in obeundo quod mihi creditum erat munere, non sine maximis cum Corporis tum Animi Laboribus versatus, Londinum tandem redij. Ubi novæ rursus Curæ advenientem acceperunt, majorque negotiorum moles humeros premebat: Opera enim mea in Episcopatu Wigorniensi administrando à Principe requirebatur, tandemque reluctanti, Episcopi munus imponitur. Volui quidem ut antea Carliolensem, ad quem nominatus eram, hunc etiam Episcopatum omnino recusare; at id non licuit, nisi et Principis Indignationem mihi procurare, et Christi Ecclesiam quodammodo deserere voluissem. Sub hac, Literas tuas, omni humanitate plenissimas, Burcherus mihi tradidit; quibus, per eundem, quum hinc discederet, respondere distuli; partim, quod Res Anglicæ tum temporis non ita mutatæ, sed in eodem quasi gradu consistentes, exiguam scribendi materiam suppeditabant; partim verò, quod novum illud Onus (sic enim veriùs quam Honos dici potest) novis Curis et Negotiis me mirum in modum distrahebat. En diuturni Silentij mei causam habes, Vir plurimùm observande. Eucharistiæ Doctrina hactenus Dei Beneficio non impugnata, nobis salva et incolumis manet, mansuramq; speramus. Pro viribus enim et ipse, et alij Fratres Co-episcopi, illam quoad vixerimus, Deo juvante tuebimur. De Imaginibus, jampridem nonnihil erat Controversiæ. R. Majestas, non alienum esse à Verbo Dei, immò in commodum Ecclesiæ fore putabat, si Imago Christi crucifixi, unà cum Maria et Joanne, ut tales, in celebriori Ecclesiæ loco poneretur, ubi ab omni Populo facillimè conspiceretur. Quidem ex nobis longè aliter judicabant; præsertim cum omnes omnis generis Imagines, in proxima nostra Visitatione, idque publica Authoritate, non solùm sublatæ, verum etiam combustæ erant: Cumque huic Idolo, præ cæteris, ab ignara et superstitiosa plebe Adoratio solet adhiberi. Ego, quia vehementior eram in ista re, nec ullo modo consentire poteram, ut lapsus Occasio Ecclesiæ Christi daretur; non multum aberat, quin et ab Officio amoverer, et Principis Indignationem incurrerem. At Deus, in cujus manu Corda sunt Regum, pro Tempestate Tranquillitatem dedit, et Ecclesiam Anglicanam ab hujusmodi offendiculis liberavit: tantum manent in Ecclesia nostra Vestimenta illa Papistica. Capas intellige, quas diu non duraturas speramus. Quantum, ex eo quod te tuaque præsentia jam destituitur, Anglia detrimenti capiat, hic Ecclesiæ et Religionis negotium, diligenter et sæpissimè apud eos, quibus Reipublicæ Cura imminet, commemorare soleo. Nescio tamen quomodo animis eorum, in alias res gravissimas intentis, nihil hactenus de te accersendo statutum video. Semel sat scio Reginæ in animo fuit, ut te vocaret: Quid verò impedivit, puto te facilè ex te colligere posse. Causa Christi multos semper habet adversarios; et qui optimi sunt, pessimè semper audiunt. Sacramentum illud Unitatis, magnas facit hodie divisiones. Novum tibi Conjugium gratulor: Precor ut felix faustumque sit; quemadmodum et mihi ipsi opto, qui eam Conjugij Legem nuper subij. Mirus hic belli apparatus est, partim ad propulsandam Gallorum vim, si fortè dum Scotiam sibi subjugare conentur, nostras fines invaserint, partim ad auxilium Scotis contra Gallos ferendum, sicubi Pacis fœdus nobiscum initum violaverint Galli. Det Deus, ut omnia in Nominis sui Gloriam, et Evangelij Propagationem cedant. Hæc priusquam me Wigorniam recipiam, quo brevi profecturum me spero, Literis tibi significanda duxi. Fusius verò scripsissem, nisi quod sciam Fratrem nostrum Juellum, Episcopum Sarisburiensem, sæpe et diligenter de rebus nostris omnibus te certiorem facturum. Si qua in re tibi gratificari queam, crede mihi, mi Honorande Petre, me semper uteris quoad vixero; immò etiam post Vitam, si fieri potest, pro arbitratu tuo.

Saluta quæso plurimùm meo nomine, Clarissimum Virum D. Bullingerum. Debeo ipsi Literas, imò omnia ipsi debeo; et tantum solvam quantum possim, si quando offerat sese Occasio. Saluta Uxorem tuam, Julium cum Julia, D. Hermannum, Paulum et Martyrillum meum; quibus omnibus omnia felicia precor. Vale, Humanissime, Doctissime, ac Colendissime D. Petre. Londini, festinanter, Aprilis primo 1560.

Tuus ex Animo,
EDWINUS WIGORNENSIS.

*Inscriptio.*—Clarissimo ac Doctissimo Viro, D. Doctori Petro Martyri, Domino suo plurimùm Colendo—*Tiguri.*

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NUMBER LXII.

*A Letter of Dr. Sampson's to Peter Martyr, setting forth his Reasons of not accepting a Bishoprick.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Idem ad Eundem.

Argent. Dec. 17.

Ego te per Christum rogo, mi Pater optime, ne graveris mihi quàm citissimè respondere ad hæc pauca. Quomodo nobis agendum sit in Titulo illo, vel concedendo, vel denegando. Supremum Caput post Christum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, &c. Universa Scriptura videtur hoc soli Christo tribuere, ut Caput Ecclesiæ vocetur. Secundò, Si Regina me ad aliquod Munus Ecclesiasticum, dico, ad Ecclesiam aliquam regendam vocaret; an salva Conscientia recipere possum, quum, hæc mihi videantur sufficere excusationis loco, ne in id consentirem. 1. Quod propter Disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ defectum, Episcopus, vel Pastor, non possit suo fungi Officio. 2. Quod tot sint civilia Gravamina, Episcopatui, vel Pastori imposita, ut puta, primorum (ut dicimus) Frugum, i. e. Redituum primi Anni, tum Decimarum, ad hæc in Episcopatibus tot et tanta, insumenda sunt in equis alendis, in armis, in aulicis, quæ semper præstò debent esse; et ut tu nosti, ut quam minima pars Episcopatuum relinquitur, ad necessaria Episcopo munia obeunda, nempe ad Doctos alendos, ad Pauperes pascendos, aliaque facienda quæ illius Ministerium reddant gratum. 3. Ut hoc ad Episcopos præcipuè referatur, quod nunc scribo, tanta est in eorum electione degeneratio à primâ Institutione, neque Cleri enim, neque Populi consensus habetur, tanta superstitiosi ornatus Episcopalis vanitas, ne dicam indignitas, quanta vix puto benè ferri possit, si modo omnia nobis facienda ad id quod expedit. Quod ad me attinet, non hæc scribo quasi talia sperarem; immò Deum precor ex animo, ne unquam talia mihi contingant onera; sed à te fidissimo meo Parente consilium peto, quo possim Instructior esse, si talia mihi obtingant. Ego sic responderem, Me quidem paratum esse in aliquo quocunque velit illa, inservire Concionandi munere, cæterum Ecclesiam Regendam me non posse suscipere, nisi ipsa prius justa Reformatione Ecclesiasticorum munerum, facta, Ministris Jus concedat omnia secundùm Verbum Dei administrandi, et quantum ad Doctrinam, et quantum ad Disciplinam, et quantum ad bona Ecclesiastica. Si autem quæ sit illa Reformatio, quam peto, interrogetur; ex prioribus tribus Articulis, poteris tu conjicere, quæ ego petenda putem. Simpliciter, mi Pater, apud te solum depono Cordis mei secreta; teque per Christum rogo, ut mea



secretò apud te solum teneas, et mihi quam citissime rescribas, quid mihi hic faciendum putes: Adde etiam quæ addenda putas, ut urgeatur illa Reformatio, et aliquid de ipsa Reformatione. Literas tuas ad Hetonum mitte: Ille curabit ad me transferri. Cæterùm, te per Christum rogo, ut quanta poteris festinantia scribas. Ego brevi iturus sum versus Angliam. Habemus Papistas, Anabaptistas, et plurimos Evangelicos Adversarios, et Doctrinæ et piæ Reformationi: Contra hos, ut tueatur, Gloriam Christi, promoveatque Vexillum Christi, quis idoneus? O mi Pater, pro me roga Deum incessanter. Tuus tutos,

TH. SAMPSON.

*Inscriptio.*—Clarissimo Viro, D. D. Petro Martyri—*Tiguri.*

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NUMBER LXIII.

*A Second Letter of Sampson's, expressing great uneasiness that matters were not carried on as he wished.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Idem ad Eundem.

QUAS scripsisti Literas quarto Novembris, accepi tertio Januarij. Jam unum Annum egi in Anglia, non ita quietum; vereor autem, ne sequens Annus plus molestarium mihi pariat. Non tamen solus timeo mihi, sed omnes nobis timemus. Nec tamen audeo scriptis mandare, quæ imminere nobis videntur mala. Vos ergo Sanctissimi Patres, Teque imprimis, D. Petre, Pater et Præceptor Charissime, per Jesum Christum obtestor ut strenuè Deum deprecari velitis: Hoc, hoc, inquam, contendite, ne Veritas Evangelij vel obfuscetur, vel evertatur apud Anglos. Gratias tibi ago, suavissime Pater, quod tam sis diligens in scribendo. Satisfecisti tu, satisfecit et D. Bullingerus mihi, in Quæstionibus; utrisque immortalis Deus noster rependat. Consecratio Episcoporum aliquorum jam habita est: D. Parkerus Cantuariensis, D. Cox Eliensis, D. Grindall Londinensis, D. Sands Vigorniensis, notos tibi nomino: Unus alius, Wallus, etiam est Episcopus, sed tibi ignotus. Sequentur brevi, D. Pylkyntonus Vintoniensis, D. Benthamus Coventrensis, et tuus Juellus Sarisburiensis, brevi, inquam, ut audio, sunt isti consecrandi (ut nostro utar vocabulo). Ego in limine hæreo, neque enim vel egressus, vel ingressus datur. O quam vellem egredi. Deus ipse novit, quam hoc aveam. Episcopi sint alij; ego vellem aut Concionatoris solius, aut nullius munus subire: Domini fiat Voluntas. O mi Pater, quid ego sperem, cum exulet ex Aula Verbi Ministerium; admittatur autem Crucifixi Imago, cum accensis Luminaribus. Altaria quidem sunt diruta, et Imagines per totum Regnum. In sola Aula, Crucifixi Imago cum Candelis retinetur. Et miser Popellus id non solùm libenter audit, sed et sponte imitabitur. Quid ego sperem, ubi tres ex Novitiis nostris Episcopis, unus veluti sacer Minister, secundus loco Diaconi, tertius Subdiaconi loco, Mensæ Domini astabunt, coram Imagine Crucifixi, vel certè non procul sito Idolo, cum Candelis, ornati aureis Vestibus Papisticis, sicque sacram Domini Cænam porrigebant, sine ulla Concione? Quæ spes boni, cùm à multis istis Idololatriæ Reliquiis Religionem nostri petere volunt, et non à viva Dei Voce sonante? Quid sperem ego, cum concionaturi sinjungi debeat, ne Vitia asperè tangantur; cum Concionatores, si quid dicant quod displiceat, non ferendi putantur. Sed quo me capit æstus iste animi, silendum est: Vix capita nostræ imminentis Miseriæ tetigi. Deus æterne, nostri misere, per Christum Deum et Salvatorem nostrum. Unicam hanc à vobis Quæstionem proponam solvendam: Mi Pater, te volo uti Mediatore apud D. Bullingerum, et D. Bernardinum. Hæc est: Num Imago Crucifixi, cum accensis Candelis, in Mensa Domini posita, num, inquam, sit inter Adiaphora ponenda. Si non sit, sed pro re illicita et nefaria ducenda, tum hoc quæro, si Princeps ita injungat omnibus Episcopis et Pastoribus, ut vel admittant in suas Ecclesias imaginem cum Candelis, vel Ministerio Verbi cedant, quid hic faciendum sit? Annon potius deferendum Ministerium Verbi et Sacramentorum sit, quam ut hæ Reliquiæ Amoræorum admittantur? Certè vident nonnulli ex nostris aliquo modo huc inclinare, ut hæc pro Adiaphoris accipi vellent. Ego omnino puto, potius abdicandum Ministerium, si modo id injungatur. Jam te rogo, mi Pater, tuas hic partes unica vice age; hoc est, ut quàm diligentissimè et citissimè me certiorem facias, quid vestra pietas hic censet, quæque sit omnium vestrum sententia tui inquam D. Bullingeri, et D. Bernardin. Hujus Authoritas, ut audio, maxima est apud Reginam. Quod vellet aliquando scribere, hortatum illam, ut strenuè agat in Christi negotio: Testor ex animo, quod certè sciam (Fidenter dico) quod verè Filia Dei sit. Opus tamen habet ejusmodi Consiliariis qualis ille est: nam quod Augustinus Bonifacio dixit, id ferè in omnibus Principibus verum est; nempe, quòd plures habeant qui Corpori, paucos qui Animæ consulent. Quod autem ab illo contendo vellem, et à vobis petere si auderem. Ego tamen hac in re vestræ me subjicio prudentiæ. Callet ut nôsti Linguam Italicam, Latinè et Græcè etiam benè docta est. In his linguis si aliud scribatur à vobis, vel à Domino Bernardino, omnino puto rem gratissimam vos facturos Regiæ Majestati, et operam navaturos Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ utilissimam. Deus vos spiritu suo ducat in perpetuum. Benè vale; Et rescribe unica hac vice quàm poteris festinanter. Saluta meo nomine officiosissimè D. Bullingerum, tuamq; uxorem. Saluta Julium. Quæ jam scripsi, tantùm apud D. Bullingerum et D. Bernardinum promas. Nollem enim ego rumores spargi meo nomine. Imò nec hoc vobis scriberem, nisi sperarem aliquid inde boni eventurum. Forsan vel scribetis (ut dixi) vel saltem bonum mihi dabitis consilium in proposita Quæstione. Agite vos pro vestra pia prudentia. Iterum vale. Raptim. 6 Januar.

Tuus ex Animo, THO. SAMPSON.

Si quid scribatur Regi Majestati, vel à te vel à Domino Bernardino, vel D. Bullingero, non quasi vos ab alio incitati fueritis scribendum, ut vos melius nostis, &c. Salutat te ex animo noster Chamberus. Mea Uxor quartana vexatur. Giana bene valet. Puto etiam Hetonum cum sua bene valere. Rure ago inter Rusticos, Christum pro meo modulo tractans. Tu pro me Deum roga. Literas tuas Sprengiamus, vel Abelus ad me perferri curabit.

*Inscriptio.*—Clarissimo Theologo D. Petro Martyri, Sacrarum Literarum Professori Fidelissimo—*Tiguri.*

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NUMBER LXIV.

*Archbishop Parker's Letter to Secretary Cecil, pressing the filling the Sees of York and Durham, then vacant.—An Original.*

[Paper Office.]

AFTER salutations in Christ to your honore, this shal be instantly to desire you to make request to the queen's majestie, that some bishops myght be appoynted in the north: you wold not beleve me to tell howe often it is requyred at dyverse men's hands, an howe the peple there is offended that thei be nothing caryd for: alasse ther be peple rude of ther owne nature,

and the more had nede to be loked to, for reteyning those in quyet and cyvilitie. I feare that whatsoever is nowe to husbondly saved, wil be an occasion of furder expence in keeping them down, yf (as God forfend) ther shuld be to much Iryshe and savage. Paradventur, Terence councelleth not amysse,—"pecuniam in loco negligare summum interdum lucrum." I know the queen's highnes' disposition to be graciously bent to have her peple to know and fear God; why shuld other hynder her good zeale for mony sake as yt is most commonly judged? If such as have ben named to Yorke and Duresme be not acceptable, or of themselfes not inclyned to be bestowed ther, I wold wishe that some such as be placed already, wer translated thither. And in myn opinion, yf you wold have a lawyer at Yorke, the bishop of St. David's, Dr. Yonge, is both wytty, prudent, and temperate, and man-like.

The bishop of Rochester were well bestowed at Durisme nye to his own contrye, wher tho ther ij bishopryks might be more easily provided for, and lesse inconvenience, though they for a tyme stood voyde: and if to the deanry of Durisme, to joyne with him wer Mr. Skynner apoynted, whom I esteem learned, wise, and expert. I think you cowd not better place them; nowe yf eyther of them, or any of us all shall be feared to hurt the state of our churches, by exercising any extraordinarye practising, for packing and purchasing; this feare myght sure be prevented. We have olde presidents in lawe practised in tymes past, for such parties suspected to be bownd at their entrye to leave ther churches in no worse case by ther defauts then thei fownd them, and then what wold you have more of us? I have afortyme weryed you in this sute, and yet I see these strange delayes determyned. I shal not cease to trouble you therin: if ye here me not for justyce sake, for the zeale ye must beare to Christes deare soulys, importunyte shall wynne one day I dout not: for I see yt hath obtained even a "Judicibus iniquis quarto magis a misericordibus:" thus concluding, I shall offer my prayer to God that ye may fynd grace in your sollicitations to the queen's majestie for the comfort of her peple, and discharge of her owne soule. At Lambeth this 16th of October.

Your to my uttermost power,

MATHEW CANTUAR.

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NUMBER LXV.

*A Letter of Bishop Jewel's to Peter Martyr, concerning the Council of Trent, the Lord Darnly's going to Scotland, with an account of his Mother.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Idem ad Eundem.

SALUTEM plur. in Christo. Gratissimæ mihi fuerunt Literæ tuæ, mi Pater, non solum quod essent à te, cujus omnia mihi debent esse, ut sunt gratissima, verum etiam quod omnem statum renascentis in Gallia Religionis luculentissimè describerent: Quodq; ego me, cum eas legerem, et te ita propè abesse scirem, propius etiam aliquantò te audire, et propius tecum colloqui arbitrarer. Nam quamvis res Gallicæ ad nos rumoribus, ut fit, et nuntiis adferebantur, tamen et certiores, et multò etiam jucundiores visæ sunt, quod à te scriberentur, ab illo præsertim, quem ego scirem partem illarum fuisse maximam. Quòd scribis, illos, qui rerum potiuntur, omnino velle Mutationem in Religione aliquam fieri, non tam studiò et amore pietatis, quàm quòd Papistarum ineptias videant nimis esse ridiculas, quodq; non putent populum aliter posse in officio contineri; quicquid est, quacunq; causa ista fiant, modò prædicatur Christus, εἴτε προφάσει, εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καίρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καραβῆναι. Tamen fieri non potest, quin disputatio illa vestra multùm et Evangelium promoverit, et adversarios adflixerit. Quod autem scribis, Interim quoddam à quibusdam, et Farraginem Religionis quæri, Deus id avertat: Scio omnes in Republ. magnas mutationes odiosas et graves esse: Et multa sæpè à Principibus, temporis causâ, tolerari. Atq; illud fortasse ab initio non fuit incommodum. Nunc verò, postquam erupit Lux omnis Evangelii, quantum quidem fieri potest, vestigia ipsa erroris una cum ruderibus, utq; aiunt, cum pulvisculo auferenda sunt. Quod utinam nos in ista Αἰνοστολία, obtinere potuissemus: Nam in dogmatis prorsus omnia ad vivum resecavimus, et ne unguem quidem latum absumus à doctrina vestra. De ubiquitate enim nihil est periculi. Ibi tantum audiri ista possunt, ubi saxa sapiunt.

Apud nos, de Religione omnia sunt pacata. Episcopi Mariani servant Turrim, et antiquum obtinent. Quod si Leges æquè nunc vigerent, atq; olim, sub Henrico, facilè succumberent. Est Genus Hominum contumax et indomitum: Ferro tamen et metu vincitur. Edidimus nuper Apologiam de mutata Religione, et Discessione ab Ecclesia Romana. Eum ego Librum, etsi dignus non est qui mittatur tam procul, tamen ad te mitto. Est multis in locis vitiosus, qualia sunt ea ferè omnia, quæ apud nos excuduntur; tanta est Typographorum nostrorum Negligentia. Regina nostra prorsus decrevit, nolle mittere ad Consilium: quod, an ullum, aut uspiam sit, nos nescimus. Certè si uspiam, aut ullum est, perarcanum, et valdè obscurum est. Nos nunc cogitamus publicare Causas, quibus inducti ad Concilium non veniamus. Ego quidem sic statuo et sentio, istis Congressionibus et Colloquiis, nihil posse promoveri hoc tempore, nec Deum velle uti istis mediis, ad propagandum Evangelium. Regina nostra, magno nostro cum dolore, innupta manet; neq; adhuc quid velit sciri potest. Tametsi, quò Suspiciones nostræ inclinent, satis te jamdudum scire arbitror. Suecus diuturnus procus, et valdè assiduus, nuper admodùm dimissus est. Ille, acceptâ repulsâ, minatur, quantum audio, in Scotiam: Ut, cùm apud nos hærere non possit, saltem possit in Vicinia. Est Mulier quædam Nobilis, Domina Margareta, Neptis Henrici Octavi, Mulier supra modum infensa Religioni, supra etiam Rabiem Marianam. Ad ejus filium, juvenem, plùs minùs octodecim annos natum, summa rerum judicatur spectare, si quid Elisabethæ, quod nolimus, quodque Deus avertat, accidat. Ejus Mulieris Maritus, Leonesius Scotus, proximis istis diebus conjectus est in Turrim. Filium, aiunt, vel ablegatum esse à Matre, vel profugisse in Scotiam. De eo, ut solet fieri, Sermo est multiplex. Regina Scotiæ, ut scis, innupta est: Potest inter illos convenire aliquid de Nuptiis. Quicquid est, credibile est, Papistas aliquid moliri: Sperant enim adhuc nescio quid non minùs quàm Judæi Messiam suum. Nuntius Pontificis hæret adhùc in Flandria: Nondùm enim impetrare potest fidem publicam, ut tutò veniat in Angliam. Episcopus Aquitanus, Legatus Philippi, astutus, et callidus Veterator, et factus ad Insidias, satagit quantum potest, ejus Causa; saltem, ut audiatur; ne tam procul frustrà venerit. Sperat enim uno Colloquio aliquid, nescio quid, posse fieri. Est Puella quædam Nobilis, Domina Catherina, Ducis Suffolchiensis Filia, ex Sanguine Regio, eoq; nominatim scripta ab Henrico Octavo in Testamento, ut si quid accidisset, quarto loco succederet. Ex eo, Comes Herfordiensis, Juvenis, Ducis Somersetensis Filius, suscepit Filium, et multi putant ex Stupro, sed ut ipsi dicunt, ex legitimis Nuptiis. Se enim clàm inter se contraxisse, et advocato Sacrificatore, et paucis quibusdam arbitris, junxisse Nuptias. Ea Res turbavit animos multorum.



Nam si sunt veræ Nuptiæ, Puer, qui susceptus est, alitur ad Spem Regni. O nos miseros, qui non possumus scire, sub quo Domino victuri simus. Deus nobis Elizabetham, spero, diù vivam et incolumem conservabit. Id nobis erit satis. Tu, mi Pater, ora Deum, ut Rempublicam nostram, et Ecclesiam conservet. Vale, mi Pater, vale. Vale, dulce Decus meum. Saluta meo Nomine Uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zwinglium, D. Hallenum, D. Wikium, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Wolphium, Julium, Juliam, et Martyrillum.

Tui Nominis Studiosissimus,

Jo. JUELLUS, Anglus.

Salisberiæ, 7 Febr. 1562. Ex Anglia.

*Inscriptio.*—Viro longè Doctissimo, D. Petro Martyri, Vermilio, Professori Sacræ Theologiæ in Schola Tigurina, Domino suo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

P. S.—Regina Elisabetha, omnem nostram Monetam auream, argenteamque ad pristinam Probitatem restituit, et puram, putamq; reddidit: Opus planè Regium, quodq; tu mireris tam brevi Tempore potuisse fieri.

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NUMBER LXVI.

TWO INSTRUMENTS.

The FIRST is,

*The Promise under the Great Seal of Francis the IId. to maintain the Succession to the Crown of Scotland in the Family of Hamilton, in case Queen Mary should die without Children.—An Original.*

FRANÇOIS, fils ainé du Roy et Dauphin de Viennois, à tous ceux qui ces presentes Lettres verront, Salut. Nous ayant de la Part de notre tres cher et tres honnoré Seigneur et Pere le Roy de France, entendu que dès le dix-septeme Jour de Juin, il fit expedier ses Lettres Patentes, à notre tres cher et tres amé Cousin, Jaques Duc de Chateleraut, Comte de Aran, et Seigneur D'ammilton, Chevalier de son Ordre cy Devant, Gouverneur du Royaume d'Ecosse; par les quelles Lettres lui auroit accordé que en cas que notre tres chere et tres amée Cousine, Marie Reine d'Ecosse, decedat sans Hoirs de son Corps, que Dieu ne veuille, il succede à la Couronne d'Ecosse, et pour y parvenir lui aider et subvenir, desirant notre dit Seigneur et Pere, que nous veuillons ratifier et approver la dite promesse par luy faite à notre dit Cousin, sçavoir faisons que nous voulans singulierement entretenir et observer la Foy et Parole de nostre dit Seigneur et Pere, et lui obeïr en tout ce que lui est affecté et recommandé, et aussi pour l'amour particuliere que avons porté et portons à icelui notre dit Cousin, et à sa maison, pour l'Affection qu'il a toujours demontrée envers notre dit Seigneur et Pere, et la bien de la Couronne de France—Nous à ces Causes, et autres à ce nous mouvant, avons entant que besoin seroit tant pour nous, que pour nos Successeurs confirmé et ratifié, confirmons et ratifions par ces Presentes, le contenu des dites Lettres de notre dit Seigneur et Pere, du dix-septieme Juin, Mille Cinq cent Quarante neuf: Promettant en bonne Foi, avenant que notre dite Cousine, la Reine d'Ecosse, decedat sans Hoirs de son Corps, le laisser jouïr du dit Royaume, et pour cet effet le secourir et aider selon le contenu des dites Lettres. En temoin de ce nous avons signé les Presentes de notre propre Main, et à Icelles fait mettre, et apposer notre Scel. Donné à Paris, le dix-neuvieme Jouïr d'Avril, l'An de Grace, Mille Cinq cent Cinquante huit.

FRANÇOIS.

Par Monseigneur le Dauphin, CLAUSSE.

The SECOND is,

*The Promise made to the same Effect, by Henry the IId. King of France, before Queen Mary was sent out of Scotland.—An Original.*

HENRY, par la Grace de Dieu, Roy de France; à tous ceux qui ces presentes Lettres verront, Salut. Sçavoir faisons, que ayant egard aux bons, grands, vertueux, agreable, et tres recommandable Services, fait par notre tres cher et tres amé Cousin, le Comte de Aran, Chevalier de nostre Ordre, Governeur du Royaume d'Ecosse, à feu notre tres honnoré Seigneur et Pere, que Dieu absolve, depuis le trepas du feu Roy d'Ecosse, dernier decedé, à nous et à la Couronne de France Consecutivement, et Specialement pour avoir moyenné l'accord du Mariage de ma tres cher et tres amée Fille et Cousine la Reine d'Ecosse, avec notre tres cher et tres amé Fils le Dauphin de Viennois—Pour de nostre Part donner à connoitre à Icelui notre dit Cousin, l'Affection que lui portons, et le grand desir que nous avons de le favoriser en toutes raisonnables Choses qui le pourront toucher: Lui avons par ces Presentes en Parole de Roy, promis et promettons, advenant qu'il plust à Dieu appeller à sa part la dite Reine d'Ecosse, sans Hoirs Issus de son Corps, et que par Voye de fait avenu que ses Ennemis voulussent entreprendre l'empecher, lui ou les Siens descendans, de lui par droite Ligne, qu'ils ne vinssent à la paisible Jouissance de la Couronne du Royaume d'Ecosse; Comme plus proche d'Icelle apres le Trepas de la dite Reine, que nous lui tendrons la Main à lui, et aux Siens à l'encontre de leurs Ennemis quelconque; et les aiderons et suporterons en toutes sories, selon que requierent les anciennes Alliances et Confederations, qui ont de tout tems été et sont encore entre nous, notre Royaume et Pais, et Celui d'Ecosse. Et quant à l'Article du Traité, que nous avons fait avecques le dit Gouverneur, par lequel sommes tenus de le faire tenir quite et decharger de l'Administration, qu'il a euë et aura du dit Royaume durant la Minorité d'Icelle notre dite Fille et Cousine, sans qu'il en soit autrement comptable, et du tout lui en faire bailler, et de livrer Lettres de decharges de la dite Dame, par le Consentement de notre dit Fils son Mary, quand elle sera d'age—Nous derechef ratifions et approuvons le dit Article par ces Presentes, et nous obligeons ainsi le faire ensemble de l'en decharger envers la dite Dame et son futur Mary. En temoin de ce nous avons signé ces Presentes, et à notre Main, Icelle fait mettre, et apposer notre Scel. Donné à Paris, le dix-septieme Jour de Juin, l'An de Grace, Mille Cinq cent Quarante neuf; et de nostre Regne le troisieme.

HENRY.

Par le Roy,

DE L'AUBESPINE.

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NUMBER LXVII.

*Instructions to the Queen's Commissioners treating in Scotland.—An Original.*

[Paper Office.]

AFTER our right harty commendations, we have receyved your letters of the 11th of this mounth, and by the same do understande at good length your proceedings with the French commissioners hitherto, and in the ende of the death of the dowager of Scotland: for your advertisements whereof we give unto you, on the queen's majesties behalf, most harty thanks: and like as her highnes doth well allowe your opinion for the signifying unto king Phillippe's ambassadors, that we be entred into treaty with the French, and are in very good way towards accorde, and finde not things

alltogether so harde to be brought to composition as was supposed; so hath her majestie taken order, that one shall be out of hande sent to declare the same unto them, with signification allso what her highnes hath harde of the dowager's death. As touching the other points of your letter wherin you require her highnes' resolution; we have considered the same, and uppon reporte of our opinions to the queen's majestie, her highnes hath resolved as followeth: fyrst, in caise the Frenche commissioners uppon the understanding of the dowager's death will nedes presse to returne back againe without following their commission; her highnes in that case is pleased, that after you shall have provoked them by such good meanes as you can best devise, to contynue; if in the ende they will nedes breake of, and returne, you shall agree they may so do, and thereuppon consulting with our very good lorde the duke of Norffolke, and imparting the state of the case unto the lords of Scotland, to take order by their good advice, howe the purpose intendyd for expelling of the French, and assuring of that realme, according to that hath byn heretofore determined, may best and most spedely be brought to passe, which in case the French breake of from treatte, her majestie wolde sholde be gon thorough withall without any longer delay, or loss of time; the rather for that it appeareth by all advertisements, that the French seeke nothing so much as to wyn tyme, and draw forth matters in length to serve theyr purpose wythall; which must not be endured: And where your desire to know what you shall doe if the French commissioners that be with you will require the presence of sume of theyr colleages in the town; her highnes thinketh, as you doe, that the same is in no wise to be grauntyd, nor the said commissioners that be in Lyth to be suffered to issue, or treate of this matter otherwise then is prescribed by your instructions. As touching the last point, where ye desire to know what shall be done, in case the said French commissioners shall require assistance of such Scottyshemen as were of the French faction: her highnes thinks fyt, yf the same shall be demaunded, that the lords of Scotland be made privie thereunto; and in case they and you shall not see sume reasonable cause of the contrary, her majestie thinketh, and so do we allso, that it may without daunger be grantyd, wherin nevertheless you may use your good discretions as you shall see may best stand with the advancement of his highnes' service. And forasmuche as one Parrys, an Iresheman, who hath (as we think you doe well enough remember) byn a fugitive out of this realme nowe a long time together, is as we understande come from the French, and hathe now yelded himself into the lorde Greye's hands: we hartely pray you, in case you may conveniently, to talk with the said Parrys, and understand of him what he can say touching the practises that hath byn attemptyd in Ireland, or any other thing concerning the state of the queen's majestie, or her realme; and to lett us know what he is able to say therin, to the intent if his meaning and doing shall appere unto you to deserve the same, we may be sutors unto her highnes for his pardonne, and for suche farther consideracion of hym, as his doing shall deserve. And thus we wish you most hartely well to fare. From Grenewich the 15th of June, 1560.

Your assured loving friends,

Winchester. W. North, &c.
E. Clynton. Willm. Petre Se.
Tho. Parrys.

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NUMBER LXVIII.

*The Commission of the Estates to move Queen Elizabeth to take the Earl of Arran to her Husband.—Taken from the Original now at Hamilton.*

The lords of parliament, and others under-written, havand consideration how the kingdome of England is joynt with this, Be an dray march, how puissent it is; what incommodity we and our forefathers have felt, be the continual weirs betwixt the tuo nations; and be the contrar, how profitable there amytie may be to us, what welth and commodity we may obtain therthrow; hes thought good divysed and ordained, that the occasion presently opened up to us shal be followed, that is, sute made to the queen of England in the best manner, that it may please her majesty, for establishing of one perpetual friendship, to joine in marriage with the earll of Arran; being of the lawfull blood of this realme, and failzieing of succession of the queen, our soverain ladies body, next his father, the duke's grace of Chastellerault declared be act of parliament, second person of the realme, air apparant to the crown; and for that purpose that honourable persons be sent in ambassate, fra them yn behalf of the estates. And to the effect, the sute may be made in the most honourable manner, and to her majesty's best contentation, they have devised that presently in plane parliament it shal be devised, that certain ambassadours be sent to her majesty, fre the estates, to give her hieness thanks for the guid will she has ever born to this realme, sen she came to her crown, and desire she hes that it may continue an free kingdom in thantiant liberty, sufficiently of late declared, be her support liberally granted for the relief therof; and for the guid quietnes we presently enjoy, purchast to us be her majesty's means and labours; and they are withall to desire of her heeness to give strait commandments to her wardains, and officers upon the borders, to continue with ours, for suppressing of broken men, and stanching of thift, with sic other things as are necessar for the common weel of this realme: and that the states give power to the lords of articles, and others underwritten, to devise sic commision and instructions as are necessar, for that purpose, to be sealed, and subscribed be six of the principals of every estate, whilk sal be as sufficient, as giff it were subscribed and sealed be the haill estates; and therafter the lords of articles, and ours under specified, to devise the instructione and commission tuching the heid of the marriage.

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NUMBER LXIX.

*The Queenes Majesties Answere declared to her Counsell concerninge the Requests of the Lords of Scotlande.—In Sir W. Cecil's Hand.*

[Cott. Lib. Calig. B. 10. fo. 133.]

Her Majestie reduced the answere into three points.

1. The first was, That where the three estats had sent the lords of Scotland to present their harty thanks to her majestie for the benefits receaved this last yere by her majestie's ayde given to them. Her majestie is very glad to perceave her good will and chardgs so well bestowed as to see the same thankfullye accepted and acknowledged; and findeth the same to have been seasonablie planted that produceth so plentifull fruct, with the which her majestie doeth so satisfie herself, as if at any time the like cause shall happen wherin her friendship, or ayde, shall, or may profit them for their just defence, the same shall not be wantinge. And although in former times it appeared that sondry beneficts bestowed upon divers of the nobilitye here by her majestie's most noble father, had not such succes, nor was answered with like thankfullnes: yet her majestye doth nowe evidently se the cause thereof to be for that the meaneninge of her father's benefices were interpreted, and supposed to be to the discomoditye of the land, and these her majesties be evidentlye sene to bend directlye to the safetye of that realme. And so the diversitye of the bestowinge hath made the diversitye in the operacion and acceptation of them.

The 8th of December, 1560.

2. The second point is, where the same estates have by their parlyament accorded, that suyte should be made for the mariage with her majesty of the earl of Arrayne; her majestye cannot interprete that motion to come but both of a good meaneinge of the same estaits, pretendinge thereby to knit both theis kingdomes presently in amytye, and hereafter to remaine in a perpetuall amytye; and of a great good will of the same estates towards her majestye, offeringe to her the best and choicest person that they have, and that not without some daunger of the displeasure of the French kinge in so doinge: for answere hereunto, her majesty findeing herself not disposed presently to marry, (although it may be that the necessitie and respect of her realme shall hereto hereafter constrayne her,) wished that the earle of Arrayne should not forbeare to accept such mariage as may be made to him for his own weill and surety; and that all other means be used to the continewance of amytie firmly betwixt these kingdomes; whereunto her majesty thinketh many good reasons ought to induce the people of both realmes, and in a manner to continewe as good amytye therby, as by mariage: for it appeareth, that if every nobleman of Scotlande will well consider how necessarye the friendship of this realme is to that, for the preservation of their liberties; they shall chiefly for safegard of themselves joyne together in concord with this realeme, and so every one particularly minding his own suretye, of consequence the love and amyte shall be universall; by which means her majesty thinketh the amitye may be well assured, though no marriage be obteyned. And as to the person of the earle of Arrayn, her majesty surely hath heard a verie good report of him, and thinketh him to be a noble gentleman of great woordinesse, and so thinketh surely that he shall prove hereafter.

3. Thirdly and lastly, her majestye thancketh the said lords for their paines and travell; and although she doubteth nether of their wisdome, nor of the providence of the estates at home in Scotland, yet for demonstracion of her hearty good will, her majesty cannot forbeare to require them not to forget the practises that be past, by such as before tyme sought the subverson of them; and nowe much more will doe it, if there maye be left any entry for corruption, be reward, or other scope of practise. And therefore her majesty wisheth, that they all do persist, first in a good concorde, makinge their causes come amongst themselves; and not to dissever themselves in any factions, but to foresee well thinges before they chaunce: for that her majestie thinketh this prove verie true, that darts foreseen, hurt verie little, or not at all. And for her majestie's parte, there shall no reasonable thinge be neglected, that may furder this comun action of defence of both the realmes, against any common enemye.

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NUMBER LXX.

*A Letter of the English Ambassador, to Queen Mary of Scotland, for her Ratifying the Treaty of Leith.*

[Paper-Office.]

Pleaseth it your majestie. The same may remember, that at my lord of Bedford's being in this court, he and I demanded of you, on the behalfe of the queen's majestie, our mistress, your good sister and cousyne, your ratification of thaccord latelye made at Edingborough in Scotland. Wherunto you made answer, amonge other things, that your counsell being not about youe; namely your uncle, my lord cardinall of Lorraine, by whom you are advised in your affaires, and also for that your majestie had not heard from your counsell in Scotland, from whom you looked to hear them verie shortlye; you could make us no direct answer therin. But that heering from them, and having consulted with your counsell heere; you would satisfie her majestie in the same. Sins whiche tyme, her majestie having knowledge of the coming to you of the lord James, your brother, who passed lately through England hitherwards, by whom (her majestie judgeth) you will be advised, bothe in respect of his ranke and estimacion in your realme of Scotland, and allso for that he hathe the honour to be your majestie's brother, and of good credite with you: and nothing doubting of your consultation with my said lord cardinall, and others of your counsell heere sins that tyme; her majestie hathe presentlie commanded, and authorized me to put your majestie in remembrance therof againe; and to renew the demande of your confirmation of the said late accord. Therefore I have presently depechid to you this gentleman, bearer heerof, her majestie's servant: by whom, I beseeche you, to let me understand your resolute answer in that behalfe. And uppon knowledge of your pleasure, to delyver me the said ratification; and of the tyme and place, I will not faile (God willing) to resort, whither your majestie will appoint me to come for that pourpose.

By demanding of this ratification, as the queen's majestie, my mistress, your good sister, dothe shew the great desyre she hathe, to lyve from hence forth in all assured good love, peas and amytie with you, and your realme; so, in her opynion, there is nothing that can argue your reciproke good will, to answer to the lyke for your parte agayne, so much as the stablishing the same by this knot of frendship which God hath appointed, and hath been cheif worker therin, for both your quyetnesses and comforts; being now the onlie refuge of you both. And so I pray Almighty God, long to preserve your majestie in parfaict healthe, honour and filicitie. From Paris, the 13th of Aprill, 1561.

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NUMBER LXXI.

*A Letter of Mary, Queen of Scotland, delaying to ratify the Treaty of Leith.—An Original.*

[Paper-Office.]

Monsieur Ambassadeur,—J'ay leu la Lettre que vous máves escrite par le Gentilhomme present Porteur, et pour ce j'étant sur mon Partement de ce Lieu, je ne puis vous faire reponce plustot qu'à Reims, où j'espere d'estre au Sacrè de Roy: Je ne feray cette plus long que pour vous dire, quant à lord James, qui est devers moy, il y est venue pour son devoir, comme devers sa Souveraine Dame, que je suis, sans Charge ou Commission, qui concerne autre Chose que son droit. Je prie Dieu, Monsieur Ambassadeur, vous avoir en sa Garde. Escrit à Nanci, ce 22 d'Avril, 1562.

Vostre bien bon Amy,
Marie.

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NUMBER LXXII.

*An Original Letter of the Ambassador's to the Queen, upon that Affair.*

[Paper-Office.]

It maye please your majestie to be advertised, that haveing written this other Lettre, and being ready to have depeched it to your majestie; Mr. Somer, your highnesses servant, arryved heere from Nanci in Lorraine, from the queene of Scotland, with answer to my lettre, which (by your majesties commandment) I wrote to her, in such sorte, as I have advertised by my former, and therwith sent to your majestie the coppies of my lettres to the saide queen and cardinall of Lorraine. Which her answer being by lettre (having allso said as much by mouth to Mr. Somer), together with the said cardinall's answer; I send your majestie herewith. And though your majesties said servant used the best speech as he coude, to get some direct answer of her, accordinge to her late promesses, putting her in remembrance of her words to my lord of Bedford, and to me at Fontainebleau: yet other answer nor direction, then is conteined in her letter, coude he not gette of her. And seinge she hath defferrid to make me further answer, till my next meetinge with her, which she reckenith shall be at Reims, at the French king's sacre, as appearith by her said lettre; where, she and the cardinall told Mr. Somer, she mynded to be the 8th of Maye; for that it is said the sacre shall be the 15th; and for that your majestie hath commanded me, for some respects, not to be at it; I know not when I shall have the opertunitie and meanes to speake with the said queen for her answer. Therefore seing I cannot be at Reims (as indeede, besyeds your majesties commandment, myne indisposition of my bodye will not suffer me to come there) and allso for that (as I heere) the said queen myndeth not to come into these partes this good while; if it wold please your majestie, to send hither your lettres of credit directed unto her, therby to authorize Mr. Somer, your majesties said servant, to demande and receyve her answer therin, in myne absence, by reason of my sicknesse; I take it, your majestie shall the sooner have her direct answer. If your majestie finde this good, it may please the same, to send such your lettres hither, with good speed, that the answer may be had, before she departe agayne from Reims.

And though I thinke verily, that her answer will be such as I have allready advertised your majestie she made to my lord James (which is means to draw the tyme still into greater length), yet the same, or anye other, being made to your majestie by her self; you shall the better know how to proceede with her in the matter afterwards.

The said queen of Scotland was accompaigned at Nancy with the dowager of Lorraine (whom they call there Son Altezze) the duke and duchesse of Lorraine, monsieur de Vaudemont, the cardinalles of Lorraine and Guyse, and the duke d'Aumalle. One of the chiefest cawses of her going thither from Joinville (being 18 Lorraine leagues of) as I heere, was to christen monsieur de Vaudemont's yong sonne, borne lately at Mallegrange, a quarter of a league from Nancy.

I wrote to your majestie, by my letters of the 23d of this present, that the queen of Scotland wold authorize my said lord James, (as she had told him her self) to have the speciall charge of the government of the affaires in Scotland, till her comminge thither; and would, for that purpose, give him commission under her seale. For which comission, and other letters, he left a gentleman of his with the said queen, to bring it after him to this towne. The gentleman is retourned from the queen with her letters, but hath brought no commission: and I understande, that she hath now changed her mynd in that point; and will appoint none to have authorite there, till she come her self. And as to such sutes and requestes, as are made to her for benefices, and such other thinges as are to be bestowed; she will not dispose of any of them, nor make other answer therin, till her comminge thither. Which (it is thought) she dothe, to bestowe the same upon some such as she shall see worthy of her favour and preferrmente, and upon others, to winne them the sooner to her devocion. The speciall cause why she hath changed her opinion for my lord James (as I heere) is; for that she coude by no means dis-swade him from his devocion and good opinion towards your majestie, and the observation of the leaguе between your majestie and the realme of Scotland. And allso for that she, nor the cardinall of Lorraine, coude not winne nor divert him from his religion; wherin they used verie great meanes, and perswasions. For which respects, the said lord James deservith to be the more estymid of your majestie. And seeing he hath dealt so plainely with the queen his soveraine, on your majesties behalf, and shewed himself so constant in religion, that neither the feare of his soveraine's indignacion coude waver him, nor great promesses winne him; your majestie may (in myne opinion) make good accompt of his constancy towardes you: and so deserveth to be well entertayned and made of, by your majestie, as one that may stand you in no small steade, for the advancement of your majesties desire. Sins his being heere, he hath dealt so franckly and liberally with me, that I must beleeve he will so contynue after his return home. And in case your majestie wold now in tyme, liberally and honorably consider him with some good means, to make him to be the more beholding to your majesty; it wold, in my simple judgment, serve your majestie to great purpose. He departeth hence homeward about the 4th of Maye, by the way of Diepe, and myndith to land at Rye: wherof I thought good to advertise your majestie, that it may please the same to give order, for him and his company to be receyved and accommodated as apertenith: which will be well bestowed upon him, for the good reporte he made of his late reception there, and of the great favour your majestie shewed him at his coming hitherwards.

I understand that the queen of Scotland maketh accompt to fynd a good partie in her realme, of such as are of her religion. And amongs other, the earle of Huntley hath promysed, that having the duke on his side, he, with such other as he holdeth assured, will be able enough to make head to the contrary parte. And so hath he promised to bring greate things to passe there, for the queen's purpose and affection.

I understand (and so gather partly by my said lord James' own words) that soone after his retourne home into Scotland, he shall marye the earle marshall's daughter.

As I have written heertofore to your majestie, that this realm was in danger of great unquietnes amonge themselves for religion; so the 28th of April, the same beganne to appeare in this towne. Certain gentlemen, and others, about a hundred, assembled together in a private house in the suburbes, where they had a sermon, and psalmes singing, as is used in all assemblies. Wherewith the people offended, assembled to great numbers, forced the walles of a garden joining to the house; made a great breach with such tooles as they coude gett, and would have entred with violence to have wrought their cruaulty uppon the gentlemen.



The other seing none other remedye, their perswasions serving to litle effect with such an unruly sorte, defended themselves with such weapons and harguebouzes, as they had provided against all events, and so slew 7 or 8 of the assailliants, and defended the house till the justice and court of parliament of this town appeased and retyred the people. And the night following, the deffendants shifted themselfes away thence, without farther harme; hitherto nothing elles is done heerupon. What will ensue, it is to be feared. In the mean time, the people murmure greatly at the slaughter. And the other parte are not a litle moved generally, to be so assaulted and molested, contrary to the king's edicts, which permitte all men to live according to their consciences, so they give none occasion of slander or offence to the people, or publique preaching, and that command all men not to reproach or injury the one, the other, for their living in that sorte. Between these two partyes the justice is so little feared, and pollycy hath now so litle place, that greater things are to be feared, unlesse better and speedyer order be provided to appease all, then I can see towards.

I understand that the queen of Scotland hath hitherto no great devotion to Ledington, Grange, and Balnaves, wherof I am nothing sory. But she mindeth to use all the best meanes she can to wynne them to her, which she trusteth well to compasse.

And wheras I have advertised your majestie that the baron de la Garde shulde cary this king's order to the king of Sweden: I understand now, that it is to the king of Denmarke, and not to the other.

Having written thus farre, I understand, that wheras it was determined that the king shuld have departed the 28th of Aprill from Fontainbleau towards Reims to his sacre: the same is retarded, by reason that the queen mother is fallen sicke of a catarre. So that both his departure from thence, and the time of his sacre is now uncertain, and dependith wholely upon the said queen mother's recovery.

Though I take it that your majestie hath received from your ministers in Germany the pope's demand of the princes protestants of Germany, and their answer therunto; yett having recouvered the same here, I thought in my duety to send it to your majestie as I do heerewith. And thus I pray God long to preserve your majestie in health, honnour, and all felicitie. From Paris the first of Maye, 1561.

Your majesties humble and most obedient subject and servant,

N. Throkmorton.

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NUMBER LXXIII.

*A Letter of Bishop Jewel's to Bullinger, chiefly concerning the affairs of France, and the Queen espousing the Prince of Conde's Cause.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Idem ad Bullingerum.

Salutem Plurimam in Christo.—Redditæ mihi sunt non ita pridem Literæ tuæ, Scriptæ Tiguri ad quintum diem Martii: Quæ quamvis essent ὑπομεμψίμοιροι, et querulæ, tamen mihi perjucundæ videbantur; non tantùm quod à te essent, cujus omnia scripta dictaque mihi semper visa sunt honorifica, sed etiam quod officium meum ita obnixè requirerent, et meam in scribendo negligentiam et socordiam excitarent. Ego verò, mi Pater, et Domine Colendissimè etsi minùs fortasse ad te sæpè scribo quàm velim, tamen quoties occasio aliqua offertur, ne hoc quidem officium intermitto. Binas enim dedi nuper ad te Literas, alteras Francofordiam ad nundinas Martias, alteras statim à Paschate. Quæ si adhuc, ut sit, subsistant fortè in itinere, tamen expedient se aliquando, et postremò uti spero, ad te pervenient. Ego interim de te cogitare, et honorificè ut debeo, de te loqui nunquam desino. De Gallicis rebus ad te scribere hoc tempore, esset fortasse putidum: Omnia enim ad vos etiam sine ventis et navibus afferentur. Sanctissimus nihil relinquet intentatum. Flectere si nequeat superos, Acheronta movebit. Videt enim jam non agi de reduviis, sed de vita et sanguine. Utinam ne nostri sese patiantur circumveniri. Dux Guisanus, ut, nescio qua spe moderandæ Religionis, et recipiendæ Confessionis Augustanæ, moratus est Principes Germaniæ, ne se admiscerent huic bello; ita omnibus modis persuadere conatus est Reginæ nostræ, non agi nunc in Gallia negotium Religionis; esse manifestam conjurationem, causam esse Regis, cui illam, cùm Regium locum teneat, non oporteat adversari. Intereà id egit, ut Neptis sua, Regina Scotiæ, ambiret gratiam, atque amicitiam Reginæ nostræ, et munuscula mitteret, et nescio quas fides daret: Velle se, hac æstate honoris causa venire in Angliam; et æternum amicitiæ Fœdus, quod nunquam postea convelli possit, velle sancire. Misit ea adamantem maximi pretii, gemmam pulcherrimam, undique vestitam auro, et commendatam pulchro et eleganti carmine. Quid quæris? Putabant festivis colloquiis, et venationibus, et blanditiis, animos nostros abduci facilè posse à strepitu bellico, et consopiri. Interea, Regina nostra, cum subedorata esset rem omnem, et quid ageretur intelligeret; neque enim id erat adeò difficile, mutare Consilium de profectione, à Guisanis paulatim alienari, et ad Principem Condensem non obscurè inclinare. Tulit id Guisanus indignè, Consilia sua non procedere; accepit contumeliosè Legatum nostrum, proposuit Edicta publicè, Reginam Angliæ insidias facere Regno Galliarum, et solam istos tumultus concitàsse. Ista, Regina nostra patienter ferre non potuit, nec sanè debuit. Statim apertè agere, Legatum, uti audio, revocare, militem scribere, navibus omnibus undecunque, atque ubicunque essent, et suis et alienis vela tollere, ne quis exire posset, et quid ageretur nuntiare. O si ea id antea facere voluisset, aut si nunc Principes Germaniæ hoc exemplum sequi vellent. Faciliùs, et minori jactura, Sanguinis Christiani tota res posset transigi. Et Regina quidem misit hoc tempore in Germaniam, ad Principes; et nunc in Aula Legatus à Guisano, cum novis, ut opinor, blanditiis, ut nos moretur et impediat. Sed non ita erit facile, spero, imponere videntibus. Res Scotiæ de Religione satis sunt pacatæ. Regina sola Missam suam retinet invitis omnibus. Incredibilis fuit hoc anno toto, apud nos, cœli atque aëris intemperies. Nec Sol, nec Luna, nec Hyems, nec Ver, nec Æstas, nec Autumnus, satisfecit officium suum. Ita affatim, et penè sine intermissione pluit, quasi facere jam aliud Cœlum non queat. Ex hac contagione nata sunt monstra: infantes fœdum in modum deformatis corporibus, alii prorsus sine capitibus, alii capitibus alienis; alii trunci sine brachiis, sine tibiis, sine cruribus; alii ossibus solis cohærentes, prorsus sine ullis carnibus, quales ferè imagines mortis pingi solent. Similia alia complura nata sunt è porcis, et equabus, è vaccis, è gallinis. Messis hoc tempore apud nos Angustius quidem provenit, ita tamen ut non possimus multum conqueri. Sarisberiæ 14 Augusti, 1562. Tuus in Christo,

Jo. Juellus Anglus.

*Inscriptio.*—Ornatissimo Viro, Domino Henrico Bullingero summo Pastori Ecclesiæ Tigurinæ Domino suo Colendissimo—*Tiguri.*

NUMBER LXXIV.

*An Extract out of the Journal of the Lower House of Convocation.*

[Ex MSS. Gul. Petyt. in the Inner Temple.]

Acta in Inferiori Domo Convocationis, Die Sabbati Decimo Tertio Die Februarii, Anno 1562.

Dicto Die Sabbati Decimo Tertio Die Februarii, in Inferiori Domo Convocationis Cleri Provinciæ Cant' post meridiem hora constituta convenerunt frequentes Dominus Proloquutor cum cæt. infra nominatis ubi post Divini numinis implorationem Legebantur quidem Articuli approbandi vel reprobandi a cætu quorum Articulorum tenor talis est.

1. That all the Sundays of the year and principal feast of Christ be kept holy-days, and other holy-days to be abrogate.

2. That in all parish churches, the minister in common-prayer turn his face towards the people, and there distinctly read the divine service appointed, where all the people assembled may hear and be edified.

3. That in ministring the sacrament of baptisme, the ceremonie of making of the crosse on the child's forehead may be omitted, as tending to superstition.

4. That for as much as divers communicants are not hable to kneel during the time of the communion, for age, sicknes, and sundry other infirmities; and some also superstitiously both kneel, and knock; that the order of kneeling may be left to the discretion of the ordinarie, within his jurisdiction.

5. That it be sufficient for the minister, in time of saying of divine service, and ministring of the sacraments, to use a surplice: and that no minister say service, or minister the sacraments, but in a comely garment or habit.

6. That the use of organs be removed.

Unde orta fuit superiorum, proband' vel reproband' Disceptatio, multis affirmantibus eosdem à se probari, ac multis affirmantibus illos à se non probari; multisque aliis volentibus, ut eorum Probatio, vel reprobatio, referatur ad Reverendissimos Dominos, Archiepiscopum et Prælatos, plurimis item protestantibus, se nolle ullo modo consentire, ut aliqua contenta in his Articulis approbentur; quatenus ulla ex parte dissentiant Libro Divini et Communis Servicij, jam Authoritate Senatusconsulti publicè in hoc Regno suscepto; neque velle, ut aliqua Immutatio fiat contra Ordines, Regulas, Ritus, ac cæteras Dispositiones in eo Libro contentas.

Tandem inceptæ fuerunt publicæ Disputationes fieri à nonnullis doctis Viris ejusdem Domus, super Approbatione, vel reprobatione dicti Quarti Articuli: Ac tandem placuit Discessionem, sive Divisionem fieri Votorum, sive Suffragiorum singulorum; quæ mox subsecuta fuit: Atque numeratis Personis pro parte Articulos approbante, fuerunt Personæ 43; pro parte verò illos non approbante, neque aliquam Immutationem contra dictum Librum Publici Servicj jam suscepti, fieri petente fuerunt Personæ 35.

Ac deinde, recitatis singulorum Votis, sive Suffragiis, prompta sunt quemadmodum in sequenti folio liquet et apparet.

Disputatores.—Decanus Wygorn', Mr. Byckley, Archid' Covent', Mr. Nebynson, Mr. Pullen, Mr. Cotterell, Mr. Joh. Waker, Mr. Laur. Neuell, Mr. Talphill, Mr. Crowley, Mr. Tremain, Mr. Hewet, Decanus Eliens'.

Pro parte Articulos prædictos approbante, fuerunt omnes subscripti; viz.:—D. Proloquutor, Decanus S. Pauli; Mr. Leaver; Decan' Heref.; Mr. Soreby; Mr. Bradbriger; Mr. Peder; Mr. Watte, 3; Decan' Lychef.; Mr. Spenser; Mr. Beysley; Mr. Nebinson; Mr. Bowier; Mr. Ebden; Mr. Longlonde; Mr. Tho. Lancaster; Mr. Ed. Weston, 2; Mr. Wysdon; Mr. Sall, 2; Mr. Joh. Walker, 2; Mr. Becon; Mr. Proctor, 2; Mr. Cockerell; Mr. Todd, Archid' Bed., 2; Mr. Crouley; Mr. Hyll; Decan' Oxon.; Mr. Savage; Mr. Pullan; Mr. Wilson; Mr. Burton, 2; Mr. Heamond; Mr. Weyborn; Mr. Day; Mr. Rever; Mr. Roberts, 5; Mr. Calphill, 3; Mr. Godwyn, 2; Mr. Pratt; Mr. Trenun, 2; Mr. Leaton; Mr. Kemper; Mr. Ronayer; Mr. Abis.—Persons, 43. Voices, 58.

Pro parte Articulos non approbante, ac protestante ut supra, sunt subscripti, viz.:—Decan' West., 2; Mr. Coterell, 4; Mr. Latymer, 3; Decan' Elien.; Mr. Heuwette, 3; Mr. Ric. Walker, 2; Mr. Warner; Mr. Tho. Whyte; Mr. Knouall, 2; Mr. Jo. Prise; Mr. Bolte, 2; Mr. Hughes, 3; Mr. Bridgewater, 2; Mr. Lougher, 3; Mr. Pierson; Mr. Merick; Mr. Luson; Mr. Greensell, 3; Mr. Cheston; Mr. Chanddelor; Mr. Bonder; Mr. Just. Lancaster; Mr. Pondde; Mr. Constantyne; Mr. Calberley; Mr. Nich. Smith; Mr. Watson; Mr. Walter Jones, 3; Mr. Garth, 3; Mr. Turnebull; Mr. Robynson; Mr. Bell; Mr. Ithel; Mr. Byckley; Mr. Hugh Morgan, 3.—Persons, 35. Voices, 59.

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NUMBER LXXV.

*Bishop Horne's Letter to Gualter, concerning the Controversy about the Habits of the Clergy.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Robertus Hornus Gualtero.

Literas tuas, mi Gualtere primas, quàm amanter et jucundè acceperim, vel hinc existimare debes, quòd de Tigurinæ Reipublicæ Statu, in cujus Fide ac Liberalitate exul collocatus fueram, tum de tui reliquorumque amicissimorum, et de me optimè meritorum valetudine cognoscebam. Accedebat tua in Johannis Evangelium Lucubratio; scribendi, ut tu ais, Occasio, quam ita probo, ut ad veram Scripturarum Scientiam et Pietatem conferre multùm judicem, et non solùm à Tyronibus, quibus tu potissimùm studes, sed ab ipsis Professoribus legendam existimem. In Fœdere Gallico et Helvetico, perspicatiam Tigurinam probo, quæ astutias Gallicas, Religionis prætextu adumbratas, olfecit et patefecit. Bernenses etiam Vicinos vestros spero, suasu vestro ab inhonesto fœdere assensum cohibituros. De Peste, quæ Regionem Tigurinam invasit, opinionem habeo, quod impiorum causa etiam ipsi pij affliguntur. Quà perculsus Pater Bullingerus, quòd periculum evasit, debemus putare eum qui duriora Tempora sustulit, felicioribus esse à Domino reservatum. Tuam domum à contagione tutam, divinæ Clementiæ quæ laboribus tuis voluit otium, ascribo. Res nostræ ita se habent, quòd ut vos vicinas Gallicas, sic nos intestinas Papisticas timemus Insidias. Primates Papistici in publicis custodiis, reliqui exilium affectantes, scriptis quibusdam in vulgus disseminatis, sese in gratiam, nos in odium vocant. Ansam minutam sanè et ejusmodi nacti. Controversia nuper de quadratis Pileis et Superpelliciis, inter nos orta, exclamárunt Papistæ, non esse quam profitemur, unanimem in Religione Fidem; sed variis nos opinionibus duci nec in una sententia stare posse. Auxit hanc Calumniam publicum Senatus nostri Decretum, de profligandà Papistica impietate, ante nostram Restitutionem sancitum; quo sublata reliqua fece, usus Pileorum quadratorum et Superpelliciorum Ministris remanebat. Ita tamen ut superstitionis opinione careret, quod disertis Decreti verbis cavetur. Tolli



hoc Decretum non potest; nisi omnium Regni Ordinum, quorum conspiratione atque consensu, nobis penes, quos tunc non fuit sanciendi vel abrogandi Authoritas, Pileis et Superpelliciis uti, vel aliis locum dare injunctum est. Usi his sumus, ne numera Christiana, per nos deserta, occuparent adversarij. Sed cum jam hæc Res in magnam Contentionem inter nostros devenerit, noster Grex pusillus etiam in duas abierit partes; altera, ob illud Decretum deserendum Ministerium, altera non deserendum putet. Peta abs te, mi Gualtere, quod de hac Controversia, quæ nos unà vexat, senseris ut quam primo tempore scribas. Speramus certè proximis comitiis, illam Decreti partem abrogaturos. Sed si id obtineri non poterit, quoniam magna ope clàm nituntur Papistæ, Ministerio nihilominus divino adhærendum esse judico; ne deserto eo, ac à nobis ea conditione repudiato, sese insinuarent. Quâ de re, Sententiam, mi Gualtere, expecto tuam; An hæc, quæ sic facimus, salva Conscientia facere possimus. De vestra etiam Ecclesia ita sum sollicitus, ut quoniam multos fideles Ministros ex peste interiisse suspicor, per tuas Literas scire vellem eorum Nomina qui jam supersunt. Dominus Ihesus, magnus Gregis sui Custos, Vos, et Universam suam Ecclesiam custodiat. In eodem vale. Datum è Fernomiano Castro, 16 Calendis Augusti, 1565.

Tuus in Christo,

Rob. Winton.

*Inscriptio*—Ornatissimo Theologo, Domino Gualtero, Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Ministro Dignissimo.

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NUMBER LXXVI.

*Bullinger's Letter to Bishop Horne concerning that Question.*

[Ex MSS Tigur.]

Bullingerus Horno, de Re Vestiaria.

(Eadem iterùm recurrit, aliâ Manu.)

Reverendissimo Patri in Christo, Domino Roberto Horno, Episcopo Wintoniensi (in Angliâ) Vigilantissimo; Domino suo plurimùm Observando, Salutem.

Quæ de Controversia de Vestitu Ministrorum, inter vos exorta, scribis, Reverende in Christo Pater, priùs etiam ex Johannis Abeli, communis nostri Amici, Literis intellexeram, quibus nuper respondi. Doluit mihi vehementer, et adhuc dolet, hanc occasionem adversariis datam esse, quâ inter se committerentur, qui apud vos puriorem Veritatis Doctrinam prædicant. De Causa verò non libenter pronuntio, cùm illius Circumstantias omnes fortassis non nôrim. Ne tamen abs te, et aliis amicis requisitus, officio deesse videar; hic repetere volui, quæ nuper in literis ad Abelum datis comprehendi. Probo Zelum eorum, qui Religionem ab omnibus sordibus Papisticis repurgatam volunt. Scio enim illud Prophetæ, quo Deus monet, ut scortationes à facie simul et uberibus removeamus. Interim vestram quoque probo Prudentiam, qui, ob vestitum, Ecclesias non putatis deserendas. Etenim cùm finis ministerii sit ædificatio et conservatio Ecclesiæ, magna circumspectione nobis opus est, ne ab hoc declinemus; dum causam per se bonam et sanctam defendimus. Nec modo videndum est qualis jam sit Ecclesiæ conditio, quam deserere statuimus, sed quæ, futura sit nobis ab illa digressio. Si meliorem fore certum est, abire licet. Sin verò deteriorem fore, non aut malis atque insidiis operariis locum demus. At quantum ego conjicere possum, hoc unum quærunt advesarii vestri communes, ut vobis ejectis, ut Papistas vel ab his non multum diversos Lutheranos Doctores et antistites surrogent. Quod si fiat, non modo Ecclesiasticus ordo omnis turbabitur et crescet Cæremoniarum Ineptissimarum numerus, verum etiam Idola reducentur (quæ à Lutheranis defendi scimus) ἀρτολάτρεια circa Sacram Domini cænam instaurabitur, privata absolutio et sub hac confessio auricularis paulatim subrepet, et infinita alia fient, quæ et Publicè turbas dabunt, et privatim multos pios in periculum adducent. Nam non dubito vas in vestro ministerio eò usque profecisse ut plurimos habeatis in toto Regno nobiles, cives, agricolas, omnis denique ordinis et loci Homines, qui de Religione optimè sentiant, et Doctrinam omnem abominantur, quæ superstitionibus et idololatriæ fenestras aperit, et quibus intolerabile erit Tyrannidem in Ecclesia denuò stabiliri, quæ Populi infelicis conscientias gravet. Hi certè, si vos ab Ecclesiæ gubernaculis discedatis, adversariorum libidini subjicientur, qui examina et inquisitiones cùm publicas tum privatas adversus eos instituent, hæreseos et seditionis accusabunt, et per hos totam causam Religionis, Reginæ Serenissimæ et totius regni proceribus suspectam atque invisam reddent. Horum ergo artibus et improbitati prudenter occurrendum fuerit, ne illis sponte demus, quod jam annis aliquot magno studio et labore quæsiverunt. Quod si quis me rogat, an ergò eos probem, qui decreta ejusmodi ut primi fecerunt, vel nunc observata volunt, quibus sordes Papisticæ salventur? Ingenuè et libere respondeo, illos mihi non placere. Nam aut imprudenter nimis agunt, si ex nostrorum numero sunt: Aut malo dolo Ecclesiarum Libertati insidias struunt. Etsi feces istas tanquam ad Dei cultum et conscientiarum animæque salutem necessarias vobis obtruderent, quidvis potius ferendum esse judicarem, quàm ut Ecclesias pium Populum ab ingenua fidei professione abstrahi per illos paterentur. Sed cùm in decreto illo disertis verbis (ut tu scribis) cautum sit, quadratos pileos cum superpelliceis absque omni superstitionis opinione retineri debere, simul vestris quoque Conscientiis cautum esse puto. Licebit enim vobis, ni fallor, facti vestri rationem reddere, superstitionis opinionem ex omnium animis removere et protestatione uti, quæ scandalum omne è medio auferat. Interea Serenissima Regina et Illustrissimi Proceres Regni edoceantur, moveantur et excitentur, ne Reformationem tanta cum laude et magna cum totius orbis admiratione institutam, fecibus et sordibus ejusmodi inficiant atque polluant, neve vicinis Ecclesiis Scoticis et Gallicis aliquam præbeant dissensionis suspicionem. Scio à quibusdam quæstiones moveri multas de regum et magistratus authoritate, an quid hujus ille in Ecclesia statuere, et an horum decretis ministri obedire debeant? At ego Disputationes illas in hac Causa non ita necessarias puto, cum (ut modo dixi) superstitionis opinio per ipsius decreti verba excludatur. Et cavendum est, ne coram populo de magistratus authoritate disputando, alicujus turbæ authores, simus. In comitiis verò Regni Publicis, ista tractari debent legitimæ, et qui per occasionem privatim Reginam et Principes Officii admonere possunt, ii suis partibus minime deesse debent. Hæc Reverende in Christo pater, habui quæ nunc scriberem, quia meam in hac Causa sententiam audire cupiebas. Nolim ego alicujus Conscientiam gravare, sed cavendum puto nedum nobis aut existimationi nostræ privatim consulimus, Ecclesias totas in gravius aliquod periculum adducamus. Et meam hanc sententiam à Pauli mente non dissentire puto, qui omnia omnibus fieri solitus fuit, ut quàm plurimos lucrifaceret: Et qui Timotheum circumcidere voluit, ne Judæos illius loci à Religione Christiana alienaret, et illius ministerio commodius uti posset: Qui tamen alibi nihil prorsus dandum esse putavit iis, qui in circumcisione salutis meritum collocabant. Sed non

errabant in ejusmodi controversiis, quotquot ædificationem Ecclesiæ suorum consiliorum atque actionum scopum atque finem constituerint. De rebus nostris non est quod scribam. In anni superioris lue ita nobis prospexit Dominus, ut neminem ex ministrorum numero amiserimus. In agro unus et alter obiit. Volitatur nunc et nonnihil pestis in Urbe nostra, sed non sævitura videtur. Sumus in manu Domini, ejus voluntas fiat. Ad vigesimum Novembris Electorum Principum conventus erit Wormatiæ in quo de pace per Germaniam constituenda deliberabitur et quædam de Episcopis et eorum Reformatione tractabuntur quæ maximi momenti erunt. Deus optimus maximus suo Spiritu omnium mentes et Consilia regat ad sui nominis gloriam et Ecclesiæ incolumitatem. Uxorem tuam honestissimam matronam, mea plurimum salvere jubet. Vale Pater in Christo Reverende. Tiguri, 3 Novembris, Anno 1565.

Quæ Stamphii Manu hoc Loco Scripta, p. 135.

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NUMBER LXXVII.

*Bullinger's Answer to Humphreys and Sampson on the same Subject.*

Ornatissimis D. Laurentio Humfredo, et D. Thomæ Sampsoni, Anglis, Dominis meis et Fratribus in Christo.

Dominus Jesus benedicat vobis, Viri Ornatissimi et Fratres Charissimi, ac servet vos ab omni malo. Accepi literas vestras, ex quibus intellexi te lamentari, conqueri, quod mea responsio data ad tuam quæstionem in via videtur amissa. Ego verò, mi Frater tunc non vidi, neque nunc video, quorsum oportuerit copiosiores scribere Literas. Tu enim rogabas tunc duntaxat, quæ esset mea de re vestiaria, de qua contenditur in Anglia, sententia? Ad hanc quæstionem brevibus tibi respondendum putavi, nam brevibus meam Sententiam dicere potui; dum sciebam beatæ memoriæ D. Pet. Martyrem et Oxoniæ et hic eandem quæstionem tractavisse sæpius et fusius, quibus quod adjicerem non habebam. Memini verò in Literis ad te Sampsonem Fratrem datis, meæ quidem Sententiæ factam tum quidem fuisse mentionem, et ut iterum uno et altero verbo quod sentio dicam: Nunquam probaverim, si vestrum jubeamini exequi Ministerium, ad aram Crucifixi imagine oneratam magis quàm ornatam, et in veste Missatica hoc est in alba et in Copa quæ à tergo quoque ostentet Crucifixi imaginem. Attamen ex Literis allatis ex Anglia intelligo, nulla nunc est de ejusmodi vestitu contentio, sed quæstio est, an liceat Ministris Evangelicis portare pileum rotundum vel quadratum et vestem albam, quam vocant superpellicium, qua Minister ornatus, à vulgo discernatur? Et an oporteat Ministerium vel stationem sacram citius relinquere, quàm hujusmodi uti vestibus? Respondi ad hanc quæstionem præteritis nundinis Reverendo Viro D. Rob. Horn. Vintoniensi Episcopo et quidem brevibus repetens verba D. Martyris. Scripserat eidem paulò ante Symmysta et affinis meus charissimus D. Rod. Gualtherus. Cujus exemplum hisce inclusum ad vos et ad alios Fratres nostros mitto. Ergo si nos audire vultis, nostrûmque judicium de re vestiaria expetitis, sicut ultimis vestris ad me Literis significabatis, en habetis in illa Epistola meum judicium. Cui si acquiescere non potestis, dolemus sanè quàm vehementissimè, et cum nullum aliud nobis amplius supersit Consilium, Dominum, qui in omnibus et semper respiciendus est, ex animo et incessanter oramus, ut ipse sua gratia atque potentia rebus succurret afflictis.

Quæstiones tu Humanissimè Frater, proposuisti, plures verò ejusdem Argumenti Sampsonus contexuit. Licet verò pro mea simplici ruditate nunquam probaverim vel in tot distrahi quæstiones et nodis injectis in precatioribus, quæ alioqui simpliciores per se, brevibus et satis perspicuè expediri potuerant, aliquid tamen annotabo ad singulas, ut hac quoque in re vobis Dominis meis observandis et Fratribus charissimis, quantum per meam possum infantiam attamen retusam magis quàm acutam, inserviam. Vos autem oro, ut benignè hæc à me pro vestro amantissimo accipiatis et de his animo judicetis purgato affectibus atque tranquillo. A contentionibus abhorreo prorsus, et nihil magis supplex peto à Domino, quàm ut ab Ecclesia amoveat contentiones, quæ ab initio et semper plurimum nocuére veræ Pietati et Ecclesiam pacatam et florentem lacerarunt.

Cùm quæritur, an debeant Ecclesiasticis leges præscribi vestiariæ, ut iis distinguantur à Laicis? Respondeo ambiguitatem esse in verbo debere. Si enim accipiatur pro merito et quod ad salutem pertineat acquirendam, non arbitror hoc velle vel ipsos Legum Auctores. Si verò dicatur posse hoc fieri decori, ornatùsque vel dignitatis et ordinis gratia, ut sit similis quædam observantia, aut tale quid intelligatur, quale illud est, quod Apostolus vult, Episcopum vel Ministrum Ecclesiæ Κόσμιον, compositum inquam vel ornatum esse, non video, quid peccet, qui veste hujusmodi induitur, aut qui hujusmodi veste uti jubet.

2. An Ceremonialis cultus Levitici Sacerdotii sit revocandus in Ecclesiam? Respondeo. Si pileus et vestis non indecora Ministro qui Superstitione caret jubeatur usurpari à Ministro, nemo sanè dixerit verè Judaismum revocari: præterea repeto hic, quod ad hanc Quæstionem video respondisse D. Martyrem, qui cum ostendisset Sacramenta veteris legis fuisse abolita quæ nemo debeat reducere in Ecclesiam Christi, quæ habeat Baptisma et cœnam Sacram, subjecit: Fuerunt nihilominus in lege Levitica Actiones aliquot ita comparatæ, ut propriè Sacramenta dici non possent: faciebunt nostræ ad decorem et ordinem et aliquam commoditatem, quæ ut lumini naturæ congrua et ad nostram aliquam utilitatem conducentia ego et revocari, et retineri posse judico. Quis non videt Apostolos pro panè et convictu credentium faciliori mandâsse gentibus, ut à Sanguine et præfocato abstinerent? Erant hæc citra controversiam Legalia et Levitica. Decimas quoque hodie multis in locis Institutas esse ad alendos Ministros, nemo nostrum ignorat. Psalmos et Hymnos cani in sacris cœtibus manifestum est, quod Levitæ quoque usurparunt. Utque hoc non omittam. Dies habemus fastos in memoriam Dominicæ Resurrectionis et alia: An verò illa omnia erunt abolenda quia sunt vestigia legis Antiquæ? Vides ergo non omnia Levitica sic esse antiquata, ut quædam ex iis usurpari non possint: Hæc ille.

3. An vestitum cum Papistis communicare liceat? Resp. Nondum constat Papam discrimen vestium induxisse in Ecclesiam, imò discrimen vestium constat Papa esse longè vetustius. Nec video, cur non liceat vestitu non superstitioso sed politiore et composito, communicare cum Papistis. Si nulla re cum illis communicare liceret, oporteret et templa omnia deserere, nulla accipere stipendia, non uti Baptismo, non recitare Symbolum Apostolorum et Nicænum, adeòq; abjicere orationem Dominicam. Neque vos mutuatis ab eis ullas ceremonias. Res vestiaria ab initio Reformationis nunquam fuit abolita, et retinetur adhuc non lege Papistica, sed vi edicti Regii, ut res media et politica.

4. Ita sanè, si ut in re civili utamini Pileo aut Veste peculiari, non hoc redolet Judaismum, neque Monachismum; nam hi volunt videri à civili vita separati, et constituunt meritum in peculiari sua Veste. Sic Eustathius, Sebastiæ Episcopus, damnatus est, non simpliciter propter peculiarem Vestem, sed quòd in Veste Religionem constitueret. Noti sunt Gangrens. Conc. Canones, Laodiceni, et VI. Synodi. Quod si ex plebe nonnulli sunt persuasi, redolere hoc Papismum, Judaismum et Monachismum, admoneantur, et rectè de tuis instruantur. Quod si importunis quorundam clamoribus, hac de re ad vulgus profusis, multi inquieti redduntur, videant qui hoc faciunt, ne graviora sibi onera imponant, Regiamque Majestatem irritent, denique multos fideles Ministros in discrimen adducant, ex quo vix emergere queant.



5. An qui Libertate sua hactenus acquieverunt, vi Regij Edicti, hac Servitute, implicare se et Ecclesiam salva Conscientia possint? Respondeo; Cavendum ego censeo, ne odiosius disputetur clametur et contendatur de re vestiaria, atque importunitate hac detur occasio Regiæ Majestati, ut liberum amplius illis non relinquat, qui libertate hactenus usi sunt; sed clamoribus non necessariis irritata, mandet sumere vestes illas Ecclesiasticas, vel cedere statione sua, Mirum sanè mihi videtur (meam sententiam, viri Ornatissimi, et fratres Charissimi, dixerim) quòd vobis persuadeatis, salva conscientia vos et Ecclesias servituti vestiariæ subjicere non posse, et non potius expenditis si in re politica et indifferenti uti nolitis et perpetuè contendatis odiosius, cujusmodi servituti et vos et Evangelicos subjiciatis, qui statione vestra cedentes, lupis exponitis Ecclesias, aut saltem parum idoneis doctoribus, qui non æquà ac vos ad docendum populum sunt instructi. An verò Ecclesias in libertatem asseruistis, quando occasionem datis, Ecclesiam pluribus etiam gravioribus quoque oneribus opprimendi? Num ignoratis, quod multi quærant, quomodo erga Evangelicam prædicationem sitis affecti et quales vobis successuri sint, quid de illis sperandum sit?

6. An Vestitus Clericalis res sit indifferens? Videtur sanè res indifferens, cùm sit civilis; Decoris, Ornatus, Ordinisque habeat rationem, in quo Cultus non constituitur.

Hæc, brevibus, ad tuas volui respondere, Doctissime et Dilectissime mi Frater Laurenti. Jam venio etiam ad D. Sampsonis nostri Quæstiones; in quibus exponendis, fortè ero brevior.

1. An Vestitus peculiaris, à Laicis distinctus, Ministris Ecclesiæ unquam fuerit constitutus; et an hodie, in Reformata Ecclesia, debeat constitui? Respondeo: In veteri Ecclesia, fuisse peculiarem Presbyterorum Vestitum, apparet ex Historiâ Ecclesiasticâ Theodoreti, Lib. ii. c. 27, et Socratis, Lib. vi. c. 22. Pallio in sacris usos esse Ministros, nemo ignorat, qui veterum Monumenta obiter inspexit. Ideò antea admonui, diversitatem Indumentorum non habere suam originem à Papa. Eusebius rectè testatur, ex vetustissimis Scriptoribus, Johannem Apostolum Ephesi Petalum, seu Laminam gestâsse Pontificalem in Capite: Et de Cypriano Martyre testatur Pontius Diaconus, quòd cum jugulum carnifici præbere vellet, ei priùs birrum dedisse, Diacono verò dalmaticam, atque sic ipsum in lineis stetisse indutum. Præterea, Vestis candidæ Ministrorum meminit Chrysostomus: Ac certum est, Christianos, cum à Gentilismo ad Ecclesiam converterentur, pro Toga induisse Pallium. Ob quam rem, cum ab infidelibus irriderentur, Tertullianus Librum de Pallio conscripsit eruditissimum. Alia hujusmodi plura proferre possem, nisi hæc sufficerent. Mallem quidem nihil invitis injici Ministris, et eos ea uti posse consuetudine qua Apostoli. Sed cum Regia Majestas Pileum tantummodò et candidam injicit Vestem, in qua Cultum (quod sæpe jam repetitum est) non constituit; eademque res apud veteres, dum meliores adhuc essent res Ecclesiæ, usurpatæ sint absque superstitione et culpa; optarem, bonos Ministros in his, non ut in prora et puppi, quemadmodum dicitur, totum constituere Religionis perfectum: Sed dare aliquid tempori, et de re indifferenti non odiosius altercari, sed modestè indicare, hæc quidem ferri posse, sed proficiendum cum tempore. Propiores enim esse Apostolicæ simplicitati, qui discrimina illa ignorent, aut non urgeant, interim tamen à Disciplina in amictu non sunt alieni.

2, 3. An Vestium Præscriptio conveniat cum Christiana Libertate? Resp. Res indifferentes admittere aliquam Præscriptionem, adeoque Coactionem, ut sic dicam, quoad usum et non quoad virtutem; ut aliquid scilicet, quod natura sit indifferens, ut nimirum Conscientiæ obtrudatur, et ita animis injiciatur Religio. Tempora certè et Loca sacrorum Cœtuum, certè habentur inter indifferentia; et tunc si hic nulla sit Præscriptio, quanta obsecro confusio conturbatioque oriretur?

4. An ullæ Ceremoniæ novæ, præter expressum præscriptum Verbi Dei, cumulari possint? Resp. Me non probare, si novæ cumulantur Ceremoniæ: Sed aliquas institui posse non negàrim, modò in eis non statuatur Dei Cultus, sed instituantur propter Ordinem et Disciplinam. Christus ipse Encœniorum Ceremoniam, vel Festum servavit, nec tamen lege præceptum legimus hoc Festum. In summa, Propositionum, vel Quæstionum de re vestiaria, potior pars de eo disputat, an de Vestibus Leges in Ecclesia condi vel debeant, vel possint? Ac Quæstionam revocat ad genus. Quidnam, videlicet, de Ceremoniis statuere liceat? Ad has Propositiones paucis respondeo: Me quidem malle nullas Ceremonias, nisi rarissimas, obtrudi Ecclesiæ: Interim fateor, non posse statim Leges de his, fortè non adeo necessarias, aliquando etiam inutiles, damnari impietatis, turbasque et schisma excitare in Ecclesia, quando (videlicet) superstitione carent, et res sunt sua natura indifferentes.

5, 6. An Ritus Judæorum antiquatos revocare, Religioniq; Idololatrarum propriè dicatos, in usus Reformatarum Ecclesiarum liceat transferre? De hac Quæstione antea respondi, ubi disserui de Leviticis Ritibus. Nolim verò Ritus idololatricos, non repurgatos ab Erroribus, transferri in Ecclesias Reformatas. Rursus verò et ex adverso quæri potuerat: An recepti Ritus, remota Superstitione, propter Disciplinam et Ordinem, retineri sine peccato non possint?

7. An Conformatio in Ceremoniis necessariò sit exigenda? Respondeo, Conformationem in Ceremoniis, in omnibus Ecclesiis fortè non esse necessariam. Interim, si præcipiatur res non necessaria, rursus tamen non impia, ob eam Ecclesia non videtur deserenda. Non fuit in Ritibus Conformitas in omnibus, in Ecclesiis vetustioribus: Quæ tamen conformibus utebantur Ritibus, eas non vituperabant Conformitate carentes. Facilè autem credo, Viros prudentes atque politicos, Conformationem Rituum urgere, quòd existiment hanc facere ad Concordiam, et quòd una sit Ecclesia totius Angliæ; in qua re, si nihil impij videatur, non video, quomodo ejusmodi non malis institutis vos hostiliter objiciatis?

8. An Ceremoniæ, cum aperto scandalo conjunctæ, retineri possint? Respondeo, Scandalum vitari oportere. Videndum interim, ne sub scandalo nostras Affectiones contegamus: Non ignoratis aliud quidem datum, aliud verò acceptum, et ultrò accersitum esse scandalum. Non disputo nunc, An Vos, sine grandi scandalo dato, deserere possitis Ecclesias, pro quibus Christus mortuus est, propter rem indifferentem.

9. An ullæ Constitutiones ferendæ in Ecclesia, quæ natura sua impiæ quidem non sunt, sed tamen ad Ædificationem nihil faciunt? Resp. Si Constitutiones impietate carent, quas vobis imponere vult Regia Majestas, ferendæ sunt potiùs, quàm deserendæ Ecclesiæ. Si enim Ædificatio Ecclesiæ hac in re potissi-

mum est spectanda; deserendo certè Ecclesiam, plus destruxerimus Ecclesiam, quàm Vestes induendo. Et ubi abest Impietas, nec læditur Conscientia, ibi cedendum non est, licet aliqua imponatur Servitus. Interim verò quæri rursus poterat, An sub Servitutem justè referamus rem vestiariam; quatenus facit ad Decorem et Ordinem?

10. An in Reformatis Ecclesiis à Principe præscribendum in Ceremoniis, sine voluntate et libero consensu Ecclesiasticorum? Resp. Si Voluntas Ecclesiasticorum semper sit expectanda Principi, nunquam fortè sapientissimi et piissimi Reges, Asa, Ezechias, Josaphat et Josiah, alijque Principes boni, Levitas et Ministros Ecclesiarum redegissent in ordinem. Quamvis nolim prorsus excludi Episcopos à Consultationibus Ecclesiasticorum. Nolim rursus eam sibi potentiam vendicare, quam sibi usurpârunt contra Principes et Magistratus in Papatu. Nolim item tacere Episcopos, et consentire ad iniqua Principum instituta.

11, 12. Postremæ Quæstiones duæ propiùs ad rem ipsam accedunt: An consultius Ecclesiæ sic inservire; an propterea Ecclesiastico munere rejeci? Et, an boni Pastores, jure ob hujusmodi, Ceremonias neglectas à Ministerio avocari possint? Resp. Si in Ritibus nulla est Superstitio, nulla Impietas, urgentur tamen et imponuntur bonis Pastoribus, qui mallent illos sibi non imponi: Dabo sanè, et quidem ex abundanti, onus et servitutem ipsis imponi; sed non dabo ideo justissimis ex causis, Stationem vel Ministerium propterea esse deserendum, et locum cedendum lupis, ut antea dictum est, vel ineptioribus Ministris. Præsertim, cum maneat libera Prædicatio, . . . . . possit obtrudere servitus, et multa hujusmodi alia, &c.

Dixi quæ videbantur mihi dicenda de propositis Quæstionibus, non nescius alios pro sua eruditione, longè elegantius meliusque potuisse excussisse; sed quia ita voluistis, ut responderem, feci quod potui, liberum aliis relinquens de his et calamum et judicium. Quod superest, nullius ego his Conscientiam urgere volo, examinanda propono; moneoque, ne quis in hac Controversia, ex *Φιλονεικία*, sibi faciat Conscientiam. Hortor item vos omnes, per Jesum Christum, Dominum meum, Ecclesiæ suæ servatorem, Caput et Regem, ut probè quisque apud se expendat: Utra nam re plus ædificârit Ecclesiam Christi, si propter Ordinem et Decorem Vestibus utatur, ut re indifferenti, et hactenus ad concordiam utilitatemque Ecclesiasticum nonnihil facienti; an verò propter rem vestiariam deserere Ecclesiam, occupandam postea, si non à lupis manifestis, saltem à Ministris minus idoneis et bonis? Dominus Jesus det vobis videre, sapere, et sequi quod facit ad Gloriam ejus, et Ecclesiæ Pacem et Salutem.

Valete in Domino, unà cum omnibus fidelibus Ministris. Orabimus sedulò pro vobis Dominum, ut ea sentiatis et faciatis, quæ sancta sunt et salutaria. D. Gualtherus amicissimè vos salutat, et omnia fælicia vobis precatur. Faciunt hoc ipsum reliqui etiam Ministri. Tiguri, Calendis Maij, Anno Domini MDLXVI.

Vester ex animo totus,

HEINRYCHUS BULLINGERUS, Sen.
Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Minister.

Admonitum te volo, chare mi Sampson, ne quid D. Bibliandri edas, nam quæ habetis excerptæ sunt ab Auditoribus ejus, et non sunt scripta à D. Bibliandro. Habent autem Hæredes ejus Commentaria, ejus manu scripta in Biblia, vel in vetus Testamentum. Indignissimè enim ferunt, si quid sub ejus nomine ederetur, quod ipsus non scripsisset. Interim gratias ago humanitati tuæ, quòd de his nos fecisti certiores. Et Literæ tuæ 16 Febr. scriptæ, demùm mihi traditæ sunt 26 Aprilis.

NUMBER LXXVIII.

*Humphreys and Sampson's Letter to Bullinger, insisting on the Question.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Laurentius Humfredus, et Thomas Sampson, Bullingero.

CUM diligentia tua clarissimo Viro, in scribendo nobis probatur: Tum verò ex Literis illis quidem humanissimis incredibilis tuus erga nos amor et Ecclesiæ nostræ singularis cura et concordiæ ardentissimum studium apparent. Quæstiones aliquot misimus P. T. in quibus jus et quasi cardi totius Controversiæ sita esse videbatur. Quibus est à P. T. accuratè responsum, nobis tumen quod bona cum venia tua dicimus, non est satisfactum plenè. Primò respondet P. T. Ministris præscribi posse leges Vestiarias ut iis colore te forma à Laicis distinguantur: Esse enim civilem observationem et Apostolum velle Episcopum esse *κόσμιον*. Cum hæc quæstio de Ecclesiasticis Hominibus proposita sit et ad Ecclesiasticam politiam spectet: Quomodo habitus Ministrorum singularis et clericalis civilem rationem habere possit, non videmus. Ut Episcopum *κόσμιον* esse debere fatemur; sic ad ornatum mentis non ad cultum corporis cum Ambrosio referimus. Et ut in vestitu honestatem, dignitatem, gravitatem requirimus: Sic decorum ab hostibus Religionis nostræ peti negamus. Secundo respondes Hypotheticè, si pileus et vestis non indecorus Ministro, et quæ superstitione carent, jubeatur usurpari à Ministris Judaismum propterea non revocari. At qui esse potest vestis simplici Ministerio Christi conveniens, quæ Theatro et Pompæ Sacerdotii Papistici serviebat? Neque enim (quo nostri P. T. persuadent) pileus quadrus et vestitus externus solummodo exiguntur sed et etiam sacras vestes in templo adhibentur, superpelliceum, seu alba chori vestis, et capa revocantur. Quæ Judaismi *μιμήματα* quædam esse et simulacra non modò Papistæ ipsi in suis Libris clamitant, sed P. T. non semel ex Innocentio docuit. D. Martyris præceptoris nostri colendissimi testimonio libenter subscribimus. Sed quæ ille affert exempla ad decorum et ordinem pertinent, hæc Ecclesiam deformant, *σύγχυσιν* perturbant, condecentiam omnem evertunt: Illa lumini naturæ congruunt; hæc prodigiosa et monstrosa sunt: Illa juxta Tertulliani regulam meras necessitates et utilitates habebant: Hæc inepta prorsus et supervacanea et inutilia sunt, nec ædificationi nec ulli bono usui conducentia sed verius ut ejus Martyris nostri verbis utamur, cultui, quem hodie quotquot pii sunt execrantur, splendidè inservierunt. Vestium Ecclesiasticarum discrimen hodiè receptum Papisticum esse inventum ipsi Papistolæ Gloriantur, Othonis Constitutiones loquuntur, Liber Pontificalis ostendit, oculi et ora omnium comprobant. Usus Decimarum Stipendii, Baptismi, Symboli, et ante Papam natum divino instituto inolevit. Et cum Augustino quicquid in aliqua Hæresi Divinum ac Legitimum reperimus, id et approbamus at retinemus, non inficiamur. Hoc autem quia erroris illius ac dissensionis proprium est, veraciter cum eodem arguimus et certamus. Quod addis, rem vestiariam ab initio reformationis non fuisse abolitam, in ea rursus vestri minimè vera retulerunt. Multis enim in locis Serenissimi Regis Edvardi VI. temporibus absque superpelliceo cæna D. pure celebrabatur: Et Copa quæ tum lege abrogata est nunc Publico decreto restituta est. Hoc non est Papismum extirpare, sed denuo plantare, non in Pietate proficere sed deficere. Vestitum Sacerdotalem civilem esse ais: Monachismum, Papismum, Judaismum redolere negas. De superpelliceo quid blaterent Papistæ habitus



Clericorum apud eos quanti fiat, et quo Religioni dicatus sit Prudentiam tuam ex libris eorum intelligere non dubitamus. Deinde Monachatum ac Papismum sapit illa ambitio et Pharisaica peculiaris, vestitus præscriptio; cui illi hodiè non minùs quam olim Morechi suæ cucullæ tribuunt. Neq; verò simul ac semel irrupit sanctitatis et meriti opinio, sed paulatim et sensim irrepsit. Quod ne hic quoque fiat, quod veremur, idcircò non ab re cunctamur, et principiis obstare conamur. Cum Eustathio non facimus, qui in veste religionem collocabat, imò his, qui singulares et religiosas vestes sui Sacerdotii indices superstitiosè requirunt adversamur. Idem etiam de Canone Concilii Gangrensis et Laodicei et Synodi VI. dicendum, et libertate in qua hactenus stetimus, discedere servitutis autoramentum quoddam esse judicamus. Neq; hic nos rimati sumus, non odiosè contendimus, acerbas contentiones semper fugimus, amicas consultationes querimus; lupis non cedimus, sed coacti et pulsi loco inviti et gementes discedimus. Fratres et Episcopos Domino suo stare et cadere permittimus, eandem erga nos æquitatem at frustra petimus. In ritibus nihil est liberum; nec ad hoc nobis R. M. irritata est: Sed aliorum suasu ducta est: at nunc demum non quod Ecclesiæ expedit, sed quod aliquo modo licet, constituatur: et quod omninò impium non est, id sanum et salubre, id sacrosanctum, id ratum habeatur. Ceremonias et vestes sacerdotum, cum religionis testes, et professionis notæ sunt, non civiles esse: et ab hostibus omnium consensu mutuò corrogatæ, non decore haberi: et Anathemate divino notatæ et piis omnibus invisæ et malis ac infirmis admirabiles, sine quibus nec nos ministros esse, nec Sacramenta ritè administrari credunt, in rebus indifferentibus numerari nec possunt nec debent. Habebant Patres antiqui suas vestes, sed nec Episcoporum omnium proprias, nec à Laicis distinctas. Exempla D. Joan. et Cypr. singularia sunt. Sisinius hæreticus erat, nec aut laudatus aut nobis imitandus proponitur. Pallium omnium erat Christianorum commune, ut Tertull. in illo libro refert, et T. P. alibi notavit. Chrysostomus candidæ vestis meminit, sed obiter: nec commendat sed reprehendit: et fuerit nec sacerdotum an aliorum Græcorum linea aut lanea alba an munda nondum constat. Certè ad populum Antiochenum ab eodem, et ab Hieronymo opponitur sordidæ et apud Blondum de pallio laneo sit mentio. Quare ex ambiguo nihil concludi potest. Vestium præscriptionem non congruere cum Christiana libertate Bucerus est testis, qui discrimina vestium propter præsentem abusum in Ecclesiis Anglicanis, propter pleniorem declarationem detestationis Antichristi, propter pleniorem professionem Libertatis Christianæ, propter tollendas inter fratres dissensiones omninò tollendo esse censuit. His enim verbis usus est in Epistola ad D. Alasco, qui totus noster fuit. Cedendum quidem est tempori sed ad tempus: sic ut progrediamur semper, regrediamur nunquam. Absit ut nos vel Schismata in Ecclesia altercando odiosius feramus vel fratribus hostiliter nos opponendo Camerinam moveamus: absit (optime Bull.) ut res natura indifferentes impietatis damnemus: Absit ut sub scandalo nostras affectiones contegamus, vel ex *φιλονεικία* conscientiam faciamus. Hæc sex et fermentum papisticum (nobis crede) omnis dissensionis est seminarium: Illud tolli et sempiternà oblivione obrui ac sepeliri cupimus, ne ulla extant Antichristianæ superstitiones vestigia. In Papatu primatus et supercilium semper nobis displicuerunt: Et tyrannis in Ecclesia Libera placebit? Libera Synodus apud Christianos controversiarum nodos hactenus solvit: Cur nunc ad unius aut alterius arbitrium referentur omnia? Ubi hæc votorum et vocum regnat libertas, Ibi valet et viget veritas. Breviter sic habeto rectum, primum hæc nobis potissimum fidem facere, Authoritatem Scripturarum, simplicitatem ministerij Christi, puritatem ecclesiarum primarum et optimarum quæ brevitatis studio commemorare supersedemus. Ex altera verò parte legem nullam, nullum decretum generale, vel Dei optimi maximi, vel repurgatæ alicujus ecclesiæ, vel universalis consilii (quæ August. regula est) legere nobis hactenus contigit vel audire. Præterea illud comperimus, hæc quæ adducta sunt hactenus, exempla particularia esse, et universale non confirmare. Ad hæc statuimus, non quicquid est licitum ullo modo, obtrudendum, sed quod Ecclesiam ædificat omni modo, esse introducendum; nec quod alicui licet, id statim licere omnibus. Doctrinam castam et incorruptam (Deo sit laus) habemus: in cultu, religionis parte non infirma cur claudicabimus? cur mancum Christum potius, quam totum, quam purum ac perfectum recipimus? Cur à Papistis hostibus, et non à vobis fratribus reformationis exempla petimus? Eadem est nostrarum ecclesiarum confessio: eadem doctrinæ et fidei ratio: cur in ritibus et ceremoniis tanta dissimilitudo? tanta diversitas? Signatum idem: cur signa adeò variant ut dissimilia vestris, similia papisticis existant? Idem dux et Imperator Christus: cur in Ecclesiis nostris vexilla hostilia eriguntur? quæ si homines Dei si ullo zelo præditi essemus, jamdudum detestati et demoliti fuissemus. Nos de Episcopos semper optimè sensimus: illorum fastum candidè interpretati sumus: cum nos olim crucem cum ipsis ex osculantes et nunc eundem Christum prædicantes, idem jugum suavissimum una ferentes ferre non possunt? Cur in carceres conjiciunt? cur propter vestem persequuntur? Cur victu ac bonis spoliant? Cur libris publicè traducant? Cur causam malam posteritati, edito scripto commendant? Verterunt etiam in idioma nostrum Schedulas aliquot D. Buceri, P. Martyri, et nunc tuas privatas ad nos Literas nobis invitis et insciis in Publicum emiserunt. Unde dum suam causam agunt, suum honorem vendicant, nec Ecclesiæ nostræ, nec Fratribus suis, nec dignitati tuæ, nec seculo alteri consulunt. Quo autem P. T. intelligat, non levem aut ludicram, sed magni ponderis esse controversiam. Nec de pileo solum, aut superpelliceo certari, sed de re gravissima nos conqueri, Stipulas aliquot, et quisquilias Papisticæ Religionis mittimus, ex quibus facile, quæ est tua prudentia, reliqua conjicias: Et remedium aliquod, quæ est tua Pietas, primo quoque tempore excogites. Oramus autem, D. nostrum Jesum Christum, ut hos tumultus et turbas consopiat, gloriam suam asserat, operarios in vineam extrudat, quo Messis læta et uberrima proveniat. Teque oramus, ut Consilio Paterno, Scripto Publico, Literis Privatis Agas, Satagas, facias, efficias, ut vel hæc mala tollantur, vel boni Viri nondum persuasi tolerentur, ne quos Doctrinæ firmissimum Vinculum copulavit, Ceremonia Romana disjungat. Salutem dicas Gualtero, Symlero, Lavatero, Wolphio, Dominis colendis, quibuscum si contuleris, et nobis et Ecclesiæ universæ gratissimum feceris. D. Jesus suo Tugurio, vestro Tyguro benedicat. Julij Anno 1566. Hæc paucis et raptim, et non tam respondendi, quam admonendi Causa, quæ in hanc Sententiam dici possent infinita sunt. Tu nunc non quid fiat, aut fieri possit, sed quid fieri debeat pronuncia.

Tuæ Paternitatis Studiossimus,

LAURENTIUS HUMFREDUS.
THO. SAMSON.

*Inscriptio.*—Domino Henrico Bullingero, Ecclesiæ Tigurinæ Ministro Fidelissimo, et Doctissimo Domino in Christo nobis Colendo.

NUMBER LXXIX.

*A Paper of other things complained of besides the Heads.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

1. Aliquot Maculæ quæ in Ecclesia Anglicana adhuc hærent. In Præcibus publicis et si nihil impurum, est tamen Species aliqua Superstitionis Papisticæ. Quod non modò in matutinis et vespertinis, sed in sacra etiam Cœna videre est.

2. Præter Musicæ sonos fractos et exquisitissimos, Organorum usus in Templis invalescit.

3. In Administratione Baptismi, Minister infantem alloquitur, ejus nomine sponsores, parente absente, de Fide, de Mundo, Carne, Diabolo deserendo respondent, Baptizatus cruce signatur.

4. Mulierculis etiam domi baptizandi potestas facta est.

5. In Cœna Dominica sacræ vestes, nempe Capa et Superpelliceum adhibentur; communicantibus Genuflexio injungitur; pro pane communi, placentula Azima substituitur.

6. Extra Templum, et Ministris in universum singulis, vestes Papisticæ præscribuntur; et Episcopi suum lineum, rochetum vocant, gestant et utrique pileos quadros, liripippia, togas longas à Papistis mutuo sumptas circumferunt.

7. De nervo autem Religionis, Disciplina, quid dicemus? Nulla est, nec habet suam virgam Ecclesia nostra: Nulla Censura exercetur.

8. Conjugium Ministris Ecclesiæ, publicis Regni Legibus, concessum et sancitum non est; sed eorum Liberi, à nonnullis, pro spuriis habentur.

9. Solennis Desponsatio fit, more rituque Papistico, per Annulum.

10. Mulieres adhuc cum velo purificantur.

11. In regimine Ecclesiastico, multa Antichristianæ Ecclesiæ vestigia servantur. Ut enim olim Romæ, in foro Papæ, omnia fuerunt venalia; sic in Metropolitani Curia, eadem ferè omnia prostant: Pluralitates Sacerdotiorum, Licentia pro non residendo, pro non initiando Sacris, pro esu carnium diebus interdictis, et in Quadragesima, quo etiam tempore, nisi dispensetur et numeretur, nuptias celebrare piaculum est.

12. Ministris Christi libera prædicandi potestas adempta est: Qui jam concionari nolunt, hi rituum innovationem suadere non debent, sed manus subscriptione Ceremonias omnes approbare coguntur.

13. Postremò, Articulus de spirituali manducatione, qui disertis verbis oppugnabat, et tollebat realem Præsentiam in Eucharistia, et manifestissimam continebat veritatis explanationem, Edvardi VI. temporibus excusus, nunc apud vos evulgatur mutilatus et truncatus.

Laur. Humfredus.

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NUMBER LXXX.

*Bullinger's Answer to their Letter, declining to enter further into the Dispute.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Præstantissimis Viris, D. Laurentio Humfredo, et D. Thomæ Sampsoni, Anglis, Dominis meis Colendis, et Fratribus Charissimis.

Epistolam illam vestram, Domini colendi et Fratres charissimi, quâ meæ respondetis de re vestiariâ scriptæ, accepimus et legimus. Cujus quidem hæc summa est, Vobis per nostrum nondum esse satisfactum. Prævidimus hoc futurum, Fratres: Ideoq; mox ab initio, si bene meministis, in Epistola mea hæc præmisimus verba. Ergo, si nos audire vultis, nostrumque Judicium de re vestiaria expenditis, sicut ultimis ad me Literis vestris significabatis, en habetis in illa (Gualtheri) Epistola meum judicium. Cui si acquiescere non potestis, dolemus sanè quam vehementissimè, et cum nullum aliud nobis supersit consilium, Dominum, qui in omnibus et semper respiciendus est, ex animo et incessanter oramus, ut ipse sua gratia atque potentia, rebus graviter afflictis, &c. His jam nihil ampliùs addere nec possumus, nec volumus. Respondere quidem ad vestra objecta possemus, sed nolumus ullam novis et nunquam terminandis Disputationibus, scriptis vel rixis dare occasionem. Toties scripsit Martyr beatæ Memoriæ, cum adhuc viveret in Anglia, sed subinde aliæ atque aliæ suggerebantur, repetebanturque Quæstiones, ut videam ægre ullis verbis Scriptisve satisfieri posse. Rogati à vobis fraterno amore suasimus, quod nobis coram Domino videbatur ecclesiæ fore fructuosum. Diximus nobis quidem videri utilius ad tempus uti istis vestibus et cum oviculis creditis manere, quàm rejectis illis pariter et ecclesias deserere. Ulterius progressi non sumus, neque ullas papisticas sordes ac superstitiones probavimus: de quibus in illis disputationem ne suscepimus quidem, quippe ignari, quæ inter vos controverterentur, et de quibus nunc quoque scribitis, De re magni ponderis esse apud vos controversiam, nec de pileo solum aut superpelliceo certari, sed de re gravissima vos conqueri. Licet quidem epistola illa nostra ad vos privatim de re vestiaria conscripta, insciis nobis à quibusdam sit edita, speramus tamen pios et prudentes viros, nostra, neque in comitiis neque extra comitia eò detorsuros, quasi videamur ea nunc approbare et restituere velle, quæ pij omnes libris nostris edocti, dudum nos reprobare norunt. Suasimus vobis, sicut et ante nos et una nobiscum D. Martyr, quod nobis quidem videbatur, pro hoc tempore Argumento vel re, recipiendam vobis, ceu honestum et utile. Hoc quia hactenus placere non potuit, committimus nos totum Deo Negotium, petimusq; ut nobis non sitis ingrati, sed nihilominus amici, pergentes amare nos, vestri amantes in Domino, quem ex Animo oramus ut ipse, qui Fidelis est Custos Ecclesiæ suæ, Dissidium hoc infelix, inter vos exortum, componat et Ecclesiæ suæ Tranquillitatem reddat. Memineritis Fratres, obsecramus, per Dominum Jesum, à Ministris Ecclesiarum non tantùm requiri, ut sint fidelis Sermonis tenaces, sed ut simul sint prudentes domûs Dei dispensatores, rationem habentes familiæ, temporumque; et ut patienter, per Charitatem, plurima sustineant, concordiam veram in Domino foveant, deniq; per omnia Ecclesiam in pace conservent, nimiaq; sua vehementia, morositate aut importunitate, bonum quidem sed non prudenter volendo, non incommodent piis et pietati. Dominus Jesus concedat vobis Spiritum suum sanctum, et dirigat vos in viis suis. Valete Fratres.

Datum Tiguri, 10 Septembr. Anno Dom. 1566.

Heinrychus Bullingerus,
Suo et sui Gualtheri Nomine.

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NUMBER LXXXI.

*Bullinger and Gualter's Letter to the Earl of Bedford, pressing him to find a Temper in that Matter.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Illustrissimo Principi, Domino Francisco Russello, Comiti Bedfordiensi, &c.

Cum anno superiori intellexissemus apud vos, Illustrissime Princeps, contentionem aliquam de Habitu



Ministrorum exortam esse, vehementer timebamus, ne ea ulterius progressa, aliquid majoris mali daret Ecclesiæ: Et ideò à viris piis et cordatis requisiti, consilium dedimus, quod tunc nobis tutum et pium videbatur. Monuimus enim Ecclesiarum Ministros, ne ob rem non adeò magni momenti ab Ecclesiis discederent, et eas lupis et superstitiosis seductoribus vexandas relinquerent. At non fefellit nos gravioris periculi metus, quem nos tunc concepisse diximus. Audimus enim, jam non de solo vestitu apud vos contendi, sed insuper multa alia obtendi piis Ministris; quæ merum Papatum redolent, imò in Antichristi Schola primùm fabricata sunt, et proinde salva pietate recipi aut dissimulari non possunt. Dolorem autem nobis non levem parit, quòd Epistolam quam privatim ad amicos pauculos ea de re dedimus, typis excusam esse fertur, et quod multi nostrum de re illa vestiaria judicium ad alia usque extendunt, quæ Controversa esse tunc nesciebamus, et quæ à nobis nunquam probari potuerunt. Et sane justissimi doloris causa est, nostri nominis authoritate pios Fratres gravari, quibus consilium et consolationem afferre, potius quam molestiam exhibere studuimus. Magis tamen utimur scandali consideratione, quod inde exortum esse non dubitamus. Auget præterea tristitiam nostram infælix Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ conditio; quam cum semper amaverimus, non possumus non sanguinariis Fidei purioris hostibus totis animis commoveri, quòd quæ vixdum liberata nonnil florere cæperat, nunc intestinis dissidiis labefactatur. Et quia de tua virtute, Illustrissime Princeps, nobis satis constat, et non pauca extant tuæ Pietatis argumenta, ad tuam Excellentiam Literas dandas esse putavimus, de qua pij quàm plurimi spem non mediocrem conceperunt. Rogamus autem ut apud Serenissimam Reginam, et in Comitiis (quæ brevi futura audimus) apud regni proceres, causam Ecclesiæ pro more tueri pergat, neque suum patrocinium piis Fratribus neget: qui etsi aliqua in re peccarunt, veniam tamen merentur, quando illis ferventi pietatis zelo commotos fuisse; constat et hoc unum quærere, ut Ecclesiam ab omnibus Papisticis sordibus repurgatam habeant. Neq; illi modò nobis digni videntur, quos pij Principes propugnent; sed tota hæc causa ejusmodi est, ut qui in illa agenda studium et industriam adhibent, eo facto demùm testentur, se Principum nomine dignissimos esse. Dignatus est illustres viros eo honore Dominus, ut Ecclesiæ ejus nutritij dicantur, quæ sanè læus omnem hujus mundi gloriam atq; dignitatem longè superat. Erunt autem fideles nutritij, si Ecclesiam non modò ex hostium manibus eripiant, verbi Prædicationem instaurent, et Sacramentorum usum legitimum restituant; verùm et caveant, ne quæ Christo adduci debet Sponsa incontaminata, ullo superstitionum fuco defœdetur, aut ullis Ritibus à simplicitate Christiana, alienis à fide sua suspectam reddat. Et notum est illud Hoseæ, qui Ecclesiam Israeliticam monebat, ut scortationes non ab uberibus modò, verùm et à facie removeret. Quare etiam atq; etiam Excellentiam tuam rogamus, ut quod hactenus fecit, nunc imprimis facere pergat, et sua Authoritate apud Serenissimam Reginam et Regni Proceres efficere studeat, ne cum magna totius orbis admiratione instituta Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Reformatio, novis sordibus e postliminio reductis infelicis Papatûs reliquiis, deformetur. Nam si id fiat, non modo inconstantiæ nota multis in Regno vestro florentissimo inuretur, verùmetiam infirmi offendentur, et vicinis Scotiæ, Galliæ et Flandriæ Ecclesiis scandalum præbebitur sub cruce adhùc laborantibus, cujus pœnæ in authores ejus proculdubio redundabunt. Imo ex vobis exemplum sument vicini veritatis Evangelicæ hostes; ut ipsi quoq; in suis locis, liberiorem verbi Dei cultum novis tyrannicæ superstitionis legibus circumscribant. Liberiùs hæc dicimus, Illustrissime Princeps, non quòd de tua pietate quicquam dubitemus, sed id partim tua humanitate incredibili freti faciamus, partim rei necessitate adducti tuæ Excellentiæ, et multis aliis de hac causa cogitandi materiam et occasionem ampliorem præbere cupimus. Precamur autem Deum optimum maximum, ut Ecclesiæ suæ miseratus, pacem illi restituat, et T. E. tuiq; similes Principes suo Spiritû regat, suo favore prosegat, et potenti brachio servet, ad sui Nominis Gloriam, et Ecclesiæ suæ Conservationem. Tiguri, 11 Sept. Anno 1566.

Tuæ Excellentiæ Deditissimi,

Henricus Bullingerus, Sen. and
Rod. Gualtherus.

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NUMBER LXXXII.

*Bullinger and Gualter's Letter to Bishop Grindal and Bishop Horn, for quieting the Dispute.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Reverendis in Christo Patribus, D. Edmundo Grynæo dallo Londoniensi, et D. Roberto Horno Wintoniensi, in Anglia Episcopis, Dominis nostris Colendissimis et Fratribus Charissimis.

Reverendi in Christo Patres, Domini Honorandi, et Fratres Charissimi,—Rumore perlatum est ad nos, confirmato eodem nonnullorum Literis Fratrum aliunde ad nos allatis, Epistolam illam meam, quam mense Maio, privatim Scripsimus ad Honorandos Fratres nostros D. Humfredum et Sampsonem, vobisque Dominis nostris et Fratribus Charissimis, certo Consilio exposito à nobis in Epistola ad vos data communicavimus, Typis excusam atque publicatam esse, eaque ipsa illos confirmari, qui jam multos Ecclesiarum Ministros pios et doctos exauthorarunt, non quidem ob rem vestiariam, de qua illa nostra Scripta est Epistola, sed alios complures ob articulos, apud vos controversos. De quibus in Epistola illa nostra nullam instituimus Disputationem, quas tamen omnes dicimur contra exauthoratos defendere atque approbare. Nos quidem incendium inter vos exortum non augere, sed extinguere studio vestri Sancto sumus conati, et non probare vel improbare articulos de quibus nihil nobis constabat. Proinde luculenta nobis fieret injuria, si nostra Epistola raperetur eo quasi eos etiam articulos, quos tunc ignoravimus, cum de re vestiaria scriberemus, approbare videremur. Summa sententiæ nostræ erat, Ecclesias Christi Sanguine redemptas, minimè esse deserendas propter pileos et vestes, res indifferentes, cum non propter cultum ullum, sed propter ornatum politicè usurpari jubeantur. Nunc verò audimus (utinam rumore falso) requiri à Ministris novis quibusdam subscribant articulis, aut statione sua cedant. Articulos verò esse hujusmodi, cantum in templis figuratum, et peregrina lingua, unà cum strepitu organorum esse retinendum, Mulieres in casu necessitatis privatim posse, et debere baptizare infantulos. Magistrum quoq; infantem oblatum baptismo rogare debere quæstiones, olim catechumenis propositas. Baptizantes item Ministros usurpare exufflationes, exorcismos, crucis characterem, oleum, sputum, lutum, accensos cereos, et hujus generis alia: Docendum esse Ministris in perceptione Cœnæ Domini, opus esse genuflexione (quæ speciem habat adorationis) nec panem frangendum esse communiter, sed cuilibet communicaturo crustulam ori ejus esse inserendam à Ministro. Neq; verò modum Spiritualis manducationis, et præsentiæ Corporis Christi in Sacra Cœna explicandum, sed relinquendum in medio. Præterea dicitur, ut quondam Romæ

omnia fuerint venalia, ita nunc in Metropolitani Curia, prostare eadem, pluralitates videlicet Sacerdotiorum, licentiam pro non residendo, pro esu carnium diebus interdictis, et in Quadragessima, et rebus similibus, pro quibus nisi quis numeret, nihil impetret, Uxores item Ministrorum longè arceri à suis maritis, quasi impura sit conjugatis cohabitatio, perinde ut quondam factitatum est apud Antichristi Sacerdotes ; aiunt autem illis omnibus non licere vel privatim vel publicè contradicere, quinimò adigi Ministros, ne hanc camarinam siquidem Ministrare Ecclesiis velint, commoveant. Adeoq; omnem potestatem gubernationis, vel potestatis Ecclesiasticæ penes solos esse Episcopos, neq; ulli Pastorum permitti, in rebus hujusmodi Ecclesiasticis, suam dicere sententiam. Quæ si vera sunt, plurimum sanè non nobis tantum, sed Piis omnibus dolent. Oramusq; Dominum, ut hæc ex Sancta Christi Ecclesia quæ in Anglia est eluat, prohibeatq; ne quisquam Episcoporum, statione sua, dejiciat Pastorem ullum hujusmodi articulos recipere, aut approbare respuentem. Et quanquam de vestra Pietate Sinceritateque hoc nobis persuasissimum habeamus, vos si quid hujus (tam crassa enim extare apud vos vixdum credimus), in usu apud vos est, ferre et dissimulare ea ad comitia usq; regni opportuna, quibus de superstitione abolenda commodè et prudenter agatur : Et si qui sint, qui nostra illa Epistola abutantur ad quoslibet abusus confirmandos, vel tamen non esse de eorum numero, nihilominus hortamur vestram Pietatem per Dominum Jesum, ut seriò de emendandis expurgandisq; istis similibusq; superstitionibus, si ita res habet, ut dicitur, cum vestris Coepiscopis, et aliis Viris sanctis prudentibusq;, consultatis, nosq; ab injuria illa nobis ab aliis irrogata, fideliter vindicetis. Non enim istos articulos, uti perlati sunt ad nos, unquam probavimus. Rogamus insuper Humanitatem vestram, ut hæc à nobis benigno animo accipiatis, qui vestræ concordiæ item sinceritatisq; in Religione Regni Anglici sumus studiosissimi, et vobis in Christo addictissimi. Dominus Jesus benedicat vobis et servet ab omni malo. Salutate obsecramus nostro nomine, reliquos Reverendissimos Patres in Christo, Dominos meos Honorendos et Fratres Charissimos Angliæ Episcopos. Reginæ quoq; Serenissimæ semper nos commendate. Cui optamus vitam longævam, et gubernandi felicitatem, firmum tranquillumq; et tutum Regnum, et omnia quæ pii exoptare possunt.

Datæ Tiguri, Septemb. 6. Anno 1556.

Vestræ Pietatis Humanitatisque Deditissimi,
HEINRYCHUS BULLINGERUS, et
ROD. GUALTHERUS, Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ
Pastores et Ministri.

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NUMBER LXXXIII.

*A Letter of Bishop Grindal, and Bishop Horn, giving a full account of their sense of all the Matters complained of in the Church of England.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]—N. B. Ex Præcipuis.

Edmondus Londinensis, et Robertus Wintoniensis, Bullingero Heinricho, et Rodolpho Gualtero.

ERUDITAS vestras Literas ad Humfredum, et Sampsonem, commodissimas, cum ad nostras de vestibus animorum dissensiones, tum verborum altercationes atq; pugnas sedandas, quam libentissimè accepimus : Acceptas non sine certo Consilio, parcentes tamen Fratrum nominibus, Typis excudi atq; publicari curavimus, indeq; fructum amplissimum quidem, quemadmodum sperabamus, precepimus. Nam sanis quidem viris, universum Evangeliorum institutum et finem spectantibus, multum profuere : Ministros certè nonnullos qui de deserendo Ministerio propter rem vestiariam, quæ jam sola controversa ac causa contentionis apud nos fuerat, cogitarunt, persuasos ne Ecclesias fraudari suâ operâ sinerent propter tantillum, confirmatosq; reddidere, et in vestram sententiam retraxere : Plebem autem quæ per importunos quorundam clamores concitata in varias partes distrahebatur, piosq; Ministros contumeliâ afficiebat, quasi concordia quadam illis placavere ac leniere temperantia : Morosis vero et nihil preterquam quod ipsi statuerant preferre valentibus, etsi non satisfecere, eo tamen eis profuere, ut pios convitiis minus proscindere, pacemq; Ecclesiæ salutarem sermonibus suis morologis non adeò audacter fœdare, velint aut possint. Ex hiis quosdam esse exauthoratos, etsi sua ipsorum culpa, ut gravius in illos nos dicamus, fatemur et dolemus. Verum illud æquiori animo ferendum putamus, quod non sint multi sed pauci, et pij, certè non adeò docti. Nam solus Sampsonus inter eos qui exauthorati sunt, et pius pariter ac Doctus est habendus. Humfredus verò ac Doctiores omnes in sua hactenus statione manent. Quod si vestra Epistola Typis excusa ac publicata fuisset, ut qui exauthorarunt, confirmarentur : si qui exauthorati sunt, propter alios articulos apud nos controversos et non ob rem solam vestiariam de gradu fuissent dejecti suo : si deniq; illa Epistola quæ verbis adeò exquisitis ac perspicuis solam controversiam vestiariam pertractat, ut alio transferri non possit ad approbandos articulos vobis ignotos, nec dum apud nos Dei gratia controversos (nam nulli nobis cum Fratribus articuli in contentionem hactenus venerunt nisi hic solus vestiarius) reperetur : Luculenta profectò vobis, quos amamus, colimus, et in Domino Honoramus, fuisset injuria : sicut nobis manifesta adhibita est calumnia ab hiis qui Authores fuerunt vanissimi rumoris, quo ad vos perlatum fuit, à Ministris Ecclesiæ requiri novis quibusdam subscribant articulis, aut statione sua cedant. Summa controversiæ nostræ hæc est : nos tenemus Ministros Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sine impietate uti posse vestium discrimine publica authoritate jam præscripto, tum in Administratione Sacra, tum in usu externo, præsertim cum ut res indifferentur proponantur, tantum propter ordinem ac debitam legibus Obedientiam usurpari jubeantur : et omnis Superstitionis Cultus ac Necessitatis quod ad Conscientias attinet, opinio, legum ipsarum præscripto et sincerioris Doctrinæ Prædicatione assidua quantum fieri potest amoveatur, rejiciatur, ac omnino condemnetur. Illi contra clamitant vestes has in numerum *τῶν ἀδιαφορῶν*, jam haud quaquam esse ascribendas, impias esse, Papisticas ac Idolatricas : et propterea, omnibus piis uno consensu Ministerio cedendum potius, quàm cum istis Pannicullariis Papisticis, sic enim loquuntur, Ecclesiæ inservire : licet Doctrinam sincerissimam prædicandi nec non omnimodos Errores seu abusus sive in Ritibus, sive in Doctrina, sive in Sacramentis, sive in Moribus, per sanam Doctrinam subaccusandi, exagitandi, condemnandi, summam habeamus Libertatem. Istud istorum immaturum Consilium accipere non possumus : quomodo nec impetuosa eorum Adhortationes, quibus Pacem Ecclesiæ indesinenter pro suggestu disturbant, Religionemq; nostram universam in Periculum trahunt, ferre debemus. Nam istiusmodi suis celeusmatibus, serenis. Reginæ Animum alioqui ad optimè merendum de Religione propensum, irritari, prohi dolor, nimium experti sumus : Procerum quorundam Animos, ut de aliis taceamus, ægros, imbecilles, vacillantes, hiis vulnerari, debilitari, abalienari, certò certius scimus. Ecquis dubitare possit, quin Papistæ hujusmodi Occasione nacti virus suum pestilentissimum eructabunt, evoment in Evangelium Jesu



Christi, ejusq; Professores omnes; in spem erecti, jam Opportunitatem se habere suam sibi ereptam Helenam recuperandi. Quodsi inconsulto nostro Consiljo acquiesceremus, ut omnes cunctis viribus impetum in vestes Legibus Constabilitas, contra Legem faciamus, perimamus, ac deleamus omnino, aut simul omnes Munia exuamus. Papisticum profectò, vel saltem Lutherano-papisticum haberemus Ministerium, aut omnino nullum. Illud autem Deum Optimum Maximum testamur, Fratres in Christo honorandi ; neque culpa evenisse dissidium hoc nostra, nec per nos stare quo minùs istiusmodi vestes è medio tollerentur : Imò sanctissime, licet, juremus, laborasse nos hactenus quanto potuimus studio, fide, diligentia, ut id effectum daremus, quod fratres postulant, et nos optamus. Verùm in tantas adducti angustias, quid faciendum ? (multa vobis, qui prudentes et ad pericula Ecclesiis impendentia perspicienda estis sagaces, conjicienda relinquimus) nisi ut cùm non possumus quod velimus, velimus in Domino quod possumus. Hactenus rem controversam et plenam dissensionis inter nos, ut se habet, exposuimus. Nunc vero quod reliquum est, accipite : Falsissimus omnino est ille rumor, si tamen rumor dicendus sit (novimus enim prudentiam vestram, ac modestiam, et laudamus) de receptione, subscriptione, et approbatione novorum istorum Articulorum quos recensetis. Nec magis sunt veraces, qui sive scriptis suis Epistolis, sive verbis coram, hoc prætextu vobis fucum facere, nobis autem calumniam inurere sunt conati. Pleriq; enim omnes isti Articuli falsò nobis objiciuntur ; perpauci recipiuntur : Horum omnino nulli, Fratribus sua subscriptione approbandi obtruduntur. Cantum in templis figuratum, unà cum strepitu organorum, retinendum non affirmamus imò prout decet, insectamur. Peregrinam linguam, exufflationes, exorcismos, oleum, sputum, lutum, accensos cereos, et ejus generis alia, ex Legum præscripto nunquam revocanda, penitùs amisit Ecclesia Anglicana. Mulieres posse aut debere baptizare infantulos, nullo modo prorsus assentimur. In Cœnæ Dominicæ perceptione, panem communiter frangere, cuilibet communicaturo non ori inserere, sed in manus tradere : Modum spiritualis manducationis, et presentiæ Corporis Christi in sacra Cœna, explicari Leges jubent, Usus confirmat, Oblatratores nostri Anglo-Lovanienses nefariis suis scriptis testantur. Uxores Ministrorum non arcentur à suis Maritis ; cohabitant, et eorum Conjugium apud omnes (semper Papistas excipimus) habetur honorabile. Denique non minùs falsum est quod oblatrant, penes solos Episcopos omnem esse Ecclesiasticæ gubernationis potestatem, etsi primas illis dari non negamus. Nam in rebus hujusmodi Ecclesiasticis in Synodo deliberari solet. Synodus autem indicitur, Edicto Regio, eo tempore quo habetur totius Regni Parliamentum, ut vocant. Adsunt Episcopi, adsunt etiam totius Provinciæ Pastorum doctiores quique, qui triplo plures sunt quàm Episcopi. Hij seorsum ab Episcopis de rebus Ecclesiasticis deliberant, et nihil in Synodo statuitur, aut definitur, sine communi eorum ac Episcoporum, aut majoris saltem illorum partis, consensu et approbatione : tantùm abest ut Pastoribus non permittatur in hujusmodi rebus Ecclesiasticis suam dicere sententiam. Recipimus quidem, seu potius toleranter ferimus, donec meliora Dominus dederit, interrogationes infantium, et crucis characterem in Baptismo, in Cœnæ perceptione genuflexionem ; et Regiam Facultatum Curiam, quam Metropolitani vocant. Quæstiones istiusmodi non adeò accommodè infantibus proponi, etsi ex Augustino videantur emendicatæ, publicè profitemur, ac sedulò docemus. Crucis Charactere frontem jam baptizati infantis notare ; etsi Minister palàm conceptis verbis, profiteatur signatum esse Cruce infantulum, solummodò in signum quòd in posterum illum non pudebit fidei Christi crucifixi, idque ex vetustiori Ecclesia videatur transumptum, tamen non defendimus. Genuflexionem in sacræ cœnæ perceptione, quoniam ita Lege constitutum est, permittimus : Ea tamen expositione, seù potius cautione, quam ipsi genuflexionis authores, viri sanctissimi ac Martyres Jesu Christi constantissimi, adhibuerunt, diligentissimè populo declarata, promulgata, inculcata. Quæ sic ad verbum habet : Etsi in Libro Præcum statutum sit, ut communicantes genuflectendo sacram accipiant communionem, id tamen eo trahi non debere declaramus, quasi ulla adoratio fiat aut fieri debeat, sive Sacramentali pani ac vino, sive ulli reali et essentiali præsentiæ ibi existenti, naturalis carnis et sanguinis Christi. Nam Sacramentalis panis et vinum permanent in ipsis suis naturalibus substantiis, et propterea non sunt adoranda : Id enim Idololatria horrenda esset, omnibus Christianis detestanda. Et quantum ad corpus naturale ac sanguinem salvatoris nostri Christi attinet, in Cœlo sunt et non sunt hic. Quandoquidem contra veritatem veri naturalis corporis Christi est, pluribus quàm uno inesse locis, uno atque eodem tempore. Facultatem Curia, undecunque est allata, Regia est, non Metropolitani. Is enim prudens Pater, doctus et ad syncerissimam Religionem propagandam optimè affectus, omnimodas Romanas fæces prorsus eluere peroptat, conatur, satagit. Et licet omnes hujus Fiscalis Curiæ, sicut etiam alios nonnullus abusus è medio tollere non possumus, eos tamen carpere, contumeliis insequi, ad tartara usque, unde prorepserunt, detrudere non desistimus. Nobis credite, fratres venerandi : Unicuique licet Ministro omnibus istiusmodi articulis, cum modestia et sobrietate contradicere. Pastores verò articulos istos nobis falsò impositos, recipere aut approbare nolentes, statione sua haudquaquam dejicimus. Pergite ergo nos amare, admonere, juvare, ut incendium inter eos exortum, solummodo pro re vestiaria, extinguatur. Nosque operam dabimus, quantum fieri possit, quemadmodum in proximis Comitiis fecimus, et si nihil obtinere potuimus ; ut omnes errores et abusus ad amussim verbi Dei corrigantur, emendentur, expurgentur. Commendamus vos Fratres Gratiæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quem oramus ut vos incolumes, vestrasque Ecclesias in pace quam diutissimè conservet. Salutate nostro nomine Fratres ac Symnistas Tigurinos omnes.

Londini, 6 Februarij, Anno Dom. 1567.

Vestrum omnium Amantissimus,
EDM. LONDON.
ROBERTUS WINTON.

Addito Manu Winton' sequentia.

Obsecro et ego vos, Fratres mihi plurimùm observandi, (ignoscatis mihi) quod Literis vestris ad me privatim scriptis, hactenus non responderim ; nec pro doctissimis vestris Commentariis ad me transmissis, ullas hactenus gratias retulerim. Neque illud ipsum mihi vitio vertant Wolvius et Lavaterus ; quos quæso, meo nomine, plurimùm salutate, et me apud illos excusate. Scio enim Officij mei rationem hoc ipsum efflagitâsse ; et vos, illosque, meas Literas desiderâsse, non dubito. Efficiam posthac, scribendo vos omnes expleam, et Officio non desim meo. Salutem etiam à me dicite, oro, D. Simlero, Zuinglio, Halero. Vivite omnes, ac valete in Christo.

Totus Vester,
ROBERTUS WINTON.

*Inscriptio.*—Ornatissimis Viris, D. Henricho Bullingero, et D. Radulpho Gualtero, Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Pastoribus fidelissimis.

NUMBER LXXXIV.

*A Letter of Jewell's to Bullinger, concerning the Debates in Parliament relating to the Succession, and the Heats in the Disputes about the Vestments.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Johannes Juellus Henricho Bullingero.

S. P. in Christo. Proximæ Literæ meæ, Ornatissime Vir, cum Londinum tardiusculè venissent, et Francofordiam ad Nundinas profiscisci non possent, re infecta, domum ad me reversæ sunt. Quod nonnihil vereor, ne nunc quoque in istas accidat. De prolixis et pereruditis illis tuis ad me Literis proximis, prolixè tibi ago gratias. Nunc mihi de Synodo illa Francofordiensi, ut de re obscura, et controversa, egregiè satisfactum esse, et fateor et gaudeo. Res nostræ Ecclesiasticæ, publicæ privatæque, eo loco nunc sunt, quo fuerunt. Lovanienses nostri clamant, et turbant, quantum possunt: Et habent fautores, etsi non ita multos, plures tamen multò quam velim. Et quamvis complures sint, et in universum in omnes scribant, tamen nescio, quo meo fato, omnes in me feruntur unum. Itaq; dum illus respondeo, ne me esse otiosum putes. Habuimus, proximis istis Mensibus, Comitia totius Regni: Illis ego, propter Valetudinem, interesse non potui. Scriptæ sunt Leges de Religione, quibus Papistarum obstinata malitia, atq; insolentia in officio continentur. Actum etiam est de Successione; hoc est, cui Familiæ Jus Regni debeatur, si quid Elizabethæ Reginæ humanitus acciderit, quod nolimus. Ea Contentio mensem unum, atque alterum omnium animos occupavit; cum Regina ea de re agi nollet: Reliqui omnes vehementer cuperent, et utrinque magnis viribus, et studiis pugnaretur. Quid quæris? Effici postremò nihil potuit: Regina enim, ut est fœmina imprimis prudens et provida, Hærede semel designato, suspicatur, aliquid sibi creari posse periculi. Nósti enim illud, plures Orientem Solem adorant, quam Occidentem. De Religione, Causa illa vestiaria magnos hoc tempore motus concitavit. Reginæ certum est, nolle flecti: Fratres autem quidam nostri ita ea de re pugnant, ac si in ea una omnis nostra Religio versaretur. Itaq; Functiones abjicere, et Ecclesias inanes relinquere malunt, quàm tantillum de sententia decedere. Neq; aut tuis aut D. Gualtheri doctissimis scriptis, aut aliorum piorum Virorum monitis moveri volunt. Agimus tamen Deo gratias, qui non patitur nos inter nos, hoc tempore, gravioribus Quæstionibus exerceri. Unus tantùm quispiam è nostro numero, Episcopus Glocestrensis, in Comitiis apertè, et fidenter dixit, probari sibi Lutheri sententiam de Eucharistia; sed ea seges non erit, spero, diuturna. In Hibernia, nonnihil hoc tempore tumultuatur. Insula ea, uti scis, paret nostris Regibus. Johannes quidam Onelus, spurius, conscripsit nuper militem, et nostros insolenter provocavit. Sed plus in ea re moræ est, quàm periculi. Is enim longè abdit sese in paludes, et solitudines; quo noster miles consequi facilè non possit. E Scotia vero, (quid ego dicam? aut tu, quid credas?) horrenda atq; atrocia nuntiantur. Ea quamvis ejusmodi sint, ut credo, vix possit, tamen ex Aula usq; ad me scribuntur, et passim jactantur, et creduntur ab omnibus. Regem juvenem, aiunt, proximis hisce admodum diebus, unà cum uno famulo, quem habuit à cubiculis, interfectum esse domi suæ, et exportatum foràs, et relictum sub dio. Crede mihi, horret animus ista commemorare. Si ista vera sint, ne sint; tamen si sint, quid causæ fuerit, aut quibus ille insidiis petitus sit, faciam te posthac, ubi omnia rescivero, de rebus omnibus certiorem. In Præsentia, nec ea, quæ ita constanter jactarentur, reticere potui, nec ea quæ comperta non haberem, nimium fidenter affirmare. Julium nostrum, audio, Tiguri esse mortuum: Mitto tamen ad illum viginti Coronatos Gallicos, si vivit, ut illi cedant; sin autem, quod nolim, est mortuus, ut in Epulum Scholasticum insumantur. Si esset otium, scriberem ad D. Lavaterum, ad D. Simlerum, ad D. Wolphium, ad D. Hallerum, et alios: Imprimis vero ad D. Gualterum; ad quem, hactenus homo ingratus, nunquam scripsi. Quæso, ut hosce omnes, atque etiam in primis D. Rodolphum, et D. Henricum tuos, meo nomine plurimum valere jubeas. Vale, mi Pater, et Domine in Christo Colendissime.

Sarisberiæ in Anglia. Feb. 24, 1567.

Tuus in Christo,
Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

*Inscriptio.*—D. Henricho Bullingero Ministro Ecclesiæ Tigurinæ Fidelissimo, Viro longè Doctissimo, et Domino suo Colendissimo.—*Tiguri.*

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NUMBER LXXXV.

*A Letter of Jewell's to Bullinger, of the State Affairs were in, both in England, Ireland, Scotland, and the Netherlands.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Salutem Plurimam in Christo Jesu.—Quid ego dicam, Doctissime Vir et Clarissime Pater? Et pudet et dolet, pudet primum, non scripsisse sæpius, deinde dolet, eas ipsas quas scripsi, non potuisse ad vos pervenire, obsecro tamen te, ne putes mihi aut Scholam Tigurinam, aut Rempublicam, aut illam vestam Humanitatem tantam tam citò ex Animo elabi potuisse. Equidem vos omnes in oculis, et in sinu gero, et te imprimis. Mi Pater, lumen jam unicum ætatis nostræ. Quod autem ad Literas attinet, equidem, preterquam anno illo superiore cum peste, et lue omnia ubique clausa essent, cæteroquis nunquam intermisi scribere, ad te, ad Lavaterum, ad Simlerum, et ad Julium. Quod nisi facerem, videri, vix possem, non dico officii, sed ne Humanitatis quidem rationem ullam retinere. Et de aliis quidem meis Literis superioribus, quid factum sit, nescio. Proximas autem audio in navali conflictu exceptas fuisse à Gallis, atque ablatas Caletum. Sed Missa ista facio. Nunc accipito de rebus nostris, quos tibi, pro tua pietate, magis cordi esse, sat scio. Primum de Religione omnia domi Dei Optimi Maximi Beneficio pacata sunt. Papistæ exules turbant, et impediunt quantum possunt et evulgatis libris, nescio, quo meo, fatone, dicam, an merito, me petunt unum, idque terni maximis clamoribus uno tempore. Illis omnibus dum unus respondeo, tu me ne putes esse otiosum. Offertur mihi inter alia, causa illa Ubiquitaria, quam ego in senis illius nostri Tubingensis gratiam, ut potui, utque res tulit, de industria ornavi pluribus: Sed nostra lingua, utpote nostris Hominibus. Si quidem otium erit, partem aliquam transferam, et ad vos mittam. De illo autem sene, equidem non video quid debeam statuere. Ita mihi videtur, magis magisque in singulos dies delirare. Legi enim novum Menandri phasma, quod nunc nuper dedit: Et tibi, et de illo Libro, et de omnibus Literis tuis, et de omni tua Humanitate, ago gratias. Respublica domi, forisque, terra, marique tranquilla est. Pacem habemus cum Gallis constitutam. Flandrica etiam illa turba jam tandem consiluit. Mercatores utrinque commeant, Flandri ad nos, et nostri vicissim ad illos. Granvelanus, cujus unius nequitia hæc omnia cæpta sunt, id egit, ut, turbatis, atque impeditis emporiis, cum neque invehi quicquam, neque exportari posset, attonitis



mercatoribus, et oppidano vulgo, quod verè è lanificio victum quærit, ad otium, atque inopiam redacto, popularis aliquis motus, et seditio domestica sequeretur. Ita enim sperabat Religionem unà posse concuti. Sed Deus ista consilia convertit potiùs in authorem. Nostri enim in officio, uti par erat, remanserant. Flandricum autem vulgus, digressis nostris Mercatoribus, et Emporio Embdæ constituto, eam rem indignè ferre, atque etiam tantum non tumultuari. Hiberni, uti te audisse scio, nobis parent, et nostis utuntur legibus. In illam insulam, Papa ante aliquot admodum dies immisit Hominem sceleratum, et callidum, cum mandatis, qui huc illuc concursaret. Erat enim Hibernus, qui gentem feram et silvestrem contra nos Religionis causa commoveret. Quid quæris? Nebulo statim primo appulsu comprehenditur, et excussus, et vinctus ad nos mittitur. Ita sacerrimus Pater prorsus decrevit, cum flectere non possit superos, Acheronta movere. In Scotia ita ut volumus. Regina sola Missam illam suam retinet, invitis omnibus. Parkhurstus, Hoperus, Sampson, Sandus, Leverus, Chamberus valent, et officium faciunt. Biennium jam est, quod ego illorum quenquam viderim. Vale, mi Pater. Dominus Jesus te quàm diutissimè servet superstitem, et incolumem. Saluta D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lupum, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Zuinglium, D. Wikium; ad quos singulos darem Literas si esset otium, vel potius nisi prorsus obrurer Negotiis.

Sarisberiæ, in Anglia, Calend. Martiis, 1565.

Tui Nominis Studiosissimus,
Tibique Deditissimus,
Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

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NUMBER LXXXVI.

*The End of a Letter written to Zurich, setting forth the Temper of some Bishops in these Matters.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Nunc Patres illud petimus, et in Christo contendimus etiam atq; etiam, (quod vos ultrò benignissimè polliciti estis) ut Londinensis, Wintoniensis ac Cantuariensis Episcoporum animos exacerbatos molliatis, et si non amplius aliquid potestis, saltem hoc tantùm exoretis: Ut et in Fratres nostros in Anglia remanentes mitiores esse velint, et fæces ex suis Ecclesiis removentes, si non adjuvare, at saltem tolerare, et ipsorum factis connivere velint. Atq; vos Reverendis Nordovicensi, Wigorniensi, et Dunelmensi Episcopis, in vestris Epistolis, pollicitis justas suæ pietatis laudes persolvatis: Atque illis, simul et Fratribus Ministris studentibus repurgationi Ecclesiarum, animos pergendi in proposito addatis. Hæc, si pro vestra summa Dignitate (ut confidimus) impetraverimus, non modò non fatigabimus alias Ecclesias novis precibus, sed et nos, omnesq; verè pii, omnia vobis ob pacem et concordiam, vestra opera, Ecclesiæ partam debebimus; et Deus optimus maximus vobis, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, æternam Coronem tribuet. Amen.

Vestræ Dignitatis Studiosissimi,

Georgius Witherus,
Johan. Bartholottus, } Angli.

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NUMBER LXXXVII.

*Bullinger and Gualter's Letter to the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Norwich, interceding for Favour to those whose Scruples were not satisfied in those Matters.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Intercessionales pro Tolerantia. Londinensi, Wintoniensi, et Norvicensi, Episcopis in Anglia.

Reverendi Viri Domini Colendissimi, et Fratres in Domino Charissimi. Dominus Jesus benedicat vobis et servet vos ab omni malo.—Quo vehementius favemus vobis Reverendi Domini et Fratres Charissimi, eò dolemus gravius dessidere vos à Fratribus aliquot, Viris Doctis, in Anglia gradu suo dejectis. Atque ideo dilectioni nostræ dabitis, quod frequentius eadem de re aures vestras obtundimus. Vidimus et accepimus vestram in hanc causam excusationem: Interim Angli exules ad nos veniunt, qui affirmant Londinensis Ecclesiæ Doctores, nec non aliarum in Anglia Ecclesiarum, in Mariana persecutione probatos Homines, quorum fide diligentia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in sævissimus istis tempestatibus conservatæ sint, nunc pelli, nec pelli tantum, sed gravi etiam persecutione premi, adeoque et in tetras retrudi carceres. Addunt plures esse in Hibernia Ecclesiarum Ministros, qui non aliter sentiant aut faciant, quàm illi ipsi qui in Anglia sustinent persecutionem. Illos autem Episcopi sui Beneficio, et apud Regiam M. interventu agere in summa tranquillitate. Unde isti colligunt, si Episcopi qui in Anglia sunt apud R. Majestatem intercederent, fore ut et ipsi tranquillè sibi commissas possit retinere et gubernare Ecclesias. Et quod hac in causa præcipuum est, Episcopos non diffiteri meliorem habere causam afflictos et dejectos. Nam agnoscere eos Ecclesiam rectius constitui et constitutam gubernari fine illis cæremoniis ritubusve et institutis, quam cum illis, adeò ut ipsismet afferatur optio, malint ipsi sibi Ecclesiam deligere sine illis, quam illis oneratam sibi dari. Id quod inde quoque colliquescat manifestissimè, quod in Regni Comitiis, non semel Episcopi petierint, à R. M. ut tollantur illa et purgatior ornatiorque aut minus saltem onerata fiat Ecclesia. Quæ cum ita sint reverendi Domini et Fratres Charissimi, incitabit vos ipsos haud dubiè vestra pietas ad consultandum, quomodo fieri possit commodè et maturè, ut Fratribus istis afflictis consulatur, et ne ita gravi persecutione premantur, quin potius R. Maj. Clementia tolerentur, donaque in ipsis utilia Ecclesiæ, per abdicationem non extinguantur. Non est autem quod multis rationibus aut exemplis vos alioqui peritissimos omnis pietatis et æquitatis, urgeamus: tantum hoc oramus per Dominum, ut si apud R. M. afflictis afflictionem vel imminuere, vel prorsus adimere potestis, pro Christiana Charitate, illis omnem vestram fidelem impendatis operam; et nostram hanc fraternam admonitionem boni consulatis, solitoque amore nos vestri amantissimos prosequi pergatis. Valete, Honorandi Domini.

Bullingerus et Gualterus.

Tiguri, 26 Augusti, 1567.

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NUMBER LXXXVIII.

*A Part of a Letter of Jewell's to Bullinger, of the State of Affairs both in England and Scotland.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

——Contentio illa de Ecclesiastica Veste linea, de qua vos vel ab Abele nostro, vel à D. Parkhursto audisse non dubito, nondum etiam conquievit. Ea res nonnihil commovet infirmos animos: Atque utinam

omnia etiam tenuissima vestigia Papatus, et è templis, et multò maximè ex animis omnium auferri possent. Sed Regina ferre mutationem in Religione, hoc tempore, nullam potest. Res Scotiæ nondum etiam satis pacatæ sunt: Nobiles aliquot primi nominis apud nos exulant. Alij domi remanserunt, et sese, si vis fiat, ad resistendum parant, et ex arcibus suis excursiones interdum faciunt, et ex Papistarum agris agunt, feruntque quantum possunt. Regina ipsa, etsi animo sit ad Papismum obfirmato, tamen vix satis exploratum habet, quo se vertat: Nam de Religione adversariam habet magnam partem, et Nobilitatis, et Populi: Et, quantum quidem nos possumus intelligere, numerus indies crescit. Submiserat proximis istis mensibus Philippus Rex, Abbatem quendam Italum cum auro Hispanico, hominem vafrum, et factum atque instructum ad fraudes, qui et Regem et Reginamq; juvaret veteratorio Consilio, et impleret omnia tumultibus. Rex novus, qui semper hactenus abstinuisset à Missis, et ultrò accessisset ad Conciones, ut se Populo daret, cum audiret navem illam appulsuram postridie, factus repentè confidentior, sumptis animis, noluit longiùs dissimulare. Accedit ad Templum; jubet sibi de more dici Missam. Eodem ipso tempore, D. Knoxus, Concionator in eodem oppido, et in proximo templo, magna frequentia clamare in Idolomanias, et in universum Regnum Pontificium, nunquam fortius. Interea, navis illa Philippica jactata tempestatibus, et ventibus fluctibusq; concussa, et fracta, convulso malo, ruptis lateribus, amissis gubernatoribus, vectoribus, et rebus omnibus inanis, et lacera, et aquæ plena, refertur in Angliam. Hæc ego divinitus non dubito contigisse, ut Rex fatuus intelligat, quàm sit auspicatum audire Missas. E Galliis multa turbulenta nunciantur. Domus illa Guisana non potest acquiescere sine aliquo magno malo: Verum ista vobis multò propiora sunt, quàm nos. Danus, et Suecus, cruentissimè inter se conflixerunt, et adhuc dicuntur esse in Armis: Uterq; affectus est maximis incommodis; nec adhuc uter sit superior, dici potest. Libri vestri (tuus, Reverende Pater, in Danielem, et tuus, Doctissime Ludovice, in Josuam) incolumes ad me delati sunt: Ego et Deo Optimo Maximo de vobis, et vobis de istis laboribus et studiis, deq; omni vestra humanitate, ago gratias.

Misi in hoc tempore ad Julium nostrum, in annuum Stipendium, viginti Coronatos; et alteras totidem ad vos duos, ut eos vel in cœnam publicam pro more vestro, vel in quemvis alium usum pro vestro arbitrio consumatis.

Deus vos, Ecclesiam, Rempublicam, Scholamq; vestram conservet incolumes. Salutate D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Zuinglium, D. Ghesnerum, D. Wikium, D. Hallerum, D. D. Hen. et Rod. Bullingerum meo nomine. Sarisberiæ, 8 Februar. 1566.

Vestri Amans, et
Studiosus in Deo,
Jo. Juellus.

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NUMBER LXXXIX.

[Cott. Libr.]

The Nobilitie, Gentillmene, Barons, with Superintendants, Ministers and others, professinge the evangell of Jesus Christ, within this realm: To the King's and Quen's Majestie, and the Christian estat of yis realme presentlie met into Parliament, wisheth the fere of God, with the spirit of rightuous judgment.

Forasmuckill as in the convention of the kirke, halden at Edenburghe the 25th day of June last past, certayn gentelmen then were directed to the queen's majestie, with certaine articles concerning the religion, desiring her majestie's answer therupon: To the whilks howbeit her majestie than gave sum particular answer, nocht the less her majestie remitted the ferder answer to this present parliament. And therfore wee, of our dewty, can doe noe lesse nor crave the full answer of the said articles in this present parliament, conforme to the queen's grace own appointment. And alsua in respect that in the parliament, halden at Edinburghe the 10th of July, 1560 years, it was determined and concludid, the masses, papistrie, and papis jurisdiction, to be simply abolyshit and put away out of this realme, and Christ's religion to be reteined universally and approvit. And in like manor, in respect that the queen's majestie, by many divers and sundry proclamations, hes ratefyt and approvyt Christ's religion, quhilk she fand publickly resaved in this realme at her arrivall, and spetially upon the fiftene daye of September last at Dunde: The kinge and queen's majestie, with the advyse of thair secreat counsaill, promiset as well be the act of secreat counsaile, as by divers and sundry proclamations mad therupon, publickly in the principall burghis of this realme, to establish in this present parliament the religion of Christ, quhilke thei fand publicklie and univarsally standing at the arrivall in Scotland; and all acts, lawes and constitutions, comon, civill, or muncipiall, prejudiciall to the same, to be abolished and put away, as the said acts and proclamations mair fullelye proports. Desiringe thairfore the premisses to be considered, together with the said articles, and the queen's majestie's answers to the same, with the kirke's replie thareupon as followis.

The Articles.

Theis are the articles, which the nobilitie, barons, gentlemen, burgeosis, and other professors of Christ's evangell, crave with all humilitie at the queen's majestie, and her honorable consaile, within this realme of Scotlande.

Imprimis, That the papistical and blasphemos mass, with all papistree, idolatry, and pope's jurisdiction, be universallie suppressed and abolished thorowgout this whole realme, not only in the subjects, but also in the queen's majestie own person, with punishment against all persons, that shall be deprehendet to transgresse and offend in the same: and that the sincere word off God, and Christ's true religion, nowe presently received, might be established, approved, and ratified througheout thole realme, aswel in the queene's majestie owne person, as in the subjects, without any impedyment: and that the people be astricted to resort, upon the Sondaies at least, to the praiers and preaching of Gode's worde, like as they were astricted before to resort to the idolater's masse: and theis heads to be provided by act off parliament, with the consent of the estates, and ratifycacion of the queen's majesty.

Secondlie, That seur provision be appointed for sustentation of the mynistrye, aswel for the tyme present, as for the tyme to come; and that suche persons as are publickelie admytted in the mynistrye, may have there livings assigned unto them, in the townes where they travell, or at the least next adjacent thereto: and that they have not occasion to crave the same at the hands of any other. And that the benyfices nowe vacant, or that have vaked sithence the monethe of Marche, anno 1558, or that hereafter shall happen to vake, be disponed to qualified and learned persons, able to preche Godde's worde, and to discharge the vocation concernynge the mynysterye, by tryall, and admission of the superintendents: and that no bishopricke, abbaty, priorye, deaconrye, provostrye, or enye other benyfyce having many churches annexed thereto, be disponed altogether at eny time to come, to eny one man: but at the least, the churches thereof be



severallye disponed, and to several persons, so that every man having charge may serve at his owne church, according to his vocation. And to this effect, that the glebbis and manses be given to the mynistrye, that they may make residence at there churches, wherethrough they may discharge there conscyences, conform to there vocation, and also that the churches may be repaired accordinglie; and that a lawe be made and established hereupon by act of parliament, as said is.

Thirdlie, That none be permytted to have charge of scoules, colleges, or universities, or yet privatly or publickly instruct the youth, but such as shall be tryed by the superintendents, or the visitors of the churche, found sound and able in doctrine, and admitted by them to there charges.

Fourthlie, For sustentacion of the poore, that all lands founded to hospitalitie of old, be restored again to the same use: and that all lands, anuell rents, or any other emoluments pertayninge any wayes somtyme to the friers of whatsoever ordre they had been of, or anuall rents, altarage, obits perteyninge to the priests, be applyit to the sustentacion of the poor, and uphold of scoles in the townes, and other places whear thaye lie.

Fifthlie, That all sic horrible crymes, as now abounds in this realme, without any correction, to the great contempt of God and his holye worde, sic as ydolatry, blasphemy of Gode's name, manifest brekinge of the sabath day, with wichcraft, sorcery and inchantment, adultery, incest, manifest whordome, mentenance of bordells, murther, slaughter, reyfe and spulze, with many other detestable crymes, may be severely punished; and judges appointed in every province or dioces, for execution therof, with power to doe the same, and that by act of parliament.

Last, That som order be devysit and establishit, for the ease of the poore laborers of the ground, concerninge the reasonable payment of thair teynds, and settinge of thair teyndis to an over yair heads, without yaire own advyse and consent.

*The Queen's Majestie's Answer to the Articles, presentit to her highnes by certaine Gentlemen, in the name of the hall last Assemblie of the Kirke.*

To the first, desiringe the mass to be suppressed and abolyscht, as well in the head as members, with punyshment, against the contradonears; as also that religion now professed to be establisht be acte of parliament. It is answerit, first, for the part of her majestie selfe, that hir highnes is yet na wyse perswadit in the said religion, nott yett that any impyetie is in the masse; and therefore beleves that her lovinge subjects will noe wayes presse her to receive any religion agaynst her conscience: quilke suld be to her continuall troble, be remorse of conscience, and ther through an parpetuall inquietnes. And to deal plainly with her subjects, her majestie neather will, nor may leave the religion, qucharin she hes ben noryscht, and upbrought, and believes the same to be well grounded; knowinge, besides the grudge of conscience, gyf she shold receve any change in her owne religion, that she shold leave the friendship of the king of France, the auncient allia of yis realme, and of other great princes hir frinds and confederats: quha wold take the same in evil part. And of quhom she may luke for thare great support in har necessities and havfand no other consederation that may contraven the same. She will be loth to put in hasard the losse of all her frinds in an instant; prayinge all her lovynge subjects, seing they had experience of hir goodnes, that she has neither in tymes by past, nor yet means hearafter to prease the conscience of any man, but that they may worshippe God in sick sort as they ar perswadit to be the best, that they will allwayes notht presse hir toffend hir awne conscience. As to the establishment in the body of the realme, these your selfis knawis as appears well by your articles, that the sam can nocht be done, be thonly consent of hir majestie, but requires necessarily the consent of the thre estates in parliament. And therefore soe sone as the parliament halds, that thing quhilke the thre estates agree upon amangst your selfes, hir Majestie shall grant the same unto you. And alwais sall make you suer yat na man shall be troblit for using your selves in religion accordinge to your consciences: so that no man shall have cause to doubt that for religious causes men's lyves, or heritags, shall be in haserid.

To the second article, that her majestie thinks it no wayes resonable that she shuld defraud her selfe of sa greate a parte of the patrimony of the crowne, as to put the patronages of the benefices furth of her owne hands. For her own necessity, in beringe of her, and comon charges, will requyre the retention of ane gude part in her own hands: nochtyelles her majestie is well pleasit that consideracion being had of hir owne necessity, and quhat may be sufficient for the resonable sustentation of the ministers, and speciall assignation be made to you, in places maist commodius and with the quhilk her majestie shall not intromitt, but soffer the same to run to tham.

The answer of the rest of the articles is referred to the parliament.

*The Kirk's Reply to the Queen's Majestie's Answers aforesayd.*

First, whar her majestie answers that she is not persuadit in the religion; neather that she understands any impietie in the masse, bot that the same is well grounded, &c. This is no smale greafe to the Christian harts of her godlie subjects; consideringe that the trompet of Christ's evangell hes ben sa lange blawin in this countrie; and his mercy sa plainly offerit in the same: that her majestie yet remaynes unperswadit of the trewth of this our religion; for our religion is not ells, but the same religion quhilke Christ in the last days revelit, fra the bossome of his father: quharof he mad his apostells messengers, and quilkhe they preachit and establysht amongst his faithfull to continu till gaine coming of the lord Jesus: quhilk differs from the impietie of the Turks, the blasphemy of the Jewes, and vaine superstition of the papists, in this: that onlie our religion hes God the Father, his only Sonne our Lord Jesus, his Holy Spirit speakinge in his prophets and apostles, for authors therof: and the doctrine and practice for ground of the same. The quhilk assurance no other religion upon the face of the yearth can justly alleage, or plainly prove; yea, quatsoever assurance the papists hes for their religion, the same hes the Turk for mayntenance of the Alcarone; and the Jewys far greter for the defence of their cerimonies; quihidder it be antiquity of tyme, consent of people, authority of princes, great number or multitud consentinge together, or any other sike like cloks, that they can pretent. And therefore as we are dolorous that her majestie in this our religion is not perswadit, so maist reverently wee require in the name of the Eternal God, that her highnes wald embrace the meanes quharby she may be perswadit in the trewth. Quhilke presently we offer unto her grace, aswell by preachinge of his worde, quhilk is the chiefe means apointed be God to perswade all the chosen children of his infailable veritie. As be publick disputacon against the adversaries of this our religion, descivers of her majestie, whensoever it shall be thought expedient

to hir grace. And as to the impietie of the masse, we dare be bauld to affirme, that in that idoll thare is great impietie, ye it is na thinge ells but a messe of impiete, fra the begynninge to the endinge. The author, or sayer, the action it selfe, the opinion therof conteanit, the hearers of it, gasars upon it, avoure it pronouncis blasphemy, and comytts maist abhomynable ydolatry, as we have ever offerit, and yet offer our selves maist manifestly to prove. And quhar hir majestie estemes that the change of hir religion should dissolve the confederacy and allyance that she hes with the kinge of France, and other princes, &c.

Assuredly Christ's true religion is the undowtid means to knit up surly perfect confederacy and friendship, with him that is king of all kings; and quha hes the harts of all princes in his hands. Quhilk aucht to be more precious unto her majestie, nor the confederacy of all the princes of the yearth; and without the quhilke, neather confederacy, love, or kindues, can long endure.

Concerning her majesties answer to the second article, quhar as she thinks yt no ways resonable to defraud hir selfe of hir patronage of the benefices, quhilk her majestie estemes to be a portion of hir patrimony. And that hir majesty is mindit to retaine an gud parte of the benefices in her own hands to support her comon charges: as to the first point, our mind is not that hir majestie, or any other patrone of this realme, shuld be defraudit of their just patronages, but we mean that quhen soever hir majestie, or any other patrone dois present any personage to any benefice, that the parson presently shuld be tryed and examined by the learned men of the kirke, sic appertaineth, as the superintendaunts appointit there to. And as the presentacion of the benefices appertayne to the patrons, so ought the collation therof by lawe and reason appertayne to the church; of the quhilke collation, the kirk shuld not be defrauded, maire nor the patrons of their presentation; for otherwise, if it shall be lawfull to the patrons absolutely to present, quhom thai please, without triall or examination, quhat than can abyde in the kirke, the kirke of God, but mere ignorance without all ordre. As to the second parte concerninge the retention of a gude parte of the benefices in her majestie's owne hands, this point abhorris sa far fra gud conscience, as well of God's law, as fra the publicke ordre of all comon laws; that we ar loth to open up the ground of the matter, be any long circumstances. And therefore maist reverently we wish that hir majestie wold consider the matter with her selfe, and with her wise councell, that how soever the patronages of the benefice may appertayne to her selfe, yet the retention therof in hir own hands undisponing them to qualyfyt Persones, is both ungodly, and also contrary to all polyticke order, and finall confusion to the pure saules of the comon people: quha be this means shuld be instructit of their salvation. And quhar hir majestie concludis in her second answer, that she is content that an sufficient and resonable sustentacion of the ministers be provydat to tham, by assignation in placis most commodious and easiest to tham; consideracion beinge had of hir owne necessitie. As we are altogether desirous that hir gracis necessitie be relevit, so our duty craves that we should notefie to your grace the true order that shuld be observed in this behalfe, quhilk is this, the teynds are properly to be reputed to be the patrimony of the kirke, upon the quhilks befor all things they that travells in the ministery thairof, and the pore indigent members of Christ body are to be sustenit. The kirks also repaired, and the youthead brought up in gud letters: quhilks things be and done, than other necessitie resonable might be supportede accordinge as her majestie, and her godlie counsaile could think expedient. Allways we cannot but thank her majestie most reverently, of her liberall offer, of assignations to be made to the ministers for their sustentation. Quhilk not the lesse is so generally conceived that without mare speciall condiscendinge upon the particularity therof, no expectacion is able to follow therupon. And so to conclud with her majestie at this parliament, we desire most earnestly the performance of the said articles, beseching God that as they are resonable and godly in thamselvis; so your majestie's hart, and the estates jointly convenit, may be inclynit and perswadit to the performance therof.

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NUMBER XC.

*The Supplication to the Queen's Majestie of Scotlande.*

[Cott. Lib. Calig. b. 10.]

To the queen's most excellent majesty, her grace's humble subjects, professing the evangell of Christe Jesus within this realme, wisheth longe prosperitte, with the spirit of righteous judgment.

It is not unknown unto your majestie, that within this realme the evangell of Jesus Christ was lately so planted, the trewe religion so established; idolatry, to wit, the masses, and all that therto appertenyth, together with the usurped and tyrannicall power of that Romaine Ante-Christ, called the pope, so suppressed, aswel by the mighty power and hand of God, as by just lawes and decres of parliament, that none within this realme durst in publick have gainsaid the one, nor mayntenet the other. It is further known that such as in whose hands, God of his mercye had prospered the begynninge of this his worke, were going forwarde to an exact and parfect reformation, concerninge the policy of the churche, accordinge to the word of God, and sustentation of them that travell in the same. But theis nowe our most just and godlie begynnings have nowe bene staied and trobled nere the space of 4 yeres, to the great grief of all godlie hartes within this realme. Shortlie after your grace's arrival was that idol the masse erected up again: and there after were wicked men enemyes to Christ Jesus, and his holy evangell, reposed in the places wich they never possessed, and were admitted to receive the fruts, that by no just lawe can apperteane to them: and that under color they shold pay ther thirds to your majesties comptroller, and suche as he shold depute for the receiving of the same; to thend, as we understond, that our mynysters and mynisterye might have bene planted and sustanid according to God's commaundment. And albeyt we were plainly forwarned that suche begynnynge wold not have eny happy ende; yet the love that we bare to the tranquyllitie of your realme, and esperance and hope that we had, that God of his mercye wold molyfye your highnes' hart, to heere his blessed evangell publickly preched, we quyetly past over many things that were in our harts, as also many tymes by our supplicacions unto your majestie, we desiered to have bene redressed: but howe litle we have proffyted to this daie, bothe great and small amongest us begynne now to consider. For laws we see violated, idolatrye encreased, your highnes owne gates (against proclamations) made patent to the foolishe people, to commytt idolatrye: the patrymony of the churche we see bestowed upon persons most unworthie, and to other uses then was at first intended: and thereby, the tyranye of that Romaine Antichrist to be intruded upon us againe; our mynisters brought to extreme povertie; some of them trobled in ther function, some prechers hurt, and no redresse maide. Fornicacion, adulterye, incest, murther, sorcerers, bewytchers, and al impietie, so to abounde universallie within this your highnes' realme, that God cannot lange spaire to stricke the heade and the members, onless speedye repentance followe. We therfore, nowe contynuinge in our former humble sewte, most humbly requere of your majestie a speadye reformation of the innormyties aforesaid, and a favorable answere of our just petycions; as more fullye your majestie please receive in articles; most humbley beseaching your highnes to have this opynon of us, that as to this daie your grace have founde nothinge in us, but dewe obbedyence to your majestie's lawes and auctoritie, which we have given, because we are thonly part of your people that treuly fear God, so to esteame of us, that God, his Christ Jesus, and his trewe religion which we professe (and by his grace shal be), to us more dear then lives, possessions, or respect of prosperitie. And therefore yet againe we the hole bodye, professing Christ Jesus within this realme, humbly crave of your majestie, that ye give us not occasion to thinke that ye entende nothinge but the subversion of Christ Jesus his true religion, and in the overthrowe of it, the distruction of us the best part of the subjects of this your grace's realme: for this before the world we plainly professe, that to that Romaine Antichrist we will never be subyect, nor yet suffer (so far as our power may suppresse it) any of his usurped auctoritie to have place within this realme. And thus with all humble and dewtifull obbedyence, we humbly crave your grace's favorable answer, with these our appointed commissioners.

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NUMBER XCI.

*A Letter of Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, to Bullinger, concerning the state of affairs in Scotland, and the Killing of Signior David.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Salvus sis in Christo, optime Bullingero. Secundo Februarij scripsi ad te, et unà cum Literis misi viginti Coronatos, vel decem Coronatos et Pannum pro toga: nam hoc Abeli arbitrio permisi. Tuas accepi 23 Maij. Paulò post Londinensis Episcopus, exemplar Responsionis tuæ ad Literas Laurentij Humphredi, et Thomæ Sampsonis, ad me misit. Quæ scripsisti, typis apud nos excuduntur, et Latinè, et Anglicè. Accepi præterea, 12 Julij, Confessionem Fidei orthodoxæ, c. pulcherrimum libellum. Mense Martio, Italus quidam, vocatus Senior David, Necoromanticæ artis peritus, in magnam gratiam apud Reginam Scotiæ, è Reginæ cubiculo (illa præsente) vi extractus, et aliquot pugionibus confossus, miserè periit. Abbas quidam ibidem vulneratus, evasit ægrè, sed paulò post ex vulnere est mortuus. Fraterculus quidam, nomine *Black* (niger Visularius) Papistrarum antesignanus, eodem tempore in Aula occiditur: sic niger hic Nebulo, nigra quoq; morte peremptus, invitus nigrum subitò decendit in orcum. Consiliarij, qui tum simul in unum cubiculum erant congregati, ut de rebus quibusdam arduis consultarent, audientes has cædes (nam priùs nihil tale sunt suspicati) alij hac, alij illac, alij è fenestris sese proturbantes certatim aufugerunt, atque ita cum vitæ periculo, vitæ consulebant suæ. Regina Scotiæ Principem peperit: et cum antea Maritum (nescio quas ob causas) non tanti faceret, jam plurimi facit. D. Jacobum, suum ex parte fratrem, quem antea exosum habuit, nunc in gratiam recepit, nec solum illum, sed omnes (utinam verum esset) proceres evangelicos, ut audio. Evangelium quod ad tempus sopiebatur, denuò caput exerit. Cùm hæc scriberem, ecce Scotus quidam è Patria profugiens, Vir bonus et doctus, narravit mihi, Reginam ante decem hebdomadas Puerum peperisse: nec dum esse baptizatum. Rogo causam. Respondet, Reginam velle Filium in summo Templo, cum multarum Missarum Celebratione tingi. At Edinburgenses id omnino non permittunt: nam mori potiùs malunt, quàm pati, ut abominandæ Missæ in suas Ecclesias iterum irrepant. Metuunt Edinburgenses, ne illa è Gallia auxiliares vocet Copias, ut facilius Evangelicos opprimat. Oremus Dominum pro piis Fratribus. Mandatis dedit cuidam pio Comiti, ut Knoxum apud se manentem, ex ædibus ejiciat. Dominus illam convertat, vel confundat. Plura scribere non possum; diu ægrotavi, nec dum plene convalui. Est hæc scribendo debilitata manus.

Vale, Charissime mi Bullingero. Salutem quæso adscribas omnibus, atque adeo omnibus Piis, meo nomine. Dominus sua dextra protegat Ditionem Tigurinorum. Raptim Ludhamiæ, 21 Augusti, 1566.

Tuus,

Joh. Parkhurstus, N.

*Inscriptio.*—D. Henricho Bullingero.

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NUMBER XCII.

*A Letter of Grindall's to Bullinger, giving an Account of the State of Affairs both in England and Scotland; and of the Killing of Signior David.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

Salutem in Christo.

Clarissime D. Bullingero, ac Frater in Christo Charissime.

D. Johannes Abelus tradidit mihi Literas tuas D. Wintoniensi, Norvicensi, et mihi communiter inscriptas, unà cum scripto vestro de re vestiaria: Quorum ego exemplaria ad D. Wintoniensem et Norvicensem statim transmissi. Quod ad me attinet, ago tibi maximas gratias, tum quod nostrarum Ecclesiarum tantam curam geris, tum quod me, hominem tibi ignotum, participem facis eorum, quæ ad nostros de rebus controversis scribuntur. Vix credibile est, quantum hæc Controversia, de rebus nihili, Ecclesias nostras perturbarit, et adhuc aliqua ex parte perturbat. Multi ex Ministris doctioribus, videbantur Ministerium deserturi. Multi etiam ex Plebe, contulerunt Consilia de Secessione à nobis facienda, et occultis cœtibus cogendis; sed tamen, Domini benignitate, maxima pars ad saniorem mentem rediit. Ad eam rem Literæ vestræ, plenæ Pietatis ac Prudentiæ, plurimùm momenti attulerunt: Nam eas latinè, atque anglicè, Typis evulgandas curavi. Nonnulli ex Ministris, vestro judicio atque authoritate permoti, abjecerunt priora Consilia de deserendo Ministerio. Sed et ex Plebe quamplurimi mitiùs sentire cæperunt, postquam intellexerunt nostros Ritus, à vobis (qui iisdem non utimini) nequaquam damnari Impietatis, quod ante publicatas vestras Literas, nemo illis persuasisset. Sunt tamen, qui adhuc manent in priore Sententia; et in his, D. Humfredus et Sampsonus: Nihil verò esset facilius, quàm Regiæ Majestati eos reconciliare, si ipsi ab instituto discedere vellent. Sed quum hoc non faciunt nos apud Serenissimam Reginam ista contentione irritatam, nihil possumus. Nos, qui nunc Episcopi sumus, in primo nostro reditu, priusquam ad Ministerium accessimus, diu multumque contendebamus, ut ista de quibus nunc controvertitur, prorsus amoverentur. Sed cùm illa de Regina et Statibus in Comitiis Regni impetrare non potuimus, communicatis Consiliis, optimum judicavimus, non deserere Ecclesias propter Ritus non adeo multos, eosque per se non impios; præsertim quum pura Evangelij Doctrina nobis integra

ac libera maneret, in qua ad hunc usque diem, (utcunque multi multa in contraria moliti sunt) cum vestris Ecclesiis, vestraque Confessione nuper dedita, plenissimè consentimus. Sed neque adhuc pœnitet nos nostri Consilij: Nam interea, Domine dante incrementum, auctæ et confirmatæ sunt Ecclesiæ, quod alioqui Eceboliis, Lutheranis, et Semi-papistis, prædæ fuissent expositæ. Istæ verò istorum intempestivæ Contentiones de Adiaphoris, (si quid ego judicare possum) non ædificant, sed scindunt Ecclesias, et discordias seminant inter Fratres. Sed de nostris Rebus hactenus. In Scotia non sunt res tam bene constitutæ, quàm esset optandum. Retinent quidem Ecclesiæ adhuc puram Evangelij Confessionem; sed tamen videtur Scotiæ Regina omnibus modis laborare, ut eam tandem extirpet. Nuper enim effecit, ut sex aut septem Missæ Papisticæ, singulis diebus in Aula sua publicè fierent, omnibus qui accedere volunt admissis, quum antea unica, eaque privatim habita, nullo Scoto ad eam admisso, esset contenta. Præterea, quum primum inita est Reformatio, cautum fuit, ut ex bonis Monasteriorum, quæ fisco adjudicata sunt, stipendia Evangelij Ministris persolverentur: At ipsa jam integro triennio nihil solvit. Joannem Knoxum, regia urbe Edinburgo, ubi hactenus primarius fuit Minister, non ita pridem ejecerit, neque exorari potest ut redeundi facultatem concedat. Publicè tamen, extra Aulam, nihil hactenus est innovatum; et Proceres Regni, Nobiles item, ac Cives, multò maxima ex parte Evangelio nomen dederunt, multa, magnaque Constantiæ indicia ostendunt. In his, præcipuus unus est, D. Jacobus Stuardus, Murraciæ Comes, Reginæ Frater, Nothus, Vir pius, ac magnæ apud suos Authoritatis. Perscribitur ad me ex Scotia, Reginæ cum Rege pessimè convenire. Causa hæc est: Fuit Italus quidam, nomine David, à Cardinale Lotharingo Reginæ Scotiæ commendatus. Is quum Reginæ à secrete atque intimis esset Consiliis, ferè solus omnia administrabat, non consulto Rege, qui admodum juvenis et levis est. Hoc malè habebat Regem. Itaque facta Conspiratione cum Nobilibus quibusdam, et Aulicis suis, Italum illum Reginæ opem frustra implorantem ex ipsius conspectu arripi, et statim indicta causa multis pugionibus perfodi, atque interfici curavit. Hujus facti immanis memoriam Regina, tametsi nuper Filium Regi peperit, ex animo deponere non potest. Hæc paulò verbosius de Scotia, ex qua fortassis rarò ad vos scribitur.

Oro ut D. Gualterum, ac reliquos Collegas tuos, meo nomine salutes. Dominus te, nobis et Ecclesiæ suæ, quàm diutissimè conservet.

Londini 27 Aug. 1566.

Deditissimus tibi in Domino,

EDM. GRINDALLUS
Episcopus Londinensis.

*Inscriptio.*—Reverendo in Christo, D. Henricho Bullingero, Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Ministro Fidelissimo, ac Fratri in Domino Charissimo.

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NUMBER XCIII.

*A part of Grindal's Letter to Bullinger, of the Affairs of Scotland.*

[Ex MSS. Tigur.]

——SCOTIA jam in novos motus incidit. Henricus nuper Scotiæ Rex (uti te audivisse existimo) Decimo Februarii elapsi, in horto quodam, hospitio suo adjacente, inventus est mortuus: De genere mortis nondum convenit apud omnes. Alii dicunt incensis vasis aliquot pulveris tormentarii, quæ sub cubiculo in quo dormiebat ex industria reposita fuerant, ædes eversas atq; ipsum in hortum proximum projectum fuisse. Alii verò intempesta nocte vi extractum è cubiculo, et postea strangulatum, ac tum demum incenso pulvere ædes disjectas fuisse affirmant. Hujus cædis apud omnes suspectus erat Comes quidam nomine Bothwellius. Huic Comiti, postquam Uxorem Legitimam interveniente authoritate Archiepiscopi S. Andreæ repudiasset: Decimo Quinto Maii nupsit Scotiæ Regina, atq; eandem ex Comite, Orchadum Ducem creavit. Paulo ante hoc Matrimonium omnes fere Regni proceres, quum nullam in cædem Regis inquisitionem institui viderent, discesserunt ex Aula, et seorsum apud Sterlynum oppidum conventum habuerunt. In hoc conventu, certis inditiis nefandam hanc cædem à Bothwellio perpetratam fuisse, compertum est. Itaq; collecto exercitu ipsum comprehendere satagunt, Bothwellius verò dat se in fugam: Sed quo profugerit, adhuc nescitur.—Reginam alii aiunt obsideri in Arce quadam, alii verò in Arce Edinburgensi, tanquam necis mariti consciam, captivam detineri asserunt. Quomodocunque sit, infames illæ Nuptiæ, non possunt, non in aliquam diram Tragœdiam desinere. Sed de his omnibus expectamus indies certiora, de quibus, efficiam brevi ut cognoscas. De persequutionibus, Flandriæ nihil scribo, quod eas vos non latere existimem: Multa apud nos jactata sunt de obsessa Geneva, sed spero vana esse. Dominus Jesus pietatem tuam, nobis et Ecclesiæ incolumem conservet.

Londini, 21 Junii, 1567.

Deditissimo tibi in Domino

EDMUNDUS GRINDALLUS
Episcopus Londiniensis.

*Inscriptio.*—Reverendo in Christo, D. Henricho Bullingero, Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Ministro Fidelissimo, et Fratri in Christo Charissimo.—*Tiguri.*

This being the last of the letters sent me from Zurich, which I have put in this Ccollection, I add to it the attestation sent me from thence, that the copies were faithfully taken from the originals, and that they were carefully collated with them.

*The Attestation of the Burgomaster and Council of Zurich, of the Faithfulness of the Copies of the Letters sent me from the MSS. that lie there.*

CONSUL et Senatus Civitatis Thuricensis Helvetiorum vulgò Zurich dictæ, præsentibus hisce confitemur ac notum facimus. Apographa illa ex Originalibus in Archivis Civitatis nostræ asservatis Literis, quæ tempore Reformationis ab Ecclesia Anglicana ad nostræ Ecclesiæ tunc temporis Ministros et vice versa emanavêre, ducta et transumpta, omni diligentiâ et fidelitate descripta esse, ut facta in Cancellaria nostra accuratâ collatione, Copias Originalibus de Verbo ad Verbum ubiq; concordare repertum fuerit, quibus Apographis proinde plenaria fides tutò adhiberi possit. In cujus rei Testimonium præsentes hasce exhiberi, Civitatis nostræ Sigillo muniri, et à Jurato Secretario nostro subscribi mandavimus, Die Decimo Julii, Anno à Nata Salute Millesimo, Septingentesimo, Decimo Tertio.

(Locus Sigilli.)

BEATUS HOVRHALBIUS, Reipublicæ Thuricensis, Archigrammaticus.

(Manu propria subscripsi.)

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NUMBER XCIV.

*A Relation of Mary Queen of Scotland's Misfortunes, and of her last Will, in the Life of Cardinal Laurea, written by the Abbot of Pignerol, his Secretary. Printed at Bologna, Anno* 1559.

ATQUI tunc in Scotia tam scelestum, tamque nefarium facinus commissum est, ut illud reminisci, nedum



enarrare animus quodammodò exhorreat. Rex, variolarum (ut vulgò aiunt) morbo correptus, ne fortassis Uxorem contagione contaminaret, se in ædes à regiis ædibus Edimburgi sejunctas receperat; ubi, simul ac convalescere cæpit, ab Uxore sæpius invisitur, quodam autem die cum simul cænassent, atq; in multam noctem sermonem, lusumq; protraxissent, quo minus itidem simul cubarent, excusationem affert Regina, quod sponsam quandam è nobilibus suis mulieribus ea primam nuptiarum nocte usque ad cubile honoris gratia esset comitatura: Quem morem superiores Reginæ observare semper consueverant. Vix Regina discesserat, cum ecce pulvis tormentarius, per cuniculos subter fundamentum domus conjectus, totum edificium continuò dejicit, ipsumque Regem opprimit: Quamvis nonnulli non ruina interemptum, sed, dum per posticum primo circa ædes audito armorum strepitu in hortum proximum confugeret, unà cum familiari quodam strangulatum, moxque ædes tormentario pulvere dejectas fuisse malint. Planè constat, exangue Regis Corpus in horto repertum nullo affectum vulnere, nigram tantum modò circa collum maculam habuisse. Indignissima hac Regis divulgata cæde, ingens omnes horror corripuit; quidem iniquos in Reginam sermones jacere; alij per injuriam libellos edere: Nonnulli Comitem Boduellium, quem cædis nefariæ auctorem fuisse compererant, non sicarium, sed crudelissimum carnificem accusare, adeò interdum vulgus acutissimè indagare, atque odorari omnia solet. Boduellius, licet Hæreticus, Reginæ tamen studiosissimus, fidelissimusque semper extiterat: Nuper eam gravissimo illo seditionis periculo fortiter liberaverat, ab ipsa deniq; perditè amabatur. Quamobrem in spem adductus fore, ut Reginam ipsam in Matrimonio haberet, primò Uxori propriæ (quasi propter adulterium fieri divortium, aliamque ducere liceret) repudium misit, deinde Regi necem crudeliter machinatus est. Regina post, improbissimos de ea, Boduellioque rumores dissipatos, verita ne quis populi motus in eorum perniciem fieret, Edimburgo statuit recedendum, ac se unâ cum parvulo filio ad munitam Strivelini arcem recepit; statuto prius (ut simile vero videtur) quid inter ipsam, et Boduellium foret postea Transigendum. Nam paucis inde diebus egressa Regina, venatum prodire simulat; tum Bodvellius, veluti ex insidiis, ducentis stipatus equitibus, illam circumvenire, vimque ei intendere visus est. Ergo Regina, unà cum Bodvellio in arcem regressa, confestim eum Orcadum Ducem, moxque Maritum suum esse declaret, verùm Nuptiæ illæ neutiquam faustæ, ac diuturnæ fuerunt: Quippe quæ non Matrimonij dignitate, sed indigni facinoris societate conjunctæ viderentur. Eo tempore, Moraviensis è Scotia aberat, præ cæteris tamen relicto Ledingtonio, qui novas, ut occasio daretur, turbas, novasq; rixas faceret. Huic quàm facillimum fuit sponte omnium in Reginam Bodvelliumque ira, accensos animos acriùs inflammare. Raptim igitur, turbulenteque, Exercitu Edenburgi comparato, subitò Strivelinam versus Castra moventur. Id ubi Regina intellexit, secum Mulieres tantum, paucosq; aulicos Homines, adducens obviam produendum duxit, venienti debita cum reverentia assurrexerunt. Interrogati, quanam de causa armati illuc accessissent, non alia respondisse feruntur, nisi ut atrocem injuriam à Bodvellio factam, ac crudelem, et indignam Regis necem, vimq; ipsimet Reginæ illatam vendicarent. At Regina noxam Bodvellij purgare; nihil non ipsa assentiente commissum. Quo sermone adeò sunt commoti, et exarserunt, ut omnes illicò uno ore acclamaverint. Et tu igitur, Domina, apud nos Captiva eris. Nec mora, ad Arcem insulæ intra Lacum Levinum in custodiam mittunt; uno ei tantum Lixa, duabusq; infimæ conditionis Mulierculis, ad ei ministrandum concessis.

*Towards the End of the Book comes what follows.*

—Unum, hoc loco, non videtur silentio prætereundum: Quod cum Sixti Pontificis jussu, Regni Scotiæ, atque in primis Reginæ Mariæ Res, in Urbe protegendi munus suscepisset, accidit, ut infœlix Regina pridiè, quàm securi in Aglia feriretur, supremas tabulas Gallica Lingua, Manuque propria conficeret. Quibus primo, se Religionis Catholicæ studiosissimam semper fuisse professa est; deinde cavit, ne ad Filium Principem, si falsam Hæresis, quam animo imbiberat, persuasionem non exuisset, Anglici Regni Hæreditas ullo unquam tempore perveniret; sed loco sui ad Philippum, Hispaniarum Regem Catholicum pertineret. Hasce Tabulas cum Vincentius Cardinalis accepisset, mira diligentia recognoscendas curavit, ut ad Reginæ ultimam Voluntatem aperiendam, Fidemq; faciendam sufficerent. Nam et cum Literis ab eadem Regina priùs acceptis contulit, et non à se solùm, verùmetiam à Ludovico Audoeno, Anglo, Episcopo Cassanensi, pio et integerrimo Homine, voluit subsignari: Sicq; firmatas, ac tanquam publica Authoritate roboratas, Comiti Olivario, Hispaniarum Regis Oratori, ad ipsumet Regem fideliter transmittendas dedit.

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NUMBER XCV.

*A Bond of Association, upon Mary Queen of Scotland's Resigning the Crown in Favour of her Son. —An Original.*

[In the Library of Glasgow.]

WE quhilks has subscrivit the underwritten bond, understanding that the queenis majesty willing nathing mair earnestlie, nor that in her lifetime her majestie's dear son, our native prince, be placit and inaugurat in the kingdom of this his native cuntre and realm, and be obeyit as king be us, and uthers his subjects: And being wearit of the great pains and travels taken be her in her government thereof, hes be her letters demittit and renderit, and given power thairby to demit and renunce the said government of this realm, liegis and subjectis thairof, in favours of her said son, our native prince: To the effect he may be inaugurat thairin, the crown royal put upon his head, and be obeyit in all things as king and native prince thairof, as her hieness' letters past thairupon bears. Thairfore, and because it is ane of the maist happy things that can come to any pepill or cuntre, to be governit and rulit by their awn native king; we, and ilk ane of us, quhilk hes subscrivit thir presents, be the tenor heirof, promitties, binds, and oblissis us, faithfully to convene and assembil our selfs at the burgh of Sterling, or any other place to be appointit, to the effect foresaid; and thair concur, assist and fortify our said native king and prince, to the establishing, planting and placing of him in his kingdom, and putting of the crown royal thairof upon his head, and in the fear of our God being instructit and teichit be his and all other laws, sall giff our aith of fidelity and homage, and lawfull and dutiful obedience, to be made by us to him during his grace's lifetime, as it becomes faithfull, christian, and true subjects, to do to thair native king and prince. And farther, that we sall with all our strength and forcis promote, concurre, fortifie and assist, to the promoteing and establishing of him in his kingdom and government, as becumis faithfull and true subjects to do to thair prince, and to resist all sick as wald oppon them thairto, or make any trouble or impediment to him thairin, and sall do all uther things, that becomis faithfull and christian subjects to do to thair native king and prince. In witness of the quhilk thing, we haif subscrivit thir presents

with our handis, at Edinburgh, the day of ——, the year of God 1567 years.

James Regent. Huntley. Archibald Argyle. Athol. Mortoun. Mar. Glencairn. Errol. Buchan Graham. Alexander Lord Home. William Lord Ruthven. Lord Sanquhar. Ihon Lord Glamis. Patrick Lord Lindsey. Michael Lord Carlisle: With my hand at the pen, Alexander Hay, Notarius. William Lord Borthwick. Lord Innermaith. Ucheltrie. Sempill. Henry Lord Methven. Allan Lord Catheart. Patrick Lord Gray. Robert Com. of Dumferling. James Stuart. Alexander Com. of Culross. Adam Com. of Cambuskenneth. Dryburgh. Master of Montrose. Alexander Bishop of Galoway. Caprington. Blairquhan. Tullibarden, Comptroller; with eighteen more.

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NUMBER XCVI.

*Bond to the King, and to the Earl of Murray, as Regent during his Infancy: Registered in the Council-books on the 4th of April,* 1569.

Us, and every ane of us underscriv, and sall in all time cuming, like as we do presentlie, reverence, acknowledge, and recognosce the maist excellent and mighty prince James the Sixt, by the grace of God king of the Scottis, our only soveraine lord, and his dearest uncle, James Earl of Murray, Lord Abernethie, regent to his hieness, his realme, and leidges thereof, during his majestie's minority. His hieness his said regent, and his majestie's authority, we sall observe and obey, as becumis dutifull subjectis, our lands and livis in the defence and avancement thairof, we sall bestow, and wair. The skaith, harm, or subversion of the samen, we sall never knaw, nor procure by any meanis, direct nor indirect. All former bandis, for obedience of any other authority, subscrivit or made by us in any tymes by-gaine, contrarious or prejudicial to his hieness, his said regent and authority, we renunce and discharge for evir: affirming and swearing solempnitlie, upon our faiths and honouris, to observe and keep this our declaration and plane profession, everie point thairof, be God himsellf, and as we will answer at his general judgement: whairin gif we failzie, we are content to be comptit faithless, false, perjurit, and defamit for ever; besyde the ordinar pain of the lawis to be execute upon us, without favour, as a perpetual memory of our unnaturall defection and inexcusable untruth. In witnes whairof, we have subscrivit thir presents with our hands as follows, at the dayes and tymes particularly under specified.

Huntley, Crafurd, Cassilis, Sanquhar, Saltoun, James Lord Ogilvie, Laurance Lord Oliphant, John Mr. Forbes. With thirty-six more.

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NUMBER XCVII.

*A Declaration of the Causes moving the Queene of England to give Aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the Lowe-Countries.*

Kings and princes, soveraignes, are to yield account of their actions only to Almighty God, the king of kings.

ALTHOUGH kinges and princes, soveraignes, owing their homage and service only unto the Almightie God, the king of all kings, are in that respect not bounde to yeeld account, or render the reasons of their actions to any others, but to God their only soveraigne Lord: yet (though amongst the most ancient and Christian monarchies, the same Lorde God having committed to us the soveraignetie of this realme of Englande, and other our dominions, which wee holde immediately of the said Almighty Lorde, and so thereby accountable only to his Divine Majestie) wee are, notwithstanding this our prerogative at this time, specially moved (for divers reesons hereafter briefly remembred) to publish, not only to our owne naturall loving subjects, but also to all others our neighbours, specially to such princes and states as are our confederates, or have for their subjects cause of commerce with our countreis and people, what our intention is at this time, and upon what just and reasonable grounds we are moved to give aid to our next neighbours, the naturall people of the Low-Countreis, being by long warres, and persecutions of strange nations there, lamentablie afflicted, and in present danger to be brought into a perpetual servitude.

Natural causes of the ancient continual traffick betwixt the people of England and them of the Low-Countries.

First, it is to be understoode (which percase is not perfectly knowen to a great number of persons), that there hath been, time out of minde, even by the naturall situation of those Low-Countreis and our realme of England, one directly opposite to the other, and by reason of the ready crossing of the seas, and multitude of large and commodious havens respectively on both sides, a continuall traffique and commerce betwixt the people of England and the naturall people of these Lowe-Countries; and so continued in all ancient times when the severall provinces therof, as Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them adjoining, were ruled and possessed by severall lordes, and not united together, as of late yeeres they have been by entermarriages; and at length by concurrences of many and sundrie titles have also been reduced to be under the government of their lordes that succeeded to the dukedome of Burgundie, whereby there hath been in former ages many speciall alliances and confederations, not only betwixt the Kinges of England our progenitours, and the lordes of the said countries of Flanders, Holland, Zeland, and their adherents; but also betwixt the very naturall subjectes of both countries, as the prelates, noblemen, citizens, burgesses, and other comminalties of the great cities and port townes of either countrie reciproquelie by speciall obligations and stipulations under their seales interchangeablie, for maintenance both of commerce and entercourse of merchantes; and also of speciall mutuall amitie to be observed betwixt the people and inhabitants of both parties, as well ecclesiastical as secular: and very expresse provision in suche treaties conteined for mutuall favours, affections, and all other friendly offices to be used and prosecuted by the people of the one nation towards the other. By which mutual bondes there hath continued perpetuall unions of the people's hearts together, and so by way of continuall entercourses, from age to age the same mutuall love hath bene inviolablie kept and exercised, as it had been by the worke of nature, and never utterly dissolved, nor yet for any long time discontinued, howsoever the kinges, and the lordes of the countries sometimes (though very rarely) have been at difference by sinister meanes of some other princes their neighbours, envying the felicitie of these two countries.

Confederations both betwixt the kinges of England and the lordes of the Lowe-Countries, and also the subjects of both countries.

The people of both the countries bound by special obligations enterchangeablie, for mutual favours and friendly offices.

And for maintenance and testimonie of these naturall unions of the peoples of these kingdoms and countries in perpetuall amitie, there are extent sundrie autentique treaties and transactions for mutual commerce, entercourse, and straight amitie of ancient times: as for example, some very solemnely accorded in the times of King Henrie the VIth our progenitour, and Philip the IId, Duke of Burgundie, and inheritour to the countie of Flanders by the Ladie Margaret his grandmother, which was above one hundred and forty years past; and the same also renewed by the noble duke Charles his sonne, father to the King of Spayne's grandmother, and husband to the Ladie Margaret, sister to our great-grandfather King Edward the IVth: and after that, of newe oftentimes renewed by our most noble and sage grandfather king Henrie the VIIth, and the archduke Philip, grandfather to the King of Spayne now being: and in later times often renewed betwixt our father of noble memorie king Henry the VIIIth, and Charles the Vth emperour of Almaigne, father also to the present king of Spaine.

Treaties extant of ancient time, betwixt the Kinges of England and the Dukes of Burgundie, for the commerce betwixt their countries.

In al which treaties, transactions, and confederations of amitie and mutual commerce, it was also at all times specially and principally contained in expresse words, by conventions, concordes, and conclusions, that the naturall people and subjectes of either side, should shewe mutuall favours and dueties one to the other, and should safely, freely, and securely commerce together in everie their countries, and so hath the same mutuall and naturall concourse and commerce bene without interruption contynued in many ages, farre above the like example of any other countries in Christendome, to the honour and strength of the princes, and to the singular great benefite and enriching of their people, untill of late yeeres that the King of Spayne departing out of his Lowe-Countries into Spayne, hath bene (as is to be thought) councelled by his counselours of Spayne, to appoynt Spaniardes, foreners, and strangers of strange blood, men more exercised in warres than in peaceable government; and some of them notably delighted in blood, as hath appeared by their actions, to be the chiefest governours of all his said Low Countries, contrary to the ancient lawes and customes thereof, having great plentie of noble, valiant, and faithful persons naturally borne, and such as the Emperour Charles and the king himselfe had to their great honours used in their service, able to have bene employed in the rule of those countries. But these Spaniardes being meere strangers, having no naturall regarde in their government to the maintenance of those countries and people in their ancient and naturall maner of peaceable living, as the most noble and wise Emperour Charles, yea, and as his sonne King Philip himself had, whilest he remained in those countries, and used the counsels of the states, and natural of the countries, not violating the ancient liberties of the countries: but, contrarywise, these Spaniardes being exalted to absolute government by ambition, and for private lucre have violently broken the ancient lawes and liberties of all the countries; and in a tyrannous sort have banished, killed, and destroyed, without order of lawe, within the space of a fewe monthes, many of the most ancient and principal persons of the natural nobilitie that were more worthy of government. And howsoever in the beginning of these cruel persecutions, the pretence thereof was for maintenance of the Romish religion, yet they spared not to deprive verie many Catholiques and ecclesiastical persons of their franchises and privileges: and of the chiefest that were executed of the nobilitie, none was in the whole countrie more affected to that religion then was the noble and valiant Count of Egmond, the very glory of that countrie, who neither for his singular victories in the service of the King of Spayne can be forgotten in the true histories, nor yet for the cruelties used for his destruction, to bee but for ever lamented in the heartes of the natural people of that countrie. And furthermore, to bring these whole countries in servitude to Spayne, these foreine governours have, by long intestine warre, with multitude of Spaniards, and with some fewe Italians and Almains, made the greater part of the said countries (which with their riches, by common estimation, answered the Emperour Charles equally to his Indias) in a manner desolate; and have also lamentably destroyed by sword, famine, and other cruel maners of death, a great part of the natural people, and now the riche townes and strong places being desolate of their natural inhabitants, are held and kept chiefly with force by the Spaniardes.

Spaniardes and strangers lately appointed governours in the Lowe Countries, to the violation of the libertics of the country.

The destruction of the nobilitie and the people of the countries by Spanish government.

The lamentable violent death of the Count of Egmond, the glory of those countries.

The riche townes and strengthes with the wealth thereof possessed by the Spaniardes.

All which pitiful miseries and horrible calamities of these most rich countries and people, are of all their neighbours at this day, even of such as in ancient time have beene at frequent discord with them, thorowe natural compassion verie greatlie pitied, which appeared specially this present yere, when the Frenche kinge pretended to have received them to his protection, had not (as the states of the countrey and their deputies were answered) that certaine untimely and unlooked for complottes of the house of Guise, stirred and maintained by money out of Spayne, disturbed the good and general peace of Fraunce, and thereby urged the king to forbeare from the resolution he had made, not only to aide the oppressed people of the Lowe Countries against the Spaniardes, but also to have accepted them as his owne subjectes. But in verie truth, howsoever they were pitied, and in a sort for a time comforted and kept in hope in Fraunce by the French king, who also hath oftentimes earnestly sollicited us as queen of England, both by message and writinge to bee careful of their defence: yet in respect that they were otherwise more straightly knitte in auncient friendship to this realme then to any other countrie, we are sure that they could bee pitied of none for this long time with more cause and grief generally then of our subjects of this our realme of England, being their most ancient allies, and familiar neighbours, and that in such maner, as this our realme of England, and those countries have been by common language of long time resembled, and termed as man and wife. And for these urgent causes and many others, we have by many friendly messages and ambassadors, by many letters and writings to the said king of Spayne our brother and allie, declared our compassion of this so evil and cruel usage of his natural and loyal people, by sundrie his martial governoures, and other his men of warre, all strangers to these his countries. And furthermore, as a good loving sister to him, and

The French King's offers to have aided and received to his subjection the oppressed People of the Lowe Countries.

The Queen of Englande's continual friendly advices to the King of Spaine for restraining of the Tyrrannie of his Governours.

a natural good neighbour to his Lowe Countries and people, we have often, and often againe most friendly warned him, that if he did not otherwise by his wisdome and princely clemencie restraine the tyrranny of his governours, and crueltie of his men of warre, we feared that the people of his countries should be forced for safetie of their lives, and for continuance of their native countrey in their former state of their liberties, to seek the protection of some other foreyne lorde; or rather to yeeld themselves wholy to the soveraigntie of some mighty prince, as by the ancient lawes of their countries, and by speciall priviledges graunted by some of the lordes and dukes of the countries to the people, they do pretende and affirm, that in such cases of general injustice, and upon such violent breaking of their privileges, they are free from their former homages, and at libertie to make choice of any other prince to bee their prince and head. The proof whereof, by examples past is to be seene and read in the ancient histories of divers alterations, of the lordes and ladies of the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them united by the states and people of the countries; and that by some such alterations, as the stories do testifie, Philip the duke of Burgundy came to his tytle, from which the king of Spayne's interest is derived: but the further discussion hereof, we leave to the viewe of the monuments and recordes of the countries. And now for the purposes to stay them from yeelding themselves in any like sort to the soveraigntie of any other strange prince, certaine yeeres past, upon the earnest request of sundrie of the greatest persons of degree in those countries, and most obedient subjects to the king, such as were the duke of Ascot, and the marques of Havery yet living, and of such others as had principal offices in those countries in the time of the emperor Charles, we yielded at their importunate requests, to graunt them prests of money, only to continue them as his subjects, and to maintaine themselves in their just defence against the violence and cruelties of the Spaniardes their oppressours, thereby staying them from yielding their subjection to any other prince from the said king of Spayne: and during the time of that our aide given to them, and their stay in their obedience to the king of Spayne, we did freely acquainte the same king with our actions, and did still continue our friendly advices to him, to move him to commaund his governours and men of warre, not to use such insolent cruelties against his people, as might make them to despayre of his favours, and seeke some other lorde.

The Queene of England's meanes used to staie the States of the Lowe Countries from yeelding their Subjection to any other Forreine Prince.

And in these kind of perswasions and actions wee continued many yeeres, not onely for compassion of the miserable state of the countries, but of a natural disposition to have the ancient conditions of straight amitie and commerce for our kingdomes and people to continue with the states and the people of the said dukedome of Burgundie and the appendants, and namely with our next neyghbours the countries of Flanders, Holland and Zeland. For wee did manifestly see, if the nation of Spayne shoulde make a conquest of those countries, as was and yet is apparantly intended, and plant themselves there as they have done in Naples and other countries, adding thereto the late examples of the violent hostile enterprise of a power of Spanyardes, being sent within these fewe yeeres by the king of Spaine and the pope into our realme of Ireland, with an intent manifestly confessed by the captaines, that those nombers were sent aforehand to sease upon some strength there to the intent with other greater forces to pursue a conquest thereof: wee did we say againe, manifestly see in what danger our selfe, our countries and people might shortly bee, if in convenient time wee did not speedily otherwise regard to prevent or stay the same. And yet notwithstanding our saide often requests and advises given to the king of Spayne, manifestly for his own weale and honour, wee found him by his counsell of Spayne so unwilling in any sort to encline to our friendly counsell, that his governours and chiefetains in his Lowe Countries increased their cruelties towards his own afflicted people, and his officers in Spayne offered dayly greater injuries to ours, resorting thither for trafique: yea, they of his counsell in Spayne, would not permit our express messenger with our letters to come to the king their master's presence: a matter very strange, and against the law of nations.

The Enterprise of the Spaniardes in Ireland sent by the King of Spayne and the Pope.

The refusal of the Queen's Messenger and her letters to the King of Spayne.

And the cause of this our writing and sending to the king, proceeded of matter that was worthy to be knowen to the king, and not unmete nowe also to be declared to the world, to shewe both our good disposition towardes the king in imparting to him our grieves, and to let it appear howe evill we have beene used by his ministers, as in some part may appear by this that followeth. Although we coulde not have these many yeres past any of our servaunts, whome we sent at sundrie times as our ambassadours to the king our good brother, as was mete, suffered to continue there without many injuries and indignities offered to their families, and divers times to their owne persons, by the greatest of his counsellours, so as they were constrained to leave their places, and some expelled, and in a sort banished the countrey, without cause given by them, or notified to us: yet we, minding to continue very good friendship with the king, as his good sister, did of long time, and many yeres give favourable allowance to all that came as his ambassadours to us; saving onely upon manifest daungerous practices, attempted by two of them to trouble our estate, whereof the one was Girald Despes, a very turbulent-spirited person, and altogether unskilfull and unapt to deale in princes' affaires being in amitie; as at his retourn into Spaine, he was so there also reputed: the other, and last was, Bernardin de Mendoza; one whom we did accept, and use with great favour a long time, as was manifestly seene in our court, and we thinke cannot be denied by himself: but yet of late yeeres (we know not by what direction) we found him to be a secret great favourer to sundrie our evill-disposed and seditious subjectes, not onely to such as lurked in our realme, but also to such as fled the same, being notoriously condemned as open rebelles and traytours; with whome by his letters, messages, and secret counsels, he did in the ende devise, how with a power of men, partely to come out of Spayne, partely out of the Lowe Countries, whereof hee gave them great comforte in the kinge's name, an invasion might be made into our realme; setting downe in writing the manner howe the same should be done, with what numbers of men and shippes, and upon what coastes, portes and places of our realme, by special name: and who the persons should be in our realme of no small account, that should favour this invasion, and take part with the invadours; with many other circumstances, declaring his full set purpose and labours taken, to trouble us and our realme very dangerously; as hath beene moste clearly proved and confessed, by such as were in that confederacy

The just Causes of dismissing of B. Mendoza out of England.



with him: whereof some are fled, and now do frequent his companie in France; and some were taken, who confessed at great length by writing, the whole course herein helde by the saide ambassador, as was manifestly of late time published to the worlde uppon Francis Throgmorton's, a principall traitour's examination. And when we found manifestly this ambassadour so dangerous an instrument, or rather a head to a rebellion and invasion: and that for a yeere or more together, he never brought to us any letter from the kinge his master, notwithstanding our often requeste made to him, that he woulde by some letter from the king to us, let it appeare that it was the king's will, that he should deale with us in his master's name, in sundrie thinges that he propounded to us as his ambassadour; which we did judge to be contrary to the kinge his master's will. We did finally cause him to be charged with these dangerous practices; and made it patent to him, how, and by whom (with many other circumstances), we knew it; and therfore caused him, in very gentle sort, to be content (with some reasonable time) to departe out of our realme, the rather for his own safety, as one in very deed mortally hated of our people. For the which we graunted him favorable conduct, both to the sea, and over the sea. And thereupon we did speedily send a servant of ours into Spaine, with our letters to the king, only to certify him of this accident, and to make the whole matter apparant unto him. And this was the messenger afore-mentioned, that might not be suffred to deliver our message, or our letters, to the king.

And beside these indignities, it is most manifest, how his ministers also have both heretofore many times, and now lately practised here in England, by meanes of certaine rebelles, to have procured sundry invasions of our realme, by their forces out of Spaine and the Lowe Countreis: very hard recompences (we may say) for so many our good offices. Hereupon we hope, no reasonable person can blame us, if we have disposed our selves to change this our former course, and more carefully to look to the safety of our selfe, and our people. And finding our owne dangers in deed very great and imminent, we have bene the more urgently provoked to attempt and accelerate some good remedy: for that, besides many other advices, given us both at home and from abrode, in due time to withstand these dangers; we have found the general disposition of al our own faithfull people, very ready in this case, and earnest, in offring to us both in parliaments and otherwise, their services with their bodies and blood, and their aides with their lands and goods, to withstand and prevent this present common danger to our realme and themselves, evidently seene and feared, by the subverting and rooting up of the ancient nation of these Low Countries, and by planting the Spanish nation and men of warre, enemies to our countries, there so near unto us. And besides these occasions and considerations, we did also call to our remembrance our former fortunate proceeding, by God's speciall favor, in the beginning of our reigne, in remedying of a like mischief that was intended against us in Scotland by certaine Frenchmen, who then were directed onely by the house of Guise, by colour of the marriage of their neece, the queene of Scots, with the dolphin of France: in like maner, as the offsprings of the saide house have even now lately sought to attaine to the like unordinate power in France: a matter of some consequence for our selves to consider; although we hope, the king (our good brother) professing sincere frendship towards us, as we profess the like to him, will moderate this aspiring greatnes of that house, that neither himself, nor the princes of his bloud be overruled, nor we (minding to continue perfect frendship with the king, and his bloud) be by the said house of Guise, and their faction, disquieted or disturbed in our countries. But now to return to this like example of Scotlande aforesaid, when the French had in like maner (as the Spanyardes have nowe of long time attempted in the Lowe Countries) sought by force to have subdued the people there, and brought them into a servitude to the crowne of France; and also by the ambitious desires of the saide house of Guise, to have proceeded to a warre by way of Scotland, for the conquest of our crowne for their neece the queene of Scottes (a matter most manifest to the common knowledge of the worlde): it pleased Almightie God, as it remaineth in good memorie to our honour and comfort, to further our intention, and honourable and just actions, at that time, in such sort, as by our aiding then of the nation of Scotland, (being sore oppressed with the French, and universally requiring our aide,) we procured to that realme (though to our great cost) a full deliverance of the force of strangers, and danger of servitude, and restored peace to the whole countrie; which hath continued there ever since many yeres; saving that at some time of parcialities of certaine of the noblemen, (as hath beene usuall in that countrie, in the mynoritie of the yong king) there hath risen some inward troubles, which (for the most part) we have, in favour of the king and his governours, used meanes to pacifie: so as at this day, such is the quietnes in Scotlande, as the king our dear brother and cousin, by name James the VIth, a prince of great hope for many goode princely respectes, raigneth there in honour and love of his people, and in very good and perfect amitie with us and our country. And so our actions, at that time, came to so good successe, by the goodnes of God, as bothe our own realme, and that of Scotland, hath ever since remained in better amitie and peace, then can be remembred these manie hundred yeeres before: and yet nothing heereby done by us, nor any cause justly given, but that also the Frenche kinges that have since succeeded (which have been three in number, and all brethren) have made and concluded divers treaties for good peace with us; which presentlie continue in force on both parties, notwithstanding our foresaide actions, attempted for removing out of Scotland of the saide French forces, so transported by the onely direction of the house of Guyse.

The Realm of Scotland restored to the ancient Fredom, and so possessed by the present King, by the Means only of the Q. of England.

And therefore, to conclude for the declaration of our present intention at this time, we hope it shall of all persons abroade be well interpreted, as wee knowe it will be of such as are not ledde by parciallitie, that upon the often and continuall lamentable requestes made to us by the universall states of the countries of Holland, Zeland, Guelders, and other provinces with them united, (beeing desperate of the king of Spaine's favours) for our succours to be yeelded to them, onely for their defence against the Spaniards, and other strangers; and therewith finding manifestly, by our often and importunate requests and advices given to the king of Spaine, no hope of reliefe of these their miseries, but rather an increase therof, by dayly conquests of their townes, and slaughter of theire people (tho' in very trueth, we cannot impute the increase of

The conclusion of the causes of sending of certain companies of English soldiers, to the defence of the oppressed people of the Low Countries, and to withstand the attempts against this realm.

The Queen of England's Proceeding, for the Deliverie of Scotland from the servitude wherein the house of Guyse meant to have brought it.

any late cruelties to the person of him that now hath the title of generall governor, shewing his naturall disposition more inclynable to mercie and clemencie, then it seemeth he can direct the heartes of the Spaniardes under him, that have been so long trayned in shedding of blood, under the former Spanish governours): and joyning therunto our owne danger at hand, by the overthrow and destruction of our neighbours, and accesse and planting of the great forces of the Spaniards so nere to our countries, with precedent arguments of many troublesome attemptes against our realme: we did therefore, by good advice, and after long deliberation, determine to sende certaine companies of souldieres, to ayde the naturall people of those countries; onely to defende them and their townes from sacking and desolation, and thereby to procure them safetie, to the honour of God, whome they desire to serve sincerly, as Christian people, according to his holie word, and to enjoye their ancient liberties for them and their posteritie, and so consequently to preserve and contynue the lawful and ancient commerce betwixt our people, and those countries and ours.

Three special things reasonably desired by the queen of England. 1. The end of wars, with restitution of the Low Countries to their ancient liberties. 2. Surety from invasion of her own realm. 3. And renewing of the mutual traffick betweene the countries.

And so, we hope, our intention herein, and our subsequent actions will be, by God's favour, both honourably and charitably interpreted of all persons (saving of the oppressors themselves, and their partizans) in that we meane not heereby, either for ambition or malice, (the two rootes of all injustice) to make any particular profit hereof, to our selfe, or to our people: onely desiringe at this time to obtaine (by God's favour) for the countries, a deliverance of them from warre, by the Spaniards and forrainers; a restitution of their ancient liberties and government, by some Christian peace, and thereby a suretie for our selves and our realme, to be free from invading neighbours; and our people to enjoy in those countries their lawfull commerce and entercourse of frendship and marchandise, according to the ancient usage and treaties of entercourse made betwixt our progenitors and the lordes and earls of those countries, and betwixt our people and the people of those countries.

The causes of taking some towns into her majestie's custody.

And though our further intention also is, or may be, to take into our garde some fewe townes upon the sea-side next opposite to our realme, which otherwise might be in danger to be taken by the strangers, enemies of the country: yet therein considering we have no meaning at this tyme, to take and retaine the same to our owne proper use; we hope that all persons will thinke it agreeable with good reason and princely policie, that we should have the gard and use of some such places, for sure accesse and recesse of our people and soldiers in safety, and for furniture of them with victuals, and other things requisite and necessarie, whilest it shall be needful for them to continue in those countries, for the aiding therof in these their great calamities, miseries, and imminent daunger, and untill the countries may be delivered of such strange forces as do now oppresse them, and recover their ancient lawfull liberties and maner of gouvernment, to live in peace as they have heeretofore done, and doe nowe most earnestly in lamentable manner desire to doe; which are the very onely true endes of all our actions nowe intended, howsoever malicious tongues may utter their cankred conceits to the contrary, as at this day the worlde aboundeth with such blasphemous reportes in writings and infamous libels, as in no age the devil hath more abounded with notable spirites replenished with all wickednesse, to utter his rage against professours of Christian religion. But thereof we leave the revenge to God, the searcher of hearts, hoping that he beholding the sinceritie of our heart, wil graunte good successe to our intentions, whereby a Christian peace may ensue to his divine honour, and comfort to al them that love peace truely, and wil seeke it sincerely.

### *An Addition to the Declaration, touching the Slaunders published of her Majestie.*

After we had finished our declaration, there came to our hands a pamphlet written in Italian, printed at Milan, entituled "Nuouo Adviso," directed to the archbishop of Milan, conteyning a report of the expugnation of Antwerpe by the prince of Parma: by the which we found our self most maliciously charged with two notable crimes, no lesse hateful to the world then most repugnant and contrary to our own natural inclination. The one, with ingratitude towards the king of Spaine, who (as the author saith), saved our life being justly by sentence adjudged to death in our sister's time: the other, that there was some persons procured to be corrupted with great promises, and that with our intelligence, as the reporter addeth in a parenthesis in these words (as it is said)—that the life of the prince of Parma should be taken away: and for the better proving and countenancing of this horrible lye, it is further added in the same pamphlet, that it pleased the Lord God to discover this, and bring two of the wicked persons to justice. Now, knowing how men are maliciously bent in this declining age of the world, both to judge, speak, and write maliciously, falsely, and unreverently of princes; and holding nothing so dear unto us as the conservation of our reputation and honour to be blamelesse; we found it very expedient not to suffer two such horrible imputations to pass under silence, least for lacke of answere, it may argue a kind of guiltines, and did therefore think that what might be alledged by us for our justification in that behalfe might be most aptly joined unto this former declaration now to be published, to lay open before the world the maner and ground of our proceedings in the causes of the Lowe Countries.

And for answere of the first point wherewith we are charged, touching our ingratitude towards the king of Spaine, as we do most willingly acknowledge that we were beholding unto him in the time of our late sister, which we then did acknowledge very thankfully, and have sought many ways, since in like sort to requite, as in our former declaration by our actions may appeare: so do we utterly denie as a most manifest untruth, that ever he was the cause of the saving of our life, as a person by a course of justice sentenced unto death, who ever carried our self towards our said sister in dutiful sort, as our loyaltie was never called in question, much lesse any sentence of death pronounced against us: a matter such, as in respect of the ordinarie course of proceeding, as by processe in lawe, by place of tryal, by the judge that should pronounce such sentence, and other necessary circumstances in like cases usual, especially against one of our qualitie, as it could not but have bene publiquelie known, if any such thing had bene put in execution. This, then, being true, we leave to the worlde to judge howe maliciously and injuriously the author of the said pamphlet dealeth with us, in charging us by so notable an untruth with a vice that of all others we do most hate and abhorre. And therefore, by the manifest untruth of this imputation, men not transported with passion may easily discerne what untruth



is conteined in the second, by the which we are charged to have bene acquainted with an intended attempt against the life of the said prince: a matter, if any such thing should have been by us intended, must have proceeded either of a mislyking we had of his person, or that the prosecution of the warres in the Lowe Countries was so committed unto him, as no other might prosecute the same but he.

And first for his person, we could never learne that he hath at any time, by acte or speach, done any thing that might justly brede a mislike in us towards him, much lesse a hatred against his person in so high a degree, as to be either privie or assenting to the taking away of his life: besides he is one of whom we have ever had an honourable conceite, in respect of those singular rare partes we alwaies have noted in him, which hath won unto him as great reputation as any man this day living carrieth of his degree and qualitie: and so have we always delivered out by speeche unto the world, when any occasion hath bene offered to make mention of him. Nowe, touching the prosecution committed unto him of the warres in the Lowe Countries, as all men of judgment know that the taking away of his life carrieth no likelihood that the same shall worke any ende of the said prosecution: so it is manifestly knowen that no man hath dealt more honourablie then the saide prince, either in duely observing of his promise, or extending grace and mercie where merite and deserte hath craved the same: and therefore no greater impietie by any coulde bee wrought, nor nothing more prejudicial to ourselfe (so long as the king shall continue the prosecution of the cause in that forcible sort he now doeth) then to be an instrument to take him away from thence by such violent means, that hath dealt in a more honourable and gracious sort in the charge committed unto him, then any other that hath ever gone before him, or is likely to succeed after him.

Now therefore how unlikely it is that we having neither cause to mislike of his person, nor that the prosecution of the warres shoulde cease by losse of him, should be either authour, or any way assenting to so horrible a fact, we referre to the judgment of such as looke into causes, not with the eyes of their affection, but do measure and weigh things according to honour and reason. Besides, it is likely if it had bene true, that we had bene any way chargeable (as the author reporteth) the confessions of the parties executed (importing such matter as by him is alledged) would have been both produced and published; for malice leaveth nothing unsearched that may nourish the venime of that humour.

The best course, therefore, that both we and all other princes can holde in this unfortunate age, that overfloweth with nombers of malignant spirits, is through the grace and goodnesse of Almighty God, to direct our course in such sort, as they may rather shewe their willes through malice, than with just cause with desert, to say ill, or deface princes, either by speach or writing: assuring our selves that besides the punishment that such wicked and infamous libellours shall receive at the handes of the Almightie for depraving of princes and lawfull magistrates, who are God's ministers, they both are, and alwayes shall be thought by all good men, unworthie to live upon the face of the earth.

Given at Richmount the first of October, 1585; and the 27th yeere of the reigne of our soveraigne lady the queene; to be published.

Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, printer to the queene of England, her most excellent majestie. 1585.

# AN APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

SOME PAPERS RELATING TO THE FIRST TWO PARTS

OF THE

## HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

I.—A LETTER WRITTEN TO ME BY ANTHONY WOOD, IN JUSTIFICATION OF HIS HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD; WITH REFLECTIONS UPON IT, REFERRED TO ALPHABETICALLY.

II.—A LETTER TO MR. AUSONT, WHICH WAS TRANSLATED INTO FRENCH, UPON HIS PROCURING FOR ME A CENSURE IN WRITING, MADE IN PARIS UPON THE FIRST VOLUME OF MY HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

III.—SOME REMARKS, SENT ME BY ANOTHER HAND.

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NUMBER I.

*A Letter written to me by Anthony Wood, in Justification of his History of the University of Oxford; with Reflections on it, referred to Alphabetically.*

SIR,—Your book of the Reformation of the Church of England, I have latelie perused, and finding my self mentioned therin, not without some discredit, I thought fit to vindicate my self so far in these animadversions following, that you may see your mistakes, and accordingly rectifie them (if you think fit), in the next part that is yet to publish.

P. 86. [But after he hath set downe the instrument, he gives some reasons, &c.]

The two first reasons (if they may be so called),[a] were put in by another hand; and the other were taken from these three books following[b], viz. from Dr. Nicholas Harpesfielde's treatise concerning marriage, &c. which is a fair manuscript in folio; written either in the time of queen Marie, or in the beginning of queen Elizabeth, and 'tis by me quoted in my book, in the place excepted against. From Will. Forest's Life of Queen Catherine, written in the raigne of queen Marie, and dedicated to her. 'Tis a manuscript also, and written verie fairlie in parchment[c]. From "An Apologie for the Government of the Universitie against King Henry the VIIIth.," written by a master of arts, septimo Elizabethæ. 'Tis a manuscript also, and hath all the king's letters therin, written to the universitie about the question of marriage and divorce, with several passages relating to convocations concerning the said questions.

So that by this you see I do not frame those reasons out of mine owne head (as partiall men might) but what other authours dictate to me.

Ibid. [Upon what designe I cannot easily imagine.]

No designe at all God-wot, but meerlie for truth's sake, which verie few in these dayes will deliver.

Ibid. [And as if it had been an ill thing, he takes paines to purge the universities of it, &c.]

It was an ill thing I think (I am sure it was taken so to be) for a prince by his letters to frighten[d] people out of their conscience, and by menaces force them to say what must please him. But seeing the masters would not be frightned, and therefore they were laid aside (the matter being discussed by a few old timerous doctors and batchellors of divinity, who would say any thing to please the king, least danger should follow), they ought to be commended, or at least justified for keeping their consciences safe.

Ibid. [And without any proof gives credit to a lying story set downe by Sanders, of an assemblie called by night.]

Sanders is not my authour, for he says no such thing in his book De Schismate, of an assembly[e] called by night; my author for this is the Apologie before mentioned, which adds, that "when a regent of Baliol College (whom they called king Henry), heard that the commissarie, and his company, were going to dispatch this night work, denied the seale with his breeches about his shoulders, for want of a hood." See in Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. Lib. I. p. 256. A[f]. The truth is, the meeting was unseasonable, and their actions clancular; as being protested against by, and done without the consent of, the regents. And as for Sanders, though I cannot well defend him, yet many things in his book De Schismate, especially those relating to the universitie of Oxford, I find from other places to be true[g].

Ibid. [But it appears that he had never seen, or considered the other instrument, to which the universitie set their seale.]

The grand collection, or farrago, which Mr. Thomas Masters made (by the lord Herbert's appoinment), in order to the writing of king Henry the VIIIth's life, I have seen and perused, but could not with all my diligence find that instrument (as you call it, yet we, an act, or decree) of convocation; neither in the three great folios, written by another hand, containing materials at large for the said life; neither in any of the registers, records, or papers, belonging to the universitie. So that for these reasons, and that because the lord Herbert says, "it was blurred, and not intended for the king"; and also not under seal (you say 'twas), neither passed in the house by the majority of votes; therefore did I omit it, as not authentick[h]. I truly believe, or at least have good grounds to think, that it was only drawn up, and not proposed; for if it had, it would have been registered: there being nothing proposed, either in convocation or congregation, but is registred, whether denied or not. And the register of that time is most exactly kept; and nothing thence, as I can perceive, is torn out.

Ibid. [There seems to be also another mistake, in the relation he gives: for he says, those of Paris had determined in this matter.]

I say[i] so from Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, then chancellor of the university: who in his letters thereunto, desires the members "to make what expedition they could, to give in their answer to the king's question; forasmuch as Paris and Cambridge had done it already."—For this I quote the book of Epistles, in Archiv. Lib. Bod. MS. Epist. 197. Yet, I believe, the archbishop said this, to hasten the university of Oxon the more; tho' probably it was not so. However, I am not to take notice of that, but to follow record as I find it. And that I do follow record throughout all my book, there is not one (I presume) of the senate of antiquaries can deny it: and therefore how there can be many things in my book (of my framing), that are enemies to the reformation of the Church of England, as was suggested by you to sir Harbottle Grimston (who thereupon made a complaint in open parliament, last April, against the said book), I cannot see[k]. Truth ought to take place, and must not be concealed, especially when 'tis at a distance. And if our religion[l] hath had its original, or base, on lust, blood, ruin and desolation (as all religions, or alterations in governments, have had from one or more of them), why should it be hidden, seeing it is so obvious to all curious searchers into record?

This is all from him that studies truth,

ANTHONY à WOOD.

July the 5th, 1679.

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NUMBER II.

*A Letter to Mr. Ausont, which was translated into French, upon his procuring for me a censure in writing, made in Paris upon the First Volume of my History of the Reformation.*

Paris, the 10th of August, 1685.

SIR,—When I came last to Paris, I was told there was a censure of the first volume of my History of the Reformation, going about in writing. I was glad to hear of this, when I was upon the place, ready either to justify my self, or to acknowledge such mistakes as should be offered to me: for I am ready, upon conviction, to retract any thing that may have fallen from my pen, as soon as I see cause for it, with all the freedom and candor possible. I should be much more out of countenance to persist in an error, when I am convinced of it, than to acknowledge that in such a multitude of matters of fact, of which my history makes mention, I might have been misinformed in some particulars, and have mistaken others, which I was resolved to rectify, when discover'd, in another edition. This made me very desirous to see what it was that had been objected to me: and I am much obliged to you for procuring me a sight of it; for which I return you my most humble thanks.

When I had read it over and over again, I confess I was amazed to find that he who censured me so severely had read my book so slightly, and yet gives way to his passions with so little judgment and with less sincerity, that among all the things that he charges me with, there should not be one single particular, that might give me occasion to shew my readiness to retract what I had written.

What can be expected from a writer, who, after the list I had given of the many gross errors of which Sanders's History was made up, says, "that I have proved that he has failed in some circumstances that may seem to aggravate the matter more or less?" If any man will be at the pains to read what I have proved, of the falshoods of that author, and compare it with the mild censure here given; he will see cause to be ashamed of it, and will look for little sincerity, after so false a step made in the beginning. From this, he goes on to his main design, and runs out into an invective against k. Henry the VIIIth, for his incontinencies and other violences.

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[a] I could not know this: He publishes them, and is justly to be charged with them.

[b] From such authorities what else was to be expected?

[c] This, as Dr. Lloyd informs me, is Parsons's book, an author of no better credit than the former: for he was a master of arts in Baliol College, in queen Elizabeth's time.—See Wood in Bal. Col.

[d] I do not find there was any frightning threatnings; none appear in the king's letters. If he had this from any good authors, he had done well to have quoted them. It is not honourable for the university, as it is not probable, to represent all the doctors and batchelours of divinity, as men apt to be frightned out of their consciences; and that only the masters of arts were impregnable. It is rather to be supposed that the one sort were carried away by faction; and that the others were guided by learning and conscience.

[e] He says it was called "*clam*;" that could hardly be, but in the night: so this is no material difference. In the rest you agree with Sanders.

[f] I see no reason for this. The instrument set forth by the lord Herbert shews, that the persons deputed had good authority to set the university seal to their determination: and they were not tied to forms, but might have done it at any time.

[g] Yes, such authors as you quote: you say you cannot well defend Sanders. It seems you would if you could. These are soft words concerning that scandalous writer.

[h] All that you say here is only negative authority; but since the lord Herbert says he saw the original, though it is not in any of these collections, you must either believe it, or make him a liar: and if it was an original, it must either have been subscribed by the hands of the persons deputed; or must have had the seal put to it. The beginning of it shews it was not subscribed, for it is in the name of John Cuttisford, their commissary: so it must have been either in the form of a notary's instrument, or must have had the seal put to it, for he calls it an original. Perhaps the blurring of it might either be casual, or when it was brought to court the king might have made some alterations in it, that it might be renewed according to these corrections. * *It might be casual; Lord Herbert says not that it was rased out, &c.*

[i] In this you had a warrant for what you wrote, but I had a better to correct it by.

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* These words in Italica are in the bishop of Worcester's hand.

[k] I do profess I do not remember that I ever mentioned your book to him: and sir Harbottle himself, when I asked him the question, said, he never heard me speak of it.

[l] This is writ very indecently; neither like a divine nor a christian.

If I had undertaken to write a panegyric, or to make a saint of king Henry, he might have triumphed over me as much as he pleased. But I, who have neither concealed nor excused any of his faults, am no way concerned in all this.

There are only two things that I advance with relation to that prince.

The first is, that whatsoever his secret motives might have been, in the suit of the divorce, he had the constant tradition of the church on his side, and that in all the ages and parts of it; which was carefully searched into, and fully proved: so that no author elder than cardinal Cajetan could be found to be set against such a current of tradition. And in the disputes of that age with those they called hereticks, all that wrote of the popish side made their appeal always to tradition, as the only infallible expounder of Scripture; and it was looked on as the character of an heretick, to expound the Scripture by any other key or method. So that k. Henry had this clearly with him.

The other particular that I make remarks on is, that the Reformation is not at all to be charged with king Henry's faults: for, that unsteady favour and protection which they sometimes found from him, can signify no more to blemish them than the vices of those princes that were the great promoters of Christianity signify to cast a blemish on the Christian religion. Let the crimes of king Clovis, as they are related by Gregory of Tours, be compared with the worst things that can be said of king Henry; and then let any man see, if he finds so much falshood, mixed with so much cruelty, in so many repeated acts, and in such a number of years, in king Henry the VIIIth, as he will find in king Clovis. Nor do we see any hints of Clovis's repentance, or of any restitution made by him, of those dominions that he had seized on in so criminal a manner, to the right heirs; without which, according to our maxims, his repentance could not be accepted of God. And this was the first Christian king of the Franks.

I do not comprehend what his design could be, in justifying pope Gregory the VIIth's proceedings against the emperor, Henry the IVth, with so much heat. One that reads what he writes on this subject can hardly keep himself from thinking that he had something in his eye that he durst not speak out more plainly: but that he would not be sorry, if Innocent the XIth should treat the great monarch, as Gregory the VIIth did the emperor, and as Paul the IIId did king Henry the VIIIth. But whatsoever his own thoughts may be, I desire he would not be so familiar with my thoughts, as to infer this from any concession of mine; for I allow no authority to the bishops of Rome out of their own diocese. The additional dignity that they came to have, flowed from the constitution of the Roman empire; and since Rome is no more the seat of empire, it has lost all that primacy which was yielded to it merely by reason of the dignity of the city. So that as Byzance, from being a small bishoprick, became a patriarchal seat, upon the exaltation of that city; by the same rule, upon the depression of Rome, the bishops of that see ought to have lost all that dignity that was merely accidental. But suppose I should yield, according to the notion commonly received in the Gallican church, that the pope is the conservator of the canons; that will signify nothing to justify their deposing of princes, except he can shew what those canons were, upon the violation of which princes may be deposed. If he flies to the canons of the fourth council in the Lateran, those being made about 150 years after p. Gregory's proceedings against the emperor, will not justify what was done so long before these were made. When he thinks fit to speak out more plainly upon this head, it will be more easy to answer him.

As for the supremacy that king Henry the VIIIth assumed in ecclesiastical matters, he should not have condemned that so rashly as he does, as a novelty, till he had first examined the reasons upon which it was founded; not only those drawn from the Scriptures, but those that were brought from the laws and practices, both of the Roman emperors and of the kings of England. His thoughts or his pen run too quick, when he condemned the following those precedents as a novelty, without giving himself the trouble of enquiring into the practices of former ages.

He charges me with flying to the rasure of the registers in queen Mary's time, and to the burning of others in the fire of London, for proving several things for which I could bring no better vouchers; and for relying so often on a passionate writer. I suppose Fox is the person hereby pointed at.

When he applies the general censure to any particular in my work, I will then shew that it amounts to nothing. I often stop and show that I can go no further, for want of proof: and when I give presumptions from other grounds to shew what was done, I may well appeal to the rasure, or loss of records, for the want of further proof. But this I never do upon conjectures or slight grounds. And as for Fox, I make a great difference between relying upon what he writes barely upon report (which I never do) and relying upon some registers, of which he made abstracts. For having observed an exact fidelity in all that he took out of such registers as do yet remain, I have reason to depend on such abstracts as he gives of registers that are now destroyed. He might be too credulous in writing such things as were brought him by report; and in these I do not depend on him: but he was known to be a man of probity, so I may well believe what he delivers from a record, though that happens now to be lost.

The censure is next applied to Cranmer's character. He observes great defects in my sincerity, and (to let me see how civilly he intends to use me, he says he will not add) my want of judgment. I am sure he has shewed a very ill judgment in charging me so severely in so tender a point as sincerity, and using a reserve in another point, that does not touch me so much. I am accountable both to God and man for my sincerity; but I am bound to have no more judgment than God has given me; and so long as I maintain my sincerity entire, I have little to answer for, though I may be defective in the other: but I leave it to you to judge whether the defect was in his sincerity or his judgment, when he does not bring any one particular against Cranmer, but what he takes from me. So if I have confessed all his faults, and yet give a character of him that is inconsistent with these, I may be justly charged for want of judgment; but my sincerity is still untainted. When he reckons up his charges against Cranmer, he begins with this: that he was put out of his college for his incontinence. He was then a layman, under no vows, only he held a place of which he was incapable after he was married: now, what sort of crime can he reckon this marriage, I leave it to himself to make it out. His next charge is, that though I say he was a Lutheran, yet he signed the Six Articles, which he says, proves that he valued his benefice more than his conscience.

He wrote this with too much precipitation, otherwise he would have seen that Cranmer never signed those articles. He disputed much against them before they passed into a law: nor could he be prevailed on, though the king pressed him to it, to abstain from coming to the parliament while that act passed. He came and opposed it to the last; and even after the law was made, he wrote a book for the king's use against these articles. There was no clause in the act that required that they should be signed. Men were only bound to silence and submission. If he was at all faulty, with relation to that act, it was only in this, that he did not think himself bound to declare openly against it when it was published. From this he goes next to charge him for consenting to the dissolution of king Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleve, upon grounds plainly contrary to those upon which his first marriage with Catherine of Spain was dissolved. Since one pretence in the divorce of Anne of Cleve was, that it was not consummated, though in the other it was declared that a marriage was compleat, though not consummated. Whatever is to be said of this matter, the whole convocation was engaged in it. Gardiner promoted it the most of any. So the bishops who were so zealous for popery in queen Mary's time were as guilty as Cranmer. I do not deny that he showed too much weakness in this compliance. He had not courage enough to swim against the stream: and he might think that the dissolving a marriage, the parties being contented, was not to be much withstood. But my censurer is afraid to touch on the chief ground on which that marriage was dissolved; which was, that the king gave not a pure inward consent to it; for this touches a tender point of the intention of the minister in the sacrament, on which I did not reflect when I wrote my History. By the doctrine of the church of Rome, the parties are the ministers; so if the intention was wanting, there was no sacrament in this marriage. This having been the common doctrine of the church of Rome, some remnant of that might have too great an effect on Cranmer. But if the consenting to an unjust sentence, in a time of much heat and of a general consternation, is so criminal a thing, what will he make of Liberius, Felix, Ossius, and many more, whose names are in the Roman Calendar. The carrying this too far will go a great way to the justifying the Luciferians. Whatever may be in this, I had opened the matter of Anne of Cleve so impartially, that I deserve no censure on that account.

After he had attacked the matter of my history in these particulars, he falls next upon my way of writing. In this, I confess, I am not so much concerned; for if the things are truly related by me, I can very easily bear all the reflections that he can lay on my way of writing. But that he may censure me with a better grace, he bestows some good words on me. "He is not displeased with my preface, and the beginning of my work: but all these hopes were soon blasted; I fall into a detail of little stories, with which he was quite disgusted." Yet if he had considered this better, he would have been milder in his censure. My design was to show what seeds and dispositions were still in the minds of many in this nation, that prepared them for a reformation, in the beginning of King Henry's reign, before ever Luther had preached in Germany, and several years before that the king's divorce came to be treated of in England. I therefore judged it was necessary for me to let the reader know what I found in our registers of those matters: how that many were tried, and some condemned, upon those opinions that were afterwards reckoned among the chief grounds of our separating from the Church of Rome. It seemed a necessary introduction to my work, to open this as I found it upon record. My censurer blames me for not opening more copiously what the opinions of the Lollards and the Wicklifists were: he may see in these articles that I mention what the clergy were then charging them with, and what was confessed by those who were brought into their courts. I wrote in English for my own countrymen. There are many books that give a very particular account of Wickliffe and his followers: this being so well known, it was not necessary for me to run this matter up to its original; all that was incumbent on me was to show the present state of that party, and their opinions and sufferings, in the beginning of the reign of King Henry: so that a fair judge will not think that a few pages spent in opening this was too great an imposition on his patience, this having such a relation to my main design in writing. It is he, and not I, that has transgressed Polybius's rule: he considers these particulars as little stories, without observing the end for which I set them down, though I have made that appear so plainly, that I have more reason to complain of his sincerity than of his judgment.



His next exception is, that I give abstracts of the reasons on which the proceedings in the reformation were grounded. He thinks that in this I plead as an advocate, and do not write as a historian. I do believe there are few things in my history with which he is more displeased than this. I give no reasons of my own making, nor do I put speeches in the mouths of our reformers; though if I had done this, he knows that I could have said that I followed the precedents set me by the best writers of history both among the Greeks and the Romans. But since I was engaged to write of a reformation of errors in doctrine, and of abuses in worship and government, I must have been very defective if I had not set out the reasons upon which those of that time went, as well as I related the series of what was done by them. Both Father Paul and Cardinal Palavicini, in the histories that they wrote of the council of Trent, have related the arguments used of all sides very copiously. In political matters the chief use and beauty of history is, the laying open the secret reasons of state upon which all parties have proceeded: and certainly those who write concerning matters of religion, ought to open all that comes in their way of the grounds on which any changes were made.

He thinks all the king's reasonings for the divorce were fully answered by Queen Catherine's reasons against it. But he does not consider that he is in a communion, in which tradition is set up as that which must decide all controversies. King Henry's arguments run all upon tradition, whereas the queen pretended to no tradition, but only brought arguments of another sort, which was the way of those called hereticks: but in that matter the king insisted upon tradition, the great topic of papists. He censures me for bringing a Jew on the stage after I had set out the opinions of the universities; but it seemed very reasonable to show the notions that the Jews had of their own laws.

He returns again to reflections on the divorce of Anne of Cleve. It seems he had few things to reflect on, when in so short a paper he returns twice to the same matter. From her he passes to Anne Bullen; he fancies my whole design in writing was to establish her descent; but that I do not acquit her mother of the imputations Sanders had laid on her, nor herself of the amours in the court of France, and King Henry's ill commerce with her. If the crown of England had remained in a line derived from that queen, it might be supposed that some would have wrote on such a design; but that not being the case, there is little reason to think that any man would have given himself the trouble only on design to justify her title to the crown. I have made it fully out that a great part of Sanders's charge on her was an ill-invented calumny

to bring her right to the crown in question; and by proving some part of his relation to be false, I have destroyed the credit of the whole. I cannot be obliged to prove the negative in every particular; the proof lies upon the affirmative, and the author of a train of defamation is sufficiently disproved, when it is apparent that some parts of his relation must certainly be false. If any of these slanders had been in any sort believed in that time, there is no reason to think but the pope or the emperor would have published them; for the court of Rome kept none of the measures of common decency with the king. Nor were these things objected to Anne Bullen after that her unhappy fate gave some colour to believe everything to her prejudice. Her brother and she did both at their death deny all criminal commerce together; nor was anything proved against them, only the testimony of a dead woman was alleged to destroy them.

His last charge relates to More and Fisher; but how this comes to support his censure of my manner of writing is not so clear. I seem in these matters to write like one that intended to raise their character, rather than to depresse it: nor do I justify king Henry's violencies, but set them out as there is occasion for it. More knew a law was made, requiring the subjects to swear to the king as supreme head, under the pain of perpetual imprisonment; upon which he ought to have gone out of England, since he resolved not to take the oath. Fisher knew that the nun of Canterbury had in very indecent words foretold the king's death, and had not revealed it, as he ought to have done.

He says my history reflects much on the memory of king Henry. I did not undertake to write a panegyric on him, but only to write the history of that time: in doing this, as I have discovered the injustice of many scandals that have been cast on him, so I have not spared to lay open many ill practices, when I was obliged to do it, by that impartial sincerity to which I obliged myself when I undertook that work: though he charges me as biassed by partiality, a censure I deserved not. But I do more easily submit to his charging me with my ignorance of law, and of ecclesiastical antiquity. Such general censures are little to be regarded: when he is at leisure to reckon up the particulars in which I have erred, I shall be very glad to be instructed by him. For though I have looked a little into law and ecclesiastical history, yet I value myself upon nothing but my sincerity. It is very easy to lay a detracting character in some general words upon any person. The artifice is so commonly practised, that it will not pass upon any but those who, by some prejudices, are prepared to take down everything that is boldly asserted. It seems that how great a mind soever he had to find fault, he could not find much matter for his spleen to work on, when in so short a paper he is forced to return in three several places to the article of the divorce of Anne of Cleve; and he shows such an inclination to censure, that I have no reason to think he would have spared me, if he had found greater matters to have objected to me. So all he says that seems to intimate that, must pass for words of course, which ought to make no impression.

NUMBER III.

*Some Remarks sent me by an unknown Person.*

KEILWAY's reports were published 1602, by Jo. Crook, who was afterwards a judge. He gives a character of Keilway, as a lawyer of good reputation; and that he was surveyor of the courts of wards in Queen Elizabeth's reign. It appears that the king's ordering the attorney-general to confess Dr. Horsey's plea, without bringing the matter to a trial, was plainly a contrivance to please the clergy, and to stifle that matter without bringing it to a trial, and so must have satisfied them better than if he had pardoned him. Little regard is to be given to Rastall, who showed his partiality in matters in which the pope's authority was concerned; for in his edition of the statutes at large, he omitted one act of parliament made in the second year of Richard the Second, cap. 6. which is thus abridged by Poulton. Urban was duly chosen pope, and so ought to be accepted and obeyed: upon which the Lord Coke, in his Institutes, p. 274, infers, that antiently acts of parliament were made concerning the highest spiritual matters; but it seems Rastall had no mind to let that be known. He was a judge in Queen Mary's time, but went beyond sea, and lived in Flanders in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and there he wrote and printed his book of Entries.

There is a very singular instance in the Year Book, 43 Edw. III. xxxiii. 6, by which it appears, that the bishop of Litchfield was sometimes called the bishop of Chester; for a *quare impedit* was brought by the king against him called bishop of Chester: the judgment given at the end of it is, that he should go to the *great devil*. This is a singular instance of an extraordinary judgment, there being no precedent like it in all our records.

In Brook's Abridgment, Tit. Præmunire, sect. 21, it is said, that Barlow had, in the reign of Edward the VIth, deprived the dean of Wells (which was a donative), and had thereby incurred a præmunire; and that he was forced to use means to obtain his pardon: so if he had not his bishopric confirmed by a new grant of it, he must have lost it in a judgment against him in a præmunire. And if he wrote any such book, it was in order to the obtaining his pardon. Brook was Chief-justice of the Common-Pleas, in the 1st of Queen Mary: but yet it is no ways probable that Barlow wrote any such book as is mentioned p. 270 of the second volume of the History of the Reformation, for he went out of England, and came back in the first of Queen Elizabeth. He assisted in the consecration of archbishop Parker, and was made bishop of Chichester, which probably would not have been done if he had written any such book, unless he had made a public recantation of it, which I do not find that he did. So there is reason to believe that was a book put out in his name by some Papist, on design to cast a reproach on the Reformation. This is further confirmed by what I have put in the history; for by a letter of Sampson's it appears, that Barlow did feebly promise to be reconciled to the church of Rome: but it seems that was only an effect of weakness, since he quickly got beyond sea, into which the privy-council made an enquiry: that shows that he repented of that which was extorted from him.

There are in this paper some quotations out of Harmer's Specimen, on which general remarks are made, but particulars are not added. The writer of this has not thought fit to name himself to me, so I can give no other description of him but that he seems to be a person who has studied the law, and perused our historians carefully.

# A TABLE

OF

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